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Darkness of a Different Color:
Mexicans and Racial Formation in Greater Chicago, 1916-1960

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ABSTRACT

Darkness of a Different Color:

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This dissertation examines the history of Mexicans' changing racial status in the Chicago metropolitan region, a place where race has traditionally been understood in strictly black and white terms. From World War I through the 1930's whites violently resisted Mexicans moving into their neighborhoods in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary, Indiana. Realtors classed Mexicans as a greater threat to property values than blacks, and local chambers of commerce and municipal commissions considered legal means for segregating Mexicans along with blacks. By the 1950's, however, the tables had turned. Mexicans and Mexican-Americans were largely integrated with whites and at times participated in white efforts to prevent blacks from moving into their neighborhoods.

A number of factors contributed to this striking transformation in Mexicans' racial position. First of all, even though Mexicans experienced segregation during the 1920's and whites viewed Mexicans as an inferior and non-white race, there remained a great deal of confusion and disagreement among whites about Mexicans' precise racial identity. By the 1930's, Mexicans (and some Progressive-minded white advocates) successfully capitalized on this ambiguity, using day-to-day social interactions and venues such as the 1934 Chicago World's Fair to promote racially lightened images of Mexican-ness. Racial concepts from Mexico – particularly the idea of race as a potentially malleable and multi-leveled (rather than binary) category – played an important role in this process, encouraging Mexicans to actively manipulate, rather than passively accept, popular white ideas about Mexicans' racial identity. However, these

efforts would not have changed Mexicans' racial status had they not worked alongside other important changes at the neighborhood, parish, and union level. The large-scale outmigration of Mexicans from Chicago neighborhoods during the Depression greatly reduced the perceived threat that Mexicans posed to white neighborhoods and jobs. In this less charged atmosphere, Mexicans' growing incorporation with whites in Catholic parishes and CIO unions (and subsequent wartime images of Mexico as a "Good Neighbor") helped promote the idea that Mexicans were partners in working-class whites' efforts to make a better life for themselves, even when this "better life" involved the exclusion of blacks.

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In conceptualizing, researching, and writing this dissertation, I have benefited from a wealth of support and assistance, both personal and institutional. Before ever embarking on my dissertation, my growth as an historian was nurtured and promoted by the collegial and supportive faculty of Northwestern University's History Department, especially but not only the Americanists among its number. For my dissertation itself, I am most indebted to the members of my committee – Henry Binford (advisor), Michael Sherry, Nancy MacLean, and Josef Barton. Mike Sherry was an ideal graduate mentor who kindly guided me through my first year, and he has offered excellent counsel, moral support, and reading of my work throughout my time at Northwestern. Joe Barton was unceasingly generous with his time and enthusiasm. I particularly enjoyed the long meetings in his office exploring the conceptualization and research possibilities of my project, while his guidance regarding research in Mexico – including hotels and eating – proved a great help. Nancy MacLean provided an excellent, insightful, and eminently careful reading of my work in its crucial final stages. Her constructive criticism was invaluable, and this current manuscript has benefited immensely from it.

Finally, Henry Binford has been a thoroughly kind, personable, and thoughtful advisor – qualities that every dissertation writer needs. Moreover, his knowledge of urban historiography and Chicago sources first shepherded me into this project. When I was broadly exploring my general interests in race, housing, and urban history, he pointed me to an old monograph that, along with my growing interest in Latin American history and emigration, ultimately provided the spark for this dissertation (the book included a Chicago realtor's assessment that Mexicans were a greater threat to property values than blacks). Since then, he has provided me with abundant guidance, patience, and moral encouragement throughout this project, all of which I willingly soaked up in the soft upholstered chair in his office, surrounded by his (at times) cascading books. Henry also understood and empathized with being a parent, even to the point of giving me his

family's used baby bath tub, which I quickly pressed into service for bathing both of my boys during their infancy.

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The research I conducted for this dissertation has benefited immeasurably from the help and assistance of reference staff, archivists, and historians at all of the repositories I visited, but a number stand out as being worthy of special mention. My research in the records of the former Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) simply would not have been possible without the sustained assistance of Suzanne Harris at the National Archives and Marian Smith of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services History Office (formerly the INS History Office). I am also especially grateful to the reference staff at the following repositories: the Bancroft Library (particularly those who handled my follow-up microfilm requests); the Archivo Histórico "Genaro Estrada" in Mexico City (especially Roberto Marín); the Special Collections Department at the University of Illinois-Chicago (especially Pat Bakunis); the Illinois State Archives (especially John

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organizing drives of the 1930's, I am especially grateful to Adam Gonzales and Erik Gellman. Finally, during my own research trips from Chicago to Washington, DC, I greatly appreciated the hospitality of friends and former DC neighbors Milton Maguire, Larry Goodwin, and Brent Ewig.

During the course of its completion this dissertation has also received generous financial support from a number of sources, most especially Northwestern University. In addition to supporting me with teaching assistantships during the early phases of my dissertation, Northwestern's Graduate School and Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences provided me with a research grant and two fellowships that provided for needed research travel and two years of dedicated dissertation work. A portion of my Mexico-based research was similarly funded by a research grant from Northwestern's Latin American and Caribbean Studies program. A Beveridge Grant from the American Historical Association and a King Hostick Award from the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency & Illinois State Historical Society also helped support key research trips. During the last stages of my dissertation completion, my former employer History Associates Incorporated (HAI) took me back on as an employee with the full knowledge that I might depart at any time to take up an academic opportunity. During my employment, HAI was generous in giving me extended leave to finish my dissertation, paid leave for academic conferences, and full use of their scanning equipment and laptop. At HAI, I especially thank my supervisors and friends Mike Reis and Brian Martin for their empathy and support.

Finally, I express my thanks and gratitude to my dear wife Rebecca, who makes all things possible for me; and to my beloved sons Paul and Adam, whose arrivals during the course of this dissertation's creation have blessed me in innumerable ways. This family has provided me with the best possible emotional support that I could have received during the course of this arduous endeavor, and I look forward to the continued joys of sharing my life with theirs.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
AHGE	Archivo Histórico "Genaro Estrada," Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City (Tlatelolco)
CCHR	Chicago Commission on Human Relations
CFLPS	Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey (Chicago Public Library)
CIO	Congress of Industrial Organizations
COP Records, UIC	A Century of Progress Records, Department of Special Collections, University of Illinois at Chicago
FOIA/PA	Freedom of Information Act / Privacy Act
FWP	Federal Writers' Project
IFWPP-ISHL	Illinois Federal Writers' Project Papers, Illinois State Historical Library
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
ISA	Illinois State Archives
NA-CP	National Archives at College Park, MD (aka "Archives II")
NA-DC	National Archives, Washington, DC (aka "Archives I")
NA-Chicago	National Archives and Records Administration – Great Lakes Regional Branch (Chicago)
OCIAA	Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs
RG 85	Record Group 85 (Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service), National Archives, Washington, DC
RG 229	Record Group 229 (Records of the Office of Inter-American Affairs), National Archives at College Park, MD
SDIA	South Deering Improvement Organization
Series 101.027, ISA	Governor Frank Orren Lowden Correspondence, Record Series 101.027, Illinois State Archives
Taylor Papers (S.3-ML)	Paul S. Taylor Papers (Series 3, Sub-Series "Mexican Labor") Bancroft Library, University of California - Berkeley
USCIS	U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (formerly the INS)
WPA	Works Progress Administration

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Chicago is a city that has long been demarcated by race. From the Chicago race riot of 1919 through the postwar anti-black housing riots of the 1940's and 1950's, the specter of racial change in Chicago's neighborhoods has motivated Chicagoans to acts of overt violence aimed at preserving racial homogeneity. Viewing the situation from the 1960's, Martin Luther King, Jr. famously referred to Chicago as the "North's most segregated city."[1] Indeed, the characteristics and patterns of Chicago's 20th-century race riots exhibit an almost dismaying level of continuity from the 1910's through the 1950's. Take, for example, the following incidents from this history.

In July 1919, after two days of rioting had cleared Chicago's stockyards neighborhoods of virtually all black workers, emboldened whites began accosting all stray passers by in the Back of the Yards neighborhood. One victim was "set upon by a number of men ... armed with sticks, bricks and knives, who dealt him many blows," and inflicted two stab wounds. The related pattern of violent housing exclusion continued in the stockyards for more than a decade. In 1928 one victim who attempted to move in recounted how "they threw stones with notes tied to them through our window telling us to move out of that neighborhood. Finally they threw rags saturated with oil and lighted, into our basement... They said they were setting the house on fire, and that if we did not move they would bomb the house." Forty-four years after the Chicago race riot, surprisingly little seemed to have changed. In Chicago's South Deering neighborhood in 1953, nearly two thousand residents rose up in violence against black families moving into the formerly "all white" Trumbull Park Homes, attacking black pedestrians and automobile passengers, and targeting the black-occupied apartments with explosive rockets and attempted

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[1] King used the phrase in a July 1965 speech at Chicago's city hall: "King Lauds Massive Turnout," *Chicago Daily Defender*, July 27, 1965, p.3. A few days earlier, at a press conference the evening he arrived in town, King had referred to Chicago as "one of the nation's most segregated cities": "King Shakes Up Chicago," *Chicago Defender* (National Edition), Week of July 24-30, 1965, p.1.

arson. Echoing the stockyards housing violence decades earlier, one group of South Deering youth were arrested trying to attack the homes with "a beer bottle and a fruit jar full of gasoline." Seemingly intent on duplicating the youth-instigated violence of the 1919 race riot, they talked about finding "as they put it, a stray nigger so that they can give him the works." Regarding the black-occupied apartments in the Trumbull Park Homes, they openly talked about when might be "a good time to touch the joint off," by arson or worse.[2]

Yet, one key feature *had* changed between the Chicago race riot of 1919 and the Trumbull Park riots in 1953-1954. The victims in the 1919 and 1928 incidents described above were *Mexicans*, not blacks. By 1953 and 1954, however, the Trumbull Park rioters in the incidents described above all included Mexican and Mexican-American instigators, not just "whites." The contrast between Mexicans' role as racial victims in the violence of 1919 and as perpetrators of racial violence of 1950's is indicative of the broader, profound transformation in Mexicans' racial status that lies at the heart of this dissertation – a transformation that unsettles the long-standing binary view of racial formation in Chicago and the urban North as a whole.

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This dissertation focuses on housing – and conflicts over housing – as a means of tracing Mexicans' changing racial status in Chicago and the neighboring Calumet region of East Chicago and Gary, Indiana, from the time of Mexicans' initial arrival in the late 1910's and 1920's, through the period of postwar housing riots and the consolidation of Chicago's "second ghetto" for

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[2] More complete accounts of the 1919 and 1953-1954 events described here are included in Chapters 3 and 7, respectively. The major primary sources for these accounts, however, are: Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), 662; Mexican Ambassador Ygnacio Bonillas to Robert Lansing, U.S. Secretary of State, August 9, 1919, Folder: "August 1919," Governor Frank Orren Lowden Correspondence, Record Series 101.027, Illinois State Archives; Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States, Vol II, Part 2: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 7, No.2 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1932) 223; "Ask FBI Action in Disorders at Housing Center," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 12, 1953, Part 2 - p.9; Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955* (Chicago, c.1955) 21; "Seize 11 More Near Trumbull Park Project," *Chicago Tribune*, September 21, 1953, part 4, p.7; and Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," July 10, 1954, folder 1, box 12, American Civil Liberties Union - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

African-Americans in the 1950's. The story begins from a vantage point suggested by the story of Mexicans who were attacked during and after the Chicago race riot of 1919: Long forgotten in the dusty history of Chicago's real estate industry is the fact that real estate brokers in 1920's Chicago classed Mexicans as a greater threat to property values than blacks. Moreover, this was more than an isolated phenomenon. During the 1920's and early 1930's, Mexicans routinely paid inflated rents to live in the limited pool of housing available to them, and those who challenged the unspoken racial boundaries of Chicago and the Calumet region endured personal attacks and the bombing of their homes. In South Chicago and East Chicago, chambers of commerce and municipal commissions proposed legal measures to residentially segregate Mexicans along with blacks. Universally overlooked in historical treatments of residential segregation in the urban North, these patterns of anti-Mexican resistance were strikingly similar to the methods whites used to maintain the black-white "color line" during this period.[3] Indeed, Mexicans in the 1920's and 1930's showed every sign of being headed for a pattern of residential segregation similar to that of the region's black population.

But they weren't. No "brown ghetto" on the scale of Chicago's "black ghetto" ever developed. In fact, by the 1950's Mexicans had become largely integrated into white

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[3] While acknowledging the problematic, constructed nature of the categories "white," "black," and "Mexican," I employ them in this dissertation in the way they were used at the time, as revealed in the sources I have examined.

I use the term "Mexican" to refer to both Mexicans *and* Mexican-Americans in the greater Chicago region, since this was the term popularly used for both groups during the period of my analysis, and reflected the term Mexicans and Mexican-Americans used themselves (*mexicano* or *mexicana*). However, when the distinction between U.S.- and Mexican- born persons is important, I do distinguish between the two, utilizing the term Mexican-American to mean those persons of Mexican ancestry who were born in the U.S.

I use "black" where my sources and historical subjects used "black," "Negro," or "colored." I use "white" to refer to native-born "whites" who were called white at the time, as well as European immigrants and their children whom "whiteness" scholars have argued were still attaining or consolidating their hold on "whiteness" at the time. As John McGreevy has noted, such immigrants in the urban North during the 1920's were called "white" even though they were also classified into distinct "races" based on their nation of origin. See John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 30–33. More recently, Thomas Guglielmo has made this distinction with Italians, arguing that their "color" was always perceived as "white," even though they may have been referred to as "the Italian race." Thomas A. Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890–1945* (New York: Oxford UP, 2003).

neighborhoods, and even played an important role in community efforts to keep blacks out of these neighborhoods. Viewed from this perspective, Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region went from being victims of white housing exclusion in the 1920's to tacit and even active partners in efforts to residentially exclude blacks during the 1950's.

This dissertation first uncovers and then explains this striking transformation in Mexicans' racial status. Specifically, how did Mexicans, who faced vigilant exclusionary efforts in the 1920's, avoid segregation and become partners in white exclusion by the 1950's? In a departure from most works of Mexican-American and urban history, I argue that the transformation in Mexicans' racial status can only be understood by first looking at the racial diversity and more malleable conceptions of race that Mexicans brought with them from their specific migratory origins in Mexico. Mexicans in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary came predominantly from the greater Bajío region of west-central Mexico, a region characterized by a long history of racial mixture. Among other things, this regional history produced a wide range of phenotypes among Mexicans who migrated to greater Chicago, which added to an already existing confusion among whites about who exactly Mexicans were as a "race." Secondly, the long history of publicly recognized race mixture in the greater Bajío meant that Mexicans who came to the Chicago-Calumet region brought with them the idea that race was a non-binary and potentially malleable category of difference, in stark contrast to dominant racial thinking in the urban North. These more flexible notions of race encouraged Mexicans to actively manipulate their racial identity in the eyes of whites, while still accepting the general idea of racial hierarchies. These efforts played out in complex ways. For example, some Mexicans publicly differentiated "real Mexicans" from darker-skinned compatriots whom they labeled "Indian," while other Mexicans distanced themselves socially from blacks and cultivated racially "whitened" yet at times exotic images of Mexican-ness at highly visible public events such as Chicago's 1934 World's Fair. Although these efforts sometimes had unintended negative consequences, they helped create a new popular

image of Mexican-ness in which the former boundaries between Mexican-ness and whiteness were actively transgressed.

However, these efforts would not have changed Mexicans' racial status had they not worked alongside other important changes at the neighborhood, parish, and union level. In particular, the onset of the Depression caused nearly one-half of Chicago's Mexicans – and most importantly, virtually all excess single men among Chicago's Mexican population – to return to Mexico. This demographic shift greatly reduced the perceived threat that Mexicans posed to white neighborhoods and jobs. In this less charged atmosphere, Mexican efforts to change white ideas about Mexicans' race met with more receptive eyes and ears. Moreover, these efforts were supported by Mexicans' growing incorporation with whites in Catholic parishes and CIO-backed industrial unions – an incorporation that was at times acted out in powerfully symbolic street parades and other public events. These forms of incorporation all reinforced the new idea that Mexicans were partners in working-class whites' efforts to make a better life for themselves in Chicago's industrial neighborhoods.

Chicago's African-American population never benefited from this kind of thinking or incorporation, and this distinction helps explain the divergent paths that Mexicans and African-Americans ultimately followed. Most blacks were isolated in all-black neighborhoods by the time of the Great Depression, so African-American participation in the CIO organizing movements failed to have the same kind of neighborhood-level meaning as it did for Mexicans. In this regard, Mexicans had been accidental beneficiaries of the Depression, for the large-scale return migration of Mexicans during the Depression insured that the neighborhoods where Mexicans had been forcibly contained also remained mixed, shared by Mexicans and non-Mexicans alike. Moreover, the Catholic background that most Mexicans shared with many of these non-Mexican neighbors opened doors for forms of parish incorporation that blacks never experienced on such a widespread basis.

Finally, Mexicans also benefited from another factor that Chicago's African-American population never benefited from: the diplomatic relations of their home country with the United States. While U.S.-Mexican relations were strained during the early period of this study, U.S. officials still had an interest in protecting U.S. citizens and property in Mexico during the violent aftermath of the Mexican Revolution, which gave Mexican officials an added form of leverage in protecting Mexicans in the U.S. Although this context did not generally affect the day-to-day lives of Mexicans in Chicago, it did make a difference during high profile events such as the criminal prosecutions following the Chicago race riot. In later years, the broader cultivation of Mexico as a "Good Neighbor" lent further support to the newer, more positive images of Mexican-ness being conveyed in Chicago. Additionally, throughout the 1920's and 1930's, the diplomatic concerns outlined above joined with the legacy of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to ensure that Mexicans were treated as "white" under U.S. immigration and naturalization law. Although the federal government as a whole was quite inconsistent about defining Mexicans' race during this period, Mexicans' status as white under immigration and naturalization law was never overturned, which had important ramifications for Mexicans' racial status in federal court. Although this distinction mattered little in most Mexicans' face-to-face interactions with their "white" neighbors, it did frustrate attempts by local bodies to implement official measures for segregating Mexicans.

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In highlighting the complex and dynamic relationship between Mexicans and the "color line" – and the ways that Mexican racial ideas shaped that encounter – this dissertation draws on the contributions of three distinct bodies of historical scholarship, while also bringing those bodies of work into fruitful conversation with one another. These three schools of scholarship are urban history, Mexican-American history, and historical work on immigration, whiteness, and racial

formation.[4]

The central story of Mexican-American history in the 20th century has been an urban one. Even in the Southwest the majority of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans have lived in urban settings since 1930, and since 1960 their residences have been as urban or more urban than "Anglos," with more than 80% living in cities.[5] Outside of the Southwest, where Mexicans live with ever increasing numbers, this fact has been equally true or more so. Chicago is now home to the second largest Mexican-origin population in the United States. At the time of this writing, Latinos as a whole have likely surpassed blacks as the largest minority in the Chicago metropolitan region (by 2000, they were already the largest "minority" among school-age children). Mexicans, in turn, are by far Chicago's largest Latino group, representing two-thirds to three-fourths of the city's Latinos, and already outnumbering the black populations of metropolitan Philadelphia and Detroit.[6] How Mexicans have fit into (and not fit into) the putatively binary racial history of American cities, and especially northern cities, is a question that can no longer be ignored.

However, urban history and other works on residential segregation have traditionally treated the urban North (and Chicago in particular) as a bastion of the black-white color line, in

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[4] I link "immigration, whiteness, and racial formation" together because historical work examining "whiteness" has typically examined the histories of (heretofore European) immigrant groups, and traced the changing racial identities and status of those groups ("racial formation"). My use of "racial formation" borrows on the concept developed by Omi and Winant, but with a slightly different emphasis. I borrow on Omi and Winant's idea that "race" is not only socially constructed, but that the relationships between various socially constructed "races" comprise a racial order, or hierarchy, that is equally constructed. Thus, the construction of race works hand in hand with the structuring of power, privileges, and resources in society – even as that racial order can change over time (though Omi and Winant focus less on the latter). Where Omi and Winant focus primarily on politics and law when they refer to the ways that racial ideas structure power (i.e., "the way in which society is organized and ruled" [p.57]); I tend to focus more on peoples' access to resources and privileges (what I refer to as the material effects of race). Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960's to the 1980's* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986).

[5] Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman, *The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority* (New York: Free, 1970) 16, 84.

[6] Current demographic information on Mexicans and Latinos in the U.S. can be found in the publicly available reports and data sets from the website of the Lewis Mumford Center at SUNY-Albany. Chicago-specific information is also available at the website of the Institute for Latino Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

which blacks and only blacks were ever destined for segregation. For example, in their seminal work on residential segregation, sociologists Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton have written: "[N]o ethnic or racial group in the history of the United States, except one, has ever experienced ghettoization, even briefly. For urban blacks, the ghetto has been the paradigmatic residential configuration for at least eighty years." The "ghetto uprisings" of the 1960's, the Kerner Commission's findings, and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s statement that Chicago was the "North's most segregated city" all led to this justifiable understanding of a deeply rooted color line, especially in Chicago. This understanding has informed much of historians' work on residential segregation and race in the urban North, and has remained relatively unchallenged – in spite of new scholarship that has illustrated more complex, non-binary racial dynamics in other historical settings.[7] But Mexicans' previously obscured experience with residential segregation in the Chicago-Calumet region, along with their later escape from that segregation, suggests a striking complexity and fluidity in the racial hierarchies of the region. This complexity and fluidity demands a fundamental rethinking of the development of the urban North's racial order, and Mexicans' role in that development.

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[7] Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993) 18-19. It should be noted that Massey and Denton defined "ghettoization" to include five measures of advanced segregation, and Mexicans (as but one example) did not exhibit *all* of these characteristics in 1920's Chicago (however, neither did African-Americans in the early 20th century, as shown in Chapter 3 of this dissertation). Other works that have emphasized a deeply rooted black-white color line in the urban North include: Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967); Thomas Lee Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago, 1880–1930* (New York: Oxford UP, 1978); Arnold Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983); and Kenneth L. Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870–1930* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1976).

Unlike all the other dominant works on residential segregation in the North, Cayton and Drake's early study on Chicago acknowledged the resistance faced by Mexicans and Jews in procuring housing, and also observed that "Southern Italians, along with Negroes and Mexicans, are at the bottom of the scale of middle-class white 'desirability'." Nonetheless, Cayton and Drake concluded that only "Negroes, regardless of their affluence or respectability, wear the badge of color. They are expected to stay in the Black Belt." Horace Cayton and St. Clair Drake, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945), 175, 206.

One example of historical scholarship that diverges from these binary interpretations of race and housing in the urban North is Charlotte Brooks, "In the Twilight Zone Between Black and White: Japanese American Resettlement and Community in Chicago, 1942–1945," *Journal of American History* 86.4 (Mar 2000): 1655–87.

On the other hand, urban history has made important contributions to the study of race by showing how racial hierarchies become embedded in urban spaces and structures that in turn have a profound effect on peoples' day-to-day lives. Bringing such an approach to bear on the history of Mexicans in greater Chicago helps clarify the story of Mexicans' changing racial position in ways that would not otherwise be possible. In contrast to much of the historical scholarship on "whiteness," this urban history approach grounds Mexicans' racial status in the concrete "lived social relations" of race[8] – where the material effects of white ideas about Mexicans' race can be more clearly discerned. This grounding provides a more definitive and clear picture of how Mexicans' racial status changed over time.

Although historical scholarship on whiteness, immigration, and racial formation has too often lacked urban history's grounding in the "lived social relations" of race, it has nonetheless profoundly reconfigured the way historians have understood race in the United States. For more than a decade, scholars of "whiteness" have highlighted the socially constructed and changing nature of racial categories by showing how European immigrants only attained whiteness gradually over time.[9] This dissertation is fundamentally rooted in and indebted to these concepts. And on cursory review, the story of Mexicans' changing racial status in greater Chicago might

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[8] I borrow this term from Peter Kolchin, though this general idea has been used by other historians as well, including Thomas Holt. Peter Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America," *Journal of American History* 89.1 (June 2002): 154–73.

[9] David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1991); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995); and Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1999). A longer-term treatment of the historical construction of "whiteness" is given in Theodore Allen, *The Invention of the White Race* (New York: Verso, 1994). The utility of whiteness as a conceptual framework has since been scrutinized in a series of essays and responses, most especially: Eric Arnesen, et al, "Scholarly Controversy: Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination (Special Forum)," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60 (Fall 2001): 1–92; and Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America" Thomas Guglielmo's work has also challenged the whiteness model by asserting a distinction between "race" and "color." Guglielmo argues that Italians in Chicago (and elsewhere) were *always* "white" in terms of their "color" (as opposed to "blacks," "reds," and "yellows" – a distinction which mattered greatly to the rights and opportunities Italians were given, especially by the state), even as Italians suffered other forms of discrimination based on the belief of the inferiority of the Italian "race" in comparison to other European "races." Guglielmo, *White on Arrival*.

seem to resonate with the these narratives of "whiteness" history. However, the story of Mexicans' changing racial status actually differs markedly from the stories told by whiteness historians, as revealed by the observation of two of these historians that southern, central, and eastern European immigrants' ultimate racial trajectories were "predictable," even if "sloppy."[10] Viewed from the 1920's, Mexicans' racial future was anything but predictable. Moreover, where whiteness scholarship has seen European immigrants' ultimate march toward whiteness as final, there is nothing to suggest that Mexicans' grasp on whiteness by the 1950's was secure.

Furthermore, while whiteness studies have revealed an incredible fluidity about notions of whiteness, their focus on whiteness as the sole site for the social construction of race has paradoxically portrayed *non*-whiteness as an unchanging, tightly bounded category that lacked the fluid boundaries that whiteness has been shown to have. Describing Mexicans' changing racial status in the Chicago-Calumet region as "Darkness of a Different Color" is meant to recapture this broader story of racial formation as the construction of "white" and "non-white" categories alike. The phrase borrows from Matthew Frye Jacobson's characterization of European immigrants' historically changing racial identity as "whiteness of a different color." For Jacobson, "whiteness of a different color" expresses the idea that whiteness was not always a unified category, that it was at times "variegated," and that some European immigrants were "both white *and* racially distinct from other whites."[11] In a parallel yet opposite case, Mexicans who came to the greater Chicago region in the 1920's were non-white at the same time that their non-whiteness

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[10] James R. Barrett and David Roediger, "Inbetween Peoples: Race, Nationality, and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16.3 (Spring 1997): 6.

[11] Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, 6, 14. I follow Jacobson's use of the term "color" to signify different gradations of identity within the larger racial groupings of whites and non-whites. It should be noted, however, that Thomas Guglielmo employs "color" and "race" in almost reverse fashion. For Guglielmo, "color" was the broadest racial category of difference that was marked in law – between "white," "black," "red," and "yellow" (though Guglielmo also includes "brown" as a color, which was never codified into law). Guglielmo uses "race," on the other hand, as a smaller category of difference, as in "the Italian race" – even though this category was also "racial" in the sense of being an inherited, essentializing category. Although I have not adopted Guglielmo's terminology here, I find his conceptualization provocative and useful. Guglielmo, *White on Arrival*, Introduction.

was distinct from that of blacks and other non-whites. Unlike blacks' racial identity, Mexicans' precise racial identity was uncertain during the 1920's, as Mexicans straddled a number of racial categories in the eyes of whites. More importantly, Mexicans' racial position ultimately changed between the 1920's and the 1950's. In short, the complex history of Mexicans' changing racial status in greater Chicago in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary suggests that non-whiteness was just as variegated and unfixed as historians have claimed whiteness to be.

Finally, this dissertation builds on recent scholarship in Mexican-American history that examines Mexicans' racial experience in multi-racial settings and other venues where binary formulations of race are inadequate for conveying the full complexity of racial formation.[12] At the same time, however, this dissertation provides a new, transnational basis for this analysis by focusing on the importance of racial ideas and racial diversity in the regions of Mexico that sent immigrants to the U.S. Surprisingly, Mexican-American history has generally overlooked the racial thinking and racial diversity that Mexican immigrants brought with them from their regions of origin, even though it gives sustained attention to their experience as a "race" north of the

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[12] The foremost works that come to mind in this vein are: Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P, 1997); Neil Foley, "Partly Colored or Other White: Mexican Americans and Their Problem with the Color Line," *American Dreaming, Global Realities: Rethinking U.S. Immigration History*, eds Donna R. Gabaccia and Vicki L. Ruiz (Urbana and Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006) 361–78; Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001); Ian F. Haney López, *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice* (Belknap, 2003); Matt García, *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900–1970* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2001); and John M. Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880's-1930's* (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 2004).

Beyond the field of Mexican-American history, other works that have promoted a similarly complex and non-binary view of race (either explicitly or implicitly) include Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2003); Charlotte Brooks, "Ascending California's Racial Hierarchy: Asian Americans, Housing, and Government, 1920–1955," PhD Dissertation (Northwestern University, 2002); and Nancy MacLean, *Freedom Is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Work Place* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2006), Chapter 5.

By "Mexican-American history" I mean all historical works on the Mexican-origin population of the United States, rather than the more narrow meaning of "Mexican-American history" that is meant to distinguish that field from "Chicano history," a more movement-based school of works. My use of "Mexican-American history" includes both these fields, which in reality cannot be so cleanly divided.

border.[13] Even within more recent scholarship, there remains a tendency to treat Mexicans' racial background and experience in monolithic fashion, a tendency that can be traced back to "first wave" Chicano historiography and its emphasis on the solidarity and shared experience of racial subordination of all "Chicanos" in the United States.[14] In this view, all Mexican immigrants had the same racial origins, and all were considered equally non-white and suffered racial discrimination uniformly. If Mexicans' racial identity south of the border is interrogated further, it is generally done by claiming Mexicans' overall *mestizo*, or racially mixed identity. But again, this is done in monolithic fashion, with little regard for the racial diversity of emigrant-sending regions within Mexico, or for the ways in which that diversity created a diversity of experience north of the border. By contrast, the research presented here gives sustained and detailed attention to Mexicans' origins in Mexico, and to the racial diversity and racial concepts prevalent in the specific regions that Mexicans emigrated from, in order to more fully understand their racialization in the urban North.

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[13] This is likely due in part to the regional focus of most Mexican-American history. In Texas, California, and the Southwest, Mexican-American communities have not been so heavily immigrant-based, so immigrant sending regions in Mexico have not been so important in framing the racial thought and racial diversity of the Mexican population. Moreover, the phenotypical diversity stemming from Mexicans' regional origins may not have mattered so greatly in Texas, California, and the Southwest, where "Mexican" was already an established racial category that whites could could readily recognize by markers besides skin color.

[14] From its creation, "first wave" Chicano historiography relied upon a framework of enduring and unchanging racial oppression as the fundamental explanatory tool for understanding Mexican and Mexican-American experience in the United States. The landmark study in this vein was Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation* (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972). "Second wave" Chicano historiography has since highlighted a greater level of diversity and divisions within Mexican-origin communities in the U.S. David Montejano, for example, has illustrated the ways that Mexicans have experienced racial discrimination differently in different times and places. David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836–1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987). In general, though, much of this work has focused primarily on divisions stemming from gender and old versus new migrants, rather than race. See, for example, Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880–1940* (New York: Oxford UP, 1987); Vicki Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry* (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1987); Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 1998); David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1995); George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900–1945* (New York: Oxford UP, 1993).

Historical work on Mexicans in Chicago and the industrial cities of northwest Indiana has long been scant, but has recently attracted a good number of new scholars, much of whose work is still in progress. The field was characterized by an early cadre of ground-breaking studies in the 1970's and early 1980's that were very much written in the "new social history" framework of recovering the lost histories of overlooked minority groups like Mexicans in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary. As such, while these works dealt with Mexicans' *experience* as a racial group, the main goal was recovering that experience, rather than relating it more broadly to issues of racial formation in the urban North or among Mexicans and Mexican-Americans more broadly.[15] New scholarship on the history of Mexicans in Chicago has only recently made an appearance, and some of this work has begun to address the story of Mexicans' racial identity in light of new developments in whiteness studies and the "social construction" of race. But none of this work examines Mexicans' racial identity vis-a-vis African-Americans and the admittedly dominant binary racial formations that made Chicago the "North's most segregated city" – nor in terms of the broader history of residential segregation that gave Chicago this distinction. Moreover, all of the new work on Mexicans in Chicago focuses exclusively on the pre- World War II period, or, in rarer cases, on the post- World War II years, with no studies spanning the

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[15] This first wave of historical scholarship on Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region produced no monographic works, but did produce a number of dissertations and articles, the bulk of them focusing on the Calumet area. The early dissertations included: Louise Año Nuevo Kerr, "The Chicano Experience in Chicago, 1920–1970," PhD Dissertation (University of Illinois-Chicago, 1976); Francisco A. Rosales, "Mexican Immigration to the Urban Midwest During the 1920's," PhD Dissertation (Indiana University, 1978); and Ciro Haroldo Sepúlveda, "La Colonia del Harbor: A History of Mexicanos in East Chicago, Indiana, 1919–1932," PhD Dissertation (Notre Dame University, 1976). Some of the major articles stemming from this phase of scholarship were Francisco A. Rosales and Daniel T. Simon, "Chicano Steel Workers and Unionism in the Midwest, 1919–1945," *Aztlán: International Journal of Chicano Studies Research* 6.2 (1975): 267–75; Francisco Arturo Rosales and Daniel T. Simon, "Mexican Immigrant Experience in the Urban Midwest: East Chicago, Indiana, 1919–1945," *Indiana Magazine of History* 7 (Dec 1981): 333–57; Francisco Arturo Rosales, "Mexicans, Interethnic Violence and Crime in the Chicago Area During the 1920's and 1930's: The Struggle to Achieve Ethnic Consciousness," *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies* 2 (1989): 59–97; Gilbert Cárdenas, "Los Desarraigados: Chicanos in the Midwestern Region of the United States," *Aztlán: Journal of Chicano Studies Research* 7.2 (Summer) (1976): 153–86; and Louise Año Nuevo Kerr, "Mexican Chicago: Chicano Assimilation Aborted, 1939–1954," *Ethnic Chicago*, eds Melvin G. Holli and Peter d'A. Jones (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm B Eerdmans, 1984), Revised ed. Additionally, for East Chicago and Gary, many significant works in this early round of scholarship were compiled in James B. Lane and Edward J. Escobar, eds, *Forging a Community: The Latino Experience in Northwest Indiana, 1919–1975* (Chicago: Cattails Press and Calumet Regional Archives, 1987).

decades before and after the war (nor, for that matter the arbitrary state line running between East Chicago and South Chicago).[16] As a result, although incorporating more recent understandings of race, the new historical work on Mexicans in Chicago has lacked a longer-term perspective that spans across World War II and reveals a very different picture of Mexicans' changing racial status.[17]

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The sources for this study are varied, and have been drawn from research conducted both in the United States and in Mexico. First of all, this study has benefited from the rich array of local history sources available for Chicago, emanating especially from social service agencies and from University of Chicago social science students and professors. Additionally, while Mexicans

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[16] South Chicago was actually closer to Indiana Harbor than it was to other Mexican neighborhoods in Chicago, such as Back of the Yards and the Near West Side. The social ties that existed between the Mexican communities on opposite sides of the state line justify analyzing them together, as does as the similar urban-industrial contexts in South Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary.

[17] Prominent works in the more recent round of historical scholarship on Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region are still primarily at the dissertation level, including Gabriela F. Arredondo, "What! The Mexicans, Americans?: Race and Ethnicity, Mexicans in Chicago, 1916–1939," PhD Dissertation (University of Chicago, 1999); Jorge Hernandez-Fujigaki, "Mexican Steelworkers and the United Steelworkers of America in the Midwest: The Inland Steel Experience (1936–1976)," PhD Dissertation (University of Chicago, 1991); Malachy McCarthy, "Which Christ Came to Chicago: Catholic and Protestant Programs to Evangelize, Socialize and Americanize the Mexican Immigrant, 1900–1940," PhD Dissertation (Loyola University of Chicago, 2002); Michael D. Innis-Jiménez, "Persisting in the Shadow of Steel: Community Formation and Survival in Mexican South Chicago, 1919 – 1939," PhD Dissertation (University of Iowa, 2006); and Lilia Fernández, "Latina/o Migration and Community Formation in Postwar Chicago: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Gender, and Politics, 1945–1975," PhD Dissertation (University of California, San Diego, 2005). The small body of articles stemming from this nascent scholarship include Gabriela F. Arredondo, "Navigating Ethno-Racial Currents: Mexicans in Chicago, 1919–1939," *Journal of Urban History* 30.3 (Mar 2004): 399–427; Michael D. Innis-Jiménez, "Organizing for Fun: Recreation and Community Formation in Mexican South Chicago, 1919–1936," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 98.3 (Autumn 2005): 144–61; and Lilia Fernández, "From the Near West Side to 18th Street: Mexican Community Formation and Activism in Mid-Twentieth Century Chicago," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 98.3 (2005): 162–83. Additional historical works on Mexicans in Chicago are currently underway by Anne Martinez, Joe Flores, and Deborah Kanter.

At the time of this writing, no monographic work has yet been published dealing exclusively with the history of Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region, though Arredondo's book based on her dissertation is expected soon. Arturo Rosales's book on Mexicans, violence, and justice includes East Chicago and (to a lesser extent) Chicago in its analysis, while Juan García's earlier work provides a general overview of Mexicans in the Midwest: F. Arturo Rosales, *Pobre Raza: Violence, Justice, and Mobilization Among México Lindo Immigrants, 1900–1936* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999); Juan R. García, *Mexicans in the Midwest, 1900–1932* (Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1996).

have historically slipped through the analytical cracks of statistical sources on housing, careful digging into census and census-related records has allowed for a fairly detailed picture of Mexicans' housing pattern at various points in time. Finally, in Chicago's southeast side neighborhoods of South Chicago and South Deering, I have been able to tap into a number of useful local research sources, ranging from the Southeast Historical Society, to interviews and contacts with long-time residents, to the Catholic parishes of Our Lady of Guadalupe and St. Kevin's.

Outside of Chicago, Mexican Consulate records and the field notes and research materials of University of California professor Paul Taylor (whose late 1920's studies of Mexicans in the United States included extensive research in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary) have proven especially useful. Taylor and his handful of researchers used a very unstructured research method of simply trying to find Mexicans wherever they were, and then recording any and all conversations that they had with or about them. Although Taylor's study was ultimately funded by the Social Science Research Council, which had an interest in assessing the impact of Mexican labor on employment and on the communities where Mexicans settled, Taylor and his research team exercised a great deal of freedom in finding and collecting information, and exhaustively recorded all of it rather than screening it according to certain preset criteria. As such, the field notes and interviews provide an incredibly rich *and* voluminous source documenting both Mexican and non-Mexican attitudes and experiences regarding Mexicans' racial position in the Chicago-Calumet region in the late 1920's. Even his published study on Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region retains much of this quality, and is therefore useful as a primary source in its own right.[18] I have also utilized Consulate records in Mexico City, which among other things

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[18] Taylor's published work is loaded with interviews and other raw material from his field surveys, much of which is pasted verbatim into the published text and presented with little interpretation. On Taylor's exhaustive and largely unstructured research method, as well as the boundless intellectual curiosity he brought to the study of Mexican immigration, see Jorge Durand, "Un Punto de Partida: Los Trabajos de Paul S. Taylor Sobre Migración Mexicana a Estados Unidos," *Frontera Norte* 12.23 (enero-junio 2000): 51–64. While Taylor's research (both published and unpublished) has been utilized on some level by nearly all historical studies of Mexicans in the region, the wealth of the data and interviews he compiled has often been quoted from selectively, or for only one

yielded detailed origins information, down to the community level, for nearly 600 Mexicans living in Chicago during the 1920's and 1930's. This provided the basis for my Freedom of Information Act requests with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS, now U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services), for case files on these individual Mexicans.

The archival record of state and federal agencies has also proven quite useful. The Illinois Federal Writers' Project produced a fair amount of interesting material on Mexicans in Chicago, much of which documents the increasing "vogue" of Mexican-ness (through Mexican dance, food, dress, etc.) in late 1930's Chicago. Other state agencies, including the governor's office, occasionally took an interest in Mexicans, and produced useful records. At the federal level, labor-related records provided a useful insight into Mexicans' integration with whites during the CIO-organizing drives, while other scattered agency records, such as those of the State Department, also provided some useful records. The records of the INS and its predecessor agencies have provided much useful information, of two basic types – case files on individual Mexican immigrants, and the subject files of the service's central office.[19] The previously untapped case files provide a detailed picture of family mobility and migration patterns in Mexico and the U.S., as well as interesting information on U.S. racial classifications of individual

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municipality (i.e., Chicago, East Chicago, or Gary). On the whole, his field research has remained relatively untapped with regards to housing exclusion, and has been only selectively used to uncover white racial attitudes about Mexicans.

[19] A large body of these subject files for the period beginning in the early 1930's were only first released in the mid-1990's, and at the date of this writing, these files are still undergoing a massive organization process, and many of them are not fully indexed. However, INS Historian Marian Smith was especially helpful in providing me with her own internal indices to these files, which have helped me to locate any records produced by the INS's Chicago district office regarding Mexicans. With her help I have also successfully gained access (via Freedom of Information / Privacy Act requests) to INS files on individual Mexicans who lived in the Chicago-Calumet region during the 1920's and 1930's.

As described more fully in Appendix A, my access to these records was made possible by first researching Mexican registrations with Chicago's Mexican Consulate (whose archives are in Mexico City), as well as registrations with mutual aid societies in East Chicago and Gary, in order to determine names, birthplaces, and birth dates of Mexicans living in the Chicago region during the 1920's and 1930's. With this information, I was then able to make requests to the INS for the files of persons who were born more than 100 years ago – the INS requirement for releasing files under the Privacy Act.

Mexicans during different periods of time. Finally, in order to assess the social context and concepts of race that Mexicans brought with them to the urban North, I have also utilized a growing body of historical literature, in Spanish and in English, on the social contexts of historic emigration from west-central Mexico, and have supplemented these secondary sources with anthropological and historical studies of Mexican communities in these regions.

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The dissertation begins with an analysis of the origins and migration paths of Mexicans who came to the Chicago-Calumet region in the 1920's. Utilizing Mexican consular records and INS case files, Chapter 2 shows how Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region came from one of Mexico's most racially diverse regions. The resulting skin-color variation between individual Mexicans added to the ambiguity and confusion surrounding their perceived racial identity[20] in the eyes of "whites" in the Chicago region. Moreover, Mexicans who came to the Chicago-Calumet region were highly mobile workers who viewed Chicago as but one step in an ongoing pattern of labor-migration oriented toward improving their standard of living in Mexico. Their high mobility allowed for their rapid population increase when labor opportunities arose – instilling fears that Mexicans could "take over" neighborhoods as blacks were doing. In addition, Mexicans' mobility and orientation toward Mexico encouraged tenancy behaviors that landowners believed depreciated property. Mexicans were willing to put up with poor living conditions to improve their lives in Mexico, a pattern that was quickly misinterpreted as an inherently negative racial characteristic of Mexicans. Finally, Mexicans' mobility posed a threat to property owners who feared they might be left with unrentable property if they rented to Mexicans who subsequently left on short notice, since many whites refused to live in property that had been previously occupied by Mexicans.

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[20] By Mexicans' "perceived racial identity," I mean Mexicans' racial identity as perceived by *non*-Mexicans, primarily "whites."

Chapters 3 and 4 examine Mexicans' early racialization in the greater Chicago region, telling a two-pronged story. First, as told in Chapter 3, Mexicans during the 1920's experienced forms of housing segregation that closely resembled the early segregation of African-Americans in Chicago. Yet at the same time, whites' perceptions of Mexicans' racial identity remained highly ambiguous and unsettled, as described in Chapter 4. Chapter 3 describes in detail how Mexicans suffered from the same exclusionary practices that characterized black residential segregation – from local neighborhood violence and inflated rental rates, to organizational efforts by white neighborhood groups and official municipal bodies in East Chicago. At the same time, individual Mexicans experienced segregation differently, depending on their skin color, a diversity of experience that began to undermine white exclusionary efforts and even the persistent beliefs of Mexicans' innate racial darkness that motivated such efforts.

In the "lived social relations" of race – as seen in Chapter 3's description of residential patterns and housing discrimination – Mexicans' racial position seemed similar to that of blacks during an earlier period. But in the field of racial discourses and perceptions, taken up in Chapter 4, Mexicans' racial identity was more ambiguous. Even as "Mexican" remained a non-white racial label that motivated housing exclusion during the 1920's, whites could not agree on the terms best suited to describe Mexicans' racial identity, or where exactly Mexicans fit in the region's racial hierarchy. This confusion permeated both day-to-day interactions and the actions of official bodies, from Chicago's local census commission to the Coroner's Office. Indeed, the federal government's own ambiguous stance on Mexicans' race compounded the problem for local whites, who could look to no clear legal precedent at the federal level that would provide them with a firm grounding to make official segregatory measures against Mexicans as a non-white group. White efforts to "fix" or stabilize Mexicans' racial identity were further confounded by the phenotypical diversity among Mexicans, which caused some Mexicans to be perceived as "black" at the same time that others were perceived as "white." In short, Mexicans' racial status

clearly had the potential to change, but the direction of that change remained entirely unclear until the 1930's.

Chapters 5 and 6 also work in tandem, as they both tell the story of Mexicans' changing racial status and changing racial image in the minds of whites from the late 1920's through the 1930's. Chapter 5 examines the ways that Mexicans and their advocates (including social service workers, church workers, and the Mexican Consulate) actively manipulated Mexicans' perceived racial identity in the cultural realm. This analysis focuses on various forms of public representations of Mexican-ness, the most dramatic being the Mexican features at the Century of Progress's World's Fair in 1933-1934. For Mexicans, these efforts drew on their own conceptions of race as a multi-leveled and malleable characteristic that could be altered by non-phenotypical attributes such as dress, speech, wealth, and image. The whitening of Mexicans' racial identity via cultural representations of Mexican-ness transformed and displaced Mexicans' widely perceived Indian-ness in three main ways: First, by erasing it completely (at times through folkloric representations of Mexican-ness); Second, by displacing it onto the distant but civilized Aztec and Mayan pasts; and Third, by displacing it onto the image of Mexican women, where a de-Indianized and lightened form of brown-ness was represented as sexually alluring. Yet, Chapter 5 also deals with the ways that Mexicans manipulated their racial identity in day-to-day social interactions, in which Mexicans and their advocates distanced Mexicans from blacks and blackness as well as from Indian-ness. Chapter 6 looks at the simultaneous processes of Mexicans' integration with whites in Catholic parishes and CIO-affiliated unions, institutions that were both closely linked to urban neighborhoods in the greater Chicago region. As such, Chapter 6 also examines the extent and effect of Mexicans' widespread departure from urban neighborhoods in the Chicago-Calumet region during the Depression, showing how this rapid departure eased the practical threat that Mexicans posed to "white" neighborhoods, and even led to a de facto integration of these neighborhoods as whites moved in to replace the Mexicans who had departed. And, as this easing of Mexicans' perceived threat to homes and jobs ensued, the

Mexicans who remained were more readily integrated with whites in the unions and Catholic parishes that had already provided an entree for this type of incorporation.

The seventh and final chapter assesses and explains Mexicans' emerging position as "unequal partners" in whiteness in the postwar racial order of the Chicago region. Mexicans' racial position in 1950's South Deering represented a dramatic change from their racial status in the 1920's; yet at the same time, their "partnership" was truly unequal. The experience of wartime mobilization had created a division among Mexicans in Chicago, between Mexican-Americans for whom the war effort increased their economic and social standing and temporary Mexican laborers who entered the region to work in unskilled positions. White concerns about the problems of temporary Mexican "aliens" grew at the same time that whites had begun to accept individual Mexicans in their neighborhoods, and to view an exoticized form of "Mexican-ness" as an attractive commodity available for viewing and consuming. In the context of the expanding "Second Ghetto" for African-Americans, these developments set the stage for the post-World War II integration of Mexicans into white neighborhoods. But at the same time that Mexicans were participating on the white side of the Trumbull Park incidents, the image of the "illegal Mexican" sneaking into Chicago in fruit trucks and by other means was widely publicized in Chicago, corresponding with heightened INS efforts to deport illegal Mexicans from the Chicago region. This effort culminated with the INS's widely publicized "Operation Wetback" in 1954, one year after the Trumbull Park riots. The juxtaposition of Trumbull Park and Operation Wetback clarify that Mexican-Americans in Chicago had by the 1950's established an accepted place for themselves in white Chicago neighborhoods, and that white Chicagoans – at least in these neighborhoods – consciously distinguished between "good" and "bad" Mexicans. However, the cultivation of the "illegal Mexican" image retained racialized elements that would linger well into subsequent decades, when Chicago's Mexican-origin population would grow to become the 2nd largest in the United States.

CHAPTER 2

RACIAL DIVERSITY AND MOBILITY: THE ORIGINS AND PATTERNS OF MEXICAN MIGRATION TO GREATER CHICAGO BEFORE THE DEPRESSION

In late 1920's Gary, Indiana, a Mexican-American Presbyterian minister who was originally from the Southwest went out one night to see a movie in Gary's upscale Palace Theater. Recounting the incident in a later interview, Reverend Baez recalled how he had been directed to the "colored" section of the theater. Upon hearing the story, "Miss Solis" – another Mexican in Gary – countered that she had never experienced discrimination at the theater, to which Baez replied, "Miss Solis is as light as any of you [comparing Solís to his white interviewers] but I am dark."[1] Indeed, Miss Solís appears to have been among a small minority of Mexicans who were "light" enough to sit in the "white" section of the segregated local theaters of East Chicago and Gary, Indiana. In discussing the practice of "separat[ing] the Mexicans with the Negroes" at several local theaters, a Mexican shopkeeper in Indiana Harbor commented that "about ten Mexicans can sit anywhere they want, but the others can't."[2] One "Spanish-type Mexican" was apparently part of this "white" minority, but he described how his darker friends were not: "There is no discrimination against me at the theater [in East Chicago], but when I went

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[1] Interview with "Mr. Vallez (Baez)," Gary Neighborhood House, 1929, in Container 10, Folder 5: "Field Notes: Series B, Set I," p.93, Paul S. Taylor Papers (Series 3: Professional Research Projects and Consultant Work, Sub-Series "Social Science Research Council: Mexican Labor in the United States"), Bancroft Library, University of California - Berkeley. Hereafter, citations from the "Mexican Labor" sub-series of Taylor's papers will be abbreviated as "Taylor Papers (S.3-ML)." This exchange appears in altered form in Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States, Vol II, Part 2: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 7, No.2 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1932) 236, where Taylor identifies Miss Solís as a "fair complexioned educated Mexican woman," and Vallez as "Spanish American," despite the fact that Vallez identifies himself as "Mexican" in the original field notes. The "Spanish American" label suggests that Vallez was born in the U.S., most likely in the Southwest, given Taylor's use of the term in other contexts.

[2] Interview with Agustín Angel, nd (likely 1929), in Container 10, Folder 5: "Field Notes: Series B, Set I," pp.93-94, Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

once with a dark friend, they tried to send him on the Mexican side."[3] In contrast to the light-skinned Miss Solís and this "Spanish-type" Mexican, a social worker at the International Institute in Gary told researcher Paul Taylor about "a Mexican girl here [who] said she wished she wasn't so dark so that she would not be taken for a Negro."[4]

Mexicans who experienced these divergent patterns of exclusion in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary may not have considered themselves to be racially different from one another in the regions of Mexico from which they came. Yet the different conceptions of race that Mexicans brought with them to the greater Chicago region was not the only thing that accompanied them from Mexico. Mexicans who came to Chicago and the Calumet region of East Chicago and Gary, Indiana also bore a high level of phenotypical diversity that reflected the long history of internal mobility and racial mixture in the regions of Mexico from which they came. As the above anecdotes make clear, this phenotypical diversity had profound, if unpredictable effects on Mexicans' racialization in the Chicago-Calumet region. Coming to terms with what Mexicans brought with them in their long migrations from Mexico is therefore an essential task in understanding Mexicans' changing racial status after they arrived in the greater Chicago region.

Mexicans' labor and migration patterns had at least three important effects on the racial dynamics of Mexican settlement and housing in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary. First, the majority of Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region came from one of Mexico's most racially

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[3] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 236. "Spanish-type Mexican" was Taylor's term for light-skinned, as suggested by references in his field notes to light-skinned, English-speaking Mexicans being called "Spanish" (see Interview with Dr. Francisco Luna, Blue Island, Illinois, June 1929, in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.33 [stamped p.543], Taylor Papers [S.3-ML]). Additionally, Taylor had noted in an earlier publication how the U.S. Bureau of Immigration enumerated "non-indigenous" Mexicans as "Spanish" at the U.S.-Mexican border, regardless of actual Spanish heritage. Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: Migration Statistics*, University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1929) 242, 247.

[4] Interview with Mrs. Candalario, International Institute, Gary, July 3, 1929, in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.65, Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

and phenotypically diverse[5] regions – an area centered around the "Bajío," a region of interconnected valleys and basins situated within the central plateau of west-central Mexico.[6] This phenotypical diversity had a profound impact on Mexicans' perceived racial identity in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary, for the resulting skin-color variance between individual Mexicans lent a great deal of ambiguity and confusion to their perceived racial identity, even as the presence of "dark" Mexicans reinforced the non-whiteness of all Mexicans.

Second, Mexicans who came to the Chicago-Calumet region were a highly mobile work force that viewed the cities of the Chicago-Calumet region as but one stop in an ongoing pattern of migration and return migration, rather than a final destination. Mexicans' mobility was a conscious strategy crafted in response to the particular demands of the labor-migration complex that brought Mexicans from Mexico to the upper Midwest. But this mobility also had two important ramifications for Mexicans' entrance and reception in the housing markets of Chicago and Northwest Indiana. First, Mexicans' mobility allowed them to enter the region very rapidly when the need for their labor arose. The resulting rapid population growth contributed to the perception that Mexicans were capable of quickly "taking over" a neighborhood, especially in areas like East Chicago, where the Mexican population quickly became a much larger proportion of the population than it did in Chicago. During the 1920's, the number of Mexicans in East Chicago grew from practically zero to over 10% of city's total population, and nearly a third of the population in the core section of the city known as Indiana Harbor. A second, and perhaps more important ramification of Mexicans' strategic mobility was the way it reinforced their perceived threat to property values. Mexicans' mobility did not cease once they reached Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary – which made them a potential liability as tenants. Because white

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[5] By phenotypically diverse, I mean that the region's population included a wide range of skin colors, from "white" to "black" (or its equivalent – "colored," "Negro," etc.). As discussed further in Chapter 4 and below, Mexicans' perceived racial identity in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary was closely linked to skin color, even though skin color is by no means a natural way of determining racial difference, but itself a subjective marker based on centuries of colonial contacts.

[6] See Map 2.1 and further discussion of the greater Bajío region below.

neighbors perceived Mexicans to be non-white and avoided renting houses that Mexicans had previously occupied,[7] the rental income threat that mobile Mexicans posed to landowners was very real. If landowners had been able to believe that Mexican tenants would continue to rent their property for extended periods of time, white tenants' aversion to Mexicans would not have mattered so much, and Mexicans might not have been so readily perceived as a threat to property values. But because Mexicans were highly mobile, landowners had to contend with the very real possibility that renting to Mexicans might quickly lead to vacant, unrentable property, as well as other problems. "The Mexicans move every month or so," commented a Chicago saloon keeper in 1928. "They move out and perhaps don't pay lights, rent, etc."[8]

A third feature of Mexicans' migration that affected their reception in the housing markets of Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary was Mexicans' continuing orientation toward Mexico, a factor closely related to their high levels of mobility. Most Mexicans who came to Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary during the 1920's remained fundamentally linked with Mexico, and intended to ultimately return there, viewing their migration North as a strategy to improve their lives in Mexico, rather than a new beginning. This perspective meant that many Mexicans were not interested in obtaining better or less crowded housing conditions, if such betterment meant a significant increase in cost and reduced earnings to take back "home." In other words, many Mexicans were willing to put up with poorer conditions in the North in return for gaining better conditions for themselves in Mexico. It is easy to understand how stereotypes about Mexicans' poor living standards could easily develop from this dynamic. Mexicans choosing to live cheaply

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[7] For example, a Polish landlord in the Mexican neighborhood of Brighton Park (west of Chicago's stockyards) stated in 1928 that "We rent our poorest houses that others don't want to the Mex[icans] ... We don't rent them our best houses because they keep the houses so dirty. . . nobody else wants to live in them after the Mex[icans]." Similarly, an "old saloon keeper" in Chicago stated that "[t]he Mexicans depreciate property. If they come in others don't want to live there. They spoil a neighborhood." Handwritten notes on "Polish landlord - on 38th St - W. of Kedzie," in Container 11, Folder 44: "Chicago & Calumet Area - Field Notes (1928)," which also appears in slightly altered form, along with the "Old Saloon Keeper" interview (nd, likely 1928), in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," both in Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[8] "Old Saloon Keeper" interview (nd, likely 1928), in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," both in Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

in crowded conditions were doing so in order to ultimately enjoy better living conditions back in Mexico. However, their manner of living in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary was interpreted in the opposite way – as evidence of an inherent slovenliness deeply rooted in "backward" Mexican culture. This dynamic clearly contributed to Mexicans' perceived threat to property values. On the other hand, Mexicans' corresponding lack of desire to purchase homes in the Chicago-Calumet region reduced Mexicans' perceived threat as home buyers, and prevented the development of any of the kind of "blockbusting" efforts that had hardened white resistance to black home buyers in many parts of Chicago.

. . . .

The labor and migration path of one Mexican immigrant, Crispín Arroyo, brings these three key features of Mexican migration into clear focus. First, Mr. Arroyo and his family came to Chicago from the Mexican state of Guanajuato, part of the greater Bajío region[9] of Mexico's central-western states that provided the great majority of Mexican immigration to the Chicago-Calumet region. The second key feature of Mexicans' migration patterns – their high level of mobility – is also apparent from the Arroyo family's long and varied migration path to Chicago, in which Crispín, like many other Mexicans, utilized railroads and railroad work as a primary means of mobility. Finally, the family's employment and migration strategies, as well as Crispín's own words, reveal a distinct orientation toward Mexico, where by the end of the 1920's the Arroyo family had successfully improved its economic standing. As further evidence of this orientation, Crispín himself appears to have returned to Mexico for good at some point during the 1930's.

Crispín Arroyo was born in Tarimoro, Guanajuato, a small town situated a few miles from Mexico's National Railroad line, one of the two major railroad lines established by the turn of the century that provided transportation to the U.S. border. In 1917, at the age of 34, he was a "ranch laborer," a husband, and the father of five children, all born in Tarimoro. Travelling from

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[9] By "greater Bajío region," I mean not only the Bajío itself (largely in the state of Guanajuato), but also surrounding regions in Jalisco and Michoacán (and to a lesser extent, small portions of San Luis Potosí and Zacatecas). See Map 2.1 and further discussion below.

Tarimoro on the Mexican National Railroad, Crispín entered the United States in April 1917 near Laredo, Texas, where he, along with his wife Macaria and youngest four children (aged 1 to 12) "crossed over the river early in the morning and not at the regular place of entry."[10] They went North to join the family's oldest son, 17 year-old Felipe Crispín, who had migrated to the U.S. six months earlier, possibly to earn enough money for the rest of the family's passage.

After crossing the border, Crispín's employment path followed a trajectory similar to that of many Mexicans who came to the Chicago-Calumet region during the 1920's – beginning in Texas and progressing to Illinois, with railroad labor playing an important part. Crispín first worked seven months in Navasota, Texas; then six months in Cross ("Cruz"), Texas. Following Cross, Crispín went to Fort Worth, a major railroad hub and employment clearing-house for Mexican laborers, where he found work with the Rock Island Railroad, which sent him to Illinois for the first time. He worked for three months in Tinley Park, moving next to Yorkville, Illinois to work for five or six months "as a truck man" for the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad. Moving ever closer to Chicago, he next worked a few weeks on a railroad in Aurora, Illinois. Around 1919, he settled in Chicago, where he found work as a packing house laborer. This progression, likely made alongside his eldest son Felipe Crispín, resembled that of many Mexicans who first moved to the Chicago-Calumet region by means of railroad work, and then found work in other industries. However, Arroyo continued to move between jobs in the subsequent years, even briefly leaving Chicago. After about eight months in Chicago's packing houses, he went to work in Blankington, South Dakota for the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad, returning to Chicago a half-year later to work for yet another packing company. He next worked briefly for a Chicago automobile parts manufacturer, but beginning in 1923 he worked for six years and three months – his longest term of employment in the U.S. – with the Morris Packing Company.

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[10] This surreptitious crossing was possibly made in order to avoid bridge tolls, and/or the "head tax" on Mexican immigrants. The enforcement of the head tax, and of the border generally, was not well established in this period, but may have been tougher in the spring of 1917, due to Pancho Villa's killing of American citizens in Mexico and subsequent attack on Columbus, New Mexico in the spring of 1916. Throughout most of 1916, the U.S. Army carried out a "Punitive Expedition" in Northern Mexico to subdue Villa, which was largely unsuccessful.

This lasted until May 1929, when he again began work for a railroad – the New York Central at the Chicago stockyards.

By the summer of 1929, the geographic spread of the Arroyo family provided a telling snapshot of the family's migration strategies, networks, and mobility. In July Crispín registered with Chicago's Mexican consulate and on the same day filed an application for registry with Chicago's district office of the U.S. Immigration Service, hoping to regularize his undocumented status. His application revealed an extended family of working-age males employed in Chicago, with the immediate family's females and children remaining quite mobile. Crispín's wife Macaria, his two daughters (now both in their 20's), and the family's 13 year-old son had returned to Guanajuato several years earlier, but were now living in the sizable city of Celaya, about twenty miles down the railroad from Tarimoro. Crispín's father, who had never migrated, remained behind in Tarimoro. Crispín's eldest son, Felipe Crispín, along with the next oldest son, 17 year-old Jesús, remained with their father in Chicago, while Crispín's cousin lived less than ten blocks away in the Canaryville neighborhood east of Chicago's stockyards.

When Crispín's application for registry was heard in January 1930, he had been unemployed for three months and stated that he desired the registration not because he wanted to become a U.S. citizen (the purpose for which the registry process was created), but because he wanted to be able to "return to Mexico for a temporary stay and not be debarred when I want to come back to the United States." The statement provides a poignant illustration of the way that many Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region viewed continued mobility and return migrations as ongoing strategies for betterment, even after the onset of the Depression. Moreover, the strategy clearly worked. As a result of his mobility and shifting employment patterns in the North, Crispín was by 1930 the owner of two homes in Celaya, Guanajuato, the city where his wife and three children lived. This particular accomplishment highlights the way that Mexicans' employment and mobility was very often oriented toward making a better life back in Mexico. In fact, by 1940 Crispín no longer resided in the United States, and he never filed for U.S. citizenship

(although his son Felipe Crispín did, after serving in the U.S. Army during World War II). This and other evidence suggests that Crispín likely returned to Mexico for good at some point during the 1930's – as did nearly half of all Mexicans in Chicago.[11]

Crispín Arroyo's story illuminates several key aspects of the labor-migration complex that characterized Mexicans' arrival and settlement in Chicago and northwest Indiana; namely, the important role of railroads in Mexican employment and transportation, the prominence of Texas as a stopping point and staging ground in Mexicans' further labor migration to Chicago, and Mexicans' overall mobility and orientation toward Mexico. Moreover, the three features of Mexican migration to the Chicago-Calumet region that have been outlined here – racial diversity, mobility, and an orientation toward Mexico – as well as their specific components and manifestations (like railroads as a source of employment and transportation, and the important role of Texas as a migration hub on the way to the urban North, etc.) were all a part of the larger labor-migration complex that developed between Mexico and the U.S. after 1910. But understanding this labor-migration complex first requires a knowledge of where Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region came from, and what those origins meant for their subsequent experience in the urban North.

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[11] Crispín Arroyo's narrative and the other immigrant narratives in this chapter are based on previously un-utilized immigrant case files created by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and its predecessors. These files remain in agency custody. Appendix A describes how I was able to identify and gain access to these files via Freedom of Information Act / Privacy Act (FOIA/PA) requests. Arroyo's narrative is drawn from: "Report of Hearing of an Application for Registry, under Act of March 2, 1929, in the case of Crispin Arroyo," January 8, 1930 (pp.1-7); Registry Application, Crispín Arroyo, July 22, 1929; and Alien Registration Form (October 25, 1940) and naturalization papers (1947) for Felipe Crispín Arroyo, all found in Registry File R-1811 (Crispín Arroyo), U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS, formerly the INS), Washington, DC (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007812); also, "Matrículas expedidas durante el mes de julio, de 1929," file IV-102-29, Archivo Genaro Estrada, Secretaría de Relaciónes Exteriores (Mexico City). The USCIS's records include no Certificate File (for naturalization) nor Alien Registration Form (for registration of all aliens at the beginning of World War II) for Crispín Arroyo, suggesting that Arroyo never naturalized, and did not reside in the U.S. in 1940. That he returned to Mexico is made more certain by the fact that there is no death certificate for Crispín Arroyo in Illinois between 1916 and 1950. See "Arroyo," Illinois Statewide Death Index (Database of Illinois Death Certificates), 1916-1950, Illinois State Archives (online).

A strong majority of Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region came from three core states of the greater Bajío region – Michoacán, Guanajuato, and Jalisco. Substantial data on Mexicans' origins was first compiled by economist Paul Taylor and other researchers during the 1920's and 1930's. Historian Francisco Rosales's survey of origins data and my own analysis of other origins data, including over five hundred registrations with the Mexican Consulate in Chicago, complement these earlier findings. A summary of all of these samples is provided in Table 2.1 below. Although all of this data draws on sources that were anything but a "random sample" of Mexicans in the region (for example, cases with the Immigrants' Protective League, steel plant employment records, registrations with the Mexican Consulate, etc.), the general agreement in the results from all these samples suggests that they provide a good overall picture of Mexicans' origins. In short, these samples show that the central western states of Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Michoacán (the greater Bajío region) provided 57% to 71% of Mexicans living in the greater Chicago region, depending on the sample used. The proportion of Mexicans from what Paul Taylor defined as Mexico's "Central Plateau" was even higher. In addition to Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Michoacán, Taylor defined the "Central Plateau" as including the adjoining states of Aguascalientes and Zacatecas, the southern parts of which adjoined Jalisco and the greater Bajío; and Mexico City and the state of Mexico, which adjoined Michoacán and Guanajuato to the east (see Appendix M-1, "Map of Mexico, with Enlargement of West-Central States"). Depending on the data sample, these "Central Plateau" states provided 72% to 86% of the Chicago-Calumet region's Mexicans during the 1920's. The remainder of the region's Mexicans came primarily from other states near the Bajío, like Querétaro and San Luis Potosí, and from Mexico's northern states. Virtually no Mexicans came from Mexico's west coast, or south of Mexico City.

TABLE 2.1
Percentage of Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet Region from Guanajuato, Jalisco, or Michoacán (GJM), and from the "Central Plateau" (CP)[12]

% GJM	% CP	Sample Size	Sample Year(s)	Sample Source
56.6%	73.7%	3,132	1919-1930	Taylor: Immigrants' Protective League (majority of sample), South Chicago steel plants (1928), Mexican Consulate (5% of sample, 1927-1928)
53.4%	71.7%	1,319	1919-1928	Jones: Immigrants' Protective League (subset of above), Mexican Consulate (same as above)
66.4%	78.2%	1,016	1920's, some 1918-1919 and early 1930's	Rosales: Largely East Chicago, some South Chicago, all steel plant neighborhoods. Sources: Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Churches in East Chicago and South Chicago, Inland Steel plant (East Chicago), Repatriation Lists (East Chicago)
58.6%	72.3%	555	1921, 1929-1930, 1933	McCoyer: Registrants with Mexican Consulate
56%	74%	50	1920-1925	Redfield (McCoyer): Immigrants' Protective League, United Charities, Redfield interviews
"Half"	-na-	266	1924-1925	Hughes: Mexican heads of households, Chicago low-income housing survey
62.8%	75.9%	1,289	1936	Baur: Mexican-born population of South Chicago
71.4%	85.7%	21	1942-1948	McCoyer: Applicants to Sociedad Mutualista 'Benito Juárez' (Mexican mutual aid society, East Chicago, primarily steel and railroad workers)
70%	100%	10	1925-1928	McCoyer: Mexican Alien Admission Manifests at Laredo, TX, listing Chicago as intended destination.

A picture of the uniqueness of the Chicago-Calumet region's migration stream becomes apparent from Paul Taylor's comparison of migrant streams for Chicago / Northwest Indiana, the Winter Garden District of south Texas, and California's Imperial Valley during the 1920's, depicted in Table 2.2 below. Whereas 73.7% of Taylor's sample for Chicago and northwest Indiana came from the "Central Plateau," only 11.8% of his south Texas sample came from there, and only 35% of his California sample came from there. Texas's migrants overwhelmingly came from Mexico's northern states, excluding the west coast (87.4%). California's migrants were a bit more mixed, with persons from Mexico's west coast predominating (45.4%). The uniqueness

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[12] A detailed description of each sample source, along with a full citation for the figures in each sample, appears in Appendix B.

of Chicago's migrant stream is also apparent from comparison with figures taken for Mexican emigrants as a whole during the 1920's. The two additional rows in Table 2.2 below show the origins of emigrants leaving Mexico for the United States in 1924 and 1925. Guanajuato-Jalisco-Michoacán migrants made up only 23.7% of the total border-crossing population in 1924, and 31.8% of all Mexican emigrants to the U.S. in 1925. These figures are both much smaller than the 53% to 69% of Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region who came from those states. Migrants from the "Central Plateau" as a whole (as defined by Taylor) made up less than 40% of all border crossers in 1924, and 46% in 1925 (as compared to the nearly three-fourths of Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region who came from those states). Thus, the predominately Bajío-based migration stream to the Chicago-Calumet region was indeed unique[13] (see Table 2.2 below).

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[13] One prominent historical source would seem to contradict my assertion that the Chicago-Calumet's Bajío-based migrant stream was unique. Manuel Gamio's studies of Mexican migration to the United States during the 1920's concluded that the states of Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Michoacán were dominant sending states for Mexican migration throughout the United States as a whole (accounting for 57-62% of all migration to the U.S.), conclusions which have since been referenced rather widely in the historiography on Mexican migration.

However, Gamio's data is flatly contradicted by Taylor's samples of Mexican origins, and by the Mexican statistics on emigration in 1924 and 1925 (see Table 2.2). The reason for the discrepancy is likely Gamio's data source, which relied solely on postal money orders sent from the U.S. to Mexico by migrants. There are several reasons to believe that this source over-represented Mexicans from Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Michoacán (GJM). GJM immigrants had to travel farther from their homes to reach the U.S., and once there they tended to travel farther North within the U.S. They also tended to make more extended stays in the U.S. These factors made it more likely for GJM immigrants to send money orders than immigrants from Northern Mexico. Northern Mexican immigrants made shorter forays into the border regions of the U.S. and often already had established families there whom they supported. Another factor leading to the high representation of Guanajuato-Michoacán-Jalisco origins in Gamio's studies is the lesser-known fact that Gamio's data included a significant number of Mexicans in the Chicago region, which would have boosted the figures for Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Michoacán. Gamio's analysis of Mexicans' origins appears in Manuel Gamio, *Mexican Immigration to the United States: A Study of Human Migration and Adjustment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), 13-29; and in Manuel Gamio, *Quantitative Estimate, Sources and Distribution of Mexican Immigration Into the United States* (Mexico, D.F.: Talleres Gráficos Editorial y "Diario Oficial", 1930), especially p. 18, and Tables 13 and 14.

TABLE 2.2
Comparison of Mexican Immigrants' Origins in Various Regions of the U.S., late 1920's[14]
– Along with the Origins of all Mexican Emigrants to the U.S., 1924 and 1925 –

Region of U.S.	**Origins in Mexico**			
	Northeast	Central Plateau	West Coast	Other
Winter Garden District, south Texas	87.4%	11.8%	0.1%	0.7%
Chicago	21.7%	**73.7%**	2%	2.6%
Imperial Valley, California	17.6%	35%	45.4%	2%
Origins of All Emigrants from Mexico to the U.S., 1924 and 1925				
All persons exiting Mexico's Northern border, Jan-Oct, 1924[15]	39.6%	39.9%	19.6%	0.9%
All Mexican emigrants exiting Mexico's Northern border, 1925[16]	40.0%	46.3%	13.1%	0.7%

The major significance of this uniquely large number of greater Bajío migrants who emigrated to the Chicago region was that the greater Bajío region had a great deal of racial and phenotypical diversity, arguably more so than any of the other regions sending Mexicans to the U.S. during the 1920's, which also suggests that the phenotypical diversity of Mexicans in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary was greater than that among Mexicans in Texas, the Southwest, and California. Although the greater Bajío region was well outside the dense pre-Conquest

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[14] Paul S. Taylor, "Note on Streams of Mexican Migration," *American Journal of Sociology* 36.2 (Sept 1930): 287–88. According to Taylor (and as used in this table), "Northeast" states included Chihuahua, Durango, Coahuila, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, San Luis Potosí, and Querétaro. As noted already, "Central Plateau" states included Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán, Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, México, and the Distrito Federal. "West Coast" states included Baja California, Sonora, Sinaloa, and Nayarit.

[15] These figures were compiled and calculated by me, with the use of a database, from the monthly tables found in: Departamento de la Estadística Nacional (México), "Emigración por Zonas, Clasificada por Edades, Raza, Nacionalidad, Punto de Salida, Etc.; de Enero a Junio del Año de 1924," *Estadística Nacional - Revista Quincenal* 2.25 (15 Jan 1926): 16–39; and Departamento de la Estadística Nacional (México), "Emigración por Zonas, Clasificada por Edades, Raza, Nacionalidad, Punto de Salida, Etc.; de Julio a Diciembre del Año de 1924," *Estadística Nacional - Revista Quincenal* 2.26 (31 Jan 1926): 10–33. As discussed in Appendix C, there are some potential inaccuracies in this data source, but none that would greatly detract from the conclusions made here.

[16] Calculated from figures in Departamento de la Estadística Nacional (México), "Número de Emigrantes Registrados en el País, Clasificados por Grupos de Edad, Estado Civil, Raza, Si Saben Leer y Escribir, Religión, Ultima Residencia en la República, Zonas de Salida, Nacionales y Extranjeros, y Sexo – Año de 1925," *Estadística Nacional - Revista Quincenal* 2.45 (15 Dec 1926): 10. As discussed in Appendix C, there are some potential inaccuracies in this data source, but none that would greatly detract from the conclusions made here.

civilizations of central and southern Mexico, it did encompass two regions of significant pre-Conquest indigenous settlement, the Tarascan (or Purépecha) highlands of north-central Michoacán and the ethnically mixed Chimalhuacán region, centered on the present day city of Guadalajara, Jalisco (hereafter referred to as the greater Guadalajara region). At the time of the Conquest, these two regions were the densest and most significant regions of sedentary Indian civilization outside the major indigenous regions of central and southern Mexico. Additionally, by the 18th century the greater Bajío region had a proportionally higher mulatto population than the rest of New Spain, adding to the region's racial and phenotypical diversity. The Tarascan region, unlike the greater Guadalajara region, has survived as an indigenous-language area to the present day, even though many of its "indigenous" inhabitants are bilingual, and not particularly isolated from the rest of Mexican society.[17]

The greater Bajío as a whole never came to be known as an indigenous area, and is not regarded as one today, primarily because the historical development of the region since the 18th century has been marked by dynamic growth and movement, factors which eroded the bases for persistent indigenous culture, identity, and communities. However, this same history of growth and movement involved the integration of many indigenous persons into the dominant Hispanic society of the greater Bajío region. The result was a population significantly more indigenous in genealogical terms than other Mexican regions that sent migrants to the United States in the 20th century. While not a highly indigenous region like central or southern Mexico, the greater Bajío region had a continued indigenous presence in the early 20th century, and a long history of racial mixture involving substantial numbers of people with indigenous and even African ancestry.[18] Yet at the same time, the greater Bajío region also included areas – particularly Los Altos in Jalisco –

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[17] A more detailed discussion of all these regions appears later in this chapter.

[18] The history and prevalence of the greater Bajío's indigenous population is treated in the discussion below. On present-day Michoacanos' African heritage (and the relative silence of that history in popular memory) see Alvaro Ochoa, *Afrodescendientes: Sobre Piel Canela* (Zamora, Michoacán (Mexico): Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán; El Colegio de Michoacán, 1997).

that were known and continue to be known for the pronounced whiteness and Spanish heritage of their inhabitants. In short, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the greater Bajío region encompassed a high level of racial and phenotypical diversity.

This racial and phenotypical diversity contrasted with Mexico's two other main immigrant sending regions during the early twentieth century – the North and the Northwest. Mexico's Northern and Northwestern states were characterized by a history of largely Spanish and creole frontier settlements that mixed very little with the more nomadic Indian tribes of the region, and "northern Mexicans" or *norteños* have long been viewed as phenotypically whiter, taller, and less indigenous than other Mexicans.[19] Northern and Northwestern Mexico provided the majority of Mexican immigrants to California, Texas, and even the U.S. as a whole during the 1920's, but only 10-17% of Mexican immigrants in the Chicago-Calumet region came from those northern states.[20]

My use of the concept "phenotype" does not imply that skin color is an entirely objective characteristic or a "natural" means of racial identification. As anthropologist Peter Wade reminds us, skin color is itself a subjective, socially constructed means of reading and marking racial

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[19] In the states of Coahuila and Nuevo León, there was virtually no indigenous presence by 1940. There was a very slight presence in Chihuahua, and a small but somewhat more substantial Indian population in Durango and Sonora. Sonora, however, sent only a trace of emigrants to the Chicago-Calumet region, and Indians historically remained more separated from non-Indians in all of these states, as compared to the Bajío. See: maps of indigenous areas in Carlos Basauri, *La Población Indígena de México* (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1940) Volume I, 168–69; and the historical depictions of these northern states in Friedrich Katz, "Labor Conditions on Haciendas in Porfirian Mexico: Some Trends and Tendencies," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54.1 (Feb 1974): especially 31–32; and in Mark Wasserman, *Everyday Life and Politics in Nineteenth Century Mexico: Men, Women, and War* (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 2000) 74–75, who comments on the historic "lack of a large sedentary Indian population" in the North.

[20] The 10-17% figure represents the range of percentages from all but the two smallest origins samples in Table 2.1, when calculating the proportion of Mexicans from these "northern" and "northwestern" states: Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Durango, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas. Table 2.2 illustrates that the majority of Mexican immigrants in California, Texas, and the U.S. as a whole came from the "Northeastern" and "West Coast" states defined by Taylor (which did include a few additional states in the northeast and northwest). Furthermore, all of these sources confirm that virtually no Mexican immigrants in the early twentieth century hailed from the densely populated indigenous areas of central and southern Mexico – the one exception being Mexico City, whose urban population was much more diversified than the rest of central and southern Mexico. Neither did Mexicans migrate from Mexico's Caribbean coast during the 1920's, a region containing areas with significant African and indigenous heritage.

difference, rooted in the long history of colonial encounters in Africa and the Americas.[21] Therefore, the fact that the phenotype of most Mexicans identified them as non-white to Chicagoans, while the phenotype of other Mexicans made them appear white to Chicagoans, should not be viewed as a natural extension of objective racial differences. Neither should we assume that the distinctions Chicagoans made on the basis of skin color were the same ones that would have been recognized in Mexico, or that we would recognize now.

However, the most important physical feature that Chicagoans relied on in their effort to identify Mexicans' "race" was indeed skin color, and the racial history of the Bajío region had in fact produced a phenotypically diverse population, owing to the broad range of phenotypes in the regions' indigenous and European ancestries. The association of skin color with race in Chicago was the product of the region's specific racial context – in particular, the broader transformation of racial thinking in 1920's Chicago from race as a function of national origin to race as a binary category dependent on black or white skin color. In this regard, the Chicago-Calumet region differed significantly from other Mexican receiving regions during this period, which had not experienced the Great Black Migration as Chicago had, yet did have a long-established Mexican presence that the Chicago-Calumet region lacked. In Texas, the Southwest, and California, Mexicans' long-established presence as the major racially subordinate group meant that the markers of Mexican racial identity were well established, and included characteristics in addition to phenotype, such as speech, dress, and occupation.[22] In Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary, however, Mexicans were newcomers in a racial environment that increasingly looked to skin color as the main marker of racial identity. In this context, the phenotypical diversity of the Chicago-Calumet region's Mexican migration stream took on particular importance. The account of Mexican friends being sent to different sides of the racially segregated movie theaters in East

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[21] Peter Wade, "'Race', Nature and Culture," *Man* 28.1 (Mar 1993): 17–34.

[22] See, for example, David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836–1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987).

Chicago and Gary is but one telling example of this. As these anecdotes make clear, not only did Mexicans exhibit a range of phenotypical diversity in the Chicago-Calumet region, but variations in skin color had concrete ramifications in terms of treatment.

As one researcher observed in the late 1920's, "Most of the Mexican immigrants as found in the cities of Detroit and Chicago have been subject to so many diverse influences that it is practically impossible to generalize about them. Some have come from very primitive communities in Mexico where the Indian culture has predominated, others have come from communities of mixed culture, and still others have a very decided Spanish European background."[23] The description could very well be applied to the greater Bajío region itself, the sending region for the majority of Chicago's Mexican population. So it is to this region – and its racial diversity – that our attention now turns.

. . . .

The racial makeup of the greater Bajío region – particularly in terms of the phenotypical diversity that would be such an important factor in shaping migrants' racialization in Chicago and northwest Indiana – is not a topic that has received detailed examination by scholars. Undertaking such an analysis therefore requires utilizing a variety of sources and approaches: in particular, a long-term historical perspective combined with an analysis of census data and multidisciplinary community studies conducted in the region during the first half of the 20th century. Non-historical assessments of the region's racial makeup fail to capture the full extent of the region's indigenous (and African) heritage, given the early integration of the region's indigenous and African populations. Macro-regional characterizations of the greater Bajío as "mestizo," on the other hand, miss the complexity of the region's racial makeup at the local level, often overlooking the existence of popularly perceived "Indian" communities that were tucked

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[23] Robert C. Jones field notes and manuscript [ca. 1928], p.89, in Container 11, Folder 49: "Chicago and Calumet Area - Field Notes: Robert C. Jones" (1 of 2), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). See also Jones' similar statement in Robert Jones, "The Religious Life of the Mexican in Chicago," c.1928, pp.3-4, in Box 188, Folder 4, Ernest W. Burgess Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

away within larger *mestizo*-white regions. The analysis that follows, therefore, synthesizes these varied sources and my own origins data in order to provide, for the first time, a detailed picture and historical explanation of the region's racial makeup, and in particular, the region's phenotypical diversity that would become so relevant when its emigrants arrived in the Chicago-Calumet region.

Identifying and analyzing the racial makeup of any region in Mexico is of course a highly subjective endeavor. Racial categories in any context are inherently subjective, but in Mexico this subjectivity was arguably greater than in the North American context. In Mexico, the historic predominance and widespread recognition of racial mixture, particularly as embodied in the *mestizo* (mixed Indian-white) racial category, had by the end of the colonial period produced a system wherein racial identification was context-specific and based on factors beyond mere skin color. Moreover, as Alan Knight has noted, from the perspective of "somatic attributes," that is, physical and genetic features, "few Mexicans [in the early 20th century] were 'pure' Indians or whites (*criollos*/creoles); most were mestizos of one sort or another."[24] Nonetheless, in spite of these factors, it remains possible to identify certain areas in Mexico as being more or less indigenous, or more or less racially mixed than others.

Statistical data on the racial composition of Mexican regions during the early 20th century is a useful but by no means complete way of beginning to assess the racial diversity of the greater Bajío region. One of the limitations of this data is that the most detailed geographic breakdown of the data is usually the state level. Another limitation is the Mexican government's general reluctance to record "racial" data, as opposed to data on indigenous languages. However, the 1921 Mexican census was unique in providing both racial (that is, "white," "Indian," "mestizo,"

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[24] Alan Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910–1940," *The Idea of Race in Latin America*, Ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990) 70–113 (quote appears on p.73). On the similar dynamics of *mestizaje* in Latin America more generally, including Mexico, see Charles Hale, "Introduction [Special Issue on Mestizaje]," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 2.1 (1996): 2–3; Florencia Mallon, "Constructing Mestizaje in Latin America: Authenticity, Marginality, and Gender in the Claiming of Ethnic Identities," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 2.1 (1996): 170–81; Carol A. Smith, "The Symbolics of Blood: Mestizaje in the Americas," *Identities* 3.4 (1997): 495–521.

etc.) and linguistic measurements of Mexico's racial composition, even though the method of measuring the racial category was far from standardized in 1921. Moreover, lesser-known statistical publications of the Mexican government during the 1920's also recorded the racial makeup and geographic origin of emigrants crossing the U.S. border, which is a particularly useful source for ascertaining the racial makeup of Mexicans who actually migrated from specific sending regions. While drawing conclusions about phenotypical diversity based on statistical records of "mestizo" versus "white" persons must be done with caution (due to the fact that one's "mestizo" or "white" identity was generally based on more than mere skin color, and in any case was highly subjective) it nonetheless provides some basis for comparing different regions in Mexico. Despite the subjective nature of Mexican racial identities, and the importance of non-phenotypical factors in determining one's racial identity, noticeably dark or short persons were unlikely to be characterized as white, and noticeably light or tall persons were unlikely to be labelled mestizo, much less Indian.[25]

The following table (Table 2.3) compiles the state-level racial data from the 1921 census, and also shows the linguistic data on race provided in both the 1921 and 1930 censuses. The table shows the data for the states most relevant to the Chicago-Calumet's migration stream, namely, the greater Bajío states of Guanajuato, Michoacán, and Jalisco, as well as the bordering states of San Luis Potosí and Zacatecas (states that also figured importantly in migration to the Chicago region), and finally, several northern states corresponding to the minority of the Chicago-Calumet's Mexican population that came from Northern Mexico. The final column in the table shows the relative proportion of each of the states in the Chicago-Calumet region's migrant stream.

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[25] See Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910–1940".

TABLE 2.3
Mexican Census Data on Race, 1921 and 1930, by State[26]

State & Year		***Racial Composition***			***Language***	***Migrant Origins***
		White	*Mestizo*	*Indian*	*Persons speaking an indigenous language*	*Proportion of Chicago-Calumet Migrant Stream*
Greater Bajío States:						
Guanajuato	1921	0.54	96.33	2.96	2.76	26.0%
	1930				*0.59*	
Jalisco	1921	7.31	75.83	16.76	0.02	16.6%
	1930				*0.24*	
Michoacán	1921	6.94	70.95	21.04	4.84	15.9%
	1930				*6.08*	
Zacatecas	1921	5.26	86.10	8.54	0.00	7.2%
	1930				*0.01*	
San Luis	1921	5.41	61.88	30.60	12.78	7.0%
Potosí	*1930*				*12.38*	
Northern States:						
Coahuila	1921	10.13	77.88	11.38	0.08	2.5%
	1930				*0.11*	
Chihuahua	1921	36.33	50.09	12.76	7.34	3.2%
	1930				*7.01*	
Nuevo León	1921	19.23	75.47	5.14	0.00	4.0%
	1930				*0.02*	
Tamaulipas	1921	13.62	69.77	13.89	0.09	2.3%
	1930				*0.06*	

As the table shows, the key Mexican states that sent migrants to the Chicago-Calumet region were characterized by high mestizo populations, and (in contrast to northern Mexican states) low "white" populations. Michoacán and Jalisco also recorded significantly higher "Indian" populations than northern Mexican states, while Michoacán boasted a significant

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[26] Figures on racial composition for 1921 appear under Table 3, "Razas," in the Second Part of each state's published 1921 census. 1921 figures on persons speaking an indigenous language are calculated from Table 8, "Idioma Nativo o Lengua Materna," also in the Second Part of each state's published 1921 census. Each state's census was published and titled like the following example for Michoacán: Departamento de la Estadística Nacional (México), *Censo General de Habitantes, 30 de Noviembre de 1921, Estado de Michoacán* (México, D.F.: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1927). 1930 figures on language are calculated from Table 43, "Población de Cinco Años o Más Clasificada Según los Idiómas y Dialectos Indígenas que Habla, Censo de 1930," in Dirrección General de Estadística (México), *Quinto Censo de Población, 15 de Mayo de 1930: Resumen General* (México, D.F.: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1934) 122. The column for "Migrant Origins" is calculated from my own origins sample of consulate registrations (see Table 2.1 and Appendix B). A discussion of the nature of the data in these census publications appears in Appendix D.

minority of indigenous speakers. These factors suggest that immigrants to the Chicago-Calumet region had a more indigenous and mestizo character than migration streams to other parts of the U.S.

This tentative conclusion is supported by other evidence from the Chicago-Calumet region itself. For example, a pair of 1929 interviews with Indiana Harbor shopkeeper Agustín Angel revealed that a small but noticeable minority of Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region came from indigenous communities in Mexico. Angel, himself a Mexican immigrant, reported that "three or four hundred here speak Indian but they know some Spanish too, perhaps 700 or 800 words." In a separate interview, Angel reported a somewhat smaller number, saying that "about 200 Mexicans here speak dialects. They speak Spanish worse than I speak English. I have trouble understanding them sometimes. Some learn to speak Spanish in Mexico and some here in the U.S." During the same interview, a woman in Angel's store estimated that there were probably 5,000 Mexicans in Indiana Harbor.[27] The estimate was probably close to the mark, if a little underestimated, as the 1930 census registered 5,354 Mexicans in East Chicago, and the city

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[27] Agustín Angel Interview, nd (likely July 1929), in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes, Series C, Set I," p.71 (stamped p.581); and Agustín Angel Interview, nd (likely 1929), in Container 10, Folder 5: "Field Notes, Series B, Set I," pp.94-95 (stamped pp.265-6); Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

Angel's reporting on the inability of "Indian" Mexicans to speak Spanish may have been tainted by a broader antagonism between business class Mexicans like Angel, and other Mexicans whom Angel referred to as being "low class." In this intra-Mexican discourse, "class" referred to education and what many Mexicans called "culture," rather than economic standing. However, this type of "class"also appears to have been connected with ideas about race. The disparagement of other Mexicans' Spanish may simply have been a way of talking about educational background, but Agustín Angel's conscious association of Indian-ness with poor Spanish suggests the possibility of a racial undertone as well. In the first interview cited above, this broader discourse of "class" seems to have been at play. Prior to discussing the Mexicans who spoke "Indian," Angel talked at length about the problems facing "the lower class" or "the low class" of Mexicans in Indiana Harbor – which in his opinion comprised the majority of Mexicans living there. As he stated, "The biggest part of them are ignorant. It is hard for them to go to the [mutual aid and other Mexican society] meetings with the higher classes." The come-uppance of this "lower class" was apparently annoying to Angel, and he referred explicitly to their poor Spanish and low cultural tastes – in contrast to their economic standing – as evidence of their lowly state: "There are a few leaders but the rest are ignorant. But they believe themselves to be just as good because they buy shoes for $10 and a suit for $60. It is hard to go to picnics with those *who can't even speak good Spanish*. They go to places of vice and pool halls. They feel embarrassed if the high class Mexicans go where they are" [emphasis added]. Agustín Angel Interview (first citation above, pp.70-71). The derogatory labelling of some Mexicans as "Indian" by other Mexicans is examined in Chapter 5.

likely had more in the preceding years.[28] In any event, the numbers reported by Angel suggest that somewhere between three and seven percent of Indiana Harbor's Mexican population came from indigenous communities in Mexico – most likely, the Tarascan highlands of Michoacán.[29] The figure may well have been higher, too, since some Mexicans in Indiana Harbor may have come from Tarascan communities that were substantially bilingual. The presence of "Indian" Mexicans in 1920's Chicago was noted by other Mexicans as well. Carlos Perez Lopez, a "mestizo" businessman and president of a Mexican mutual aid society, told Mexican anthropologist Manuel Gamio in 1926 that "there have been cases of pure Indians who couldn't speak Spanish when they came, who have [nonetheless] learned English and the rudiments of an elementary education."[30] Even among Mexicans whom Gamio considered to be mestizo, Gamio detected what he thought to be persistent Indian traits, including language. When visiting the house of several Michoacán and Guanajuato-based workers in Harvey, Illinois (just south of Chicago's city line, where railroad camps employed a number of Mexicans) Gamio commented that "All are of the mixed race. They speak Spanish without having lost any of the accent" – that is, the Indian accent. Gamio went on to describe the Mexicans in the house according to their

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[28] Ciro Haroldo Sepúlveda, "La Colonia del Harbor: A History of Mexicanos in East Chicago, Indiana, 1919–1932," PhD Dissertation (Notre Dame University, 1976) 56. Sepúlveda's cited figure of 5,354 Mexicans enumerated in East Chicago's 1930 census differs slightly from the figure of 5,343 given by a writer for the Indiana Federal Writers' Project in the late 1930's. See Francis Francour (Field worker, Lake County, District #7 Federal Writers' Project, Hammond, Indiana), "Racial Groups of East Chicago," in File heading 260.5 (Ethnology), microfilm reel 13 (Lake County), Indiana Federal Writers' Project Papers, Rare Books and Special Collections, Indiana State University. The Federal Writers' Project figure is for "Other Races - Mexican," the category where Mexicans were to be counted if they were not "definitely white or Indian." It is therefore possible that some Mexicans were counted among the 7 "North American Indians" or the 505 "Other" foreign-born whites in East Chicago's 1930 census, which would account for Sepúlveda's higher total figure for Mexicans in East Chicago. The overall population of East Chicago in 1930 was 54,784. The issue of Mexicans' racial classifications and the way their race was enumerated in the 1930 census is addressed further in Chapters 3 and 4.

[29] The lower figure comes from dividing Angel's lower estimate of 200 by a total Mexican population of 6,000 (adjusted upward from the 5,000 figures to account for the fact that Indiana Harbor's population was probably greater in 1929 than it was in 1930. The higher figure comes from dividing Angel's higher estimate of 400 by the 1930 census figure for Mexicans, 5,354.

[30] "Sr. Don Carlos Perez Lopez" (Interview), July 27, 1926, Box 3, Folder 11: "Field notes and related material from research conducted in Chicago" (English translation, cited here, in Box 2, Folder 13: "Biographical Sketch - P"), Manuel Gamio Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California – Berkeley.

varying degrees of Indian-ness, though sometimes in coded language. One man from Salvatierra, Guanajuato, had "whiskers" (a non-indigenous feature), while the head of the house was "darker in color and of the more Indian type." His wife was "a very Mexican type of coarse and fat Indian."[31]

This higher level of indigeneity and phenotypical darkness in the greater Bajío region is also borne out in border emigration data produced by the Mexican government during the 1920's, though one must read the data a bit creatively since the data does not break down the racial statistics of emigrants by Mexican state. However, the data does give overall racial statistics and overall origins statistics (by state) for each month over a ten month period in 1924. Because Mexican emigration figures fluctuated significantly from month to month (see Figure 2.1), one can correlate month-by-month changes in the racial makeup of emigrants with month-by-month changes in the regional origins of emigrants. In short, when one breaks the data down into categories, it is clear that peaks in migration from the greater Bajío region (as shown in Figure 2.2) produced peaks in the number of mestizo emigrants (see Figure 2.3), without causing much of a peak in the number of white emigrants (also Figure 2.3).[32] Because this data was recorded by Mexican border officials who – unlike census officials – did not personally know the individual emigrants, their families, nor the regions where they were from, the racial classifications in this

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[31] "Casa del obrero Juan," Harvey, Illinois, July 27, 1926 (my translation), in Box 3, Folder 11: "Field notes and related material from research conducted in Chicago," Manuel Gamio Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California - Berkeley. Gamio's full statement about his subjects' speech was: "They speak Spanish without having lost any of the accent, nor the provincial intonation." Gamio's observations were likely part of his larger concern about the persistence of indigenous cultural traits, a concern that appeared throughout much of his professional work. Gamio saw Mexican emigrants to the United States as a primary source for the modernization (and de-Indianization) of Mexico, believing that their travels to the U.S. had the potential of modernizing their cultural habits and attributes, which could in turn help modernize Mexico when they returned home. See Gamio, *Mexican Immigration to the United States: A Study of Human Migration and Adjustment*, including AppendixVII, "The Failure of Repatriation Enterprises."

[32] These graphs are produced from data compiled by me in an Excel database, and taken from the monthly emigration data in: Departamento de la Estadística Nacional (México), "Emigración por Zonas, Clasificada por Edades, Raza, Nacionalidad, Punto de Salida, Etc.; de Enero a Junio del Año de 1924"; and Departamento de la Estadística Nacional (México), "Emigración por Zonas, Clasificada por Edades, Raza, Nacionalidad, Punto de Salida, Etc.; de Julio a Diciembre del Año de 1924" As discussed in Appendix C, there are some potential inaccuracies in this data source, but none that would greatly detract from the conclusions made here.

emigration data likely reflect the officials' subjective impression of emigrants' phenotype, with speech and dress comprising secondary factors. Thus, the strong correlation between emigrants from the greater Bajío region and mestizo (rather than white) emigrants suggests that Mexican emigrants who came from the greater Bajío had, on the whole, "darker" phenotypes than other Mexican emigrants, as perceived by Mexican border officials.

Figure 2.1: Total Mexican Emigrants to the U.S., by Month, 1924

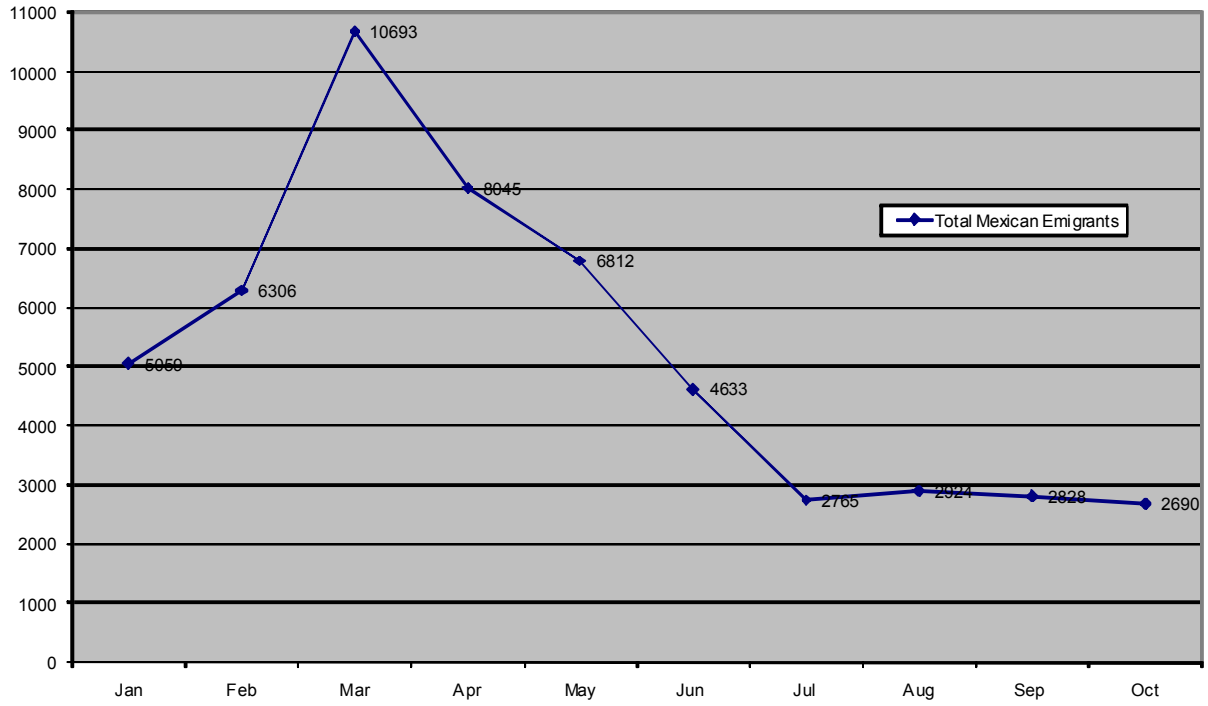


Figure 2.2: Emigrants from Mexico to the U.S. according to Region of Origin, by Month, 1924

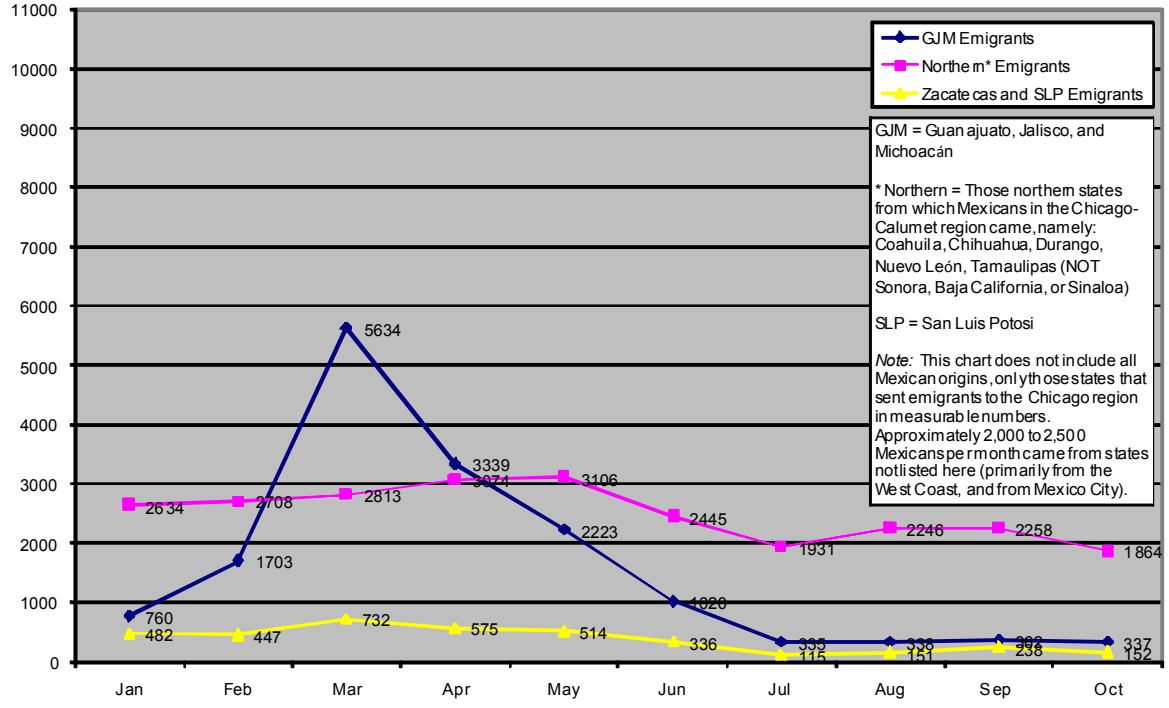
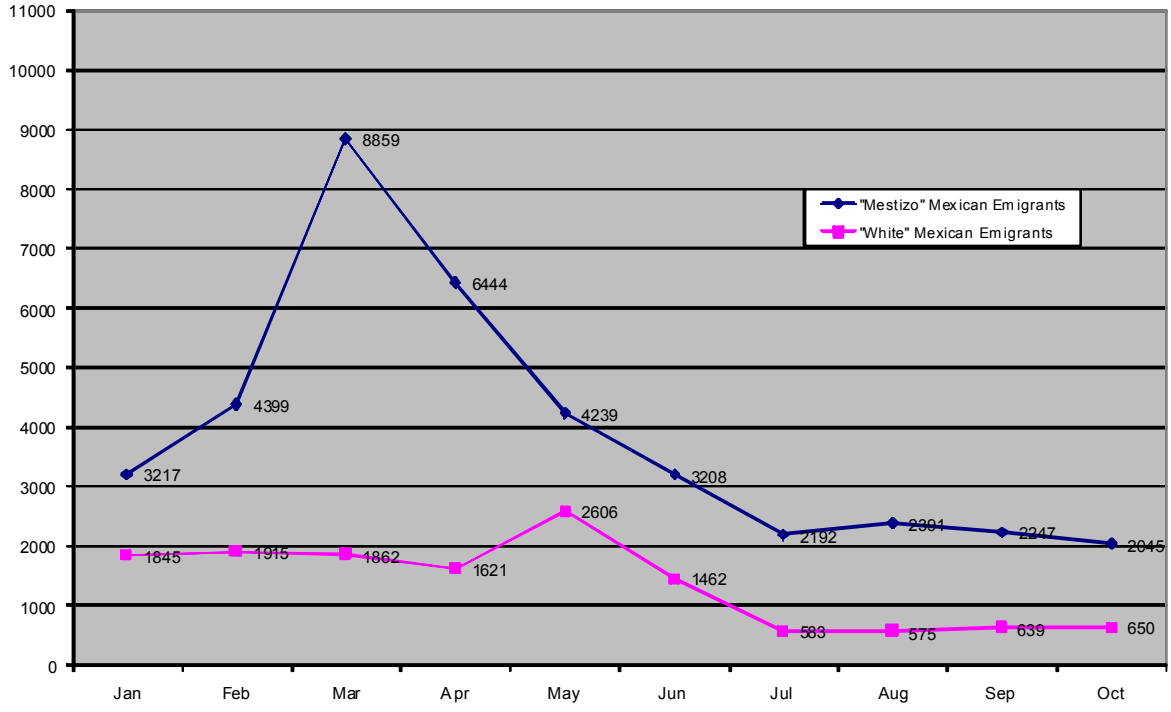
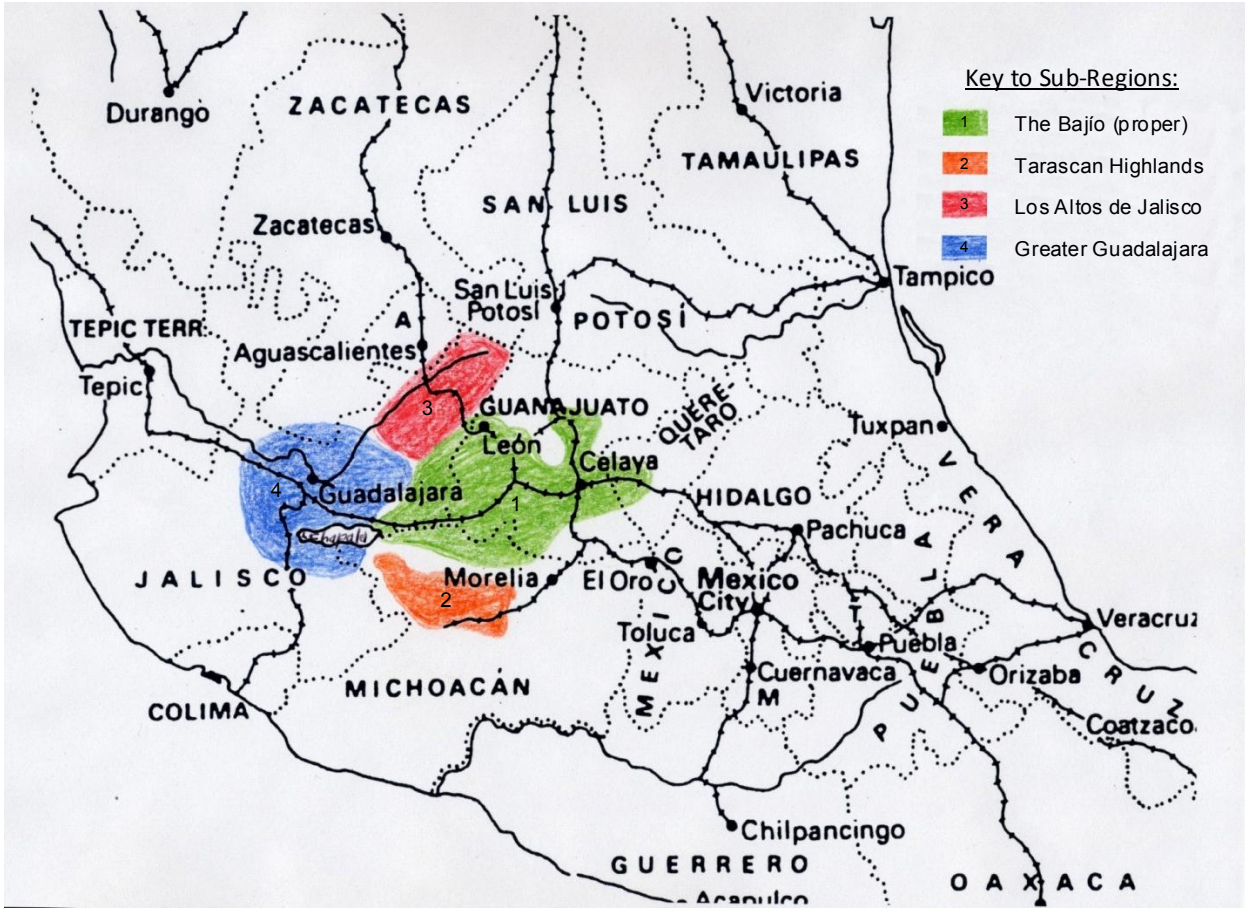


Figure 2.3: Mestizo and White Mexican Emigrants to the U.S., by Month (1924)



Taken together, these early 20th century statistical sources, combined with the ethnographic interviews conducted in Chicago during the 1920's, strongly suggest that Mexican immigrants to the Chicago-Calumet region had a higher proportion of indigenous and racially mixed persons than immigrants to other parts of the U.S., and had a great deal of phenotypical diversity overall. Moreover, this feature appears to have been a result of the unique preponderance of greater Bajío immigrants within the Chicago region's Mexican migration stream. A longer historical view of the greater Bajío region itself supports and expands upon these findings by revealing a migration sending region with great racial diversity and a long history of internal mobility and racial mixture. This diversity and history can best be assessed by looking at the sub-regions within the greater Bajío itself. The following analysis therefore begins by examining the Bajío proper, and then moves to discussions of its neighboring sub-regions: the greater Guadalajara region, the indigenous Tarascan highlands of Michoacán, the *ranchero*-white mountainous settlements of Los Altos de Jalisco, and the bordering regions between these areas (most especially around Lake Chapala in northwest Michoacán). (See Map 2.1)

Map 2.1: The Greater Bajío Region in West-Central Mexico, showing Sub-Regions and Railroad Lines (circa 1910)[33]



The racial diversity of the greater Bajío region was produced by a long and dynamic history of agricultural and economic growth, immigration, and mobility. At the time of the Conquest, the Bajío proper was inhabited primarily by nomadic Chichiméc Indians who resisted integration or capture by the Spanish, and were eventually either killed or driven north, leaving a vacuum for labor in a region well-suited for agricultural development. For centuries the land's fertility was relatively untapped, but in the late colonial period agricultural production in the Bajío expanded to support a resuscitated mining economy centered around the city of Guanajuato, in

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[33] Map adapted from Leslie Bethell, ed., *Mexico Since Independence* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1991).

the mountains along the northern rim of the Bajío. By the late 18th and early 19th century, observers described the vast valley of the Bajío as a veritable bread basket, providing food for Guanajuato, other mining cities to the North, and the greater region as a whole. Labor to support this agricultural boom in the Bajío (and to support mining itself in Guanajuato) was provided substantially by immigrant "Indians," who in most cases were Tarascans from present-day Michoacán, but also included Otomí and Azteca migrants from central Mexico. Free and enslaved mulattos supplemented this new labor source, along with a small number of pre-Conquest Tarascan communities along the Lerma River basin in the heart of the Bajío. In many cases, the new Indian migrants to the region formed their own communities in the lowlands, particularly near haciendas or in other agricultural zones of the Bajío. Thus, despite their later non-Indian self-identities, towns in present-day Guanajuato such as Acámbaro, Pénjamo, and Celaya began as Indian communities, or quickly became substantially Indian following their 16th-century founding as Spanish towns.[34]

By the late 18th century, then, the Bajío proper was a substantially Indian and mestizo region, even though it lay outside the traditionally recognized Tarascan area of central Michoacán. By 1792, for example, the intendancy of Guanajuato (corresponding roughly to the present-day state of Guanajuato), was 44.2% Indian, only 26.1% "Spaniard" (which here and in the figures that follow refers to both Spaniards and persons of reportedly "pure" Spanish descent), 18.2% mulatto, and 11.5% *casta* (various *mestizo* and mulatto-*mestizo* mixes). Moreover, historian David Brading has concluded that the "Spaniard" total here likely included many "mixed" persons with some Indian and/or African ancestry.[35] Urban regions within the Bajío showed even greater signs of an increasingly mixed population. In the region surrounding and including León – a city which currently lacks any publicly-recognized indigenous identity – both the Spanish and Indian

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[34] David Brading, *Haciendas and Ranchos in the Mexican Bajío: Leon, 1700–1860*, Cambridge Latin American Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1978) 15.

[35] David Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810*, Cambridge Latin American Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1971) 227.

presence were less than in Guanajuato as a whole, while the mixed, or *casta*, category was greater. In 1781 the parish population for León (encompassing León as well as surrounding towns), was only 17% Spanish, 49% *casta* (which included mulattos), and 34% Indian. Furthermore, over half of the parish's "Indian" population was centered in two legally-constituted Indian villages that rimmed the town of León, providing the town with labor and goods. The town of León itself was therefore less indigenous but even more mixed – only 7% Indian, but 64% *casta* and 29% Spanish. Overall then, the parish had a greater *mestizo* and mulatto population than Guanajuato as a whole, while the Indian population was concentrated in two villages and at the same time fairly well integrated with Spaniards and *castas* in the smaller settlements of the countryside.[36]

However, in contrast to the Valley of Mexico, the economic growth and large-scale internal migration within the Bajío discouraged the linguistic and cultural persistence of indigenous identities, even in populations that were predominantly Indian in biological terms. Instead, the 18th-century growth and movement within the region encouraged a high degree of cultural mixture and intermarriage between Spaniards, *criollos*, Indians, mestizos, and mulattos. Moreover, Indian communities formed from migrant populations generally lacked the legal and historic access to communal land that helped retain indigenous identity and cultural practices in historically indigenous areas like the Tarascan highlands of Michoacán.[37] As a result, many Indian communities in the Bajío itself gradually lost their indigenous cultural identity, even in the 18th century.[38]

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[36] In the remaining haciendas and small towns of León's countryside, a more balanced but highly mestizo and mulatto pattern was apparent, with 59% of the rural population being *casta*, 23% Indian, and the remaining 18% Spanish. Brading, *Haciendas and Ranchos in the Mexican Bajío: Leon, 1700–1860*, 41.

[37] See especially Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810*, 227.

[38] Brading, *Haciendas and Ranchos in the Mexican Bajío: Leon, 1700–1860*, 13–18, 39–47; Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810*, especially the Introduction; Chapter 6 (The Bajío); and Chapter 7 (A Census).

This transformation occurred quite rapidly in some parts of Guanajuato, and corresponded with the region's greatest period of economic and population growth. Whereas in 1746 one observer noted large Tarascan and Otomí populations in the Bajío towns of Marfil, Silao, and Irapuato, by 1779 Guanajuato's hospital for these tribes was no longer being used, as the two tribes had "merged with the *lobos* (a mixture of Indian and negro) and the mulattoes."[39] By 1781, a municipal edict by the acting magistrate of Guanajuato revealed the extent of acculturation and intermixing taking place. Although ultimately reversed, the edict forbade Indians from wearing European dress – not only because doing so encouraged them to think they were equal to mestizos and mulattos, but more importantly because "otherwise it was difficult to find them for taxation." The edict reveals that by manner of speech, cultural practices, and even physical appearance, "Indians" were no longer distinct from the rest of the population, which was predominantly of a mixed racial background.[40]

By the 20th century, none of the Bajío was recognized as indigenous in popular thinking, and no significant number of people spoke indigenous languages there or in Jalisco. Clearly, however, the people of the Bajío had a significant indigenous heritage and genealogy, and some of this was recognized by Bajío residents, even if only in terms of a general *mestizo* identity. Crispín Arroyo, the Mexican immigrant featured at the beginning of this chapter who migrated from the Bajío town of Tarimoro, Guanajuato, stated as much to U.S. officials in 1930. When asked during his registry hearing "of what race are you a descendant on both your parents' sides?" Crispín answered "My mother and father are both of the Mexican mixed race."[41]

To the west of the Bajío proper, the Guadalajara region experienced a period of economic growth and regional integration during the 18th century that paralleled that of the Bajío, but was

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[39] Quote from a 1785 sale of Jesuit property, cited in Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810*, 228–29.

[40] Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810*, 229.

[41] "Report of Hearing of an Application for Registry, under Act of March 2, 1929, in the case of Crispin Arroyo," January 8, 1930 (p.2), in Registry File R-1811 (Crispín Arroyo), USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007812).

qualitatively different. To begin with, as historian Eric Van Young has described, the Guadalajara region at the time of the Conquest already had "a dense if unevenly distributed Indian population,"[42] unlike the Bajío proper. Even by the late 18th century, Van Young estimates that the proportion of Indians within the Guadalajara region as a whole was likely on the order of one-half, higher than in the Intendancy of Guanajuato (the Bajío) during the same period. Moreover, as in the city of Guanajuato, mulattos comprised a significant portion of Guadalajara's city population: nearly a third in 1777.[43] Therefore, as economic growth came to the greater Guadalajara region in the 18th century, a labor force was already present and growing (indeed, Van Young argues that the two developments were intrinsically linked). However, unlike the Tarascan communities of Michoacán, the Indian communities of the Guadalajara region failed to persist as a homogeneous indigenous region after the 18th century. This failure resulted from a combination of factors: the breakdown of Indian communities' property regimes, the ethnic diversity of the Indian region as a whole, and a subsequent Spanish and mestizo migration to the region during the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, individual Indian communities did survive, if not prosper, while a sizable surplus Indian population moved out of the Indian towns and provided labor on the region's large estates.[44] Thus, while the Guadalajara region had lost a popularly perceived indigenous identity by the end of the 19th century, significant sectors of the population retained a substantial indigenous ancestry, even into the 20th century. In short, by the dawn of the modern period of emigration to the U.S., the Guadalajara region had a racially diverse population with significant Indian ancestry.

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[42] Although the population was not as dense, ethnically homogeneous, complex, nor as technically developed as the Aztecs or Tarascans, it was nonetheless a sedentary population consisted of a mix of indigenous ethnic groups, predominantly Nahua-speaking (as were the Aztecs), but politically independent from either the Aztecs or the nearer Tarascans. Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675–1820* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1981), 7 (quote), 16-18.

[43] The mulatto population slipped to one-fourth in 1793, likely the result of intermarriage.

[44] Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*, especially 6-7, 16-18, 38-39, and Chapter 12, "Population Pressure in the Countryside," 273-93, which deals exclusively with Indian communities in the Guadalajara region.

When Mexicans began migrating to the Chicago-Calumet region from the greater Bajío area, the Tarascan highlands of central Michoacán along the southern rim of the Bajío still retained a significant number of indigenous Tarascan (or Purépecha) communities. Many of these communities claimed land rights under Mexico's agrarian reform as *comunidades indígenas*, even though a good number of them were substantially bilingual (Spanish-Purépecha). Other towns in this region, oftentimes adjacent to the communities identified as indigenous, have been considered by anthropologists to be truly *mestizo* – that is, racially, linguistically, and culturally "mixed."[45]

Northwestern Michoacán and large portions of Jalisco and Guanajuato, on the other hand, included communities of small-holding farm owners, commonly referred to as rancheros, who have been widely identified in scholarship and popular Mexican culture as racially white. The mountainous Los Altos region of northeastern Jalisco, a major sending area of Mexicans to the Chicago-Calumet region, is stereotypically viewed as ranchero and white, so much so that early accounts of the 1920's Cristero Rebellion often began with descriptions of the "blue eyed" *cristeros* of Jalisco taking up arms – attributing both their blue eyes and their support for the rebellion to the region's supposed French Catholic ancestry, traced to the French intervention of the 1860's.[46] Regardless of the validity of such claims to French ancestry, the "white" identity of

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[45] The principal Tarascan area of central and northern Michoacán, as perceived by Mexican anthropologists in 1940, is depicted cartographically in Basauri, *La Población Indígena de México*, Vol. I, 168–69. Prominent works on indigenous and mestizo communities in the Tarascan area of Michoacán, including communities that identified themselves as indigenous during the agrarian reform, are: Ralph Beals, *Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946); George M. Foster, *Empire's Children: The People of Tzintzuntzan* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1948); George M. Foster, *Tzintzuntzan: Mexican Peasants in a Changing World* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967); Paul Friedrich, *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977); Paul Friedrich, *The Princes of Naranja: An Essay in Anthrohistorical Method* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986); Robert C. West, *Cultural Geography of the Modern Tarascan Area* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1948); Jennie Purnell, *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico: The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke UP, 1999); Luis Alfonso Ramírez C., *Chilchota, un Pueblo al Pie de la Sierra: Integración Regional y Cambio Económico en Noroeste de Michoacán* (Zamora and Morelia, Michoacán (Mexico): Colegio de Michoacán; Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán, 1986); Moíses Franco Mendoza, *La Ley y la Costumbre en la Cañada de los Once Pueblos* (Zamora, Michoacán (Mexico): El Colegio de Michoacán, 1997).

[46] On "blue eyed" cristero accounts, see Purnell, *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico: The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán*. The precise meaning of the term "ranchero" has long been somewhat ambiguous. It has most generally been used in Mexican scholarship to refer to small landowners, a type

Los Altos, and even Jalisco as a whole, has been consistently confirmed in both popular perception and academic scholarship. As Ann Craig noted in her study of *agraristas* in the Los Altos region, "many present-day Alteños are (compared to Mexicans in the capital and in the southern states) taller, with fairer complexions and lighter eyes; they have few Indian features. These physical traits are very important elements in the Alteños' image of themselves and in the popular characterization of them. This is especially true of the upper class, whose self-image as a well-bred local aristocracy is reinforced by reference to their predominately European ancestry."[47]

Around the Lake Chapala region, however, *ranchero*-white communities occasionally neighbored older towns that the *rancheros* labelled "Indian" (Lake Chapala is between Michoacán and Jalisco in northwest Michoacán; see Map 2.1 above). Claims to the indigenous character of these towns were not without basis, even though the residents of these towns usually spoke Spanish. Economic growth in the Bajío had for centuries drawn Indians from the more mountainous Tarascan regions of central Michoacán into the Bajío, particularly around Lake Chapala. Over the years, competing land claims between these "Indian" communities and their

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of rural middle-class, or even "peasant" middle class. One major use of the term, however, has been in referring to "farmers of predominately Spanish descent in the state of Jalisco," as noted by Schryer in the introduction to his work on rancheros in Hidalgo. Frans J. Schryer, *The Rancheros of Pisaflores: The History of a Peasant Bourgeoisie in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980) 6.

[47] Ann L. Craig, *The First Agraristas: An Oral History of a Mexican Reform Movement* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1983) 25. Craig's husband Wayne Cornelius, who also spent significant time conducting field research in Los Altos, recalls that major cities in the region like Lagos de Moreno had a very high proportion of persons who looked "white" to North American standards (with families claiming a traceable lineage to Spain), while people were relatively darker-skinned in far-flung rural areas, but were still by no means Indian in appearance or self-conception (conversation with author). Decades earlier, Paul Taylor made clear his perception of Los Altos as white in the title to his work on Arandas, in which he referred to Arandas as a "Spanish-Mexican" community: Paul S. Taylor, *A Spanish-Mexican Peasant Community: Arandas in Jalisco, Mexico*, Ibero-Americana (Berkeley: U of California P, 1933).

Ranchero communities who self identify as Spanish or white have also existed in the Lake Chapala region of northwestern Michoacán and eastern Jalisco. See Purnell, *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico: The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán*; Luis González, *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974); Patricia Arias, *Los Vecinos de la Sierra: Microhistoria de Pueblo Nuevo*, Colección Documentos para la Historia de Jalisco (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, Centre d'Etudes Mexicaines et Centreamericaines, 1996); Marcia Farr, *Rancheros in Chicagoacán: Language and Identity in a Transnational Community* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006).

ranchero neighbors only strengthened the perception of racial difference between such communities.[48] Moreover, portions of Jalisco and Guanajuato had indigenous roots from earlier times, and as late as 1940 Mexican anthropologists continued to consider small portions of Jalisco and Guanajuato (likely near Lakes Chapala and Cuitzeo, respectively) as part of the Tarascan region.[49] Although these indigenous roots were not necessarily part of these communities' self-conception in the 1920's, the indigenous history of these areas suggests that they remained racially (and phenotypically) mestizo in the 1920's, even if they were culturally "Hispanic" or non-Indian "Mexican."

The same forces that led to racial diversity in the greater Bajío – that is, a long and dynamic history of interrelated agricultural and economic growth, *im*migration, and mobility within the region – created conditions favoring emigration in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The population of the Bajío grew rapidly during the late colonial period. By the 1790's, the population of the Intendancy of Guanajuato was 155% of what it had been in 1740, while some Bajío parishes recorded a quintupling of population between 1700 and 1810.[50] Much of this growth was due to immigration (including the immigration of Indians, as seen above). Moreover, the region's subsequent history of rapid periods of economic and agricultural growth, interspersed by periods of pronounced stagnation, meant that the region's populace remained highly mobile. As a region, then, the greater Bajío had a very long history of migration and mobility by the dawn

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[48] See, for example, the conflict depicted between San José de Gracia and the "Indians" of Mazamitla in González, *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition.*

[49] Carlos Basauri wrote in 1940 that "The Tarascans occupy, in actuality, a large part of the state of Michoacán and small extensions of Guerrero, Guanajuato, and Jalisco," even though his map of the primary Tarascan area did not extend fully into Guanajuato or Jalisco. Basauri, *La Población Indígena de México*, Vol. I, 168–69 (map); Vol. III, p.531 (quote). The historic indigenous roots of Guanajuato are also highlighted in John Tutino, "The Revolution in Mexican Independence: Insurgency and the Renegotiation of Property, Production, and Patriarchy in the Bajio, 1800–1855," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 78.3 (Aug 1998): 367–418.

[50] Mark A. Burkholder and Suzanne Hiles, "An Empire Beyond Compare," *The Oxford History of Mexico*, eds Michael C. Meyer and William H. Beezley (New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000) 143.

of the 20th century, which would continue to influence the region's later migration patterns. Indeed, as recent scholarship has shown, high levels of internal migration in the greater Bajío region at the turn of the 20th century were an important precursor to the mass migrations northward in subsequent decades.[51]

Just as the history of internal migration within Mexico prefaced the large-scale migration of Mexicans to the United States, individual Mexicans' migration histories often reveal considerable migration within Mexico prior to their later migration to the North. A detailed example is the case of Melquiades Aguado and his family, whose internal migration patterns in Mexico can be gleaned from the changing birthplaces of the family's children. In October 1926, Melquiades entered the U.S. with his family at Laredo, destined for Chicago. Melquiades was returning to the U.S. with his family, for his border admission card listed Chicago as his previous residence. He had been born in Puruándiro, Michoacán, which was the center from which the family's migrations began at least twenty years earlier, likely influenced by the events of the Mexican Revolution. In 1908, one of the family's oldest daughters, Torivia, was born in the city of Celaya, Guanajuato, suggesting that the family made a significant rural to urban migration sometime at the beginning of the century. In 1914, however, a child was born in the small village of Serano, Guanajuato, much closer to Melquiades's birthplace in Puruándiro, but still outside Michoacán. In 1919 daughter Rosaria was born back in Puruándiro, while two years later another daughter was born in the nearby village, Villa de Morelos. One more child was born in Puruándiro in 1924, two years before the whole family headed to Chicago, suggesting that Melquiades had left for the North shortly thereafter, or had gone earlier and made one or more return trips to his family in Mexico (which was itself quite mobile). Two of the daughters, Maria Trinidad and Torivia, remained in the U.S. after 1940, as Maria applied for her first citizenship

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[51] Alvaro Ochoa and Alfredo Uribe, *Emigrantes del Oeste* (México, D.F.: Dirección General de Publicaciones del Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1990); Thomas Calvo and Gustavo López, coords, *Movimientos de Población en el Occidente de México* (Zamora, Michoacán and México, D.F.: Colegio de Michoacán; Centre d'études mexicaines et centraméricaines, 1988); Jorge Durand and Patricia Arias, *La Experiencia Migrante: Iconografía de la Migración México-Estados Unidos* ((Mexico): Altexto, 2000).

papers in 1941, and Torivia applied to the INS District Director in Chicago for a border crossing card in 1951.[52] Thus, even thirty years later, the Aguado family's children continued the patterns of movement that had predated their father's first trip to the U.S.

. . . .

The long history of mobility within the greater Bajío primed Mexican migration to Chicago, for although Chicago was far removed from the Bajío, it was directly connected by rail lines that allowed Mexicans to deftly respond to the shifting industrial needs of the urban North. Mexicans first arrived in the Chicago-Calumet region during the World War I period, when industry in the region was thriving and immigration from Europe had been cut off by the war. Due to the consequent need for labor, a few industries in the region began recruiting Mexican labor from Texas, where Mexican immigration was already well-established, providing a convenient labor pool for recruiters offering higher industrial wages. This pattern of Mexicans migrating to Chicago after first working elsewhere in the U.S. (often following highly circuitous and very mobile routes) would continue throughout the 1920's, even after Chicago industries stopped needing to recruit Mexicans in Texas.[53] A few steel plants and railroads in the Chicago-Calumet region were the initial instigators of Mexican migration from Texas and the Southwest, and railroads remained the dominant employer in the Chicago-Calumet region until 1920.[54] The summer employment of Mexicans in sugar beet harvesting in the upper Midwest increasingly

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[52] All of the information in this paragraph is taken from the Aguado family's border admission manifests, initially filled out by U.S. immigration officials when the family crossed the border in 1926. See manifests for Melquiades, Consuelo, Domitilia, Maria Trinidad, Rosaria, and Torivia Aguado (manifest #'s 8001, 8004, 8007, 8008, 8005, and 8003), all dated 1926, Laredo, Texas Alien Admission Manifest Records (1903-1929), Reel 1, Unpublished Microfilm Accessions of the INS, Record Group 85 (Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service), National Archives, Washington, DC. Maria Trinidad and Torivia's cards were subsequently annotated with further information when immigration and naturalization officials consulted them for the daughters' later applications.

[53] By the resuscitated economic boom of 1922, industries in the Chicago-Calumet region generally found that it was no longer to recruit Mexicans elsewhere in the U.S., as Mexicans had already established their own routes to, and labor pool in, the Chicago-Calumet region.

[54] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region* 32, 39 (Tables 2 & 4).

provided another migration stream into the region as well. From these initial streams, Mexicans eventually spread into other industries in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary.[55] The 1919 steel strike and 1921 packing-house strike helped redistribute Mexicans already in the region - some Mexican workers left with the strikers while others were brought in as strikebreakers from the region's railroad camps. Several industries, including a tannery, also brought Mexicans in from other North American sites as strikebreakers. Nonetheless, only thirteen hundred Mexicans remained in Chicago at the time of the 1920 census, with less than six hundred living in East Chicago and Gary.

In 1920, however, the number of Mexicans working in railroads as well as other industries began expanding dramatically. This growth of Mexican workers was encouraged by restricted European immigration – first in 1920, and then more effectively in 1924. The recession of 1921 temporarily dispersed some Mexicans from the Chicago-Calumet region, but by 1922 the employment of Mexicans had recovered completely and was growing rapidly once again. With the combination of more effective European immigration restriction in 1924, resuscitated economic growth, and the inroads Mexicans had already made into a number of different industrial employments, the Mexican population in the Chicago-Calumet region boomed through the late 1920's. The dominant jobs which Mexicans worked remained "unskilled" steel and meat packing positions, as well as maintenance of way (track) labor in the region's railroad yards. By 1930, after the Mexican population had decreased slightly due to the onset of the Depression, the census registered nearly twenty thousand Mexicans in Chicago and almost half as many in East Chicago and Gary (see Figures 2.4 & 2.5 on Mexican employment and population growth). Proportionally, Mexicans represented less than 1% of Chicago's overall population by the end of

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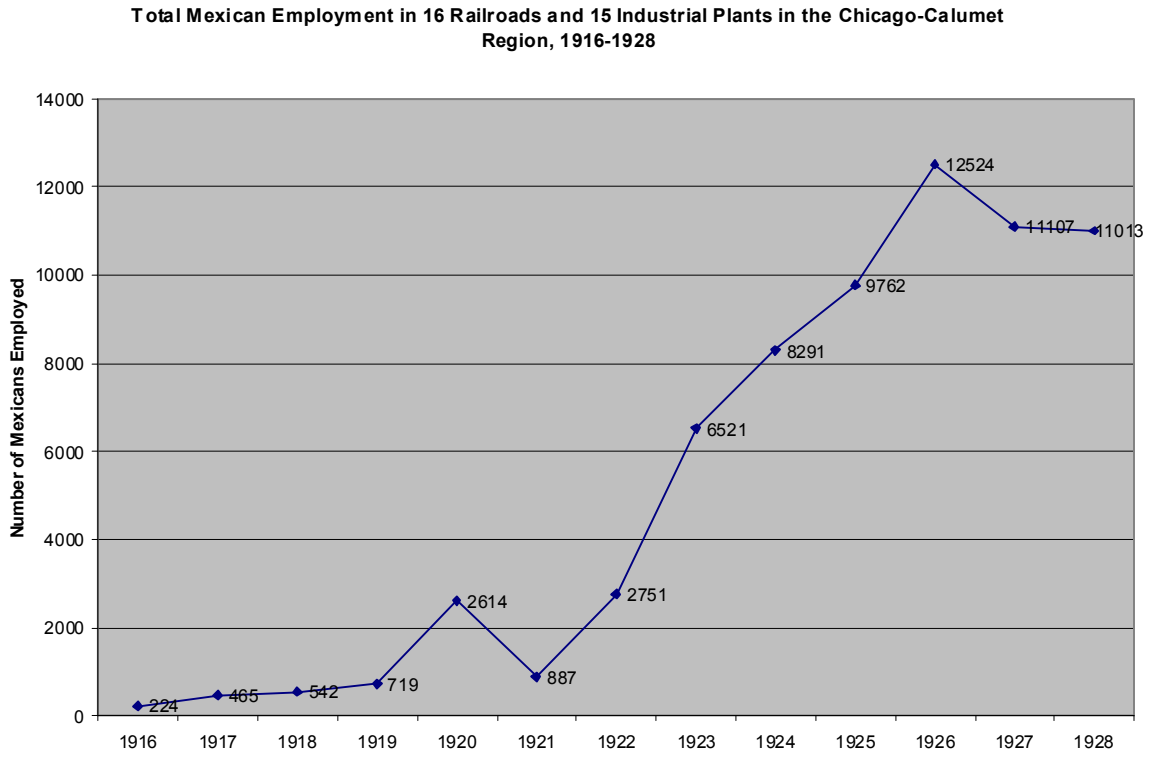
[55] This process was summarized by Paul Taylor, who stated that Mexican migration was a war and post-war movement, with "railroads and the steel plants stimulating the flow and acting as its principal channels. From these railroads and steel plants, Mexican laborers dispersed to other railroads and steel plants, and to other industries, particularly meat-packing." Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 41, and 27-48 more generally.

the 1920's, but roughly 5% of Gary's population, and 10% of the population of East Chicago – the only city in the region where Mexicans were as numerous as African-Americans.[56]

Figure 2.4



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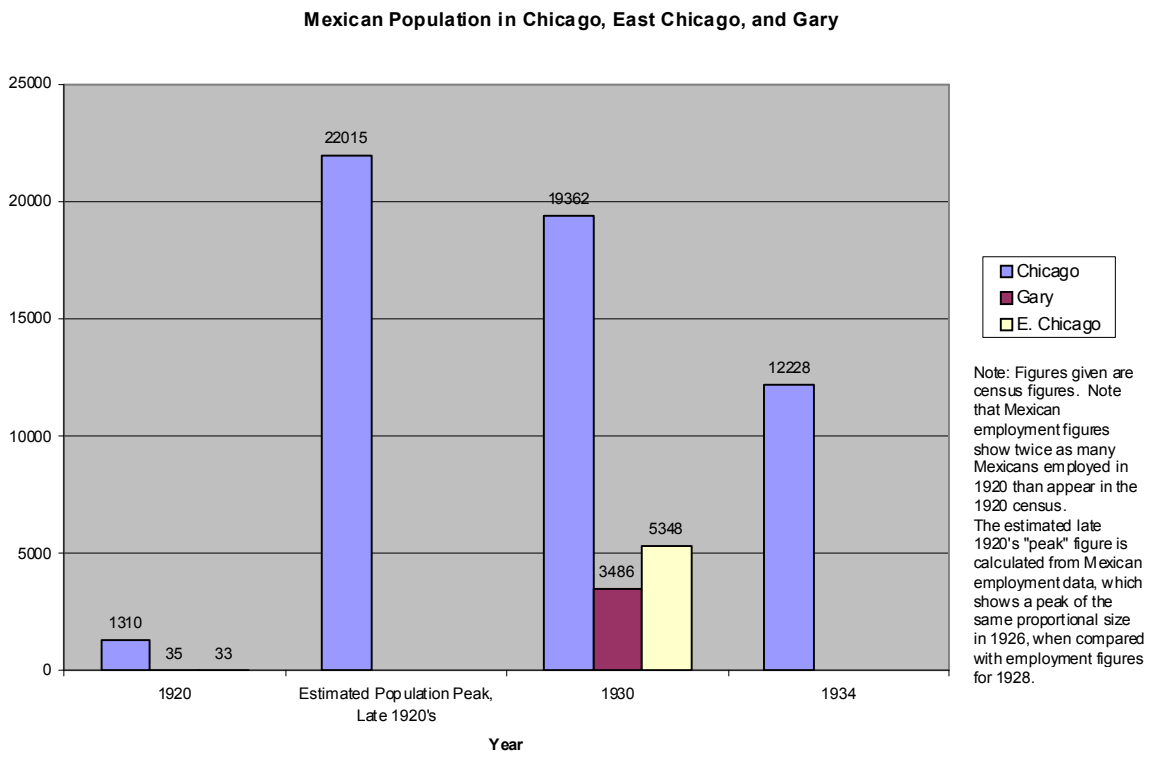
[56] 1930 census figures, as cited in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 53.

Figure 2.5



The demand for industrial labor in the region generally targeted and attracted Mexican men, though beet growers in the upper Midwest wanted entire Mexican families, and many Mexican railroad workers desired to have their families with them (as did railroad companies who found that this encouraged their Mexican workers to stay on the job longer). Moreover, as Mexican men gained steadier work more wives and family members came North to join them. Nonetheless, as late as 1930 when the ratio of Mexican men to Mexican women had begun to stabilize, Mexican men in the Chicago-Calumet region still outnumbered women by two to one or more, a ratio far higher than nearly all other regions of Mexican settlement in the United States at that time.[57]

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[57] The sex ratio of the Mexican population in Chicago was 210 men for every 100 women, in East Chicago it was 199 men to 100 women, and in Gary, the ratio was the highest, 274 to 100. These ratios were among the highest in the United States among Mexican-origin populations. Only Detroit had a higher male-to-female ratio than the Chicago-Calumet region. In Texas, the Southwest, and California, sex ratios ranged from a shortage of males in El Paso (80:100) and other places; to relatively even sex ratios in places like San Diego, Tucson, Phoenix, and Los Angeles; to a slight preponderance of males in other cities like San Franciso and Dallas (122 to 100). See 1930

The areas where Mexicans settled in the Chicago-Calumet region corresponded roughly with the types of employment that they obtained.[58] During the 1920's, Mexicans settled in five basic areas within the Chicago-Calumet region: Gary's "central district"; the industrial section of East Chicago known as "Indiana Harbor"; the southeast Chicago neighborhoods of South Chicago and South Deering ("Irondale"); Chicago's Back of the Yards neighborhood; and Chicago's Near West Side (surrounding Hull House) (see the "Index Map" and neighborhood maps in Appendix M-2 for the locations of these areas). The settlements in Gary, East Chicago, South Chicago, and South Deering were all associated with local steel mills and related industries, while the settlement in Back of the Yards was linked to employment in local packinghouses. Mexicans living on the Near West Side were less attached to any particular industry, though a significant number of these Mexicans worked in nearby railroad yards (the Near West Side also included some of the most transient Mexican workers, who wintered in Chicago after harvesting beets and performing other seasonal agricultural labor throughout the Midwest). In addition to the five basic areas outlined above, a smaller number of Mexicans also lived in a few "satellite" areas, such as Brighton Park west of the stockyards; and in company-furnished housing on railroad yards within the Chicago city limits and throughout the larger metropolitan region. In many of these yards, Mexicans lived in refurbished boxcars commonly known as "boxcar camps."[59]

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census statistics cited in F. Arturo Rosales, *Pobre Raza: Violence, Justice, and Mobilization Among México Lindo Immigrants, 1900–1936* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999) 57.

[58] The fact that Mexicans obtained housing near sources of employment has often been used as evidence that Mexicans were not segregated. See Thomas Lee Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago, 1880–1930* (New York: Oxford UP, 1978) 144, who states in sweeping terms that "Wherever Mexicans found jobs, they were able to make homes." However, Philpott makes this claim solely on the basis of a single University of Chicago student's study conducted in the early 1930's. This dissertation shows that the Mexicans' quest for housing was much more contested than Philpott suggests.

[59] This paragraph is based on Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 53-61. See also Anita Edgar Jones, *Conditions Surrounding Mexicans in Chicago*, [reprint of University of Chicago Master's Thesis (Social Service Administration), 1928] (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1971); and the relevant chapters in James B. Lane and Edward J. Escobar, eds, *Forging a Community: The Latino Experience in Northwest Indiana, 1919–1975* (Chicago: Cattails Press and Calumet Regional Archives, 1987).

The role of railroads in Mexican migration to the Chicago area was crucial, and stemmed from the rapid development of railroads south of the border in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1876, Mexico had only 400 miles of railroad track, with the country's only major line running between Mexico City and the Gulf Coast port of Vera Cruz. By 1910, Mexico's railroads had expanded dramatically, stretching over 15,000 miles and linking the greater Bajío region with numerous U.S. border points, as well as the U.S.'s vast network of railroads beyond. As seen on Map 2.2 below, by the 1910's two major trunk lines – the "Central" and the "National" – linked the greater Bajío and much of Mexico with the U.S.-Mexican border. Both trunk lines paralleled one another through the greater Bajío region, which was itself internally linked by an expanded regional railroad grid. While Mexico's Central Line ran north and west to El Paso (and beyond to the U.S. Southwest), the Mexican National Line ran north and east to Laredo. Laredo, in turn, was directly connected to a major U.S. railroad hub at San Antonio, Texas. From there, U.S. trunk lines ran north through the Dallas / Fort Worth hub and on to Kansas City, Memphis, Chicago, and the upper Midwest.[60] By 1910, in other words, the National Line's service through Laredo provided vast portions of the greater Bajío with unbroken rail connections all the way to Chicago and beyond. Unsurprisingly, the majority of Mexicans living in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary during the 1920's had crossed the border at Laredo.[61] (See Map 2.2 below, as well as the Bajío region's railroad lines in Map 2.1.)

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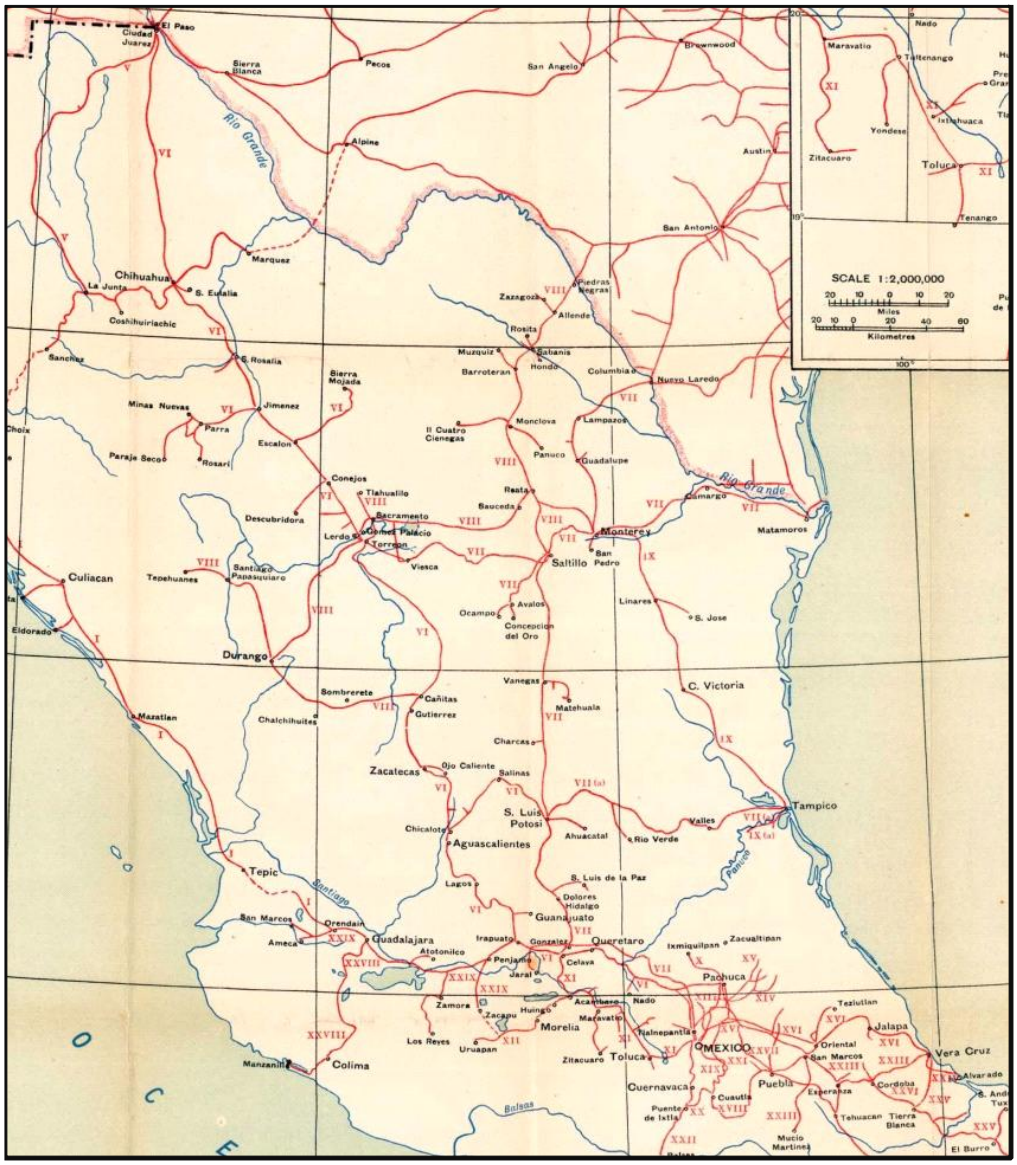
[60] Wasserman, *Everyday Life and Politics in Nineteenth Century Mexico: Men, Women, and War* 171, 173; Lawrence A. Cardoso, *Mexican Emigration to the United States 1897–1931: Socio-Economic Patterns* (Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1980) 13–17; Friedrich Katz, "The Liberal Republic and the Porfiriato, 1867–1910," *Mexico Since Independence*, Ed. Leslie Bethell (New York: Cambridge UP, 1991) 73; Robert M. and French Buffington, William E., "The Culture of Modernity," *The Oxford History of Mexico*, eds Michael C. Meyer and William H. Beezley (New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000) 416.

[61] Jones, *Conditions Surrounding Mexicans in Chicago*, 37. Additionally, in 1931 and 1932, the repatriation of Mexicans reported by the Mexican consulate in Chicago overwhelmingly showed them being sent back to Nuevo Laredo (across the border from Laredo), for departure to their home towns. See file IV-343-41, Archivo Genaro Estrada, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City. Laredo's dominance as a port of entry is also apparent in various personal migration stories, most notably those found in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*; Robert Redfield, "The Mexicans in Chicago - Journal," Box 59, Folder 2, Robert Redfield Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections; and especially the INS's case files on Mexican immigrants in the Chicago-Calumet region (cited throughout this chapter).

Map 2.2: Mexican Railroad Lines and U.S. Connections, 1919

(Courtesy of the Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin)[62]



Equally as important, railroads provided an important link in migrants' employment chain to the Chicago-Calumet region. One observer in 1918 remarked with surprise that Mexican

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[62] The full-sized version of this map originally appeared in Naval Intelligence Division (Great Britain), *A Handbook of Mexico* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1919).

laborers had suddenly appeared "all along the railroads from Chicago to Texas."[63] Indeed, many Mexicans who came to the Chicago-Calumet region arrived as a result of railroad work, subsequently finding work in the region's other, better-paying industries. During the 1920's, Mexican migrants from Arandas, Jalisco, typically worked in the U.S. first as track laborers and in round houses, and then later in steel and other industrial plants, often in the Chicago-Calumet region.[64]

Not surprisingly, then, Mexicans quickly became the dominant group of railroad track laborers in the Chicago region during the 1920's, before their numbers had reached such a proportion in other industries (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Numbers and Percentages of Mexicans Employed in Track Labor on Chicago-Calumet Region Railroads, 1923-1928[65]

Year	*# Mexicans Employed*	*Mexicans as % of all Maintenance of Way Employees*
1923	2,181	21.9%
1924	2,978	31.3%
1925	3,710	29.9%
1926	5,255	40.5%
1927	4,284	41.8%
1928	3,963	42.9%

On individual railroad lines, Mexicans were even more dominant in maintenance of way work. Mexicans represented 75% of all workers on the Indiana Harbor Belt Railroad by 1924; 73% of workers on the Rock Island and Pacific in 1925; 63% of workers on the Pennsylvania in 1926; and 80% of workers on the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy by 1928.[66] By comparison, Mexicans' overall representation in the 15 major industrial plants that employed Mexicans during the 1920's hovered at or just above 10% throughout the 1920's, though steel plants on the whole

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[63] Francis C. Kelley, director of the Catholic Church Extension Society (Chicago) to Archbishop George W. Mundelein, December 18, 1918; in File 5 1918 M280, Madaj Collection, Archives of the Archdiocese of Chicago.

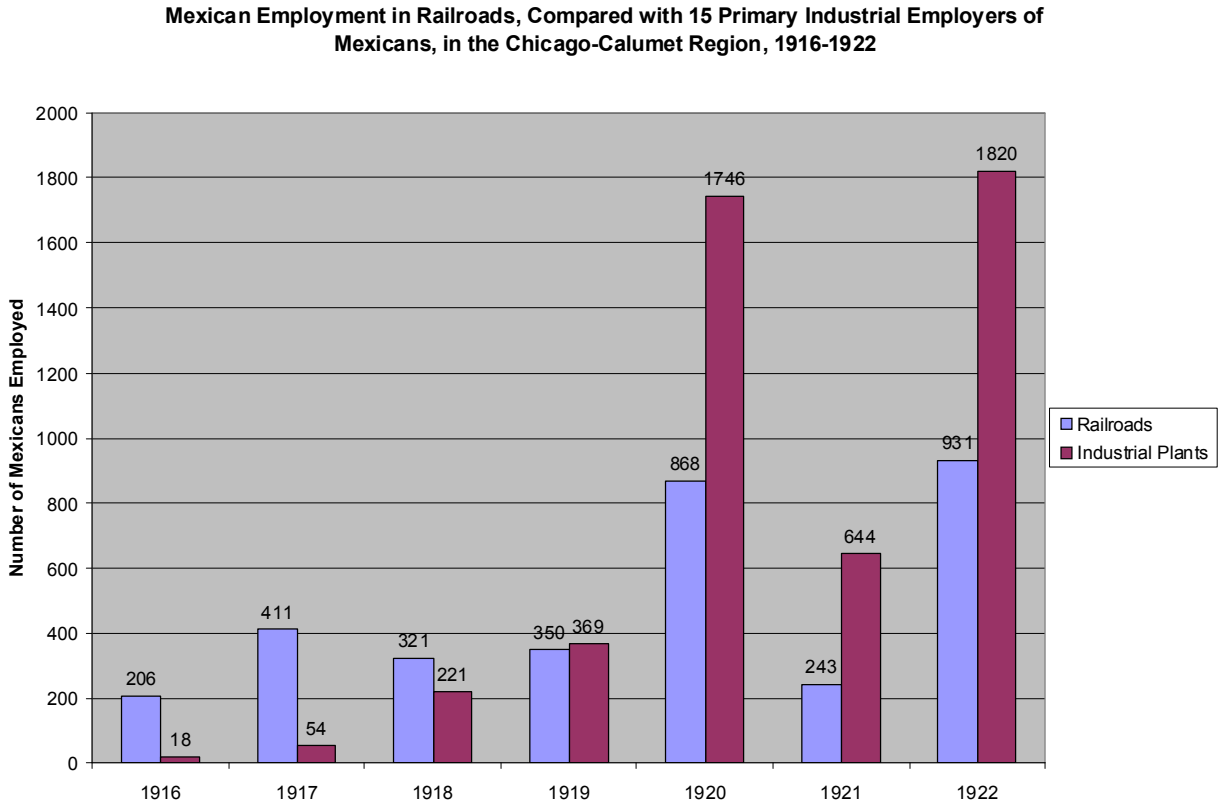
[64] Taylor, *Arandas*, 41.

[65] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 32 (Table 2).

[66] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 29-31 (Table 1).

employed a slightly greater percentage of Mexicans, and packing plants employed a lower percentage. Mexicans made up 12% to 20% of South Chicago's steel plant workers by the late 1920's, and nearly 35% of East Chicago's Inland Steel work force in 1926.[67] In terms of overall numbers, industrial plants employed far more Mexicans than railroads by the late 1920's. In the late 1910's and early 1920's, however, railroads clearly provided Mexicans' entrée to industrial work in the region. Figure 2.6 below illustrates how railroad work predated other forms of industrial labor for Mexicans during this period. It was not until 1920 that Mexican employment in industrial plants clearly began outpacing Mexican employment on railroads. But even into the late 1920's, railroads continued to bring increasing numbers of Mexicans into the Chicago-Calumet region, providing an important labor pool for industrial plants to draw on.

Figure 2.6 [68]



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[67] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, Table 3 (pp.36-38) and Table 4 (p.39).

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Personal stories of Mexican migration to the Chicago-Calumet region provide a more dynamic picture of the ways that Mexicans' migration to the Chicago-Calumet region was marked by an enduring orientation toward Mexico, segmented and varied migration paths, the importance of Texas and railroad labor in those migration paths, and Mexicans' overall high levels of mobility. This high level of mobility was explained by a University of Chicago student in 1924 as deriving directly from Mexicans' enduring orientation toward Mexico. Based on his interviews with a number of Mexicans in their homes in Chicago, he concluded that "The great number of single young men will return home as soon as their spirit of wanderlust has diminished, because they have their families two to five days from Chicago, and also because they desire to return and form their own family circles. Those interviewed in this study want to learn something new and to see the world before they return to raise their status at home."[69]

In the account of one Mexican farmer and his family, who came from a small rancho near Zamora, Michoacán, the family's enduring orientation toward Mexico and the father's continued mobility are especially clear, as is the role of railroad's in the family's migration pattern. During the latter years of the Mexican Revolution, the family's father left for the United States, finding railroad work that ultimately took him to a Dodge City, Kansas roundhouse, where his family joined him. In 1921, he and his family returned to Michoacán, intent on making a life back home in Mexico. However, disturbances caused by Mexico's cristero rebellion caused him to return to the North alone in 1927, this time working at the steel mills in Gary, and sending money back to his family to support them and maintain their small property. Steel work likely provided the greatest income he had ever earned – his family received a $30 (U.S.) check every two weeks from his earnings. However, unlike the lower-paying work on railroads, work in the mills was not

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[68] Compiled from Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, Table 2 (p.32); Table 3 (pp.36-38); and Table 4 (p.39).

[69] Manuel Bueno, "The Mexican in Chicago" (student paper, spring 1924), p.4, in Box 188, Folder 4, Ernest W. Burgess Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

nearly as secure – another likely reason that his family remained in Michoacán when he went to Gary. The insecure nature of the employment reinforced his own sense of mobility. "We live here like birds in the air," he said. "As long as there is work in the steel mills, we stay; when work closes down, we are away to any place we can hear of steady work. We make more money in the mills and for that reason we stay as long as there is work."[70]

For Mexicans who came to the Chicago-Calumet region from Michoacán, Jalisco, and Guanajuato, mobility was generally a function of Mexicans' orientation toward Mexico, which caused their trips North to be temporary in nature. For example, one ranch laborer from Arandas, Jalisco, first went to the United States in 1922, worked as a track laborer in Colorado and Kansas for the summer season, and returned to Arandas the same year. This first trip was financed by a loan from a friend who had already travelled North. In 1924, he again went North to work as a track laborer, but this time a labor recruiter (enganchista) in Kansas City recruited him to work at a Chicago foundry. By the end of the year, however, he was again back in Arandas. He made yet another trip in 1926-1927, this time to work in oil refineries at Port Arthur, Texas before again returning home to Arandas, where he still owned a very small piece of land (1 acre), and worked as a laborer in the local rope-making economy.[71]

Other Mexicans made longer trips to the North that were nonetheless characterized by returns home and high levels mobility, usually facilitated by railroad work. Another man left Arandas for Northern track labor in 1917 on account of the instability caused by the latter phases of the Mexican Revolution. Like many Mexicans from the center-west, he first travelled to Fort Worth, Texas, where he worked in a roundhouse. After six years there, he returned to Arandas for two years, where he married. In 1925 he travelled with his family to California, where he worked for a year as a track laborer, and then two years in the citrus groves near Redlands. Finally, in July 1928, he and his family moved to Chicago, where he went to work with his

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[70] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 257.

[71] Taylor, *Arandas*, 42, 68–69.

brother-in-law at the Illinois Steel plant in South Chicago. He and his family remained there until the Depression, driving back to Arandas in July, 1931 in a car they had purchased during their stay in the United States.[72]

The migration history of José Anguiano, who ultimately became a lifetime steel worker in East Chicago, and later a U.S. citizen, most vividly portrays Mexicans' high levels of mobility – mobility that began in Mexico and often included substantial time in Texas and other parts of the U.S. before migration to Chicago. Anguiano was born in the small town of Silva, Guanajuato, about 7 kilometers outside of San Francisco del Rincón, a popular sending point within Guanajuato for migration to the Chicago-Calumet region during the 1920's.[73] Seven days before his eighteenth birthday, Anguiano entered the U.S. as a "temporary" immigrant at Laredo, Texas, listing Texas as his destination. His "last residence" was the northern Mexican city of Monterrey, the last major railroad stop on Mexico's National Line between the Bajío and Laredo, which

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[72] Taylor, *Arandas*, 69.

[73] The fact that he listed San Francisco del Rincón as his birthplace on many of his documents suggests that many other Mexicans who listed towns like San Francisco del Rincón as their birthplaces may well have come from smaller surrounding ranchos. Apparently Anguiano lived in San Francisco del Rincón as a young man, as his brothers later did (see footnote below regarding José's siblings). Anguiano listed Silva as his birthplace in most of his 1930's registrations and interviews with the INS, such as: Statement, José Anguiano, "In the matter of the application of Jose Anguiano, for a Permit to Reenter," enclosed with official letter from John G. Edmundson, Immigrant Inspector, to the Inspector in Charge, Hammond, Indiana, November 10, 1936. On other sources, he sometimes listed the larger city of San Francisco del Rincón: as in his Registry Application (INS Form 659), José Anguiano, December 19, 1936; and Alien Registration Form, José Anguiano, October 9, 1940. The full account of Anguiano's birthplace and origin occurred in his various naturalization applications, where he was able to specify Silva as his birthplace, and San Francisco del Rincón as the place he migrated from. See Petition for Naturalization (INS Form N-405), Joseph Anguiano [sic], January 21, 1952; "Application for a Certificate of Arrival and Preliminary Form for Petition for Naturalization" (INS Form N-400), José Anguiano, January 21, 1952; and Declaration of Intention, José Anguiano (U.S. Dist. Court, Nor. Dist. Indiana, Hammond, No.26276), May 23, 1946. All of the documents above can be found in Certificate File C-7045020, USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007523).

San Francisco del Rincón was the fourth ranking town within Guanajuato in Francisco Rosales's sample of Mexicans' origins in South Chicago and East Chicago, representing 14 of 214 Guanajuato immigrants. Francisco A. Rosales, "Mexican Immigration to the Urban Midwest During the 1920's," PhD Dissertation (Indiana University, 1978) 113. In my own sample of consulate registrations (see Appendix B for description and citations), 4 of 144 Guanajuato immigrants listed San Francisco del Rincón as their birthplace.

reveals that his migration to the U.S. had been prefaced by a brief period of internal migration in Mexico.[74]

Unlike the surreptitious crossing of Crispín Arroyo's family over two years earlier, José Anguiano entered the U.S. at Laredo "by walking across the bridge and paying [the bridge toll of] 5 cents."[75] As his account suggests, crossing the border in August 1919 was a relatively simple and open procedure, more so than it had been for Arroyo – perhaps because of the recognition of Mexico's Constitutionalist government in 1917 and the "pacification" of Pancho Villa, who had attacked the U.S. and U.S. citizens in 1916. Immigration officials at Laredo in 1919 were apparently not imposing the $8 "head tax" on Mexicans, either, and the $10 fee for a required visa would not be imposed until 1924. Nor were immigration officials examining all Mexican entrants very carefully, as Anguiano's account makes clear. He recounted later that "I did not see any Immigration officers and no one questioned me." Public health workers seem to have been the only officials interested in monitoring the entrance of Mexicans like Anguiano at Laredo, as he recalled that "about 8 miles from Laredo [while on a bus], some men in uniforms stopped and gave me a shot in the arm, that is all. I never at any time paid any head tax."[76]

At the time he was vaccinated, Anguiano was on a bus ride from Laredo to San Antonio that had cost him three and a half dollars. San Antonio's railroads linked with the west coast as well as the larger Dallas-Fort Worth railroad hub – where southwestern transcontinental lines crossed northern trunk lines to Memphis, Kansas City, and the greater Midwest. After arriving in

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[74] "Application for a Certificate of Arrival and Preliminary Form for Petition for Naturalization" (INS Form N-400), José Anguiano, January 21, 1952; and Registry Application (INS Form 659), José Anguiano, December 19, 1936; both in Certificate File C-7045020, USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007523, pp.11, 37).

[75] "Reopened Hearing in the Case of Jose Anguiano, Applicant for Registry," August 1, 1938, before John G. Edmundson, Immigrant Inspector, Hammond, Indiana; in Certificate File C-7045020, USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007523, p.43).

[76] John G. Edmundson, "Report of Registry Hearing in the Case of Samuel Anguiano or Jose Anguiano - Now Uses Jose Anguiano," August 4, 1937 (Hammond, Indiana); and Statement, José Anguiano, "In the matter of the application of Jose Anguiano, for a Permit to Reenter," enclosed with official letter from John G. Edmundson, Immigrant Inspector, to the Inspector in Charge, Hammond, Indiana, November 10, 1936; both in Certificate File C-7045020, USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007523, pp.97, 111).

San Antonio, Anguiano's subsequent movements clearly followed these transportation links, first to Taylor, Texas (just north of Austin on the Union Pacific railroad), then on further to Dallas, and finally to Kansas City, all with return trips. However, as Anguiano's story reveals, an even more important factor in many Mexican immigrants' mobility was their impressive ability to rapidly switch between divergent types of employment as the need arose. This ability highlights the need to qualify characterizations of Mexicans' labor during this period as "unskilled." While individual jobs may not have required a lot of "skill," the ability to switch rapidly between very different kinds of work shows a level of resourcefulness and adaptability that is obscured by simply labelling his labor as "unskilled." For José, railroad track work, interspersed with periods of employment in other areas, was especially important to his highly mobile employment trajectory. As he recounted in 1936, "I worked [in Texas] for [the] I.G. and N. Railroad [sic], now the Missouri Pacific, from 1919. Altogether I worked there about 5 years." Another railroad, the Chicago and Northwestern, would first draw him to East Chicago in 1924. But as he also commented, "This [railroad] employment was not steady because some of the times I worked on the farms picking cotton."[77] The comment was only the tip of an iceberg, pointing to the fact that his employment path was highly varied and complex, marked not only by forays into cotton-picking, but into other jobs as well. The following illustration (Figure 2.7) provides the full picture of his employment and migration path, in which varied Texas employments, railroad work, and nearly continuous mobility all played an important part:

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[77] Statement, José Anguiano, "In the matter of the application of Jose Anguiano, for a Permit to Reenter," enclosed with official letter from John G. Edmundson, Immigrant Inspector, to the Inspector in Charge, Hammond, Indiana, November 10, 1936; in Certificate File C-7045020, USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007523, p.111.

Figure 2.7: Employment and Residence of José Anguiano, 1919-1925[78]

Dates	*Residence*	*Employment*
Aug 1919-Sep 1919	Farm, Taylor, TX	farm labor
Sep 1919-Jan 1920	124 Section (Camp), Taylor, TX	In't & Gr. Nor. Railroad
Jan 1920-Apr 1920	Dallas, TX	construction work
Apr 1920-Jul 1920	Santa Fe Section (Camp), Lawn, TX	Santa Fe Railroad
Jul 1920-Nov 1920	Kansas City (Rosefill), KS	Santa Fe Railroad
Nov 1920-Sep 1921	Farm, Hutto, TX	occasional farm labor
Sep 1921-Nov 1922	124 Section (Camp), Taylor, TX	In't & Gr. Nor. Railroad
Nov 1922-Jul 1923	Summer Street, Dallas, TX	city street car company (track work) Dallas Power and Light Co. (construction) (street paving companies)
Jul 1923-Nov 1923	Farm; 124 Section - Taylor, TX	cotton picking; In't & Gr. Nor. Railroad
Nov 1923-Apr 1924	Summer Street, Dallas, TX	Gas Company, Dallas, TX
Apr 1924-May 1924	3460 Pennsylvania Ave, East Chicago	Chicago & Northwestern Railroad
May 1924-Feb 1925	Highland Park, IL	Chicago & Northwestern Railroad
Feb 1925 –	3422 Penn. Ave, etc., East Chicago	(brief cement work); Inland Steel Company

As this record makes vividly clear, describing José Anguiano's employment and migration path as "highly mobile" almost seems to be an understatement. Like many Mexican immigrants who eventually came to Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary, Anguiano's travel and work was initially Texas-based, and heavily dependent on railroads for employment and transportation. From Texas, all of José's subsequent moves – first to Kansas, and then to the Chicago region – followed the railroad lines emanating from the Fort Worth - Dallas area. His succession of jobs, on the other hand, clearly shows how Mexicans responded resourcefully to the differing seasonal labor demands of different jobs.[79]

Reliance on family networks was also an important, if unemphasized part of the migration story that José recounted. During the economic depression of the early 1920's, for example, he

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[78] This table is taken primarily from Registry Application (INS Form 659) for José Anguiano, December 19, 1936; but additional information has been added from the following two sources: "Reopened Hearing in the Case of Jose Anguiano, Applicant for Registry," August 1, 1938, before John G. Edmundson, Immigrant Inspector, Hammond, Indiana; and Statement, José Anguiano, "In the matter of the application of Jose Anguiano, for a Permit to Reenter," enclosed with official letter from John G. Edmundson, Immigrant Inspector, to the Inspector in Charge, Hammond, Indiana, November 10, 1936. All three of these sources are in Certificate File C-7045020, USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007523, pp.38, 43, and 111). The "Reopened Hearing..." record includes Anguiano's amazingly detailed, yet matter-of-fact narrative (all from memory) of most of the jobs and residences he held between the time he left Mexico and the time he arrived in East Chicago.

[79] It also appears that José returned to farm labor in order to weather the economic depression of the early 1920's – by 1923 he had left farm labor for good.

lived with his uncle until he found steady work. His second move to Dallas corresponded with his marriage to Paula López on November 11, 1922, and Paula's family (who lived back in Taylor) provided her with housing at the time of his daughter Petra's birth, which allowed José to live and work for a few months in section camps and farm housing, and gave him access to a greater variety of jobs without incurring heavy expenses for housing.[80] Moreover, the Anguianos' Summer Street residence in Dallas was actually that of José's aunt, Damiana, where she lived with her two sons.[81] Unlike other Mexicans, it appears that José Anguiano was not directly responsible for his other immediate family members, most of whom remained in Mexico. At the time of José's interview with INS officials in 1936, all of his younger siblings were still living in Guanajuato, and José reported that "My brothers and sisters were never in the United States." By 1943, however, José's next oldest brother, Jesús, was living in Santa Barbara, California. Moreover, his father had earlier migrated to the U.S. for work, between 1909-1911, and would make a subsequent trip in the mid-1920's. In fact, José's father found work in East Chicago before he did, sending José $50 in 1924, which helped him migrate to East Chicago.[82]

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[80] Furthermore, it seems that José's wife and daughter did not immediately follow him on his subsequent moves. José later recalled that when he first went to Illinois and Indiana (where he changed his work and residence quite rapidly before settling in at Inland Steel in East Chicago), his wife and daughter remained in Taylor until he had been working at Inland steel for several months. José Anguiano interview, cited in Rosales, "Mexican Immigration to the Urban Midwest During the 1920's," 148, 156.

Further details on José's wife Paula and his marriage to her appear in: Statement, José Anguiano, "In the matter of the application of Jose Anguiano, for a Permit to Reenter," enclosed with official letter from John G. Edmundson, Immigrant Inspector, to the Inspector in Charge, Hammond, Indiana, November 10, 1936; Declaration of Intention, José Anguiano (U.S. Dist. Court, Nor. Dist. Indiana, Hammond, No.26276), May 23, 1946; and "Statement of __ [illegible] to be used in Making my Declaration of Intention" (INS Form), José Anguiano, ca. 1946; all in Certificate File C-7045020, USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007523, pp. 111, 15, and 29, in the order cited). Paula had been born in "Agiende" [Allende?], apparently a small town near Villa Hidalgo, in the state of San Luis Potosí, in 1901, and had entered the U.S. near Reynoso, Texas, in 1918.

[81] "Reopened Hearing in the Case of Jose Anguiano, Applicant for Registry," August 1, 1938, before John G. Edmundson, Immigrant Inspector, Hammond, Indiana; in Certificate File C-7045020, USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007523, pp.43-44).

[82] In 1936, José's brothers were living in San Francisco del Rincón, apparently brought there by work, while his sisters lived "near" the city, likely in the family's hometown of Silva. For this statement, as well as José's statement that his father migrated to the U.S. in 1909-1911 and 1926-1931, see Statement, José Anguiano, "In the matter of the application of Jose Anguiano, for a Permit to Reenter," enclosed with official letter from John G.

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This chapter's analysis of Mexicans' mobility and the phenotypical diversity of the regions that they migrated from is important not only for helping to explain Mexicans' racialization in the region, but also as a basis from which to more effectively judge the statements that native born whites in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary made regarding Mexicans' racial identity and their effect on property values. As has been shown, Mexicans' strategic mobility and orientation toward Mexico led to Mexican housing preferences that were often misinterpreted as evidence of Mexicans' inherent slovenliness, while their high mobility marked them as a "risky" renter class in general. But in the realm of Mexicans' racial identity, popular white attitudes in the Chicago region rarely acknowledged the actual complexity of Mexicans' racial diversity. Indeed, one of the ideas concerning Mexicans' racial identity was that they were essentially Indian – a notion reinforced by the presence of some phenotypically darker (and at times indigenous) Mexicans. This notion provided an easy way for Chicagoans to simplify Mexicans' complex racial identity, and while this was not the only idea in circulation about Mexicans' racial identity during the 1920's, it was an important one, with important ramifications.

Significantly, the belief in Mexicans' inherent Indian-ness held sway among the most influential sectors of Chicago society, as revealed by Manuel Gamio's 1926 interview with Mr. Dennison, an editor with the *Chicago Herald and Examiner*. Mary McDowell, the head of the University of Chicago's Settlement House in Back of the Yards, also sat in on the interview. When Gamio asked news editor Dennison whether he favored the restriction of Mexican

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Edmundson, Immigrant Inspector, to the Inspector in Charge, Hammond, Indiana, November 10, 1936. For the listing of José's brother Jesús in Santa Barbara in 1943, see Alien Questionnaire, Inland Steel Company (War Department Form), "Joe Anguiano," August 20-24 1943. Both of these documents are in Certificate File C-7045020, USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007523, pp. 111 and 91). In his later interview with historian Francisco Rosales, Anguiano described his father's 1908/1909 trip to the U.S. (which placed substantial burden on the family in Silva), and also described his father's 2nd trip as beginning in 1924, stating that he had gone to East Chicago before José did. In this account, José claimed that after receiving the $50 from his father, he had signed with a labor contractor to go to Pittsburgh, but jumped trains in Indianapolis and went to East Chicago instead, his intended destination. Interview with José Anguiano, cited in Rosales, "Mexican Immigration to the Urban Midwest During the 1920's," 137, 147-48, 156.

immigration, Dennison responded: "That is a very difficult question. The idea is that we are a Saxon country, and our laws and institutions have been shaped in accordance with our tradition and tendencies, and if we receive a great number of Latin immigrants as our citizens, there is the fear that they might influence our organization in a way that would not agree with our attitude. Not that we have any bad feelings toward the Latins, but that we consider the danger I pointed before as real." What exactly was the racial identity or makeup of these "Latin" Mexicans? Was it something about their Mediterranean heritage that made them racially different? Dennison's next query revealed that it was *not* in fact Mexicans' "Latin"-ness that made them racially objectionable. As Gamio's stenographer recorded, "Mr. D[ennison] asks about the possibilities of the *indian race*, if they are comparable with any other race." [emphasis added] Moreover, while Gamio responded by speaking about Aztec accomplishments in Mexico, "giving the case of the working in obsidian," the stenographer noted that "Miss MacDowell speaks for the quality of the *Mexicans* as shown in their contacts through the Settlement." [emphasis added] In Dennison's query and McDowell's response, it was not simply that Mexicans were partially descended from the Aztecs, as Gamio alluded. Rather, "Mexican" and "Indian" were racially interchangeable terms.[83] This racial perception, complicated but not undermined by Mexicans' phenotypical diversity, would play an important role in the housing exclusion that Mexicans faced during the 1920's.

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[83] Interview with Mr. Dennison, June 29, 1926, Box 3, Folder 11, "Field notes and related material from research conducted in Chicago," Manuel Gamio Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California – Berkeley.

CHAPTER 3

THE ROOTS OF A BROWN GHETTO: MEXICAN HOUSING SEGREGATION DURING THE 1920's

In the early 1930's housing analyst Homer Hoyt asked a real estate broker on Chicago's West Side to provide a "ranking of races and nationalities with respect to their beneficial effect upon land values." Predictably, "Negroes" appeared near the bottom of the list as a "detrimental" group, while first-wave immigrant groups from northern and western Europe appeared at the top. Strikingly, however, "Mexicans" appeared in the lowest spot on the list, below "Negroes."[1] According to the Chicago real estate industry, the entrance of Mexicans into a white neighborhood had a *worse* effect on residential property values than the entrance of blacks. Moreover, this ranking was more than an isolated phenomenon. Throughout the 1920's, whites violently resisted Mexicans moving into their neighborhoods in Chicago, East Chicago and Gary, and Mexicans routinely paid inflated rents to live in the limited pool of housing available to them. Municipal, business, and neighborhood organizations considered various means of excluding Mexicans from white neighborhoods, in some cases proposing the official segregation of Mexicans along with African-Americans. Indeed, these patterns of anti-Mexican resistance were strikingly similar to the methods whites used to maintain the black-white "color line" during this period, yet they have been universally overlooked in historical treatments of residential segregation and race relations in the urban North.[2]

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[1] The list of ten "races and nationalities" had been "chiefly prepared" by West Side Chicago real estate broker John Usher Smyth, and likely reflected the opinion of the other Chicago brokers whom Hoyt acknowledged in the introduction to his book. Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933) ix-x, 314, 316 n.6.

[2] Indeed, the single mention of Mexicans in the historical literature on residential segregation in Chicago appears in Thomas Lee Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago, 1880–1930* (New York: Oxford UP, 1978), which denies Mexicans' segregation (see below). The following canonical works on race relations and housing in Chicago make no mention of Mexicans, with the exception of passing ones by Cayton and Drake, while outlining in detail the same type of housing discrimination described here: Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890–1920* (Chicago: University

Housing has historically been the chief flashpoint of racial conflict in the urban North – a kind of prism through which popular perceptions of race come more clearly into view. Because Chicago has long been home to the highest levels of black-white segregation in the country, scholars and the general public alike have tended to view the racial order of the metropolis in binary terms. Mexicans' bottom ranking by Chicago realtors and the corresponding housing discrimination that they experienced during the 1920's therefore raise interesting questions about the emerging racial order of the Chicago-Calumet region itself. What, after all, did it mean that Mexicans were classified as a *greater* threat to property values than blacks? Did Mexicans' perceived negative effect on property values, along with the discrimination they experienced, lead to the same type of residential segregation that blacks faced? Given the dynamic link between housing and race in the urban North, what did Mexican housing exclusion during the 1920's reveal about popular perceptions of Mexicans' racial identity, as well as the broader racial order of the Chicago-Calumet region?

As this chapter shows, Mexicans did in fact experience residential segregation during the 1920's, but the segregation they experienced was in an early stage that corresponded to Mexicans' newness to the region. Overall, Mexicans faced the same characteristic elements of segregation that blacks faced – active exclusion to confined neighborhoods by means of violence and other means, overcrowding, inflated rents, and an association with depreciated property values. But these elements had not had time to become consolidated and produce their full effect. Although confined to specific areas, Mexicans were not yet isolated in neighborhoods that were entirely Mexican, as blacks increasingly were. Furthermore, the voluntary and forced repatriation of Mexicans during the 1930's drained neighborhoods of their Mexican population, thereby

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of Chicago Press, 1967); Horace Cayton and St. Clair Drake, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945); James Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Arnold Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983); Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965); William M. Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (Urbana and Chicago: U of Illinois P, 1970).

insuring that those neighborhoods remained relatively mixed through the 1930's, even though Mexicans had little freedom to move elsewhere. Ultimately, Mexicans would never experience the later stages of segregation that came to characterize the entrenched segregation of the "black ghetto." But in the 1920's, this divergent outcome was far from clear. In fact, Mexicans' residential pattern and the exclusion they faced was nearly identical to the early and relatively ambiguous phases of black segregation in Chicago at the turn of the century – a similar stage of African-American settlement in the metropolis. African-Americans at the turn of the century experienced exclusionary practices that confined them to several distinct neighborhoods in Chicago, even though those neighborhoods remained mixed. Significantly, historians have identified these conditions – the same ones Mexicans faced during the 1920's – as the foundations for "the black ghetto."

But there was one additional element of incompleteness in Mexican residential segregation that was not characteristic of black residential patterns at the turn of the century. As illustrated in Chapter 2, Mexicans who came to Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary during the 1920's came from regions with high levels of phenotypical diversity – from the indigenous Tarascan highlands of Michoacán, whose emigrants Manuel Gamio described as having "dark brown" skin, "frequently mongoloid" eyes, and "scant beard,"[3] to the "fairer complexions," "lighter eyes," and "predominately European ancestry" of migrants from Los Altos de Jalisco.[4] As further discussed in Chapter 4, white Chicagoans during the 1920's had difficulty conceiving of race (or nationality) as containing this level of internal diversity – especially in terms of skin color, which was increasingly perceived to be the primary marker of race. But despite widespread assertions of Mexicans' monolithic, non-white racial identity, the phenotypical diversity among Mexicans in the

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[3] Manuel Gamio, "Appendice I: Características Etnicas y Osteométricas de Indígenas Mexicanos que Proceden de algunas Regiones que Suministran Inmigrantes a Los E. U." ("Recopiladas en la Recientemente Clausurada Dirección de Antropología de México"), in Box 3, Folder 6: "Appendices - Texts," Manuel Gamio Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California - Berkeley.

[4] Ann L. Craig, *The First Agraristas: An Oral History of a Mexican Reform Movement* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1983) 25.

Chicago-Calumet region caused individual Mexicans to experience segregation differently, depending on their skin color. In certain situations, lighter skinned Mexicans experienced less exclusion than Mexicans as a whole (especially if they concealed their Mexican identity), adding an additional measure of incompleteness to the segregation Mexicans experienced in the 1920's.

This chapter's analysis of Mexican segregation during the 1920's addresses a tension between historical work that emphasizes the fluid, constructed nature of racial categories and the historical and sociological literature on residential segregation – which implies an enduring, fixed division between "black" and "white" that has trumped all other social divisions in the spatial development of northern cities. Instead of seeing "white" as an uncertain category European immigrants sought to attain (as has been argued in historical treatments of whiteness), scholarship on residential segregation in the urban North has stressed that from the very beginning, there was a fundamental difference between blacks and immigrants that consigned the former to the ghetto and the latter to eventual integration and assimilation. This view seems particularly relevant to Chicago, which has historically been home to some of the highest levels of black-white residential segregation in the country, with post-World War II levels of black segregation far outpacing that of any other group.[5] In fact, the only work in the historiography of residential segregation that addresses Mexicans in Chicago in any detail emphatically states that they were not segregated – a conclusion based primarily upon a selective reading of a single student paper written in the 1920's.[6]

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[5] Examples of works that emphasize a long-standing binary racial order as the basis for residential segregation are discussed in the Introduction to this dissertation. For various statistical indices of segregation in Chicago between 1930 and 1970, as compared with other major cities, see Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993), 47-48 (Tables 2.3, 2.4).

[6] Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, 144-45. Philpott appears to draw his conclusion from the opening paragraph of Manuel Bueno's 1924 paper at the University of Chicago (cited elsewhere in this dissertation), where Bueno comments on Mexicans being "spread" all over Chicago and hard to find. However, the rest of Bueno's paper – much less this isolated statement itself – hardly supports such grand conclusions. Philpott also claims to have examined the same 1934 census data as is examined in this chapter, and found that 2 out of 5 Mexicans lived outside the core settlement areas of South Chicago, South Deering, Packingtown (Back of the Yards), and the West Side. This faulty conclusion seems simply to be an error of not including all of the census tracts with Mexicans in

On the other hand, historical work on whiteness has offered important new perspectives on the ways that racial categories are socially constructed, subjective identities that have the capacity to change over time. But while the literature on whiteness has revealed complex, messy, and fascinating dialogues about the racial categorization of European immigrants, it often fails to highlight the extent to which this process of racial categorization affected people "on the ground," or as one critic has noted, in the "lived social relations" of race – where racial discourses and beliefs produced a material effect in social, spatial, and economic terms.[7] In other words, yes, it is intriguing that a "white" woman in 1930's Chicago referred to her half-Greek husband as "half-nigger," but was this racial identification widely shared by others, and what kind of material effect did it have on Greek immigrants and their children?[8] The point here is not that the claims made on the basis of these kinds of examples are necessarily invalid; but rather, that these examples need to be connected to the social and material effects of racial categorizations in order for historians to draw broader and more compelling conclusions about how race operated.[9]

By contrast, urban history's sustained attention to the spatial, economic, and political organization of cities stands as a model for examining the lived social relations and material effect of race. Works of urban history have made their greatest contributions through the sustained

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these neighborhoods.

[7] I borrow the phrase "lived social relations" from Peter Kolchin's assessment and critique of the historical literature on whiteness. Peter Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America," *Journal of American History* 89.1 (June 2002): 154–73. As Kolchin notes, whiteness studies were not the first to emphasize race as a social construction, but they have made this point in a number of compelling new ways (most importantly, by not taking whites' racial identity for granted).

[8] James R. Barrett and David Roediger, "Inbetween Peoples: Race, Nationality, and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16.3 (Spring 1997): 8.

[9] Arguing in this vein, critics of whiteness scholarship have pointed to the fact that European immigrants and their children have always enjoyed the legal identification of whiteness, while African-Americans have been alone in suffering enslavement and other forms of disfranchisement (including, some scholars would incorrectly claim, residential segregation). In the view of this criticism, "talk" of racial categories is one thing; the material effect of racial categorization is another. Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America"; and Eric Arnesen, et al, "Scholarly Controversy: Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination (Special Forum)," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60 (Fall 2001): 1–92.

examination of local settings, thereby avoiding the danger of utilizing un-contextualized, disparate evidence from various times and places, a criticism that has increasingly been leveled against whiteness studies. But urban history's attention to race, and especially the residential segregation of African-Americans, has continued to reify the idea that a fixed, binary racial order has prevailed in northern cities since at least the turn of the century, if not earlier. In many of these works, "white racism" against African-Americans is taken almost as a given that requires little explanation. In this view, race may well be "a social construction," but the point is largely a moot one since race had already been constructed along binary lines before the Great Black Migration began.

The residential segregation that Mexicans experienced in the 1920's unsettles this persistent reliance on binary models for understanding race in the urban North, even as the unconsolidated and ambiguous aspects of this segregation provided an opening for Mexicans' later integration with whites. This moment of multiple possibilities in the history of Mexicans' racial status, as well as the ultimate transformation of that status, reveals the continued multiplicity and malleability of racial identities in the Chicago-Calumet region – even a decade *after* the Great Migration. In short, the unconsolidated and uneven aspects of Mexicans' segregation were by no means a guarantee of their later integration, for these aspects closely paralleled African-Americans' early experience with residential segregation in the Windy City. Rather, this similarity with the early stages of "the black ghetto" instead suggests that historians ought to pay closer attention to the multiple possibilities that remained open for African-Americans during the similarly uneven early stages of their segregation, instead of viewing the binary nature of today's residential segregation as a predetermined outcome dating back to the 19th century.

. . . .

Mexicans' arrival in the Chicago-Calumet region coincided with a period of pronounced racial tension between "blacks" and "whites" that would seem to mark the emergence of a binary

racial order in the region. The most visible and dramatic indication of this tension was the Chicago Race Riot of 1919. The official report on the riot was the first study that fully examined and documented the widespread residential segregation and other inequalities faced by African-Americans in Chicago. Published in book form as *The Negro in Chicago*, it has since been widely used by historians to illustrate the full arrival of "the color line" in the city.[10] Other events of the late 1910's further illustrated the city's growing racial division between African-Americans and "whites." In 1917, for example, the Chicago Real Estate Board mandated a policy that its member brokers should exclude blacks from white neighborhoods until adjacent black areas had been "solidly" filled, seeking to limit the property depreciation that occurred when blacks began moving into "white" neighborhoods.[11] By a number of measures, then, the urban region that Mexicans entered in the late 1910's was one riven with racial tension that was increasingly expressed in black and white terms.

Forgotten or overlooked in most accounts of the race riot, however, is the fact that two of the roughly 365 victims of white violence were Mexicans.[12] At first glance this might appear to

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[10] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922). Historical works that utilize the race riot in this way, either explicitly or implicitly, include: Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890–1920*; Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*; Grossman, *Land of Hope*; Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*; and the seminal historical study of the riot, Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919*. James Barrett and David Roediger provide one of the lone voices arguing for a more nuanced understanding of Chicago's racial order at the time of the riot, though my analysis differs from theirs in important ways. Barrett and David Roediger, "Inbetween Peoples."

[11] Acknowledging that Chicago's "Black Belt" needed to expand, the policy's stated objective was to minimize aggregate losses in property values by restricting new black homeowners and renters to racially changing blocks adjacent to already established black areas. In other words, the resolution called on real estate brokers to make sure that blacks "filled a block solidly before being allowed to move into the next one." Rose Helper, *Racial Policies and Practices of Real Estate Brokers* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1969) 4. As discussed below, property values did actually decrease when African-Americans (or Mexicans) moved into "white" neighborhoods, even though this decrease in property values was actually the result of whites' racial prejudices.

[12] The most substantial reference to Mexicans in the Chicago Race Riot appears in Gabriela F. Arredondo, "Navigating Ethno-Racial Currents: Mexicans in Chicago, 1919–1939," *Journal of Urban History* 30.3 (Mar 2004): 399–427. Arredondo's article gives briefer attention to the riot than is made here, and some of the facts it presents are erroneous, including her use of the name "Elizondo Gonzales" for Fidencio Gonzales, and her claim that Gonzales was killed. Arredondo also writes that Blanco was "outraged" at being called a Negro at the time of his attack, but the source she cites (the Cook County Coroner's report on the riot) does not infer this. However, her

be a relatively insignificant aberration, but the two Mexicans who were attacked were the only non-African-American victims of white racial violence in a city that boasted fewer than 1,300 Mexicans overall. In fact, the two Mexicans attacked represented a proportion of Chicago's overall Mexican population that was on par with the percentage of African-Americans attacked during the race riot. By contrast, whites were injured and killed at a drastically lower rate than Mexicans and African-Americans.[13] At the very least, Mexicans' victimization in the Chicago

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sources do include an additional Mexican consulate file that was different from the larger set of consulate files I initially uncovered, and I have benefited from referring to it. The following account is based on all of the sources in Arredondo's article, along with additional Mexican consulate files and other primary sources from my own research that were not used in her article. I thank José Angel Hernández for taking notes for me on the additional consulate file referenced in Arredondo's article, and for double-checking that there were no further related consular files.

Arredondo possibly got the name "Elizondo Gonzales" from the work of Arturo Rosales, who makes two briefer references to the race riot attacks and uses the name Elizondo, following an error made in a Mexican presidential speech. Rosales lists Elizondo Gonzales (and José Blanco) in a list of Mexican victims of white violence, but cites only a U.S. State Department file as the source (F. Arturo Rosales, *Pobre Raza: Violence, Justice, and Mobilization Among México Lindo Immigrants, 1900–1936* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999] Appendix A, p.207). Arredondo cites the same State Department file designation, even though the file number suffix is in error. The mistaken file number suffix actually refers to a Washington, DC attack listed on the preceding line in Rosales's appendix (I thank Arturo Rosales for verifying this error with me). However, even the correct State Department file only refers to Fidencio Gonzales, not Elizondo Gonzales (or José Blanco). The name "Elizondo Gonzales" derives from a speech by Mexican President Venustiano Carranza which condemned the attacks on Blanco and Gonzales (I thank Arturo for sharing his notes with me on this; the speech was published in U.S. Department of State, *Papers Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919*, vol. II [Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1934] 531, 536). To further complicate matters, Rosales's other reference to the riot lists a "Federico" Gonzales and José Blanco, and cites yet another Mexican consulate file number, which was not locatable by the consular Archives staff at the time of my research, nor when José Angel Hernández re-checked these sources for me (see p.111, n.48 in Rosales's book for this second reference).

[13] The proportion of Mexicans attacked during the Chicago race riot was 0.153% of Chicago's Mexican population in 1920 (2 out of 1,310), whereas the comparable proportion of African-Americans attacked was 0.333% (365 out of 109,594). Thus, the proportion of Mexicans attacked was roughly half that of blacks. The proportion of whites attacked was drastically smaller (the overall *number* of whites attacked was only about *half* the total number of blacks attacked, in a city with more than twenty times as many whites as blacks). Furthermore, no Italians, Poles, or other European immigrants were attacked as non-whites during the riot. Neither have I found any record of Chicago's small Chinese population being involved in the riot. The figures presented here are based on known attacks only, and on 1920 census figures for Mexicans and African-Americans (taken a year and a few months after the riot). Fidencio González's attack was not reported in the official report on the riot, *The Negro in Chicago*, and it is not clear whether Blanco's attack was included in the total of 365 "Negro" victims reported there. Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *Negro in Chicago*, Appendix C, "Epitome of Facts in Riot Deaths" (includes 23 "Negro" deaths), pp.655-67, and Appendix D (showing 342 "Negroes" injured), p.667; Department of Development and Planning (City of Chicago), *The People of Chicago – Who We Are and Who We Have Been* (Chicago, 1976), p.31 (1920 census data on Mexicans, including persons born in Mexico and persons with at least one Mexican-born parent); and Cayton and St. Clair Drake, *Black Metropolis*, 8 (African-American population in

Race Riot casts doubt on overly facile claims that the riot revealed and embodied the city's fundamentally binary racial order. More broadly, the Mexican attacks suggest that from the moment Mexicans arrived in the Chicago-Calumet region, the possibility that whites might treat Mexicans as though they were black was very real, with concrete material consequences. Indeed, this pattern of treating Mexicans as if they were black can be discerned in the housing segregation Mexicans faced throughout the 1920's, as well as in the ways whites excluded Mexicans from other urban spaces. Thus, the experience of the two Mexicans attacked during the race riot provides a useful longer-term perspective on these broader patterns of exclusion, and on the ranking of Mexicans as a greater threat to property values than blacks roughly a decade later.

Although some contemporary accounts of the attacks stated that the two Mexicans were "confused for" blacks, contextual information about the time and place of their attacks suggests that the white attackers may have known that their victims were Mexicans, and called them "Negro" in order to terrorize them. Regardless, the end result was the same for the Mexicans involved, and suggests the precariousness of their racial position. Indeed, the pattern of whites confusing Mexicans for Negroes, calling known Mexicans "Negro" or its equivalent, and grouping Mexicans along with blacks in exclusionary efforts, would continue throughout the 1920's.[14]

The two victims, José Blanco and Fidencio González, were attacked in Chicago's Back of the Yards neighborhood, a predominantly Polish and Lithuanian neighborhood just west of Chicago's stockyards district. The attacks occurred within an hour of one another in the after-work hours of Wednesday, July 30th, within a few blocks of one another along Ashland Avenue. This was the fourth day of the Chicago race riot, by which time white residents in Back of the Yards had largely succeeded in clearing their neighborhood and workplaces of African-Americans. The previous two days of the riot had seen intense violence in and around the

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the 1920 census).

[14] In addition to the analysis in this chapter, Chapter 4 also outlines of some of these patterns.

stockyards, especially on Monday. White workers attacked black workers riding the streetcars and trains that provided transportation between the "Black Belt" to the east of the stockyards and the white neighborhoods surrounding the stockyards themselves. On Tuesday the 29th, the streetcar operators who brought blacks into the stockyards through these routes went on strike. On Wednesday, the day of the Mexican attacks, rioting throughout the city was described as "subsiding," marked by a few punctuated periods of rioting lasting a few hours each, in areas well removed from the stockyards (particularly to the east, along the western edge of the Black Belt). By Wednesday blacks had essentially stopped attempting to enter the Stockyards for work or any other purposes, and one can readily surmise that the white rioters in the neighborhood felt that they had all but cleared the neighborhood (and their workplaces) of blacks – for they had.[15]

Given this context, the specific location of the Mexican attacks was significant as well. Blanco and González both lived west of the stockyards on Ashland Avenue, and were attacked within a few blocks of their homes. Since African-American workers lived east of the stockyards, they would have had no reason to walk west of the stockyards after work, especially not a full day after blacks had stopped coming to work in the stockyards at all. Mexican workers, however, would not have been an infrequent sight along these blocks of Ashland Avenue, in spite of marked resistance against their entry. The neighborhood surrounding this part of Ashland Avenue would become the heart of one of the three major areas where Mexicans lived in Chicago during the 1920's. Because Mexicans' entry into Back of the Yards was marked by pronounced violence and resistance, Mexicans' residences were limited to a dilapidated area centered around the blocks on Ashland Avenue where Blanco and González lived and were attacked.[16] Blanco and González were actually close neighbors, living across the street from one another at 4225 and 4228 Ashland

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[15] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *Negro in Chicago*, Appendix D, p.667, also pp. 4-7.

[16] See full discussion later in this chapter.

Avenue, respectively.[17] This block of Ashland was the middle of three blocks notoriously known as "Whiskey Row." Prior to the arrival of Prohibition in January 1920, Ashland's Whiskey Row boasted 64 saloons interspersed with other aging and dilapidated wooden frame buildings that rented rooms in the backs and upper floors. A general housing survey of Back of the Yards in 1923 stated that the 4200 block where Blanco and González lived "represents the worst type of living conditions in the whole district." At that time, a few years after González and Blanco were attacked, this block had 10 Mexican "heads of household," compared with 90 Polish household heads, out of a total of 123 households. The survey further noted that "This block and the two adjoining ones [i.e., "Whiskey Row"] are practically the only places where Mexicans can secure living quarters in the Stock Yards District. So much hostility is felt toward this new element coming into the community that the more permanent nationalities make every effort to keep Mexicans out of the neighborhood."[18]

It was in this contested neighborhood, then, a day after the larger Stockyards area had successfully expelled black workers, that Blanco and González were attacked – just as the neighborhood's ample supply of saloons would likely have been filling up with white workers leaving their shifts. The timing and descriptions of both attacks suggests that they occurred as the two Mexican men were returning home from work in the stockyards, mirroring the attacks

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[17] Blanco's address taken from "36th Victim of Race Riot Dies," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Tuesday, August 12, 1919, p.19 (front page of Section 2). González's address is taken from: Report of Cook County State's Attorney Maclay Hoyne to Illinois Attorney General Edward J. Brundage, August 21, 1919, Folder: "August 1919," Governor Frank Orren Lowden Correspondence, Record Series 101.027, Illinois State Archives (*hereafter* "Series 101.027 (Gov. Lowden), ISA"). After first learning of the attack on González, the Mexican Ambassador in Washington, Ygnacio Bonillas, reported that González lived at 4229 Ashland, putting him virtually next door to Blanco on the same side of the street, but Maclay Hoyne's later report is likely the more accurate of the two, as he his report was written with the benefit of more evidence (Mexican Ambassador Ygnacio Bonillas to Robert Lansing, U.S. Secretary of State, August 9, 1919, Folder: "August 1919," Series 101.027 (Gov. Lowden), ISA).

[18] Alice Mae Miller, "Rents and Housing Conditions in the Stock Yards District of Chicago, 1923," Master's Thesis, Social Service Administration (University of Chicago, 1923), pp. 9-10 (description of "Whiskey Row" prior to Prohibition), p.4 ("worst type of living conditions"), p.18 (heads of households data), and pp.21-22 ("so much hostility").

made on black commuters over the previous two days, but this time on the opposite side of the stockyards.

Fidencio González was attacked first, at around 4:30 pm, within a block of his home between 42nd and 43rd Streets.[19] The Mexican ambassador in Washington, who had been closely monitoring the Chicago race riot, first learned of the attack the day it was reported in the Chicago press (his prompt correspondence with the U.S. State Department likely explains the relatively vigorous prosecution of González's attackers). Bonillas wrote to the U.S. Secretary of State that González was attacked "on the corner of South Ashland and West 42nd Street where he was set upon by a number of men (10 or 12) armed with sticks, bricks and knives, who dealt him many blows, inflicting two wounds."[20] The nature of the attack – a large group of men attacking an isolated victim with bricks and other weapons – closely paralleled similar attacks by whites on blacks during the race riot. The Cook County prosecutor further confirmed that an unspecified "group of men" had been responsible for the attack, but only four men were arrested and indicted. At least three of these four attackers were Polish or Slavic, the same nationalities that would be

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[19] The time of González's attack is given in Mexican Ambassador Ygnacio Bonillas to Robert Lansing, U.S. Secretary of State, August 9, 1919, Folder: "August 1919," Series 101.027 (Gov. Lowden), ISA. This account locates the attack at 42nd and Ashland. Other accounts of the attack list the location as 43rd and Ashland ("Indict 3 Whites and 5 Negroes for race riots," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Saturday, August 9, 1919, p.3); or "near his home at 4228 S. Ashland" (Report of Cook County State's Attorney Maclay Hoyne to Illinois Attorney General Edward J. Brundage, August 21, 1919, also in Folder: "August 1919," Series 101.027 (Gov. Lowden), ISA). A few days later the *Chicago Daily Tribune* mistakenly referred to the attack as occurring at 47th and Halsted, on the east side of the stockyards ("Riot Grand Jury Votes to Indict 13 White Men," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Wednesday, August 13, 1919, p.5).

[20] Mexican Ambassador Ygnacio Bonillas to Robert Lansing, U.S. Secretary of State, August 9, 1919, Folder: "August 1919," Series 101.027 (Gov. Lowden), ISA. This correspondence also appears in the records of the State Department in the National Archives. A day earlier, Bonillas had reported that he had been closely monitoring the riot via the Mexican consul in Chicago, and had not yet heard of any Mexicans being involved; the story hit the Chicago newspapers the following day. Ignacio Bonillas [sic] to Salvador Diego Fernandez (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City), August 8, 1919, File 16-28-21: "Motines entre Blancos y Negros, habidos en Chicago, IL," Archivo Histórico "Genaro Estrada," Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City (Tlatelolco), hereafter AHGE.

active in efforts to exclude Mexicans from the neighborhood only a few years later.[21] The men were charged with "maliciously" attacking González with a "deadly" knife, intending "with malice aforethought to kill and murder." In addition to the "many blows" reported by Bonillas, González also suffered stab wounds, for which he was hospitalized.[22]

Within an hour after Fidencio González was attacked, José Blanco was attacked in nearly the same location, but this time by a single attacker whom Blanco in turn stabbed with a knife. According to *The Negro in Chicago*, the time was approximately 5:00 or 5:30 when a white man named Joseph Schoff, while walking along Ashland Avenue, "accosted Jose Blanco repeatedly, [asking] 'Are you a Negro?' Receiving no response he swung at Blanco with his fist." Blanco then "stabbed Schoff under the heart, then walked on" and was attempting to enter the house of a friend when he was arrested by the police.[23] According to this account, Schoff was stabbed in front of 4228 Ashland Avenue. Notably, this was Fidencio González's address, directly across the street from where Blanco lived. Other accounts differ on the location where Blanco stabbed Schoff, but taken together they suggest that Schoff was following Blanco for several blocks,

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[21] The efforts of Poles to exclude Mexicans from Back of the Yards in the early 1920's is outlined below. The four indicted attackers were Charles Schuh, Stanley Holy (alias Stanley Murphy), Frank Proszowski (alias Frank Kapula), and Joe Melewic. The names appear in the official court records, which are cited below. The latter two names were clearly Polish, and "Holy" was likely an anglicized version of Swatek (in Polish) or Svatek (in Slovak), a word which came from the adjective "swiety," meaning "holy" (I thank Josef Barton for sharing with me his knowledge of Polish and Slovak). In contrast to the findings here, James Barrett and David Roediger have asserted that central and eastern European ethnics abstained from the violence of the Chicago race riot, an abstention that indicated these groups' "inbetween" racial status (between whiteness and blackness). In fairness, it should be noted that Barrett and Roediger explain this alleged abstention in terms of these groups' *own* racial consciousness, i.e., their own unwillingness to identify as "whites." Barrett and David Roediger, "Inbetween Peoples," 31–32. Dominic Pacyga has more carefully documented Poles' limited partcipation in the riot overall, but even he relies heavily on statements in the Polish press, a subjective source. Dominic Pacyga, "To Live Amongst Others: Poles and Their Neighbors in Industrial Chicago, 1865–1930," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16.1 (Fall 1996): 68 (including the footnotes to Pacyga's further work on this topic).

[22] Report of Cook County State's Attorney Maclay Hoyne to Illinois Attorney General Edward J. Brundage, August 21, 1919, File "August 1919," Series 101.027 (Gov. Lowden), ISA. The charges against González's attackers are quoted from Grand Jury Indictment # 17599, *The People of the State of Illinois vs. Charles Schuh, et al*, August 12, 1919, Criminal Court of Cook County, Cook County Circuit Court Archives. It should be noted that according to Hoyne's report, González's stab wounds were "not serious," and González returned home from the hospital the same day they were treated.

[23] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *Negro in Chicago*, 662.

possibly even tailing him on his way home from work, which would mirror previous days' attacks on blacks east of the stockyards. According the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Schoff "came upon Blanco July 30 at Forty-fourth and Ashland avenue," which would mean that Schoff's repeated questioning of "Are you a Negro?" continued for nearly two blocks before Blanco stabbed him. One wonders if Schoff truly remained confused about whether Blanco was "a Negro" for such an extended walk, especially when the walk took Blanco into the only Mexican-occupied street in Back of the Yards – where another Mexican had been attacked less than an hour earlier. Schoff died from the wound 12 days later, but the Cook County Coroner's Jury ultimately disagreed on whether to indict Blanco, who admitted to the stabbing when he was arrested, but claimed it was in self-defense.[24] Blanco was finally released a month and a half after the attack, on September 19, and was not further charged.[25]

As noted, a number of contemporary accounts claimed that González and Blanco were attacked by whites who "mistook" them for blacks. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* stated that González's "white" attackers "mistook Vincennes Gonzolas [sic], a Mexican, for a Negro on July 30 and assaulted him," and repeated this basic account four days later as well.[26] However, there are reasons to question the veracity of these claims, and even if true, the possibility of being "mistaken" for black hardly represented a more secure position in Chicago's racial order than

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[24] "36th Victim of Race Riot Dies," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Tuesday, August 12, 1919, p.19 (front page of Section 2). The Chicago Police Department's official Homicide Record listed Blanco's stabbing of Schoff at 4404 S. Ashland, which if true would mean that Schoff may not have tailed Blanco for such a distance. However, the homicide record may simply have listed the location of Blanco and Schoff's initial encounter instead of the actual location of the stabbing. In any event, it seems clear that Blanco was on his way home to the 4200 block of Ashland when he was accosted. Chicago Police Department Homicide Record, 1870-1930, Volume 2, Page 164B (entry for Schopp [alias Schoff], Joseph), Illinois Regional Archives Depository, Northeastern Illinois University (Ronald Williams Library). On these details of Blanco's attack, and on the grand jury's decision, see also Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *Negro in Chicago*, 662.

[25] The Mexican consulate's monthly reports noted Blanco's release. See File 17-14-146: "1919: Consul de Chicago envia informe gral correspondente al mes de junio [sic]," p.1, AHGE.

[26] "Indict 3 Whites and 5 Negroes for race riots," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Saturday, August 9, 1919, p.3. Four days later, the *Tribune* again reported that "The white men . . . are charged with assaulting with intent to kill Fedrico Gonzeles [sic], a Mexican, whom they had mistaken for a Negro." "Riot Grand Jury Votes to Indict 13 White Men," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Wednesday, August 13, 1919, p.5.

being treated as if one were black. Some accounts of Blanco and Gonzalez being "mistaken" for black almost seemed to be reaching for an explanation that would simply be more familiar and fit into broader understandings of the riot. When the Illinois Attorney General forwarded the report of the Cook County State's Attorney to the Governor, he commented, "You will observe that the reason of the assault was that Gonzales was probably mistaken for a negro" – even though *no* such inference was made in Hoyne's report, which had expunged any racial references to the riot at all (likely because Hoyne knew the report would be forwarded to the Mexican Ambassador).[27]

Significantly, however, all of the reports that González and Blanco were "mistaken" for blacks were stated matter-of-factly, as if such confusion between Mexican-ness and blackness was easily understandable, and required no further explanation. And although described as being "mistaken" for black, González and Blanco were never identified as "white," as their attackers always were. Furthermore, the Chicago Police Department's record book of homicides included the Schoff-Blanco incident as a "Race Riot" case, the same as all of the other black-white incidents during the riot.[28] The one piece of explanation that *was* offered in all of these accounts of mistaken identity was the *Tribune*'s statement, quoting the police, that Schoff believed Blanco was black "because of his dark color."[29] The reference to dark skin color not only suggests the ease by which darker-skinned Mexicans could be identified as black, but also reveals how Chicagoans perceived racial identity to be an innately physical characteristic.[30] This perception

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[27] Illinois Attorney General Edward J. Brundage to Governor Frank O. Lowden, August 22, 1919, File "August 1919," Series 101.027 (Gov. Lowden), ISA.

[28] Chicago Police Department Homicide Record, 1870-1930, Volume 2, Page 164B (entry for Schopp [alias Schoff], Joseph), Illinois Regional Archives Depository, Northeastern Illinois University (Ronald Williams Library). The record book included the words "RACE RIOT" in the margins next to the description of Schoff's homicide, as it did for all cases of death related to the Chicago race riot. The book also stated that Schoff "mistook [Blanco] for a negro."

[29] "36th Victim of Race Riot Dies," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Tuesday, August 12, 1919, p.19 (front page of Sec. 2).

[30] The way that darker-skinned Mexicans were often identified as black is explored further in Chapter 4. The reference to Blanco's "dark color" may have further significance as well, when one considers Thomas Guglielmo's distinction between the idea of "color," which divided people along "black" and "white" racial lines (as well as "yellow" and "red"); and the idea of "race," a language which distinguished between "Italian," "Irish," and

would fuel white efforts to police the intrusion of Mexican bodies in a variety of urban spaces, including but not limited to housing.

However, one can also read the statements of Mexicans being "mistaken" for blacks during the Chicago race riot in another way. Perhaps the white attackers knew that González and Blanco were Mexicans, but used the question "Are you a Negro?" as a means of terrorizing Mexicans in a neighborhood that had violently and successfully expelled all blacks. In other words, the attacks could have been part of a conscious effort to rid the neighborhood of Mexicans – in much the same way that it had been cleared of blacks. Indeed, only a few years later, Poles in Back of the Yards were quite clear that Mexicans were Mexicans, and the hostility toward Mexicans continued unabated. A "second generation American" informant in Back of the Yards recalled in the late 1920's that "In 1922 there were small riots" between Mexicans and Poles.[31] Similar forms of violence against Mexicans continued throughout the 1920's. With the new influx of Mexicans into the neighborhood in 1924, white residents – and Poles especially – were reported to harbor a "dislike for Mexicans. . . *similar to that which they have for Negroes.*" "Chasing Mexicans" quickly became "the chief sport" of the Polish neighborhood gangs.[32] In an account describing violence remarkably similar to the black violence in and around the Stockyards during the race riot, a social worker reported that in 1926 Poles and Lithuanians regularly beat up Mexicans coming home from work, because they believed "the Mexicans came in to lower

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"Jewish" races. Thomas A. Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890–1945* (New York: Oxford UP, 2003).

[31] The "small riots" were reported to have been caused by Polish resentment (or fear) of sexual relations between Mexican men and "white" women. Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States, Vol II, Part 2: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 7, No.2 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1932) 229.

[32] Florence Lyon Gaddis "Conflict between Mexicans and Poles (Living near Ashland Ave. and 45th St.)," student paper, autumn 1928, Ernest W. Burgess Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections, as quoted in Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, 284, n.23 [emphasis added].

wages."[33] Mexicans eventually shot back at the crowds of Poles that threatened them, precipitating a Polish effort to "clean the neighborhood of Mexicans." As a local resident recalled, the Poles "called in the '42's,' a gang from 12th and Ashland. Police prevented a riot."[34] The center of this violence was near 45th and Ashland, linking it to the area of the race riot attacks several years earlier, as well as continued attacks against Mexicans in 1928 (discussed later in this chapter). Given these patterns of deliberate conflict between Poles and Mexicans in the years immediately after the race riot, it is not a far stretch to imagine that the whites who attacked Blanco and González in 1919 also knew that they were attacking Mexicans, and simply used the backdrop of widespread violence against blacks in the stockyards as a means of furthering their attacks on Mexicans.

The manner of the attacks on Fidencio González and José Blanco during the Chicago race riot dramatically portrays how, at the moment of their arrival in the Chicago-Calumet region, Mexicans faced the very real possibility of being perceived and treated as racially equivalent to blacks. Mexicans who came to Chicago were greeted by a racial order in which the distinction between Mexicans and blacks was imprecise at best and blurred or non-existent at worst. But while the stories of Gonzales and Blanco provocatively suggest such racial dynamics, Mexicans' residential pattern during the 1920's and early 1930's readily confirms them, and reveals that Mexicans' future status in Chicago's racial order was anything but certain.

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[33] Paul Taylor's informant stated that the attacks on Mexicans returning from work occurred a "couple of years ago," dating those attacks around 1926. Taylor also reported that Poles in the mid- to late 1920's "had been knocking down isolated Mexicans and leaving them unconscious on the street." Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 229.

[34] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 229. The location given for this gang was west of the Hull House neighborhood, where Poles also attacked Mexicans who ventured outside the core Mexican neighborhood (see below). It is possible that the same gang was responsible for attacking Mexicans in both areas. The above events may or may not be related to the already cited account of Polish-Mexican hostilities given in Florence Lyon Gaddis, "Conflict between Mexicans and Poles (Living near Ashland Avenue and 45th St.)," student paper, autumn 1928, cited in Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, 284. Without further information, it would appear that these are separate incidents.

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Mexican residential patterns in the 1920's and early 1930's reveal that housing discrimination directed at Mexicans had indeed localized Mexicans to a significant degree, even though it had not isolated them. In other words, the vast majority of Mexicans were limited to specific neighborhoods and blocks (as has been seen in Back of the Yards), with only a small number living outside these areas. Within these localized areas, however, Mexicans were not isolated unto themselves. Mexicans remained mixed with other groups (including African-Americans), even though they lacked the freedom to move anywhere they pleased. This condition paralleled the residential pattern of African-Americans during an earlier, comparable period of black migration to Chicago, and it also paralleled the less fully developed segregation of African-Americans in Gary and East Chicago at the same time. These parallels suggest that the future development of a more consolidated form of residential segregation for Mexicans was very possible, even expected, in the 1920's. Indeed, when Chicago real estate analyst Homer Hoyt explained the realtor's ranking of races cited at the beginning of this chapter, he also explained that Mexicans and blacks were distinct from all the other higher-ranking European nationalities because Mexicans and blacks were the only groups that would continue to exert a negative effect on property values even after they gained economic standing or conformed to "American standards of living."[35]

Determining the level of Mexicans' residential segregation during the 1920's is difficult because complete census tract statistics regarding the Mexican population were not tabulated for Chicago until 1934 (the year of a special city census), and they were not again published until 1960, with limitations. Prior to 1960, census tract statistics on Mexicans were never published for Gary or East Chicago (see Appendix E for a full discussion of the available sources for calculating Mexicans' historical segregation levels). Nonetheless, a series of maps from Paul Taylor's survey of Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region sheds some light on Mexicans'

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[35] Hoyt, *Land Values*, 314, 316.

residential pattern in the late 1920's, and the special 1934 Chicago census provides a useful statistical measure of Mexican segregation, albeit a number of years after the peak of Mexican population in the region. The following detailed analysis of Mexican residential patterns is new in Mexican-American historiography as well as works of urban history,[36] even as it builds upon the work of urban historians and urban sociologists who have utilized quantitative and other methods to measure residential segregation.

Taylor's maps of Mexican residential areas confirmed Mexicans' localized but non-isolated residential condition in the 1920's. The maps (which can be viewed in Appendix M-2) were based on field observations, interviews, and 1928 school enrollments rather than on a formal census. They identified areas of "greatest," "medium," and "least" residential density, with the areas of greatest density corresponding to blocks where Mexicans were the most or nearly the most numerous group; the areas of least density referring to blocks with as few as two or three Mexican families; and the areas of medium density falling somewhere in between.[37] Taylor's maps revealed that the severity of Mexicans' localization varied from neighborhood to neighborhood, with the older, more dilapidated Hull House neighborhood showing the most dispersal, and East Chicago – where Mexicans comprised a larger proportion of the population than anywhere else in the region – showing the highest level of localization. The nature and extent of this localization can be roughly quantified from the maps. If one tallies the number of Mexican children in 1928 who attended schools in or immediately adjacent to areas of "greatest density," one finds that 82.5% of Mexican children attended these core area schools, while only

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[36] At least for this time period (pre-1970). See Appendix E for further details.

[37] Taylor acknowledged the imperfections of the methods employed in producing the maps, but felt that the maps still represented "a substantially accurate, if rough, picture" of Mexican residential patterns in 1928. Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 53 (the pull-out neighborhood maps appear between pages 56 and 57). No historical study has made a sustained analysis of Taylor's neighborhood maps of Mexican residential areas, likely because most versions of Taylor's study do not include these maps. In the public and private libraries of the Chicago area, the only copy I found containing these maps was the one owned by the Newberry Library.

17.5% attended schools in dispersed areas of Mexican settlement.[38] By comparison, 92.7% of African-Americans in 1930 lived in areas that sociologist Ernest Burgess at the University of Chicago subjectively identified as "Negro."[39]

The 1934 Chicago census provides a more statistically detailed picture of Mexicans' residential pattern, but this pattern was likely not as segregated as Mexicans' residential pattern in the late 1920's, due to the drastic decline in Chicago's Mexican population over that time period. Between 1930 and 1934 alone, Chicago's Mexican population decreased 37% – from 19,362 to 12,228.[40] Moreover, Mexican employment figures suggest that the decline in population began as early as 1927, and that Chicago's Mexican population likely exceeded 22,000 in 1926. This means that the size of the Mexican population at the time of the 1934 census was only 55% (or less) of what it had been in the late 1920's.[41] Because population growth has been a crucial factor

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[38] These figures are derived by adding up the number of Mexican children who attended schools in or within a few blocks of the areas of "greatest density" on Taylor's maps (see Appendix M-2). The list of schools appears in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 54–56 (Taylor's list is more complete than that given by Anita Jones, though most of Taylor's list is based on Jones's figures, Anita Edgar Jones, *Conditions Surrounding Mexicans in Chicago*, [reprint of University of Chicago Master's Thesis [Social Service Administration], 1928] [San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1971]). The areas of "greatest density" are those that appear in Taylor's maps in the following locations: Hull House, Brighton Park, Back of the Yards, east of the yards (north of 43rd Street), South Chicago, Irondale (South Deering), East Chicago, and Gary. 2,133 out of 2,584 students attended schools in or adjacent to these areas (82.5%).

[39] Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, 141 (Table 7).

[40] The 1930 total appears in the *Abstract of the 15th Census of the United States*, Population Section, Table 41, "Color or Race, for Cities of 100,000 or More, 1930," p.98. The 1934 total was obtained by adding all the tract populations of Mexicans listed in Charles S. Newcomb and Richard O. Lang, eds, *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1934* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c.1934), supplement Table 4, p.668, and may slightly underestimate the total number of Mexicans (see Appendix E for further details on the 1934 data).

[41] Paul Taylor obtained figures on Mexican employment in 15 major plants and all major railroads in the Chicago-Calumet region, which likely included a considerable majority of Mexicans employed in the region. The extensiveness of his inquiries is apparent from the correspondence and data in Container 11 (folders 53-57 and 66-67) and Container 13 (folders 1-9), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). The total Mexicans employed in all of these industries peaked at 12,524 in 1926, and declined to 11,013 by 1928. This represented a decrease of nearly 14% between 1926 and 1928. Assuming a decrease of 15% in Mexican employment between 1926 and 1930 (a very conservative estimate, considering the worse economic conditions after 1928), and assuming that the decrease in Chicago's Mexican population mirrored the decrease in Mexican employment throughout the Chicago-Calumet region, one can estimate that Chicago's Mexican population in 1926 was 15% greater than it was in 1930. This would mean that there were 22,266 Mexicans in Chicago in 1926. The 12,228 Mexicans living in Chicago in 1934 was only 55% as large as this estimated 1926 population. Taylor's employment statistics, which can be

in the development of African-American segregation, and because the Mexicans who left Chicago during the Depression were likely those who had lived in localized neighborhoods (rather than the minority of those who had obtained better housing and employment opportunities), it is reasonable to expect that Mexicans in 1934 were not as segregated as they had been in the late 1920's.

For this reason, it is all the more striking that the 1934 census data reveals a significantly high level of localization among Mexicans when measured by a standard statistical index of segregation known as the index of dissimilarity. The index of dissimilarity measures how evenly or unevenly a minority group is distributed among a city's general population. In concrete terms, the index represents the number of minority members that would have to move to a new census tract in order for all census tracts to have an equal proportion of that minority group. The dissimilarity index expresses this number as a percentage of the number of people that would have to move if the minority group were completely segregated. Thus, an index of 0% means that no one would have to move, as all census tracts already have an equal proportion of minorities. However, an index of 90% means that the number of people that would have to move in order to achieve even-ness is 90% of the number that would have to move under the most segregated condition possible. A rule of thumb holds that indexes less than 30% signify low segregation, indexes of 30-60% represent moderate segregation, and indexes above 60% reflect high levels of segregation.[42]

As shown in Table 3.1 below, the dissimilarity index for Mexicans in Chicago in 1934 was 87% – a significantly high figure, especially when so many Mexicans had left the city prior to the 1934 census. Not only was the Mexican dissimilarity index above the 60% mark that signifies

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added together to obtain the totals cited here, appear in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, Table 2 (p.32) and Table 4 (p.39). For further documentation of the decreasing Mexican population in 1930's Chicago, see also Figure 2.5 in this dissertation (Chapter 2), "Mexican Population in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary"; and the discussion of 1930's population changes in Chapter 6.

[42] The index of dissimilarity is described and explained in the discussion and footnotes found in Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*, 20.

high levels of segregation, it equaled or exceeded the dissimilarity indexes registered by African-Americans in several other northern cities in 1940. Although the index for African-Americans in Chicago was 94% in 1934, the indices were only 87% in New York City, 86% in Boston, and 83% in San Francisco (and these 1940 indices were calculated from block-level data that typically yielded higher segregation scores than indices based on tract data).

TABLE 3.1
Comparison of Mexican and Black Segregation Indices, circa 1934 *[43]

Dissimilarity Index of:

Mexicans in Chicago (1934)	Blacks in Chicago (1934)	Blacks in New York City (1940)	Blacks in Boston (1940)	Blacks in San Francisco (1940)
87%	94%	87%	86%	83%

Isolation Index of:

Mexicans in Chicago (1934)	Mexicans in Chicago (1926-27)	Blacks in Chicago (1920)	Blacks in Chicago (1930)	Blacks in Chicago (1934)
13.5%	20-25% (est'd)	56% (approx.)	82% (approx.)	85%

** All indices for 1920 - 1934 based on 935 census tracts; 1940 dissimilarity indices based on city blocks. See Appendix E.*

Although high, the dissimilarity index for Mexicans only measured their localization, not their isolation, which was the second key component of African-Americans' residential segregation after 1920. As already noted, Mexicans did not generally live in blocks where they were isolated unto themselves during the 1920's. By 1934, the widespread departure of Mexicans from Chicago ensured that the Mexicans who remained were even less isolated. It is not surprising, then, that their isolation index in 1934 was quite low, as shown in Table 3.1 above. The isolation index gives the average minority composition of tracts in which minorities live. For example, an isolation index of 70% means that on average, minority members live in census tracts

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[43] The dissimilarity and isolation indices for Mexicans and African-Americans in 1934 are presented here for the first time, and are based on census tract data in Newcomb and Lang, *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1934,* Table 4 and supplement Table 4. My computation of the indices was done in a Microsoft Excel file that is available upon request. Black isolation indices for Chicago in 1920 and 1930 are also presented for the first time, but are approximated from secondary tabulations of the tract data for those censuses. The sources, methods, and limitations of the indices presented here are more fully described in Appendix E.

where their group makes up 70% of the population. Mexicans' isolation from "whites" in 1934 was only 13.5%. Although Mexicans' isolation was likely in the 20% range during the late 1920's (before Mexican neighborhoods had lost nearly half their population), these isolation scores for Mexicans are still vastly different from what they were for blacks during this period. The isolation index for blacks increased from 56% to 82% during the 1920's, and reached 85% by 1934. This would seem to suggest that Mexican housing in the late 1920's was not segregated in the same way that black housing was. Although Mexicans *were* highly localized like blacks, they were not isolated.

However, if one compares Mexicans in the 1920's with blacks during a similar period of population growth – the 1890's[44] – one finds that Mexican and black residential patterns were in fact quite similar. In 1898, the date of a special Chicago school census, the dissimilarity index for blacks was roughly 80%, compared with the 1934 Mexican index of 87% (see Table 3.2 below). More importantly, just as Mexicans in the 1920's were not highly isolated, neither were blacks in 1898. The black isolation index was roughly 31%, somewhat higher than the 13-20% range for Mexicans in the 1920's, but still significantly low, especially given the fact that the 1898 census utilized a larger number of precincts that made it more sensitive to localized and isolated conditions (see further details on these measurement issues in Appendix E).

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[44] The total population of Mexicans in Chicago during the 1920's (between twenty and thirty thousand) was about the same as the number of blacks in Chicago between 1890 and 1900. Chicago was home to 14,271 blacks in 1890, and 30,150 in 1900. Because of Chicago's smaller size at the turn of the century, blacks made up a slightly larger proportion of the population (1.3 and 1.8 percent, respectively) than Mexicans did in the 1920's, though blacks have always made up one percent or more of Chicago's population. Thus, by population size, it is reasonable to compare Mexican residential patterns in the 1920's with black residential patterns between 1890 and 1900. One difference was that the *proportional* growth of Mexican population in the 1920's was much greater than that of blacks in the 1890's. However, the 1920's Mexican population growth was greater than the proportional growth of Chicago's blacks in *any* decade, owing to the fact that Chicago had so few Mexicans in 1920. The black population statistics cited here appear in Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, 116.

TABLE 3.2
Segregation Indices of Mexicans in 1934
Compared with those of Blacks in 1898 *

	Mexicans in Chicago (1934)	Blacks in Chicago (1898)
Dissimilarity Index:	87%	80% (approximate)
Isolation Index:	13.5% (for 1934) 20-25% (est'd for 1926-27)	31% (approximate)

** 1934 figures based on 935 census tracts; 1898 figures based on 1,108 precincts. See Appendix E for further details.*

Mexican housing patterns in the 1920's were therefore very similar to African-American housing patterns in the 1890's. Significantly, historians have identified the 1890's as the foundational period for black segregation in Chicago and other northern cities, suggesting that Mexican residential patterns in the 1920's represented a similar, early stage of Mexican segregation in Chicago.[45] Indeed, in places like Gary (which would later become one of the urban North's most segregated cities) Mexicans' residential patterns even resembled African-American housing patterns at the same time. In 1920's Gary, blacks and Mexicans both lived in the city's central district and south side, sharing many neighborhoods with recent European immigrants. A black social worker wrote in 1925 that "Europeans, Negroes, and Mexicans frequently occupy apartments in the same building, the Negroes, perhaps, being the only ones conscious that there is anything unusual in such an arrangement." As late as 1930, blacks were not isolated in most Gary neighborhoods, even as they remained excluded from the north side and other neighborhoods, just as Mexicans were.[46]

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[45] See, for example, Grossman, *Land of Hope*; Kenneth L. Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870–1930* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1976); and Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, especially p.119.

[46] Thyra J. Edwards, "The Gary Interracial Program," *The Southern Workman* 44 (December 1925): 546. Edward's quotation, along with other qualitative and quantitative evidence of African-Americans' unconsolidated segregation, appears in Raymond A. Mohl and Neil Betten, *Steel City: Urban and Ethnic Patterns in Gary, Indiana, 1906–1950* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986) 52.

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How, then, did Mexicans end up in this early stage of residential segregation during the 1920's – a stage that so closely resembled African-Americans' early stages of segregation? The simple answer is that it was not by their own choosing. As illustrated by the anti-Mexican exclusion and violence in Back of the Yards in the years following the Chicago race riot, Mexicans' localized residential pattern was not just a function of Mexicans' choice or of Mexicans settling in the neighborhoods where they worked. Rather, whites refused to rent to Mexicans outside of prescribed areas, charged Mexicans inflated rents for the housing that they did allow Mexicans to inhabit (a classic symptom of anti-black housing discrimination as well), and utilized violence and institutional measures to actively restrict Mexicans to certain neighborhoods. These patterns were widespread, and clearly worked to localize Mexicans.

However, these patterns of discrimination were not entirely even or identical from neighborhood to neighborhood, and they had not yet become institutionalized in the way that the residential segregation of African-Americans in Chicago had (as seen in the resolutions made by the Chicago Real Estate Board, for example). Nonetheless, as was the case with Mexicans' residential pattern, these widespread but uneven forms of discrimination mirrored the discrimination that blacks faced in turn-of-the century Chicago – or for that matter, the conditions that blacks faced in 1920's East Chicago and Gary, where black segregation had not yet matured as it had in Chicago. In all of these cases, housing discrimination existed and produced definite effects, but the numbers of African-Americans and Mexicans living in these urban areas were not yet large enough to motivate highly coordinated efforts of segregation among all sectors of white society. In Mexicans' case, the importance of population size is made clear by the fact that coordinated efforts to segregate Mexicans reached their most organized form in East Chicago, where Mexicans comprised a much larger proportion of the population than in Gary or Chicago – 10% of the city's population in 1930, and nearly a third of the population of Indiana Harbor, the city's geographically distinct industrial core.

The first symptom of the housing exclusion Mexicans faced was the nearly standard practice of white landowners charging Mexicans more rent than other groups for equivalent housing; or simply refusing to rent their property to Mexicans at all.[47] As a student studying housing in South Chicago noted in 1925, "it is taken for granted among the landlords of the district that rents for Negroes and Mexicans should be higher than for other tenants. A charity visitor of the district says that if a landlord does not charge them more than he would another tenant, he brags of this rare virtue." In fact, the student found that the abnormally high average rental rate in one block could only be explained by the fact that this block was also the one block surveyed where a large number of Mexicans and African-Americans had secured housing.[48]

The inflated rents that Mexicans paid were clearly linked to the fact that Mexicans were excluded from many blocks and therefore had a limited pool of housing to choose from. As an informant near Chicago's stockyards reported in 1928, "Mexicans will pay $30 rent for property for which the Irish will pay only $20. The Mexicans can't get in many places, so they pay more in order to get in; they can afford to because they take in boarders."[49] Indeed, the earlier 1923

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[47] One source that seemingly contradicts the following evidence on inflated rents (and has been used in the work of David S. Weber as evidence that Mexicans were accomodated), was a housing survey conducted by Elizabeth Hughes in 1925, which found that Mexicans generally paid less rent per room than blacks. Elizabeth A. Hughes, *Living Conditions for Small-Wage Earners in Chicago* (Chicago: Department of Public Welfare, City of Chicago, 1925) 33–36 (Weber uses Hughes in: David Stafford Weber, "Anglo Views of Mexican Immigrants: Popular Perceptions and Neighborhood Realities in Chicago, 1900–1940," PhD Dissertation [Ohio State University, 1982]). However, it should be noted that the goal of Hughes' survey was to survey black areas, and many of the wards where Mexicans were surveyed were outside the core areas of Mexican settlement. Thus, it is very possible that the Mexicans Hughes surveyed were those living apart from the core Mexican areas and on the fringes of black settlement, where they may have been viewed as a preferable alternative to massive black "invasion." This preference for Mexicans, however, does not seem to have carried over into the core Mexican neighborhoods, where Mexicans did pay inflated rents.

[48] Mary Faith Adams, "Present Housing Conditions in South Chicago, South Deering, and Pullman," Master's Thesis, Social Service Administration (University of Chicago, 1926) 63 ("rare virtue"). Adams wrote that the high rents in block 7 could be "explained partially by the fact that most of the apartments have toilets in them, and partially by the larger proportion of six-room apartments found there, but the main reason is because there are a number of Negro and Mexican families living in this block." Adams, "Present Housing Conditions in South Chicago, South Deering, and Pullman," 39–40.

[49] The quote referred to conditions just east of the stockyards. Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 222.

survey of housing along "Whiskey Row" in Back of the Yards provided numerous examples of inflated rents, as that area was the only part of the neighborhood open to Mexicans at the time. One apartment, which the author noted was overcrowded due to the broader "hostility" directed toward Mexicans, rented to Mexicans for $27 a month while "the corresponding flat on the second floor which is identical in every way but which is occupied by an Irish family, rents for $20." Similarly, "in an old rotting cottage of six rooms the Mexican tenants pay $21 rent. A similar near-by cottage only in better condition is occupied by a Polish family who pay $10 rent."[50]

In East Chicago, a social worker complained in 1926 that the regularly inflated rents that Mexicans paid contributed to hazardous housing conditions, as Mexicans were forced to take on too many boarders in properties that were already deteriorated. She reported that "The conditions under which they live are very poor, many of them living in dark basements and many in little shacks in back of larger homes which in many cities would be condemned and torn down. The rent which they are charged is outrageous. . . As the rent is so high, most every family has boarders, and in some cases in our census it was found that 75 men were living in one dark room in the basement, and the ceiling was so low that one could not stand up straight."[51]

As with the case of African-Americans, the higher rents that Mexicans had to pay were also linked to the popular perception that Mexicans depreciated property values. In this vicious circle of housing discrimination, the white belief that Mexicans (and blacks) threatened property values became a self-fulfilling prophecy, based on whites' own prejudices. Because whites refused to live in property previously occupied by non-whites, the value of property rented to Mexicans decreased, causing property owners to charge higher rents in an effort to recover their losses. As with African-Americans, the higher rents charged to Mexicans – when combined with the refusal to rent to Mexicans in other areas – caused Mexicans to take on boarders, leading to

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[50] Miller, "Rents and Housing Conditions in the Stock Yards District of Chicago, 1923," 22.

[51] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 185–86.

overcrowding. This overcrowding, in turn, exacerbated a pattern in which property owners did not make improvements to property that they already saw as depreciated, leading to further physical deterioration of the property, which truly did decrease the property's overall value. Elements of this vicious circle dynamic can be discerned in the comments of white residents and property owners in Brighton Park, where Paul Taylor reported there was "antipathy" toward the entrance of Mexicans. One man complained, "The Mexicans depreciate property. If they come in, others don't want to live there. They spoil a neighborhood." Nonetheless, landlords saw them as valuable for the higher rents they were willing to pay, even though this led to the further deterioration of their property. As one stated, "We rent our poorest houses that the others don't want, to the Mexicans. They pay good rent. We don't rent them our best houses because they keep the houses so dirty."[52] Clearly, the inflated rents that Mexicans had to pay reflected whites' belief that Mexicans represented an inherent threat to property values.

However, as suggested in some of the other cases above, inflated rents also revealed how Mexicans were limited in their housing choices by other restrictions that greatly reduced the supply of available housing, thereby raising the price. The most basic of these restrictions was the practice of simply refusing to rent housing to Mexicans outside of the localized neighborhoods where Mexicans were already established – a particularly effective strategy given that virtually all Mexicans were renters well into the 1930's.[53] In Gary, a Mexican worker interviewed in a local pool room described this pattern, even though he suggested how this discrimination did not permeate the city's poor south side where Mexicans were already localized. The Mexican man

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[52] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 223–24.

[53] According to Paul Taylor, there was only one known Mexican homeowner in Chicago in 1924. Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 166. Elizabeth Hughes' 1924-1925 survey of 266 Mexican households in Chicago found no Mexican property owners. Hughes, *Living Conditions*, 31. Surveys of specific blocks in Chicago's Mexican neighborhoods confirmed the lack of Mexican home ownership as well. See Adams, "Present Housing Conditions in South Chicago, South Deering, and Pullman," 63, and Table 29, p.92.

stated that "There is no trouble [here] with the *güeros* (blonds).[54] They are easy to get along with. Here on the south side we all get along together. In some buildings you have *güeros* and Mexicans living together; there is no trouble; the Negroes live next door, and so it goes." This, of course, was the essence of Mexicans' localized, but not yet isolated residential pattern – a pattern that held for African-Americans there as well, as revealed here and in the black social worker's statement quoted earlier in this chapter about the mixed neighborhoods of Gary's south side. However, this same Mexican informant testified to Mexicans' localization when he noted that "On the north side they will not rent to Mexicans."[55]

Whites in the Chicago-Calumet region also utilized more aggressive measures to confine Mexicans to particular neighborhoods, including violence and proposed institutional means of actively segregating Mexicans along with blacks. The violent and institutional methods that whites used in their efforts to segregate Mexicans closely resembled the methods whites were simultaneously using to segregate blacks in the urban North.[56] Moreover, Mexicans were targeted alongside blacks in official proposals for segregation in East Chicago and South Chicago during the 1920's.

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[54] *Güero/a* refers to light skin color as well as hair. It is used in Mexico to refer to lighter complexioned people in general, including those of European background even if they have dark brown hair. In this quotation, it almost certainly refers to people who would have been called "white" according to North American standards.

[55] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 226. African-American George Kimbley lived in the same section of central Gary described here, and similarly recalled that European immigrants and African-American migrants lived side by side in the shacks and tenements of this neighborhood, which was known as "the Patch." He also offered a description of Gary's north side that matches the exclusivity described by the Mexican informant here: "Across the tracks on the segregated North Side, however, stood the stately homes of the so-called Americans, white families whose breadwinner was a foreman or a skilled craftsman in the mill." Ruth Needleman, *Black Freedom Fighters in Steel: The Struggle for Democratic Unionism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 2003), 13, 19.

[56] On violence, see Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, Chapter Seven, "Holding the Line: Violence"; Cayton and St. Clair Drake, *Black Metropolis*, 178–80; Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, Chapter Two, "An Era of Hidden Violence" and Chapter Three, "Friends, Neighbors, and Rioters"; and Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919*, "Contested Neighborhoods and Bombings."

As suggested by the previous discussions of white hostility toward Mexicans during and after the race riot, the Back of the Yards neighborhood saw some of the most violent resistance to Mexicans moving in during the 1920's. In an incident that closely resembled the tactics whites used to terrorize blacks along the edge of the Black Belt during this same period, a former Mexican resident recalled in 1928 that "We used to live on 45th and Ashland, but the Poles are terrible to fight the Mexicans. There is a fight nearly every night. They threw stones with notes tied to them through our window telling us to move out of that neighborhood. Finally they threw rags saturated with oil and lighted, into our basement. They also threw another stone which nearly hit my father. They said they were setting the house on fire, and that if we did not move they would bomb the house." Fortunately, the poor housing conditions of the neighborhood - which included poor drainage and damp basements - ironically worked in this family's favor, as the wood in the basement was too damp to catch fire. Nonetheless, the man's father thought it best to move.[57] Another Back of the Yards street Mexicans moved into during the 1920's was Gross Street, the diagonal avenue running northeast from 47th and Ashland, where the University of Chicago operated its settlement house under the direction of Mary McDowell. The first Mexicans to move into these homes "had their windows smashed by Poles."[58]

Moreover, some of the Mexicans who faced these hostilities in the Back of the Yards neighborhood had previously been driven out of Canaryville, a predominately Irish neighborhood east of the stockyards, by similar tactics. In Canaryville, Irish youth gangs had played a prominent role in this effort (as did youth elsewhere), but the process was further supported by local Irish police officers. A Mexican who arrived in Chicago in 1920 reported that "I used to live on Emerald Avenue east of the yards, but I moved to the west side on account of troubles with the

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[57] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 223. Significantly, the family relocated to the Hull House neighborhood, reinforcing the evidence which suggests that the Hull House nighborhood allowed Mexicans the greatest residential mobility within the Chicago region. For a general description of the drainage problems and dampness in these homes, see Miller, "Rents and Housing Conditions in the Stock Yards District of Chicago, 1923," 6–9.

[58] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 223.

Irish. The young Irish used to smash the [Mexican] pool hall windows at Forty-Third and Emerald Avenue, and used to waylay Mexicans and beat them up. Some of the Irish policemen said to the Mexicans, 'You ___ ___ Mexicans, why don't you go back to your own country?' The trouble with the Irish lasted sporadically three or four years. The Mexicans moved to the west of the yards because of this trouble."[59]

As in Back of the Yards, Poles (followed by Slovaks) represented the majority of the population living in South Chicago when Mexicans began moving in.[60] However, South Chicago differed markedly from Back of the Yards in that blacks had moved into the blocks immediately adjacent to Illinois Steel's South Works before Mexicans made this same area their core area of settlement. As Mexicans moved in, they took up residence along with blacks in these blocks, roughly between 87th and 91st Streets and east of Brandon Avenue. Additionally, blacks had begun trying to move further west at the time Mexicans began moving in. Thus, in South Chicago Mexicans were not the sole threat to the preexisting white immigrant residents, and the core area of Mexican settlement was one that Polish residents had already been depopulating prior to Mexicans' arrival. Nonetheless, violent resistance to Mexican occupancy materialized, especially when Mexicans tried to move beyond their core area of settlement, either to "the Bush" to the north; or more strikingly, across the railroad tracks and Brandon Avenue to the west (a transitional area of new Mexican settlement), and across the unspoken but even harder boundary of Commercial Avenue a few blocks beyond (see Map 3 in Appendix M-2).

The relative ease with which Mexicans initially settled in the black-occupied blocks adjacent to Illinois Steel was recalled in 1928 by a longtime German resident of South Chicago, whose account reveals the importance of black settlement in easing the way for Mexicans: "The Mexicans came in flocks five years ago. The landlords were getting tired of the dirty,

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[59] In addition to the quoted Mexican resident, non-Mexican residents also testified that Mexicans were forced to move west of the yards by the actions of the first- and second- generation Irish who lived east of the yards, including the police. Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 222.

[60] Adams, "Present Housing Conditions in South Chicago, South Deering, and Pullman," 17, 61–62.

troublesome Negroes. When the Negroes moved out, they rented the places to the Mexicans. They don't bother the other people in the neighborhood. They are nice neighbors." Paul Taylor noted a vastly different response to the Mexican presence among other South Chicagoans, "particularly young Poles," who expressed a great degree of hostility toward the Mexican newcomers. In general, Taylor noted that white resistance to Mexicans was considerable throughout South Chicago, but really materialized when Mexicans attempted to move out of their core area of settlement, that is, out of "the more restricted and poorer locality which they occupied, largely among Negroes."[61]

In several instances, white resistance took the form of outright violence. In 1928, a Mexican who attempted to move into a house 4 blocks outside the core Mexican area had to leave after one day "because of threats of the neighbors."[62] Attempts to move west of Commercial Avenue were met with particular resistance. It seems likely that Commercial Avenue was the street referred to in a 1927 labor survey of South Chicago, which noted that "the Polish residents ... have designated a certain street as a line which no Mexican shall pass after sunset under penalty of being beaten up."[63] Paul Taylor noted that "at least two Mexican families which attempted [moving across Commercial Avenue] had their windows broken," and only a handful of Mexicans had attempted such a move.[64]

This use of violence to restrict Mexican residence occurred within a larger context of generalized hostility and violence between Mexicans and Poles in South Chicago. A clergyman commented on the "friction with the Poles" by observing that "The Poles say the Mexicans are taking their work," but also that Mexicans were perceived to have lower "standards of living," a

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[61] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 224.

[62] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 224.

[63] George T. Edson, "Mexicans in Chicago, Illinois," December 31, 1926, p.13, in Container 13, Folder 27: "Edson, George - Field Reports - Illinois (1926-1927)," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[64] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 225.

common concern motivating housing exclusion as well as competition in the job market.[65] Furthermore, other "turf" conflicts likely reflected the symbolic claiming of neighborhoods as "white" and closed to Mexican settlement.

For example, in 1926 South Chicago Poles broke the windows of a Mexican business that was located two blocks beyond the edge of the core Mexican settlement.[66] The more generalized violence between Mexicans and Poles in South Chicago also tended to crystallize along the neighborhood's unspoken spatial boundaries. In January 1930, three Mexicans killed a Polish policeman who had attempted to detain them in the heart of the Mexican neighborhood, and local Poles were reported to be collecting funds for the prosecution, in order to have the three Mexicans sent to the electric chair. The incident set off a period of pronounced Polish-Mexican conflict, in which a group of Poles reportedly began assaulting numerous Mexicans in retaliation for the death of the Polish officers. The Mexican Consul reported that the fighting assumed "alarming proportions," with attacks occurring "almost daily." But the more violent attacks appear to have occurred along the edges of the neighborhoods where Mexicans had settled. In February, Apolonio Castellano was "brutally struck" on the corner of 83rd and Buffalo as part of this general violent spree.[67] This was on the northern edge of "the Bush," a highly territorial

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[65] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 230.

[66] This business was within two blocks of the home where the Mexican noted above was forced to move out after threats from neighbors. Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 224; citing *México*, October 16, 1926.

[67] Accounts of these incidents seem to differ in the details, and possibly confuse the two attacks, as well as some of the dates. In Paul Taylor's reading of the local Mexican press, Castellano was attacked again an hour after his first attack, as he was returning from the police station where he had reported the first attack. A group of Poles who were arrested for the attack claimed that they were the victims rather than the perpetrators, and had acted in self-defense. Apparently, they were never charged. Instead, 24 Mexicans were subsequently arrested and detained at the police station in South Chicago as part of a general roundup. Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 230–31, citing *México*, February 27, 1930. The arrest of the 24 Mexicans likely stemmed from the fact that a Polish man (Joseph Sarnowski) was found dead two hours after Castellano's attack, and another Pole who was injured (Peter Kulik) claimed Castellano and his party were the killers. This incident led to Polish demands for Castellano and José Torres to be sent to the electric chair, just as the January killing of the Polish police officer had. See "Informe de Protección que rinde el Consulado de México en Chicago, correspondiente al mes de febrero de 1930" (section on Mexicans in prison), and the similar report for April 1930, both in File IV-69-41: "Protección a mexicanos por el consulado de Mexico en Chicago Ills, EEUU," AHGE. The January killing of

neighborhood north of 87th Street that Mexicans had only sparsely settled in 1928, mostly in the blocks farther south and closer to the steel mills. The Bush was anchored on the largely Polish parish of St. Michael's three blocks to the west, and completely excluded blacks throughout the 1930's. Mexicans were effectively barred from living west of Brandon and north of 83rd (see Map 3 in Appendix M-2, as well as the analysis and map of the Bush in Chapter 6).

Mexicans living in the Hull House neighborhood on Chicago's near west side did not face the same level of violent resistance as Mexicans in Back of the Yards and South Chicago. This was not surprising, given that the neighborhood was "rapidly being depopulated, and tenants are therefore in greater demand," as Paul Taylor noted. However, even though violence aimed at restricting and containing Mexican residential mobility was not as strong as in Back of the Yards or South Chicago (nor as successful), it was still substantial. Some of this resistance against Mexicans took the form of more general hostility from the neighborhood's Italian residents, even though Italians had friendly relations with Mexicans at other times.[68] An Italian woman living on DeKoven Street near Halsted, in the heart of densely settled Mexican area, stated in 1928 that "We don't like to have the Mexicans moving in. Some people are afraid of them. It is better for each nationality to live by itself."[69] Such desires to exclude Mexicans manifested themselves in action as well. A Mexican woman who was living in the Proviso railroad camp in 1928 stated that "We came to this camp from town on account of the Italians. They were very bad to us and some of the other Mexican families had trouble with them. They were always trying to do

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Polish police officer Louis Szewczyk by Max Garcia was also recounted in "Mexican Kills Policeman Who Questions Him," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 28, 1930, p.1.

[68] In addition to the neighborhood's housing dynamics, Paul Taylor explained the lower level of white resistance in the Hull House neighborhood by noting that Mexican relations with Italians were generally better than those with Poles, due to cultural and language factors, and the fact that the "economic differential" between Mexicans and Italians in the Hull House neighborhood was less than that between Mexicans and Polish neighbors elsewhere. Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 221.

[69] The reference to fearing Mexicans likely related to the association of Mexicans with criminality, particularly in the Chicago press. See Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 144, 242.

something to us. They called us dogs and threw things when we were not looking. They would crowd us off the sidewalks and make insulting remarks about us when we went by."[70]

Other evidence suggests that these kinds of general hostility were in fact linked to broader exclusionary efforts directed against Mexicans in the Hull House neighborhood. Mexican newspapers in Chicago reported numerous attacks on Mexicans in 1926 and 1927 in the Hull House neighborhood, made by both Poles and Italians. These incidents of violence in the Hull House neighborhood all occurred on the borders of the core Mexican neighborhood - particularly on the south, east, and southwest edges of the core area.[71] The location of these attacks suggests that they may have been part of an effort to police the borders of the expanding Mexican neighborhood. Notably, the southern border of the dense area of Mexican settlement ran along Roosevelt Road, and Italian and Polish residents were making strong efforts at this time to resist the entrance of black residents south of Roosevelt Road as well.[72]

Polish resistance to Mexicans in the Hull House neighborhood was generally more vigorous than that of Italians. This resistance was also clearly associated with efforts to keep Mexicans out of the neighborhood, at least according to accounts of hostilities given in the Mexican press. In January 1927, Poles killed a Mexican at 14th Place and South Halsted. This was several blocks south of Roosevelt Road, at the tip of an expanding southern spear of the Mexican settlement area (see Map 1 in Appendix M-2). The newspaper *Mexico* noted that no robbery had been committed, stating, "it appears that the quarrelsome Poles have the district

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[70] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 221.

[71] Four out of eight accounts that Paul Taylor found in the Mexican press for 1926-1927 occurred on the edges of the core Mexican settlement in the Hull House neighborhood, as depicted on Taylor's map of Mexican residences (Map 1 in Appendix M-2). Taylor did not note the location of the other four incidents, which may also have occurred on the fringes of the Hull House area. Some cases involved the arrests of Mexicans for murder, though the Mexican press claimed that these killings were all in self-defense. Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 230 (n151).

[72] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 221–22, 252; Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, 283–84.

terrorized, hoping (perhaps) to eliminate the [Mexican] workers in the neighborhood."[73] As late as 1933, a student surveying the Hull House neighborhood noted that Mexicans continued to receive the worst housing in the district, because older groups in the neighborhood (Italians and Poles) continued to resist Mexicans moving into more desirable areas.[74]

The grassroots exclusionary practices described above were not the only means that whites employed to contain Mexicans within specific neighborhoods and blocks in the Chicago-Calumet region. As the practice of charging Mexicans inflated rents revealed, the belief that Mexicans posed a threat to property values was an important motivating factor in the violence, inflated rents, and outright exclusion that Mexicans faced. Accordingly, this belief motivated a number of institutional and quasi-official efforts to segregate Mexicans as well – efforts that closely resembled similar efforts aimed at African-Americans. As with African-Americans, these efforts to segregate Mexicans were initiated by real estate and banking interests, as well as municipal planning councils, chambers of commerce, and neighborhood associations. All of these approaches reflected, either implicitly or explicitly, the perception that Mexicans depreciated property values, as the realtor quoted at the beginning of this chapter attested.

One of these more organized attempts to segregate Mexicans took place in Back of the Yards, where forms of resistance and exclusion had been directed at Mexicans ever since the Chicago race riot. In 1928, the Polish newspaper *Dziennik Chicagoski* announced an "Important

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[73] *México*, January 8, 1927, translated in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 221. Nonetheless, Paul Taylor noted that Mexicans continued to move into the general Hull House area, and even expand their core area to the east and west, though not south of Roosevelt Road (where an expanding black residential area met pronounced resistance from Italians and others). Expansion to the east continued in spite of attacks on Mexicans between Halsted and Canal. Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 222. For an account of the attacks between Halsted and Canal, Taylor cites *México*, April 27, 1927. Although not stated explicitly, Taylor's account suggests that these attacks were made by Poles as well.

[74] Madeline Kneberg, "Mexicans in Chicago: An Informal Study of Broken Homes and Delinquency Among Mexicans in the City," (Term Paper for Sociology 264, "The Growth of the City," University of Chicago: March, 1933) pp.5-6. Folder 4, Box 133, Ernest W. Burgess Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

Meeting of the 14th Ward Citizens Club to be held January 15" at Pulaski Hall, which was located at 4831 South Throop Street. Significantly, this was in the center of an expanding area of Mexican settlement east of Ashland Avenue and south of 47th Street (see Map 2 in Appendix M-2). The announcement described the purpose of the meeting in terms that were strikingly similar to the approaches utilized by white neighborhood councils in resisting black "invasion" of white neighborhoods. The article explained that, "Because persons of other races are establishing their homes in the township of the town of Lake[75], a special meeting is to be held by the 14th Ward Citizens Club, under the auspices of the League of Associated Citizens' Clubs of the southside [sic]." The "other races" referred to here were unquestionably Mexicans. Taylor's map (Map 2 in Appendix M-2) shows this area as an expanding Mexican area in 1928, and no blacks moved into this neighborhood until well after 1960.[76] The purpose of the meeting revealed the characteristic concern that the entrance of Mexicans depreciated real estate, and suggested that measures of limiting this process were to be considered: "The gradual arrival of other races has depreciated real estate. Because of this development, many important issues will be discussed. Property owners in this locality are requested to weigh the problem carefully and to attend the meeting, which should interest everybody."[77]

In Gary and East Chicago, attempts to segregate Mexicans in order to preserve property values were taken up by real estate and banking interests. One real estate company sought to develop a separate "Colonia Iturbide" where Gary Mexicans would be invited to purchase and

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[75] The "Town of Lake" was the former designation of this area of Back of the Yards, before it was incorporated into the city of Chicago.

[76] See maps of the black residential areas provided in Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, 132–33, 184 (maps for 1930); Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 6–8 (maps for 1940, 1950, and 1960); and Melvin G. Holli and Peter d'A. Jones, eds, *Ethnic Chicago* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm B Eerdmans, 1984) 387, Revised ed (map showing "areas of Negro residence in Chicago, 1950, 1960, and 1967).

[77] *Dziennik Chicagoski*, January 7, 1928, as translated in the Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey (Chicago Public Library), Reel 49, Polish Language Section, Sub-Section I.C.

build homes.[78] In East Chicago, a local banker was quoted as saying that banking and realty interests wanted to put restrictions (possibly restrictive covenants) in place, "but haven't gotten very far with it yet." He bemoaned the fact that Mexicans used to live "on Second Street, Block and Pennsylvania," but that by 1927 they had "spread" out, due to the greater availability of housing in the late 1920's and the fact that Mexicans and "coloreds" paid better rents than other groups.[79]

The reference to restrictions that had not "gotten very far yet" likely referred to considerations made in 1926 and 1927 by the East Chicago Chamber of Commerce and City Planning Commission to officially segregate Mexicans and blacks in East Chicago's housing market. In 1926, the East Chicago Chamber of Commerce had commissioned a study to determine why "people" (i.e., "white" people) refused to live and build homes in the city, and what could be done to turn this trend around. 25% of the persons interviewed for the study gave racial reasons for not living in East Chicago. One stated that "Too many Negroes and Mexicans are not separated from the Americans," while another informant commented that "Wife refuses to live in East Chicago on account of Negroes and Mexican element." In 1927 the City Planning

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[78] Paul Taylor noted that this was the only instance of this practice in the Calumet - Chicago region, though the practice was common in the Southwest. Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 227. The choice of "Iturbide" in the development's name is interesting. Agustín Iturbide was the military general responsible for Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821, and was in this sense a national, patriotic hero. However, Iturbide quickly moved to limit the influence of the popular, indigenous forces responsible for defeating the Spanish troops, and established himself as an emperor with royal-like dictatorial powers. In this sense, Iturbide was rarely a hero invoked by the popular Mexican Revolution that began in 1910.

[79] Interview, "Indiana State Bank, Indiana Harbor. Bankers and Managers of the Indiana State Theatre," August 4, [likely 1928], in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). The complaint that Mexicans had "spread out" should not be read as a statement that Mexicans were no longer segregated. Indeed, this same kind of statement was made of blacks in Gary during the 1920's, which eventually became one of the most racially segregated cities in the country. The *Gary Post-Tribune* reported in 1923 that "the negroes have refused segregation and have blanketed themselves indiscriminately over the whole town." While it is true that Gary's African-Americans were in an earlier, less consolidated stage of segregation than their counterparts in Chicago during the 1920's, it is also clear that complaints by bankers and other civic boosters about the lack of segregation of non-whites were often exaggerated. If anything, such statements reflected the strength and vitality of white desires to impose segregation, and the very real possibility that such segregation could yet become a reality. The *Gary Post-Tribune* quote appears in Mohl and Betten, *Steel City: Urban and Ethnic Patterns in Gary, Indiana, 1906–1950*, 52.

Commission, which had made extensive use of the Chamber of Commerce study, recommended the segregation of Mexicans and blacks: "In our opinion, the unforward influences of these persons can be minimized by segregation to particular portions of the city. If this can be accomplished in such a manner as to assure persons contemplating taking up their residence in East Chicago that such segregation is reasonably permanent, the objections to their presence will be minimized." However, the Planning Commission report ultimately shied away from advocating a legally mandated program of segregation, stating that, "after mature consideration of the subject, we are of the opinion that such [segregation] can be accomplished through the force of public opinion."[80] While averting official segregation, the statement clearly testified to the strength of popular, neighborhood-level resistance to Mexicans in East Chicago.

A similar effort occurred in South Chicago, which retained a strong sense of local autonomy despite the fact that it was officially part of the city of Chicago. However, even though Mexicans were seen as a non-white race that should be segregated with blacks, a major limitation on the proposal was the fact that, unlike blacks, Mexicans did not pose a significant housing threat throughout greater Chicago. Additionally, the legal case for segregating Mexicans was weakened by federal definitions of Mexicans' race that did not correspond to local understandings. Officials within South Chicago's Chamber of Commerce proposed the official segregation of Mexicans in 1929, "and initial steps looking in that direction were taken." The Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce explained that "The objections to Mexicans are because of race, economic competition, and lower standards of living. People would like to segregate the Mexicans as well as the Negroes, but we probably will not go ahead with the segregation for two reasons: First, the legal case for such separation is not so clear as for separation of the Negroes.

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[80] Ciro H. Sepúlveda, "Social Life and Nativism in *La Colonia del Harbor*," *Forging a Community: The Latino Experience in Northwest Indiana, 1919–1975*, eds James B. Lane and Edward J. Escobar (Chicago: Cattails Press and Calumet Regional Archives, 1987) 90–91.

We understand that the Mexicans are legally classed as white. Second, the Mexicans do not present a general problem throughout the entire Chicago community as do the Negroes."[81]

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Beliefs about Mexicans' threat to property values clearly motivated white attempts to segregate Mexicans – both at the grassroots and quasi-official or institutional levels. But as suggested above, these beliefs about Mexicans' threat to property values were but one part of a larger, organic set of racial beliefs. Dynamically linked to the idea that Mexicans posed a threat to property values was the simple idea that Mexicans were non-white, and that Mexicans' non-whiteness was most readily apparent in their bodies and skin color.[82] As a result, the entrance of Mexicans' non-white bodies into other "white" urban spaces – especially those devoted to the more intimate mingling of white bodies, such as public showers, theaters, and wedding halls – raised racial fears and forms of white resistance similar to those that greeted African-Americans in these same settings during this period. These conflicts over public spaces were a parallel phenomenon of housing exclusion, and examining them helps illuminate the racial thinking behind efforts to exclude Mexicans from housing as well.

At Hull House on Chicago's near west side, Italians initially received Mexicans "almost as a group of their own countrymen," according to Jane Addams. However, as Addams recorded in *The Second Twenty Years at Hull House*, Italian-Mexicans relations gradually soured. As they did, Italians attempted to exclude Mexicans from the Hull House's public spaces. Their efforts centered on concerns about Mexicans' skin color, and on spaces like Hull House's wedding hall, a site characterized by actual and symbolic intermingling of bodies. One major source of Italian

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[81] Additionally, local merchants and steel mill representatives opposed the move, because both depended on Mexicans; as clientele and laborers, respectively. Interview, Secretary of the South Chicago Chamber of Commerce, likely 1928, in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," pp.62-64 (stamped pp.572-74), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). See also Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 225. The assertion that Mexicans were "legally white" most likely stemmed from debates at the time concerning Mexicans' official racial identity under U.S. immigration and naturalization law, which (tenuously) maintained that Mexicans were white (see the full discussion of this issue in Chapter 4).

[82] Whites' ideas and perceptions about Mexicans' racial identity are examined in greater detail in Chapter 4.

hostility was Mexicans' free intermingling with blacks, who were increasingly settling south of Roosevelt Road. Also, "many Mexicans were of dark skin." Eventually, a group of Italians threatened to withdraw from Hull House altogether if Hull House did not ban Mexicans. The reason given was that Mexicans were "people of color," a significant charge in a period when settlement houses were increasingly turning away "coloreds" (i.e., blacks) in order to keep white clientele. Sometime near 1928, Italians in the neighborhood also threatened to stop renting Hull House's Bowen Hall for weddings if Hull House continued to rent it to Mexicans. On all of these counts, however, the settlement refused to give in, and continued to serve both groups despite the tension.[83]

Conflicts over public spaces in Back of the Yards reflected the broader forms of hostility between Mexicans and Poles there, while also revealing how that hostility became especially heated when Mexicans attempted to enter spaces reserved for "white" bodies, such as showers. At the University of Chicago Settlement House on Gross Street, conflicts arose between Mexican and Polish young men who wanted to use the settlement gymnasium. Eventually, the Mexicans stopped coming to the settlement altogether.[84] A more intense conflict surrounded the use of Davis Square Park by Mexicans in the late 1920's. Davis Square Park was west of Ashland Avenue, well within the core Polish and Lithuanian neighborhoods of Back of the Yards (and only one block north of Seward School). Despite its location west of the unspoken boundary of Ashland Avenue, it was the nearest park available to Mexicans in the area. According to a social worker active in the area, "the Mexicans got rocked at Davis Square by a gang of Lithuanians" in

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[83] This paragraph is drawn from two accounts. Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 235 includes the testimony of the long-time settlement resident regarding the "Latin-American [sic] Club" and the conflict over the Hull House wedding hall. Accounts of the growing distance between Italians and Mexicans, the break up of the Latin Club, and the general threat by Italians to withdraw from Hull House activities are drawn from Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, 283–84, citing Jane Addams, *The Second Twenty Years at Hull House* (New York, 1930), 282-83, among other sources. More generally, Philpott's work outlines the pattern of Chicago settlement houses turning away black residents, though a few settlements like Hull House managed to resist this practice (see especially Chapter 13, "Settlement Workers and Blacks: A 'Valid Difference'").

[84] Jones, *Conditions Surrounding Mexicans in Chicago*, 51.

1926 or 1927.[85] In 1928, the park superintendent reported that "Mexicans had to come in gangs to take showers at Davis Square Park." Hostilities with Poles over the use of the showers and baths seemed to be a factor as well, reflecting white beliefs that race was located in the body, and that intimate contact with non-white bodies needed to be avoided. The superintendent at Davis Square noted that an agreement had been made between the Poles and the Mexicans by which the Mexicans could use the baths between Monday and Friday, but the Poles had them to themselves on weekends.[86] At another nearby park, this type of informal segregation was even more explicit. There, the park caretaker reported to a social worker that "he had to keep the Mexicans out to avoid friction with the Lithuanians and Poles." The social worker commented that "Of course they don't do it just that way, but they let them [the Mexicans] know it is better for them to go to the other park."[87]

As in Back of the Yards, struggles over public spaces – especially those where bodies threatened to mix – were part of the generalized friction between Mexicans and older immigrant groups in South Chicago. When the South Chicago branch of the YMCA first opened, it had six Mexican boarders, but as an observer later reported, "[t]he opposition to them of the other members became so great that there was nothing else for the authorities to do but to get them out of the building as tactfully as they could." The YMCA's bowling alleys also tried to keep Mexicans out. In late 1927 or early 1928, the YMCA's bowling alleys manager reported that "they [the YMCA] never encourage them to come around, that in fact they do not want to have

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[85] Interview with "Reese," University of Chicago Settlement House (Back of the Yards), June 30, 1929, in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.50 (stamped p.560), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Also reproduced in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 229.

[86] Jones, *Conditions Surrounding Mexicans in Chicago*, 51.

[87] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 229. Whether the "other park" was Davis Square Park is not clear from the sources. It is also possible that the park referred to here was Davis Square, which would suggest that Mexicans had limited use of its showers but not the park itself.

them there." As a result, Mexicans in South Chicago stopped attending the branch altogether.[88] Similarly, white residents in Gary's racially mixed south side threatened to stop attending the activities at a local settlement house unless the settlement banned Mexicans.[89] More generally, the segregation of Mexicans from whites in public spaces occurred on a much more formalized basis in East Chicago and Gary (where Mexicans were numerically more prominent) than it did in the cases already noted in Chicago. In East Chicago, the public baths at Washington Park refused Mexicans, as did many restaurants and barber shops in town.[90] In Gary, a separate section was even laid out for Mexicans in the municipal cemetery.[91]

But perhaps the most prominent policing of Mexican bodies was the practice of segregating Mexicans and blacks from whites in East Chicago's upscale movie theaters, as noted in Chapter 2. In the mid-1920's, Gary's theaters had been segregated as well, but had been ended after Mexican residents appealed to the Mexican Consul in Chicago. But theater segregation in Indiana Harbor (East Chicago) continued as late as 1929, if not later. The owner of one of the Indiana State Theatre in East Chicago explained that he did it in order to satisfy his white patrons, who objected to Mexicans on the basis of their non-whiteness. His explanation also revealed his white patrons' sense of race as physically inherent in bodies – inherent in a way that was potentially degrading and couldn't be altered by external habits. As he stated, "The Mexicans are

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[88] Apparently in support of his stance against Mexicans, the bowling manager reported how he had to "kick out" four Mexicans who refused to follow rules against sitting on the edges of pool tables. Raymond E. Nelson, "Mexicans in South Chicago (A study conducted under the direction of Dr. Arthur E. Holt for the Chicago Congregational Missionary and Extension Society)," 1928, p.32, in Container 11, Folder 59: "Chicago & Calumet Area - South Chicago - Raymond E. Nelson Study," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Paul Taylor reported this anecdote in abbreviated form in his published work, Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 228.

[89] Ruth Hutchinson Crocker, "Gary Mexicans and 'Christian Americanization': A Study in Cultural Conflict," *Forging a Community: The Latino Experience in Northwest Indiana, 1919–1975*, eds James B. Lane and Edward J. Escobar (Chicago: Cattails Press and Calumet Regional Archives, 1987) 119–20.

[90] Ciro Haroldo Sepúlveda, "La Colonia del Harbor: A History of Mexicanos in East Chicago, Indiana, 1919–1932," PhD Dissertation (Notre Dame University, 1976) 119; *El Amigo del Hogar*, July 17, 1927 (cited by Sepúlveda).

[91] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 227.

not considered white. They are ushered to the first aisle with the colored. White people don't like to sit next to the colored or Mexicans. No, even though they are clean. . . . It is a high class theater and the white people who come would not like to sit next to the Mexicans."[92] The important point is not just that Mexicans experienced segregation, but that they were labeled "not white" and placed "with the colored."[93]

Finally, central to whites' fears of proximity with Mexican bodies was the fear of sexual relations between white women and Mexican men, and the degrading racial mixture that could ensue. The concern exhibited over these relations closely mirrored white concerns about black-white sexual relations and race mixture. As one Mexican man recounted, "My wife is an American and we have a four-year-old child. A neighbor said within hearing of my wife, 'Too bad she is a half-breed.'"[94] Similarly, an "American social worker" reported in 1928 how a fight broke out in Back of the Yards "when a Polish prostitute who had had relations with a Mexican accused him in the presence of a Pole."[95] The Mexican press reported similar hostilities. In November 1927 *La Notícia Mundial* reported how a Pole had recently murdered a Mexican man, Garcia, commenting that "It is believed that the motive of the assassination was the relations of Garcia and the wife of the assassin."[96] Paul Taylor concluded that along with economic competition, sexual relations between Mexicans and "whites" was the source of "most of the

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[92] Interview, "Indiana State Bank, Indiana Harbor. Bankers and Managers of the Indiana State Theatre," August 4, [likely 1928], in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes, Series E, Set I," p.33 (stamped p.833), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). On theater segregation in Indiana Harbor, see also Sepúlveda, "La Colonia del Harbor," 119; on general patterns in both Gary and Indiana Harbor, see Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 231–32.

[93] Interview with "Mr. [Vallez]/Baez; Presbyterian preacher, Neighborhood House," Gary, 1929, in Container 10, Folder 5: "Field Notes: Series B, Set I," p.93 (stamped p.264), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[94] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 244.

[95] Interview with "Reese," University of Chicago Settlement House, June 30, 1929, in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.50 (stamped p.560), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[96] When the table of sexual relations was turned, however, the reporting was quite different. According to an account written in *La Notícia Mundial* in August 1927, a Mexican woman shot a Polish man "in legitimate defense of her outraged honor." For both of these accounts, see Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 230 (n151).

friction" between old neighborhood residents and Mexicans, which led to "the resistance to establishment of domicile by the invading nationalities [Mexicans]."[97]

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While the perception of dark skin color was a key factor motivating exclusionary efforts against Mexicans, Mexicans' phenotypical diversity meant that individual Mexicans experienced segregation differently – even though "Mexican" remained a de facto non-white racial label during the 1920's. As already seen in Chapter 2, some lighter-skinned Mexicans were able to avoid being seated in the "colored" section of movie theaters in Gary and East Chicago. This pattern of divergent experiences based on skin color applied to housing as well. For example, a Mexican of mixed German and Mexican parentage who was one of the two "dark-skinned" children in his family was "particularly bitter and sensitive" about prejudice he felt due to his skin color, especially the "discrimination which he had experienced in endeavoring to rent rooms."[98] As a Mexican mechanic in Gary explained, "The color is the main thing; they don't want to rent to dark Mexicans."[99] Lighter-skinned Mexicans did usually fare better in obtaining housing, though they often had to deny the fact that they were Mexican. One lighter-skinned Mexican "of some education" was initially refused entry when he tried to rent a home on Gary's north side, but when he went to a different home in the same neighborhood and claimed to be Central American, rather than Mexican, he was accepted.[100] Similarly, a Mexican steelworker who had light hair and fair complexion was initially able to negotiate a home purchase in Gary's middle-class Tolleston neighborhood; but, when the real estate agent saw his darker wife and children and realized they were Mexicans, he refused to finalize the sale. Had the worker been willing to pay a sizable bribe

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[97] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 231.

[98] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 236.

[99] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 227.

[100] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 227.

and say he was Spanish rather than Mexican, a deal could have been made.[101] As these cases suggest, even though dark skin was the most objectionable characteristic for local whites, simply being identified as "Mexican" could work to exclude even the lightest of Mexicans. In South Chicago, an English-speaking Mexican who in one account was called a "white Mexican" (and in others was described as having "sandy hair" and "the appearance of an Irishman") negotiated a $25 rent until his son said "Qué bueno!" which resulted in the question, "Are you Mexicans?" and the announcement that the rent was $40, which they refused.[102]

Mexicans' skin color also had a direct impact on their residential mobility that can be measured in quantitative terms. Although the tract data published for Chicago's 1930 census did not enumerate Mexicans as a whole, it did enumerate the minority of Mexicans (7.9%) who were counted as "foreign stock white." The 1930 census was the first and only U.S. census to create a separate racial category of "Mexican," within the broader category of "other non-white." But as discussed in Chapter 4, census takers were instructed to place Mexicans in this category only if they "were not definitely white" or "Indian." Accordingly, Chicago census enumerators identified 7.9% of Mexicans as "white" in the 1930 census, almost certainly using skin color as their sole measure for this conclusion. Significantly, this minority of "white" Mexicans exhibited a far less localized residential pattern than the Mexican population as a whole. For example, while nearly half (47.3%) of Mexicans in 1934 lived in census tracts with a substantial Mexican population (10% or more of the tract's total population), only 14% of "white" Mexicans lived in those tracts in 1930. Thus, the vast majority of "white" Mexicans lived outside of the localized Mexican

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[101] The agent felt that if he could claim the family was Spanish rather than Mexican, he could avoid violating the "unwritten local codes" of the real estate profession. Raymond A. Mohl and Neil Betten, "Discrimination and Repatriation: Mexican Life in Gary," *Forging a Community: The Latino Experience in Northwest Indiana, 1919–1975*, eds James B. Lane and Edward J. Escobar (Chicago: Cattails Press and Calumet Regional Archives, 1987) 166; citing a 1970 interview with James Wright.

[102] Robert C. Jones field notes and manuscript [ca. 1928], p.80, in Container 11, Folder 49: "Chicago and Calumet Area - Field Notes: Robert C. Jones" (1 of 2), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Paul Taylor also recorded Jones' oral retelling of this incident in his own field notes: Interview with Robert C. Jones, Chicago, in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," pp.586-87, Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). The story appears in somewhat altered form in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 225.

neighborhoods where most other Mexicans lived. Another illustration of the way that "white" Mexicans generally lived outside of the core tracts where Mexicans were localized is the fact that this 7.9% of Mexicans who were "white" in 1930 only made up two to three percent of Mexicans living in tracts with 100 or more Mexicans in 1934. Finally, to look at it from the other side, tracts that had substantially "white" Mexican populations (25% or more of all Mexicans in the tract) were predominately located in the whiter near north and far north neighborhoods of Chicago (north of Jackson Avenue and north of all major Mexican settlements – even north of the relatively dispersed Mexican "satellite" areas of the Near West Side). The one exception was a tract in exclusive Hyde Park, similarly homogeneous in racial terms and well outside the core areas of Mexican settlement.[103]

As these cases show, Mexicans' skin color clearly affected the degree of residential segregation they experienced. However, it is significant that the "white" Mexicans who enjoyed

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[103] Due to the incomplete reporting of tract-level data for Mexicans, all of these statistics rely on a comparison of "white" Mexicans in 1930 with Mexicans as a whole in 1934. Secondly, only about one-fourth of the "white" Mexicans (386) were enumerated at the tract-level in 1930, so all of the statistical comparisons between "white" Mexicans in 1930 and all Mexicans in 1934 are based on this subset of "white" Mexicans. This subset represented those "white" Mexicans who lived in tracts with 10 or more "white" Mexicans or "other" white "foreign stock." This table for "other" foreign stock whites only gave tract data for tracts which had 10 or more of these "other" foreign stock whites – groups that were not captured under the more numerous foreign stock categories like Irish, Italian, German, etc. Nearly three-fourths of "white" Mexicans in 1930 lived in tracts with fewer than 10 of these "other" foreign stock whites, which may in itself suggest that the vast majority of "white" Mexicans lived in neighborhoods that were predominantly non-immigrant and non-Mexican – perhaps another measure of these "white" Mexicans' integrated residential status.

The 1934 data was tabulated by me from the published 1934 census data, as cited above in my discussion of Mexican indices of segregation for 1934. The 1930 tract data on "white" Mexicans was also tabulated by me, from: Ernest W. Burgess and Charles S. Newcomb, eds, *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), Table 2: "Supplement - Distribution of Foreign Born White Population in Class "All Other," By Census Tracts, 1930," (supplemental pages 26-29); and Table 3: "Supplement - Distribution of Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage in Class 'All Other,' by Census Tracts, 1930," (supplemental pages 29-31). The quote regarding the 1930 standards for recording Mexicans' race appears on p.192.

The *total* number of Mexicans enumerated as "white" in Chicago in 1930 was 1,537, out of a total Mexican population of 19,362. The 1,537 figure included 967 "foreign born whites" from Mexico, and 570 "native born whites" with one or both parents born in Mexico foreign stock. The remainder of Chicago's Mexicans were enumerated in the "Other Races - Mexican" category of the 1930 census. See *15th Census of the U.S. - Population, v.2*, Table 11; and *Abstract of the15th Census of the U.S.*, Table 41 (p.98). See also the compiled data and explanation of Mexicans' racial enumeration in the 1930 census in: Department of Development and Planning (City of Chicago), *The People of Chicago – Who We Are and Who We Have Been*, 57, note 83.

greater residential mobility were not widely perceived as being Mexican, as in the case of the Mexican man above who nearly negotiated the rental of an apartment at a good rate until his son spoke Spanish. As this latter case demonstrates, "Mexican" remained a term that denoted racial darkness in the 1920's, even when the light skin of some individual Mexicans provided evidence to the contrary. Thus, the mother of a light-skinned Mexican woman recounted how in the late 1920's no one at her daughter's factory would believe she was Mexican because she was so fair. "She tells them that she is pure Mexican, that every drop of her blood is Mexican," but the woman's co-workers remained incredulous.[104] Similarly, in commenting on the high level of phenotypical diversity among Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region, another observer added that "the better looking of the race usually are not taken for Mexicans by the passerby, and the nationality gets no credit for the proportion of fairer semblance." In other words, individual Mexicans' light skin failed to "lighten" the broader popular conceptions of Mexicans' racial darkness.[105] Nonetheless, the way that lighter- and darker-skinned Mexicans experienced segregation differently added an additional measure of uneven-ness to the residential segregation that Mexicans experienced during the 1920's.

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While Mexicans in the 1920's experienced forms of residential segregation that closely resembled the early stages of African-American segregation, the unconsolidated and uneven nature of their segregation meant that multiple possibilities still existed for Mexicans in the racialized housing markets of the Chicago-Calumet region. Of all the features of Mexicans' segregation, the fact that they were not yet isolated was one of the key reasons that these multiple possibilities still existed. Mexicans' non-isolation would be frozen by the onset of the Great Depression and the large-scale departure of Mexicans from the neighborhoods they had

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[104] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 235.

[105] George T. Edson (for the U.S. Department of Labor - Bureau of Labor Statistics), "Mexicans in Gary, Indiana" (ca. October 20-28, 1926), p.8; in Container 13, Folder 28: "Edson, George T. – Field Reports: Indiana," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

previously settled, thereby stalling any further development of Mexican residential segregation for more than a decade, and ensuring that most Mexicans continued to live in neighborhoods where non-Mexicans lived as well. By contrast, the corresponding early stages of African-American residential segregation were followed by the Great Migration, which catalyzed and accelerated the development of Chicago's segregated "Black Belt" by "filling in" most neighborhoods where blacks were not isolated, and magnifying the overall threat of "black invasion" to white property values. But with so many Mexicans in the 1930's leaving the neighborhoods they had previously settled, few Mexicans remained to "threaten" any white neighborhoods that resisted their entry (in stark contrast to the 1920's, when Mexicans' population was rapidly expanding). As a result, Mexicans' overall threat to property values during the 1930's remained small in comparison to African-Americans, making Mexicans a relatively insignificant "problem" from the perspective of real estate boards and other official and quasi-official agencies that sought to enforce segregation at the municipal level. The partial and incomplete nature of Mexicans' segregation during the 1920's therefore continued to persist throughout the 1930's, keeping the window open for multiple potential outcomes.

Scholarship that emphasizes race as a social construction – including historical work on whiteness – has seemed to run smack up against the historiography of residential segregation in the urban North, with its emphasis on an enduring, fixed division between "black" and "white" that has dictated the spatial development of northern cities. Even whiteness studies have at times assumed a pre-existing, dominant black-white racial order that European immigrants had to adopt in order to become "assimilated" and accepted as white Americans. However, the early experience of Mexican residential exclusion in greater Chicago reveals that the racial order of the Chicago region remained unsettled and more complex than a black-white dichotomy well after the Great Migration and the formation of the "black ghetto." Along these lines, it is telling that Chicago's European ethnics explained their stigmatization of *Mexicans* in Chicago as a necessary aspect of their assimilation to American racial standards. In 1928, when a Chicago settlement

house worker chided neighborhood Italians that they would not be "prejudice[d]" against Mexicans "because of their color" if they were in Italy, one of the Italians "replied seriously, 'No, but we are becoming Americanized.'"[106] Clearly, the "American" racial order that these European immigrants were adopting was more complex than one of black versus white.

Nor was Chicago's racial order fixed, as Mexicans' ultimate escape from residential segregation testified. While the unconsolidated nature of Mexicans' segregation helped ensure that this possibility remained open, so did the high level of ambiguity and confusion surrounding white conceptions of Mexicans' precise racial identity. During the 1920's, this ambiguity and confusion existed alongside the pronounced exclusion of Mexicans from housing and other urban spaces, and did not upset the general idea that Mexicans were somehow non-white and represented a racial threat to white neighborhoods and public spaces. By the 1930's, however, this uncertainty about Mexicans' racial identity would allow Mexicans to effectively lighten the perception of their own racial identity in the eyes of whites – employing in this process the more fluid and contingent notions of race that Mexicans brought with them to the Chicago-Calumet region. Chapter 4 begins the analysis of this transformation by exploring whites' confused ideas about Mexicans' racial identity.

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[106] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 235.

CHAPTER 4

AN UNCERTAIN SHADE OF DARKNESS:

THE AMBIGUITY OF MEXICANS' RACIAL IMAGE, 1916-1934

In 1916, when some of the first Mexicans to enter Chicago took up work and residence at Illinois Malleable Iron Company, they experienced what one observer called "friction" from the predominately German neighborhood surrounding the plant. Interviewed later, a junior executive of the plant made the statement that "A lot of these ignorant Germans called the Mexicans 'niggers.'"[1] His statement provides a telling glimpse of the level of disagreement and confusion among whites concerning Mexicans' race between the time of Mexicans' arrival and the early 1930's. On the one hand, the Germans in the neighborhood unquestionably associated Mexicans with blacks as racial undesirables. But the junior executive's statement revealed that, in his mind, there clearly was a difference between Mexicans and blacks, and to fail to recognize this difference signalled one's "ignorance" of racial categories in Chicago (even though he may well have thought that Mexicans were just as undesirable as blacks). Spoken at a very early stage in Mexicans' arrival in the Chicago-Calumet region, these two competing voices illustrate the ambiguity and confusion that characterized white perceptions of Mexicans' race from the moment of their arrival in the Chicago-Calumet region.

The transformation of Mexicans' racial status that this dissertation examines began with changes in white perceptions of Mexicans' race during the 1930's – changes that resulted in part from Mexicans' ability to alter their racial image in the eyes of whites. However, Mexicans' ability to reshape their racial image during the 1930's would not have been possible without the uncertainty and ambiguity that had characterized Mexicans' perceived racial identity since the late 1910's. In essence, while this ambiguity hurt Mexicans in the 1920's (by causing many whites to

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[1] Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States, Vol II, Part 2: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 7, No.2 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1932) 116. The identification of this plant as Illinois Malleable (on North Ashland Ave.) is taken from p.69 (n28).

assume the worst about Mexicans' race), by the 1930's the ambiguity in Mexicans' racial image began to help Mexicans, allowing them to actively manipulate and alter whites' perceptions. In order to understand Mexicans' ultimate ability to change their perceived racial identity – especially given the initial hostility and exclusion that Mexicans faced – it is first necessary to examine the uncertainty and confusion in white perceptions of Mexicans' race in the years immediately following their arrival in the Chicago-Calumet region.[2]

In examining this uncertainty and confusion it is helpful to differentiate between two kinds of racial perception by whites: perceptions of racial *identity* and perceptions of racial *quality*. While the junior executive and the German workers at Illinois Malleable in 1916 disagreed about *who* Mexicans were racially (Mexicans' racial identity), they likely did not disagree all that much about Mexicans' racial *quality* (i.e., the innate racial characteristics that Mexicans were purported to have). The broader pattern of white perceptions of Mexicans throughout the 1920's followed this dual framework. In general, whites agreed that Mexicans were racially different from themselves, and that they were racially inferior. This broad-based agreement about Mexicans' inferior racial quality encouraged whites to mobilize exclusionary efforts against Mexicans during the 1920's. Beyond this basic assertion of Mexicans' racial difference and inferiority, however, there was a great deal of disagreement and confusion about Mexicans' racial identity. Sometimes Mexicans were labelled black (or its equivalent, such as "nigger" or "colored"), sometimes neither white nor black, while at other times some light-skinned Mexicans were able to pass as white or be referred to as "white Mexicans," thereby confusing the widespread assertion of Mexicans' non-whiteness. Furthermore, popular conceptions of Mexicans' "mixed" racial heritage added to the confusion, as did the varying shades of skin color that Mexicans brought with them from the greater Bajío region. This confusion permeated both day-to-day interactions on the street and the

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[2] I focus on whites' racial perceptions because whites' racial perceptions were the major determining factor in Mexicans' early experience with housing exclusion as well as their later incorporation into anti-black exclusionary efforts.

actions of official bodies, from Chicago's local census commission to the Cook County Coroner's Office.

Because of this distinction between the ways that whites perceived Mexicans' racial quality and their racial identity, this chapter examines each of these topics distinctly as well. The first section of this chapter examines white perceptions of Mexicans' racial quality, because whites' general agreement on this front helps explain the forms of residential exclusion that Mexicans faced during the 1920's. The analysis then turns to Mexicans' perceived racial identity in the Chicago region, highlighting the ambiguous and unsettled aspects of that identity that would persist into the 1930's, allowing Mexicans to change white ideas about Mexicans' race when other changes during the 1930's helped promote that process. The final section of this chapter examines the federal government's own confusion regarding Mexicans' racial identity during this period. The federal government's ambiguous identification of Mexicans' race was quite significant, for it meant that white Chicagoans found no clear answers or precedents about Mexicans' race when they looked to federal agencies and officials for guidance (which whites were more prone to do in Chicago than in regions of the U.S. where Mexicans had a long-established presence). Thus, the federal government's conflicting definitions about Mexicans' "race" reinforced local patterns of confusion and disagreement that would make possible the changes in whites' perceptions during the 1930's. However, the federal context also had another important effect on local Chicago-area developments – even in the 1920's. The fact that Mexicans were treated *as if* they were white under immigration and naturalization law meant that there was no legal, federal precedent for treating Mexicans as non-white under the law. This dynamic was reinforced by the State Department's interest in preventing or minimizing official declarations of Mexicans' non-whiteness at any level of government. In at least two instances, this impetus to treat Mexicans as "whites" at the federal level caused local officials to treat Mexicans as if they "whites" as well, limiting the effects of outright racial exclusion against Mexicans and frustrating efforts to segregate Mexicans on an official basis.

Perceptions of Mexicans' Racial Quality

White perceptions of Mexicans' innate racial characteristics (i.e., their racial quality) were organically linked with representations and beliefs about Mexico and Mexican-ness fomented in the local press and in broader popular culture during the late 1910's and 1920's. Mexicans themselves, as well as sympathetic whites, readily identified this connection between popular representations of Mexican-ness and local whites' ideas about Mexicans' innately inferior qualities. Manuel Santa Cruz, interviewed in 1928 in a Mexican pool hall in Chicago's Brighton Park neighborhood, declared that "Mex[ico] and [the] U.S. get ideas of each other from the press which gives wrong ideas - gringoes and greasers."[3] Similarly, a sympathetic "American" supervisor in an East Chicago factory suggested that newspapers selectively overemphasized Mexican (male) criminality: "The Mexicans get a bad reputation through their drunkenness and court cases, which are played up by the papers and are the only things we hear about the Mexicans . . . Of course whites get drunk, too."[4] One Mexican noted that "educated Americans" were not openly prejudiced against Mexicans like uneducated ones were, but referring to a negative editorial about Mexico in the *Chicago Tribune*, stated that educated Americans "let it out in the press."[5]

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[3] Handwritten stenograph note-sheets in Container 11, Folder 44: "Chicago & Calumet Area - Field Notes (1928)," Paul S. Taylor Papers (Series 3, Sub-Series "Mexican Labor"), Bancroft Library, University of California – Berkeley, *hereafter* "Taylor Papers (S.3-ML)."

[4] Interview with "Mr. Cordon, Safety Man, General American Tank Car Company, Indiana Harbor, August 7 [likely 1928]," in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes, Series E, Set I," p.44 (stamped p.844), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Taylor identified him as "American" when printing this quote in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 144. Mexican men were indeed arrested at high rates for public intoxication during the 1920's, as is made clear from the reports of the Mexican Consulate in Chicago, who closely followed all criminal charges against Mexicans in the South Chicago "police" court. See, for example, the reports in File IV-69-41: "Protección a mexicanos por el consulado de Mexico en Chicago Ills, EEUU. -- Informes rendidos por dicho consulado durante el año," (October 1928 - December 1930), Archivo Histórico "Genaro Estrada," Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City (Tlatelolco), *hereafter* AHGE.

[5] Interview with Luis Zavala, Indiana Harbor, August 7, 1928; in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.46 (stamped p.846), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Zavala was "bitter over a Chicago Tribune editorial," and stated that "the writer did not know Mexican history if he said that Mexico had never achieved anything."

Mexicans and sympathetic whites also pointed to Hollywood films and the public schools as shaping local white ideas about Mexicans' inferiority. One Mexican commented that "in the schools the students are taught that Mexico is one of the most backward countries in the world," and school textbooks in the Chicago-Calumet region openly associated Mexicans' inferiority with Mexico's mixed racial heritage.[6] Significantly, Mexicans also connected these negative depictions of Mexican-ness with the housing exclusion and other forms of open hostility that whites directed at them. In this regard, Mexicans and white social workers pointed to Hollywood films in particular as shaping anti-Mexican behavior at the neighborhood level. In Back of the Yards, where Mexicans had experienced open hostility from local Poles ever since the time of the Chicago race riot, a social worker noted that "[a]nother reason for feeling against the Mexicans is the movie. The Polish kids are always playing Tom Mix and shooting three or four Mexicans" (Tom Mix was a popular Western actor from the period).[7] With regard to housing exclusion, one Mexican stated, "We have trouble when seeking better places [to live] because people mistrust Mexicans from the reputation of Mexicans in the papers, movies, etc. – and there are some bad Mexicans."[8]

Given the importance of these popular representations of Mexican-ness in shaping white perceptions of Mexicans' racial quality, and in encouraging whites' actions against individual Mexicans, it is useful to look further at the specifics of Mexicans' "reputation" and negative

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[6] The informant prefaced this statement by saying "The papers tell a lot of bad things about us and very few good things." Transcribed statements of "A.G.," nd (ca. 1928) in Container 11, Folder 49: "Chicago and Calumet Area - Field Notes: Robert C. Jones" (folder 1 of 2), pp.30-32, Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). "A.G.'s" comments are examined more fully in Chapter 5, which discusses the ways he tried to change these attitudes that his co-workers had acquired. The denigration of Mexicans' "mixed" racial heritage in school textbooks is discussed in the second section of this chapter, on white perceptions of Mexicans' racial identity.

[7] Interview with "Reese," University of Chicago Settlement House (Back of the Yards), June 30, 1929, in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.52 (stamped p.562), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[8] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 227–28. The interviewee added that "if they rent to the Mexicans in the alleys it is all right," meaning that whites would allow Mexicans into inferior rental units in spite of their negative attitudes about Mexicans. This comment appears to have been made on Chicago's Near West Side, which had a surplus of inferior rental units at the time.

characteristics that were represented in the press and in popular culture. Many of these popular representations centered on the violence of the Mexican Revolution and post-revolutionary political violence in Mexico. These depictions that not only shaped the image of Mexicans in Mexico, but also the image of Mexican immigrants in the U.S., oftentimes in explicitly racial ways. In addition, popular representations of Mexicans also racialized Mexicans as different and inferior through the use of highly sexualized images of Mexican women and Mexican men.

In the late 1910's and 1920's the Chicago press's reporting on the Mexican revolution and its violent aftermath in the 1920's readily associated Mexicans with violence, treachery, banditry, and uncleanliness. "Banditry" was a common theme in reporting outbreaks along the Southwest border, as well as throughout Mexico as a whole, especially during the late 1910's.[9] This theme was also prominent in Hollywood films and local plays from the late 1910's into the 1920's. A physician active in the Mexican Relations Commission of Chicago wrote in 1925 that "[t]he notion of 'banditry' has been inappropriately applied to Chicago's Mexicans – as a result of film and theatrical plays."[10] Silent films from the 1910's had laid the groundwork for these associations of Mexicans with banditry – and with general treachery and backwardness – in titles such as *Broncho Billy's Mexican Wife* (1912); *Barbarous Mexico* (1913); *Martyrs of the Alamo* (an epic 1915 follow-up to D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation*); *Licking the Greasers* (1916); and *The Gunfighter* (1917). In addition to the association of Mexicans with banditry and

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[9] As examples, see the various articles on Mexico and the Mexican border in the *Chicago Evening Post*, December 3, 1918; and "A Showdown With Mexico," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 7, 1919, p.8 (Editorials page), which discussed the "pursuit and punishment of the bandits who on July 12 robbed an American citizen" (this article is discussed later in this chapter, in the discussion of the State Department's efforts to quell any official pronouncements of Mexicans' non-whiteness). "Banditry" was also used extensively from the late 1910's through the 1930's to describe criminals and crime in Chicago, another characteristic that Mexicans were readily associated with in the popular press.

[10] Gertrude Howe Britton, Mexican Relations Commission of Chicago, to Anna Blair, December 10, 1925, Folder 4, Box 133, Ernest W. Burgess Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

backwardness, these films also racialized Mexicans by depicting Mexican men as actual or potential rapists, and Mexican women as inherently unfaithful wives and lovers.[11]

Newspaper reporting on the border also included disparaging treatments of the cleanliness and health of Mexican immigrants coming to the U.S., as in a *Chicago Tribune* headline in 1917 which read, "Dr. U.S. Bathes 929 Mexicans! And All Survive." The article described how, in the context of an increasingly militarized and regulated border in the aftermath of Pancho Villa's raid on Columbus, New Mexico, Mexican immigrants had "rioted" when given baths aimed at ridding them of typhus fever.[12] In Chicago, ideas about Mexicans' inherent uncleanliness and their resulting threat to public health helped fuel informal forms of housing exclusion. A Polish landlord in Brighton Park explained that "[w]e don't rent them our best houses because they keep the houses so dirty. There are cockroaches and other vermin there after the Mexicans have lived there and nobody else wants to live in them after the Mexicans."[13]

Associations of Mexican immigrants with uncleanliness and disease continued throughout the 1920's. In particular, local health officials in late 1920's Chicago publicly associated Mexicans with tuberculosis, and they made this association in explicitly racial terms. While the association between Mexicans and tuberculosis was not without some basis in fact, health officials

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[11] *Barbarous Mexico* was the pseudo-documentary of Pancho Villa that resulted from Hollywood companies paying Villa for the right to film him during his battles. In Chicago, the film's title was prominently displayed in advertisements, where the emphasis on the word "Barbarous" was protested by the Mexican Consulate, who eventually succeeded in having it stricken from a poster announcing: "A Trip Through Barbarous Mexico" (see the August 1913 consular correspondence in File 16-9-160, AHGE). Depictions of Mexicans in Hollywood film changed somewhat after the Mexican ban on Hollywood films in 1922 and the subsequent rise of the "Latin Lover" figure, but the older depictions of Mexicans as treacherous, backward bandits and over-sexed predators and vixens continued in more subtle forms as well (and likely remained rampant in the local "theatrical" productions noted by the physician above). On the films listed here, as well as the general depiction of Mexico and Mexicans in Hollywood films during the 1910's and 1920's, see Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations Between the United States and Mexico, 1920–1935* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1992) 169–71; and *The Bronze Screen: 100 Years of the Latino Image in American Cinema*, DVD (Questar, 2003), Susan Racho, Nancy de los Santos, Alberto Dominguez, dirs.

[12] *Chicago Tribune*, January 31, 1917, p.12.

[13] Handwritten notes on "Polish landlord - on 38th St - W. of Kedzie," in Container 11, Folder 44: "Chicago & Calumet Area - Field Notes (1928)," which also appears in slightly altered form in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.107; both in Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

and the local press used this connection to support the movement for Mexican immigration restriction, as when the *Tribune* ran the headline "Depicts Mexican Immigrants as a Health Menace – Doctor Urges Bar to Halt Disease Invasion." This article reported on the "scientific" findings and opinions of Dr. Benjamin Goldberg of Chicago's Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. Goldberg reported on the disproportionally high rates of tuberculosis among both Mexicans and "Negroes," clearly contrasting these groups as racially distinct from "whites" who contracted tuberculosis at normal rates. Goldberg's concern was that blacks and Mexicans, who were racially susceptible to the disease, might spread it to poorer whites who were susceptible by reason of their environment. He commented that "the Negro and the Mexican ... live in densely populated urban centers, in contact with grades of the white race whose food, housing, etc., make them prone to tuberculosis." In general, though, even these environmentally deprived whites were more racially resistant to the disease. He noted that "the health inheritance of our immigrants [i.e., of all immigrants] for the most part is the inheritance of the older, more civilized races. Most of these races have run the gamut of disease ... and have gone through the 'survival of the fittest' ordeal ... finally reaching comparative racial immunity." Mexicans, on the other hand, were a different story. As he claimed, "The industrialist and agriculturalist of the west and southwest, in importing Mexican laborers, is also importing a race sizzling with susceptibilities."[14] Subsequent reports in the press from Dr. Goldberg continued to highlight the disproportionally high rates of tuberculosis among "Mexicans" and "Negroes," contrasting them to the rates of "whites" and stating that Mexicans were a "race peculiarly susceptible to that disease."[15] The racist undercurrent of this discourse was not lost on Chicago's Spanish-language newspaper, *Mexico*, which roundly criticized Dr. Goldberg's first article in the *Tribune*, and claimed that

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[14] *Chicago Tribune*, October 19, 1928, p.20.

[15] "Chicago Cuts Death Rate of Tuberculosis," January 12, 1930, p.22; and "Open Mexican Health School at Hull House," March 3, 1930, p.24. Goldberg also promoted the general view of Mexicans as tubercular and diseased at the national level. See Benjamin Goldberg, "Tuberculosis in Racial Types with Special Reference to Mexicans," *American Journal of Public Health* 19 (March 1929): 274-86.

Goldberg believed "all the Mexicans are uncivilized Indians [who] still carry bows and arrows."[16]

More generally, the *Chicago Tribune*'s highly disparaging editorials on Mexico's turbulent post-revolutionary period resorted to implicit and explicit assumptions about the racial character (and identity) of Mexicans in Mexico. While Mexicans' racial inferiority in these depictions was alternatively tied to Mexicans' Indian-ness or feudal Spanish-ness, it was even more powerfully associated with the purportedly hopeless mixture of these two racial heritages. Two editorials from the end of 1923 (coinciding with the attempted military coup of Adolfo de la Huerta) crystallized these attitudes. In "Mexico Erupts Again," which ran on December 8th, the *Tribune*'s editors stated that they did not know whether the Mexican government would be able to put down the current "outbreak," but that "the situation reveals the instability of what passes for republican government south of the Rio Grande. As THE TRIBUNE has pointed out for years, there are not the essentials of self-government in Mexico, and its forms are a fraud. The Indians who constitute the people of that territory are no more prepared to govern themselves than children would be to run the United States Steel corporation. . . Those who are not Indians are of Spanish blood and tradition, and we find no evidence, either in the history of the new world or that of the old, that the Spaniard has a gift for popular government." The article concluded by advocating intervention, stating "We have no wish to assert the obvious, but we do repeat our prediction that Mexico will never enjoy the political and economic stability essential to its progress ... until it is subjected to some form of direct restraint and direction by ourselves."[17] In its editorial the following week, the *Tribune* wrote of "the eighteen hundreds when in getting out

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[16] "A Doctor Makes Insolent Declarations," *Mexico*, October 20, 1928 (as translated in the Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey, Spanish Section I.C.). It should be noted that the article in *Mexico* quoted the *Tribune* article in a misleading way, falsely associating a section on Mexicans with a subsequent section on "Indians." The *Tribune* article's section on tuberculosis among "Indians" was clearly discussing Native Americans as a group distinct from Mexicans. But by taking out the paragraph break before the "Indian" section, and cutting that section short, the *Mexico* article made it appear as if the *Tribune* article was purposely using "Indian" and "Mexican" interchangeably. Juan Mora Torres has noted this reporting in "Mexicans in 'Babylon': Race, Class and Politics in Chicago, 1919-1932," (paper presented at Newberry Labor History Seminar, April 2004), 25-26.

[17] "Mexico Erupts Again," *Chicago Tribune*, December 8, 1923, p.6.

from Spanish rule the Mexicans established their national institution of shooting it out, shooting them up, and shooting them down." Later, the Mexican dictator Porfirio Díaz "was just what he was, a hard fisted ruler of a people unfit to rule themselves." Then Pancho Villa's raid came, and the editorial claimed that President Wilson had remained too friendly toward the Mexican government: "All the time these breeds and mixed breeds were regarded in Washington as if they were citizens of Hyde Park or Englewood, Lake View or Rogers Park" (notably, all of these were exclusively white neighborhoods at the time).[18]

In all these statements, the *Tribune*'s writers painted Mexicans as an inherently different race from (white) "Americans," regardless of whether Mexicans were "Indians," "Spanish," "breeds," or "mixed breeds." In fact, it was the uncertain and "mixed" character of Mexicans' racial identity that reinforced the *Tribune*'s claims about Mexicans' "unfit"-ness, violence, and inferiority as a race. Given the racial underpinnings of these editorials, it was no big leap for the *Tribune* to argue for Mexican immigration restriction in similar racial terms a few years later. In 1930 the *Tribune*'s editorial columns voiced support for a senate bill to place Mexican immigration on the national origins quota system, stating that "[t]he immigration of thousands of Mexican peasants to this country presents serious racial and economic problems for which no solutions are known. There are differences of blood, of tradition and of living standards between our peoples which are more profound, probably, than those separating the American people from the Chinese."[19]

Images of Mexicans portrayed by the local press and by individual whites also resorted to sexualized images of Mexicans, and especially Mexican men, in order to racialize Mexicans as innately different, deviant, and threatening. These popular discourses were oftentimes self-contradictory, simultaneously depicting Mexican men as sexual threats and as de-masculinized,

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[18] The editorial again concluded with a proposal for placing Mexico under U.S. political control. "Mexico, Platt It," *Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1923, p.6.

[19] "Mexican Immigration," *Chicago Tribune*, May 19, 1930, p.14.

diminutive men, a pattern that has been observed in the sexualization of other non-white, predominantly male immigrant groups such as Filipinos.[20]

As noted in Chapter 3, Mexicans' working-class white neighbors were deeply concerned about the perceived sexual threat that Mexican men posed to white women. This perception was not entirely without merit, as Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region were predominantly male during the 1920's and did in fact have sexual relations with some "white" (as well as "Negro") women. Yet at the same time, other discourses about Mexicans' racial characteristics disparagingly referred to Mexican workers in heavy industry as being so small and weak that they were like women. An employment officer at Chicago's Swift packing plant stated, "so many of them are little fellows. It is almost like hiring women. They are active enough but we need real men on some kinds of work."[21] A similar questioning of Mexicans' masculinity occurred in the *Chicago Tribune*'s reporting on the robbery and murder of an elevated train attendant by a group of Mexicans led by Bernardo Roa in 1923. Roa would go on to earn much notoriety in the late 1920's for twice escaping his death row prison cell and killing several prison guards along the way – a *Tribune* front page banner headline on Roa's escape in 1927 read: "'I'LL KILL,' Says Fugitive."[22] But in 1923, the *Tribune*'s accounts of the "El" murder took great interest in police reports that Roa and his compatriots had possibly worn dresses, carrying out their crimes under the guise of a "smiling woman robber." When Roa's partners were arrested and held in a South Chicago jail cell, they were described as "two gay Mexicans" whose carefree attitude about the

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[20] See the discussion of this dynamic in relation to Filipinos in Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2003) 109–16.

[21] Interview with Mr. Lewis, Swift and Company, Chicago, June 23, 1929; in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.30 (stamped p.540), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[22] *Chicago Tribune* March 15, 1927, p.1. Bernardo Roa's case is discussed in detail in F. Arturo Rosales, *Pobre Raza: Violence, Justice, and Mobilization Among México Lindo Immigrants, 1900–1936* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999) 173.

murder apparently extended to matters of dress as well. The *Tribune* reported how one of them commented "that his companions sometimes went about in feminine garb."[23]

More generally, reports of Mexicans in the press often associated deviant or threatening sexual behavior with Mexican-ness, and in particular, with Mexican men. Thus, when Roa escaped from prison in 1927, the *Tribune* devoted an entire article to the devious ways Roa had convinced a former Mexican sweetheart to smuggle saws to him in prison, in an article titled "Roa's Letters Wooing Girl to Aid Jail Break." The article described Roa's first letter as "mild in its tone." The second, claimed the article, "shows Roa making love with a true Latin's fervor," building up to the third letter in which he requested her to bring the saw.[24]

Mexican men were, of course, perceived to be a greater menace when they were seen as seducing or threatening non-Mexican ("white") "girls," which Chicago newspapers were also keen on reporting. In 1926 the *Tribune* reported that "South Chicago police last night were seeking Albert Gutierrez, Mexican chef, 55 years old, on a charge of assaulting three young girls whom he kept prisoner in his room."[25] Similarly, in 1928 the *Tribune* printed the announcement, "Two Fined for Luring Girls" and reported how "Two Mexicans, who tried to entice two school girls into their automobile, were given the maximum sentence . . . in the Stockyards court."[26] Predictably, such images of Mexican men – not just as sexual competitors, but as degenerate sexual threats – were more pronounced in neighborhood newspapers where Mexicans had come into conflict with older white residents, as in South Chicago. South Chicago's *Daily Calumet* reported in May 1928 on the arrest and trial of two Mexicans for operating a "dime dance," where Mexicans could buy dances with white "girls." The article reported that "All last week handbills have been out in the vicinity of the Hall of All Nations ... 9007 Mackinaw Avenue, announcing

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[23] "Two of Tesmer Slayers Taken, Police Believe," *Chicago Tribune*, November 29, 1923, p.21.

[24] "Roa's Letters Wooing Girl to Aid in Jail Break," *Chicago Tribune* March 14, 1927, p.2.

[25] "Hunt Chef Charged with Holding 3 Girls Prisoners," *Chicago Tribune* March 18, 1926, p.7.

[26] "Two Fined for Luring Girls," *Chicago Tribune* January 19, 1928, p.13.

that girls who can dance are wanted." The applicants were to apply at a nearby drug store, possibly one that was Mexican-operated. On the Saturday night of the dance, local officers from the South Chicago police station entered the hall. The article alarmingly reported that "[t]he sight which greeted their eyes decided them to stop the dancing and arrest the managers. Girls as young as twelve years, say the police, were hired to dance with Mexicans and there were no restrictions on the kind of dancing. The male dancer paid ten cents for the privilege of one dance and out of this the girl got five cents." The article concluded by reporting that the two Mexicans arrested were fined $100 each and sentenced to 30 days in jail.[27] Given this vein of reporting on Mexicans in the press, it was not surprising when a researcher of Mexicans in South Chicago declared, without any further evidence, that "[t]he amusements of the Mexicans are in some instances wholesome and educational but for the most part they tend toward the sordid and the base."[28]

As already suggested by the statements of Mexicans and sympathetic whites alike, the various assertions about the racial quality of Mexicans fomented in popular culture and the local press were not lost on white residents of the Chicago-Calumet region. Although few whites took the step of expressing these ideas in letters to federal officials, those who did echoed many of the themes discussed above, as seen in the "public comment files" collected by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) on the issue of possible Mexican immigration restriction. In July 1929, for example, Chicagoan John Hammerstein wrote to President Hoover about the

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[27] *The Daily Calumet*, May, 1928, quoted in Raymond E. Nelson, "Mexicans in South Chicago (A study conducted under the direction of Dr. Arthur E. Holt for the Chicago Congregational Missionary and Extension Society)," 1928, p.33, in Container 11, Folder 59: "Chicago & Calumet Area - South Chicago - Raymond E. Nelson Study," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). This racializing of Mexicans by painting them as predominately male non-white sexual predators – especially in the context of "the dime dance" – closely mirrors the similar racialization of Filipinos in other parts of the United States at this time, and it is possible that there may have been some synergy between these two popular discourses. As noted above, this discourse about Filipinos has been summarized in Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*, 109–16.

[28] Raymond E. Nelson, "Mexicans in South Chicago (A study conducted under the direction of Dr. Arthur E. Holt for the Chicago Congregational Missionary and Extension Society)," 1928, p.31, in Container 11, Folder 59: "Chicago & Calumet Area - South Chicago - Raymond E. Nelson Study," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

"hardships" that were "being caused in Chicago by the coming of vast hordes of cheap Mexican labor to this city," who undercut the wages and employment of "thousands of hardworking men" who couldn't work so cheaply as Mexicans did. Hammerstein had also apparently read the *Tribune*'s articles on Mexicans and disease, for he wrote that "[t]hese Mexicans are usually poor and sickly and they form a large proportion of the inmates [sic] of the Cook County Hospital and the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium." Mr. Hammerstein concluded by requesting Hoover to get Congress to pass a law restricting Mexican immigration.[29] Whereas John Hammerstein's letter may have reflected the opinion of a middle-class Chicagoan who encountered few Mexicans in his day-to-day activities, yet read alarming accounts of them in the *Tribune* and other sources, working class whites in the industrial communities and neighborhoods where Mexicans worked also voiced their disapproval of Mexicans to federal authorities. A lengthy 1930 letter to the "Bureau of Emigration" [sic] from Albert Banaski, who lived in the same central Gary neighborhood where Mexicans had settled in the 1920's, reflected many of these same themes, focusing especially on the labor threat that he perceived Mexicans to pose (a concern clearly heightened by the onset of the Depression). Nonetheless, Mr. Banaski also impugned the general racial quality of Mexicans by calling them "about the lowest class of people that has entered this

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[29] John Hammerstein to Herbert Hoover, July 21, 1929, in File 55639/616, Entry 9, Record Group 85 (Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service), National Archives, Washington, DC (*hereafter* RG 85, NA-DC). Another pair of letters from "R. Sayre and Company," a white business in Chicago's South Side "Black Belt" (5116 Indiana Ave.), made similar associations of Mexicans with disease and racial inferiority, while also attacking all immigrants, even "old stock" ones on similar grounds. Responding initially to an illustrated handbill he enclosed advertising a dark-skinned "Hindoo" "seer" reading fortunes in the Black Belt at 5248 S. Park Ave., "Sayre" commented that the pictured "Hindoo" was a "creature ... that should never reach our shores – & all here should be deported at once, if not locked up permanently or hung." He then went on to attack all immigrants, including Mexicans, on the grounds of their uncleanliness, disease, and criminality. Sayre's list of objectionable immigrants seemed to proceed along an order of increasing racial objectionability, with Mexicans appearing near the bottom of a list that exhibited a strong sense of colorism. However, the list was also notable for disparaging "Spanish" – which light-skinned Mexicans often succeeded in passing as. According to Sayre, "This noble nation can no more afford to run around among such filth and crime, than amongst lice fleas & nasty diseases: Low Irish - Italian mafia - degenerate Spanish - & Mexicans - as well as Negro immigrants and other colored Races, should all stop - and none ever eligible except a very few of the very highest standard." In a separate letter to President Coolidge, "R. Sayre & Co." also urged the President to "segregate the races – keep them perfect, and pure – as we do Jerseys, canaries, and diamonds. Pure air, clean lives, and health, for all." R. Sayre & Co. to "Dept of Immigration," May 12, 1930; and R. Sayre & Co. to Hon. Calvin Coolidge, undated (ca.1928); both in File 55639/617, Entry 9, RG 85, NA-DC.

country." He then drew on popular constructions of Mexicans as criminals to paint Mexican workers as criminals who had gained illegal entry and employment in Gary's mills, at the hands of unscrupulous employers and foremen whom Banaski charged as participating in a great conspiracy to obtain "cheaper" labor at the factory. According to Banaski, foremen were paid "a certain percentage" by their employers to hire Mexican workers at reduced wages, concluding that these foremen "hire and protect these Mexican outlaws." Although some of Banaski's invective no doubt stemmed from early Depression conditions, the terms of discourse he utilized were not new. The fear of a pseudo-conspiracy involving Mexican laborers had been voiced earlier in the 1920's by Gary's state representative John Thiel, who wrote to the Immigration Bureau that one of his clients had "inform[ed] me that labor interests are bringing these laborers to certain industrial centers when their plants are operating at peak capacity and later turning them loose on the community."[30] Banaski himself also attacked Mexicans' unwillingness to become U.S. citizens, correctly observing that Mexicans did not naturalize and did not intend to, and that they generally sent or took all of the money that they saved back to Mexico. He concluded by pledging his personal willingness to aid in any effort by the Bureau of Immigration to "rid this region of non-citizen outlaw Mexicans."[31]

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[30] John W. Thiel to James J. Davis, December 4, 1924, File 52903/66, Entry 9, RG 85, NA-DC. The statement reflected a dose of reality, in that Mexicans were the last hired and the first fired, and were valued by employers for their dispensability, which was itself a function of the high labor and migratory mobility of Mexican laborers described in Chapter 2. Of course, Gary residents seemed unaware of the contradiction in claiming that Mexicans were imported to undercut wages and permanently replace "American" workers; yet also laid off and "turned loose" on the community when their labor was no longer needed. On the desirability of Mexicans to employers as a dispensable labor force, a Department of Labor researcher noted in December 1926 that one of the reasons Chicago employers liked Mexicans was that they had "a habit of disappearing when out of work." George T. Edson (for the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Mexicans in Chicago, Ill." (December 31, 1926), p.4; in Container 13, Folder 27: "Edson, George - Field Reports - Illinois (1926-1927)," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). On the attractiveness of Mexicans as a dispensable surplus labor force in the Chicago region more generally, see Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 66–68. At the national level, employers opposed to the restriction of Mexican immigration also claimed that Mexicans readily left their communities of employment when they were laid off. David Stafford Weber, "Anglo Views of Mexican Immigrants: Popular Perceptions and Neighborhood Realities in Chicago, 1900–1940," PhD Dissertation (Ohio State University, 1982) 51–52.

[31] Albert Banaski to the Bureau of Emigration [sic], September 5, 1930, in File 55639/616, Entry 9, RG 85, NA-DC.

One can readily see how these discourses and ideas about Mexicans' inferior racial quality could motivate the forms of racial exclusion and hostility that Mexicans faced during the 1920's. The overwhelmingly negative perceptions of Mexicans' racial quality during the 1910's and 1920's encouraged whites to assume the worst about Mexicans' ambiguous "race." Nonetheless, Mexicans' racial image did remain an ambiguous one, due to the confusion and disagreement that characterized white perceptions of Mexicans' racial identity. In fact, even the discourses about Mexicans' inferior racial quality masked an inherent tension about Mexicans' racial identity. For on the one hand, the very assertion of essentially "Mexican" racial qualities implied a monolithic racial identity for all Mexicans. But on the other hand, Mexicans' inferior racial qualities were often explained by reference to Mexico's hopelessly *mixed* racial heritage, as seen in the *Tribune* editorials above. This paradoxical assertion of a monolithic racial identity based on a heterogeneous racial past could persist when imagining the race of Mexicans in Mexico, but it began to break down when color-conscious whites were confronted with the phenotypical diversity of Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region, and with the numerous conflicting ways that whites identified Mexicans' racial identity in the urban North.

Perceptions of Mexicans' Racial Identity

The disagreement and confusion among whites regarding Mexicans' racial identity is attested to by the near cacophony of voices resonating in 1920's Chicago, East Chicago and Gary on the topic. Indeed, given the rich sources on this topic (especially the field notes from Paul Taylor's survey of Mexican labor in the late 1920's), one could easily construct a number of diverging interpretations of Mexicans' racialization, simply by selectively choosing different pieces of evidence. First, one could argue that Mexicans were racialized as black, or as having the racial equivalence of blackness. Mexicans were in numerous cases labelled "Negro" or its equivalent, and sometimes Mexicans were literally confused with blacks, as in the case of the girl who

"wished she wasn't so dark, so she wouldn't be taken for a Negro."[32] At other times, however, Mexicans were labelled "black" (colored, Negro, nigger, etc.) with the knowledge that they were actually Mexican – as may have been the case in the opening vignette in this chapter – suggesting a popular sense that Mexicans were racially equivalent to blacks, even if technically different.

But one could also argue, on the basis of other voices from the period, that "Mexican" was its own racial identity, equally distinct from whiteness and blackness. As the Secretary of the South Chicago Chamber of Commerce stated matter of factly, "They are not white and not Negro; they're Mexican." He added that Mexicans "are a different race, like the Chinamen."[33] Similar voices ascribed a general sense of racial inferiority to Mexicans while maintaining distinctions between "coloreds," "Mexicans," and "whites."[34] These claims were often accompanied by the assertion that Mexicans inhabited a generalized sense of racial "darkness," or that Mexicans were essentially "Indian" or of mixed Indian and Spanish (and sometimes black) race.

Finally, one might argue that some Mexicans were able to attain a pseudo-white status as well. Mexicans' phenotypical diversity meant that some Mexicans were labelled as being virtually white, in marked contrast to the labelling of Mexicans as "niggers" above. Thus, when the superintendent of the Marshall Field Mattress factory on Chicago's West Side explained the high quality of his Mexican workers, he did so on racial grounds that distinguished his Mexicans from other Mexicans: "Many of those employed came from around Mexico City; most have had some education; *there is a small proportion of Indian blood*, he thinks . . . The factory is particular; it

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[32] Quote and citation appear in Chapter 2.

[33] Interview with "Secretary of Chamber of Commerce," South Chicago, nd (likely July 1929), in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.63 (stamped p.573), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Although this interview was undated, the previous twenty pages of this set of field notes ran chronologically from June through July 1st, 1929, suggesting that this interview was conducted in early July, 1929.

[34] For example, the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in Gary stated that "No, they are not regarded as colored; but they are regarded as an inferior class. Are the Mexicans regarded as white? Oh, no!" "Secretary; Chamber of Commerce, Gary, Indiana," nd, in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p. 136 (stamped p.936), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

hires only better class workers" [italics added].[35] Furthermore, as illustrated in Chapter 3, light-skinned Mexicans were at times able to pass as white when attempting to gain access to better housing. Other light-skinned Mexicans were regarded as "Spanish," a term that was clearly imbued with whiteness.

Despite their confused and at times contradictory nature, these widely divergent opinions about Mexicans' racial identity were not entirely without order. First of all, part of the ambiguity and uncertainty that these voices exhibit can be understood as stemming from the coexistence of two languages for understanding race during this period in Chicago – the newer binary language of race as "white" and "black" (or at least, non-white); and an older language of multiple races, usually based on national or geographic origins. Secondly, the different classifications of Mexicans' racial identity can be roughly identified with different segments of Chicago's "white" population. Thus, recently arrived European immigrants from eastern and southern Europe were most likely to use the binary language of race to mark Mexicans as black, or as equivalent to blacks. Native born middle-class whites (including employment managers, realtors, and the like) were more likely than others to employ the language of multiple races, placing Mexicans in a hierarchy of races without necessarily passing judgment on Mexicans' "whiteness" or "blackness." Although they did also make these kinds of binary judgments and classifications, white employers, realtors, and other professionals were not so universal in their denunciation of Mexicans' non-whiteness as recent European immigrants were. Indeed, employers and other white professionals often attempted to identify the full range of racial and phenotypical differences that they perceived among Mexicans, actively classifying individual Mexicans as "Indian," "mixed," "mostly white," or even "white." This effort to make racial distinctions between individual Mexicans frustrated broader white efforts to assign a monolithic racial identity to all Mexicans.

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[35] Robert Redfield, "Mexicans in Chicago - Journal," Wednesday, November 19, 1924 (pp.51-52), Robert Redfield Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

Perceptions of Mexicans as Racially Equivalent to Blacks

The perceived equivalence of Mexicans with blacks, as well as the identification of individual Mexicans as "Negro" or "colored," has already been suggested in Chapter 3 by the attacks on Fidencio González and José Blanco during the Chicago race riot, and by the way that Mexicans and blacks were alone perceived to be a permanent threat to property values (with Mexicans perceived as the greater threat). But in fact, the history of Mexicans in Chicago, East Chicago and Gary during the 1920's offers an abundance of cases of individual Mexicans literally being confused with blacks (and vice-versa), as well as the category of "Mexican" being classed with or labelled as equivalent to "colored."

Perceptions of dark-skinned Mexicans' color often worked to mark Mexicans as a whole as a pseudo-black race. For example, a white "workman" at a factory on West Harrison Street (west of Hull House) explained his dislike for his Mexican neighbors in terms of their dark color – "suggesting Negroes," wrote Paul Taylor. The worker stated that "some of them are dark, just like the niggers; I wouldn't like to live among them. I want to live among white people."[36] Other whites more directly associated Mexicans with blackness, even though they knew they were actually Mexican, suggesting a close similarity between Mexicans and blacks in whites' eyes. For example, an Italian in Chicago explained Italians' decreasing participation at local Protestant settlement house by saying, "I don't want my kids to associate with the Mexicans. God made people white and black, and He meant there to be a difference."[37] Similarly, an Italian woman on

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[36] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 228.

[37] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 234. It should be noted that another account of this interview in Taylor's papers substitutes the word "dark" for "black": "God made people white and he made people dark, and he meant there should be a difference between them." This was the same informant who agreed that Italians would not have made these distinctions about color in Italy, but explained that they were "becoming Americanized" (quote used at end of Chapter 3). See notecard (labelled "#8") in Container 13, Folder 24: "Notes – Miscellaneous," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

Chicago's Near West Side, who "resented mildly the entry of Mexicans into her neighborhood," said: "The Mexicans are of a different race; their faces are blacker."[38]

Other voices, Mexican and non-Mexican alike, confirmed whites' association of Mexicans with blacks on a more general level. Mexican physician Francisco Luna complained in 1929 that "[t]he other nationalities think the Mexicans are like the Negroes."[39] And in 1925, health professional Gertrude Howe Britton of the Mexican Relations Commission of Chicago wrote, "There is a prejudice against the Mexican and in many cases the people do not discriminate between the Mexican and the Negro."[40] Only a few years later, a company representative of the Federated Metals Corporation (near the western edge of Chicago's "Black Belt") stated, "Well, I can't say much good about the Mexicans. They are about like the Negroes."[41]

But other sources reveal an equivalence much stronger than the simple perception that Mexicans were "like" blacks. A light-skinned Mexican man who lived on Chicago's South Side, a few blocks south of the expanding "Black Belt," reported that when some "dark Mexican friends visited us over a week-end," a neighbor later asked his "American" wife, "Did you know you had

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[38] The woman conceded that she would dance with a Mexican "if he was clean," but only after she first said, "We don't like to have the Mexicans moving in." Interview with an "Italian woman" (across the street from a Mexican woman interviewed at 729 Dekoven Street), Chicago, June 22, 1929; in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.32 (stamped p.542), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Also cited in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 235, which includes the "resented mildly" statement. This and the previous statement are notable given the continuing (though increasingly rare) aspersions made against Italians' dark skin color during this period.

[39] Interview with Dr. Francisco Luna in Blue Island, Illinois [Luna worked in and knew Chicago's Near West Side], June 1929, in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.39 (stamped p.549), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[40] Gertrude Howe Britton, Mexican Relations Commission of Chicago, to Anna Blair, December 10, 1925, Folder 4, Box 133, Ernest W. Burgess Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[41] "Mr. Zimmerman, July 28, Federated Metals Corporation" (likely 1928), handwritten note in Container 11, Folder 35: "Chicago & Calumet Area - Field Notes"; also reproduced in "Zimmerman Federated Metals Corporation" (42nd Street, east of Halsted), July 28, (likely 1928), in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.8 (stamped p.808); both in Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

colored guests?"[42] And a Hull House resident who described tension between Italians and Mexicans over Hull House's "Latin Club" noted that "There is beginning to be race feeling [against the Mexicans] in Chicago. They are beginning to say they are black."[43] The previously-discussed segregation of Mexicans along with blacks in movie theaters in East Chicago and Gary is perhaps one of the most telling examples of the way that Mexicans were perceived as being racially equivalent to blacks (Chapters 2 & 3). The important point, however, is not just that Mexicans were grouped with blacks in this segregation, but that Mexicans were classified as "colored," along with blacks. When Reverend Baez, the Mexican-American minister from the Southwest went to the Palace movie theater in Gary, the ushers told him "Colored upstairs" – not Mexicans upstairs. "Mexican" and "Colored" were clearly interchangeable terms in this segregated environment.[44] As a Mexican editorialist noted more broadly in 1928, the "sons of 'Uncle Sam' consider themselves superior to the whole world ... and because their color is white, they classify us as 'colored people.'"[45]

In the summer of 1928 one of Paul Taylor's researchers witnessed a scene at a Chicago Mexican employment agency that tellingly revealed the indistinct line separating the treatment of

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[42] Interview with Luis Zavala, Indiana Harbor, August 7, 1928; in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.46 (stamped p.846), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). See also the similar account of his interview on the handwritten steno note-sheets in Container 11, Folder 35: "Chicago & Calumet Area - Field Notes," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). At the time of the interview, Zavala lived at 61st and Cottage Grove in Chicago, but was visiting his friend Agustín Angel in Indiana Harbor. Zavala had also lived at 911 E. 65th Street in Chicago (2 blocks east of Cottage Grove). Both of these locations were in an area south of 63rd and west of Cottage Grove that was in "racial transition" from white to black during the 1920's, though the area east of Cottage Grove would remain white until the 1940's.

[43] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 235.

[44] Baez's response reflected the broader response of Mexicans and their white advocates in attempting to disassociate Mexicans from blacks and blackness, a process that is described in the following chapter. Baez firmly stated "I am not colored, I am Mexican." He ultimately was allowed in, though his status as a minister, his English proficiency, and even the way he was dressed likely aided him in this instance. Interview with "Mr. [Vallez]/Baez; Presbyterian preacher, Neighborhood House," Gary, 1929, in Container 10, Folder 5: "Field Notes: Series B, Set I," p.93 (stamped p.264), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[45] "A Nation of Hypocrites," *México*, November 10, 1928, as translated in the Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey, Spanish Section IC.

dark-skinned Mexicans and blacks. The researcher had come to visit the Foreign Labor Supply Co. on Canal St., with a sign advertising "Mexicanos para Minnesota," and observed how "Two dark skinned gentlemen stopped in front of me, read the sign and began to discuss it." A labor agent "immediately approached them and spoke in (what we would call in CA) 'pidgin English': 'Ship to-night Minnesota. Nice cool there. No mucho calor. Gusta? Vamos upstairs.'" The prospective laborers, satisfied, went up. But then a voice from inside the agency's bus said "'Charly,' are you sure those are Mexicans?'" and then called the laborers over, saying: "'You are no more Mexican than I am. If you go up to Minnesota you will only be back in Chicago inside of four days. You can't pass off as Mexicans on this office. Now get.'" The men left. The researcher asked what was the matter, stating that the men looked Mexican to him. The man responded, "They are not even if one of them has straight black hair. They're negroes trying to pass off as Mexicans. They can't do that with me. If they go up there they will only be fired the minute they do and that will be soon enough. Nobody will work with them, not even the Mexicans. They have to work by themselves." The researcher commented that from the "positive manner" in which the agent spoke, it seemed this had happened frequently.[46] While this case reveals that being Mexican was more advantageous than being black in this specific context, it is notable that the researcher who observed the event thought that the "dark skinned" men were actually Mexicans, as did the initial recruiter. In other words, even if Mexicans were favored in this work setting, the indistinct line between Mexican-ness and blackness put dark-skinned Mexicans at risk of suffering the same treatment as blacks, because whites clearly had difficulty classifying the race of persons whose phenotype placed them on the borderline between blackness and Mexican-ness.

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[46] "Canal Street Incident - July 12, 1928 - Chicago," in Container 11, Folder 45: "Chicago & Calumet Area - Field Notes - Indiana & Chicago (1928)"; also duplicated in Container 11, Folder 33: "Chicago & Calumet Area - Field Notes - Typescript - 1928," p.155 (stamped); both in Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

Mexicans as "Indian"

When not being perceived as racially equivalent to blacks, or being confused for blacks, Mexicans were also perceived by whites as being "Indian." At times, the belief in Mexicans' Indian-ness was revealed and suggested in subtle ways, as when a South Chicago businessman responded to investigators' questions about Mexicans by saying: "Do they buy warm clothes? No, they buy tinsel and froth. It appeals to them like the gaudy beads to the Indians."[47] Even professionals who ostensibly worked on behalf of Mexicans privately referred to them in derogatory terms as "Indian." Father Tort, founder of South Chicago's Mexican Our Lady of Guadalupe parish, commented in 1928 that "the people within his church are almost entirely made up of the lowest and most ignorant Indian stock." The researcher who recorded Tort's comment suggested the wider appeal of this perception in South Chicago – as well as the importance of phenotype to white racial perceptions – when he concurred with Tort that there were, "of course, numerous exceptions, but from appearance and conversation with those who come regularly in contact with [Mexicans], one concludes that this is the case."[48] As this statement suggests, the knowledge of Mexicans' indigenous racial heritage was not limited to native-born or highly educated whites. Even though Mexicans would later emphasize a glorious but very distant Mayan and Aztec past in their efforts to improve popular perceptions of their racial identity in the 1930's (see Chapter 5), Mexicans' Indian-ness was roundly denounced by members of Chicago's Italian community in the 1920's. A 1927 editorial in Chicago's *La Tribuna Italiana Transatlantica* declared that blacks and Mexicans, especially "those of dark color ... the Aztec sons of Montezuma," were ruining the residential neighborhoods of the Near West Side.[49]

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[47] Interview with "Secretary of Chamber of Commerce," South Chicago, nd (likely July 1929), in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.62 (stamped p.572), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[48] Raymond E. Nelson, "Mexicans in South Chicago (A study conducted under the direction of Dr. Arthur E. Holt for the Chicago Congregational Missionary and Extension Society)," 1928, p.11, in Container 11, Folder 59: "Chicago & Calumet Area - South Chicago - Raymond E. Nelson Study," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[49] Thomas A. Guglielmo, "Encountering the Color Line in the Everyday: Italians in Interwar Chicago," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 23.4 (Summer 2004): 75 (note 48).

Mexicans as Racially Mixed

Closely related to the perception of Mexicans' Indian-ness was the perception that individual Mexicans and the Mexican population as a whole were racially mixed, being predominately (but not exclusively) descended from Indian and Spanish roots. This perception happened to be accurate in a sense, reflecting the reality of racial mixture and diversity in the greater Bajío region. However, white ideas about the degradation inherent in any kind of racial mixture – and particularly one that purportedly included African-ness along with Indian-ness and Spanish-ness – made this perception of Mexicans' racial identity a particularly negative one. These negative perceptions of Mexicans' mixed racial heritage were readily apparent in the *Chicago Tribune*'s editorials about Mexico (see above). But these discourses about Mexicans' racial inferiority resonated with individual whites as well. In late 1929 or 1930, a police desk sergeant in Chicago stated that Mexicans "were born criminals" because of their admixture of Indian and Negro blood.[50] Even professionals who ostensibly sought to serve Mexicans harbored similar beliefs. In 1926 a Labor Department researcher wrote that the Austrian-born priest in charge of a Catholic settlement house in Gary "reminded me that Mexicans are mestizos (mixed white and Indian) and stated that they are inferior to southern Europeans and are non-assimilable."[51]

As Mexicans themselves asserted, school textbooks in the Chicago-Calumet region likely contributed to whites' negative perceptions of Mexicans' mixed racial heritage. A 1924 geography textbook used in Gary, Indiana, explained that Mexico lacked an extensive

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[50] Rosales, *Pobre Raza*, 49, citing Paul Livingston Warnshuis, "Crime and Criminal Justice among the Mexicans in Illinois," in Edith Abbott, ed., *Report on Crime and Criminal Justice in Relation to the Foreign Born, for the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement* (Washington: GPO, 1931) 267. Warnshuis's master's thesis, which provided the basis for this publication, was filed in 1930, likely placing the research in 1929 or 1930.

[51] George T. Edson (for the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics), "Mexicans in Gary, Indiana" (ca. October 20-28, 1926), pp.10-11; in Container 13, Folder 28: "Edson, George T – Field Reports: Indiana," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Even DeVille, however, had trouble maintaining such a stance. When a "well dressed and gentlemanly appearing Mexican" stopped by and interrupted the interview, DeVille conceded that "[s]ome, however, are of the better class and are educated and refined."

manufacturing base because "many of the people are too ignorant and lazy to manage machinery." In describing Mexico's people more specifically, the text explained their ignorance and laziness in explicitly racial terms, and clearly identified the majority of Mexicans as Indian, black, or degenerate "half-breeds" of Indians or blacks. The text read: "This country was once owned by Spain, as you know (Page 101); but only one person in five is a Spaniard. The rest of the people are either Indians and Negroes, or else Spaniards with Negro or Indian blood in their veins and are called half-breeds [likely referring to the term *mestizo*]. Very few of the Indians are civilized and many of the half-breeds are uneducated."[52]

White concerns about Mexicans' mixed racial heritage – particularly the belief that Mexicans were mixed with blacks as well as Indians – may also have contributed to a perception that Mexicans had been, and always would be, inveterate transgressors of "American" social taboos against interracial sex. In this view, not only did Mexican men threaten "white" women, but they were themselves the products of illicit interracial unions, and in Chicago they continued to indiscriminately "mix" with black women at the same time that they threatened white ones. A report by Raymond Nelson, a researcher sponsored by the Congregational Church in South Chicago, captured these concerns in his own paraphrasing of a Filipino doctor's statement concerning his Mexican clients in South Chicago. According to Nelson, "[v]enerial diseases [sic] is also common [among Mexicans] and the Doctor was of the opinion that they were especially so with the South Chicago [Mexican] people. He complained of the sordid relations that existed between the Mexican men and the Negro women of the Strand-Green Bay district [the eastern portion of South Chicago shared by blacks and Mexicans]. Because of the absence of numerous unmarried Mexican women, the men seek out the negro woman."[53] A Labor Department

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[52] Tarr and McMurray, *New Geography*, 1st Book (Macmillan, 1924), p.177, as transcribed in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.147 (stamped p.947), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). This note appears among Taylor's field notes on Gary, Indiana, suggesting that Taylor and his researchers encountered this text in Gary.

[53] Raymond E. Nelson, "Mexicans in South Chicago (A study conducted under the direction of Dr. Arthur E. Holt for the Chicago Congregational Missionary and Extension Society)," 1928, p.12, in Container 11, Folder 59: "Chicago & Calumet Area - South Chicago - Raymond E. Nelson Study," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). As noted

investigator noted similar concerns about Gary's Mexicans in 1926, reporting that "[c]colored prostitutes press the young Mexicans and are aided by their black pimps. . . the police and social workers tell me that they know that the Mexican men patronize the negro women."[54]

Mexicans' Phenotypical Diversity, and White Attempts to Distinguish Racial Differences

Whites' perception of Mexicans' mixed racial heritage clearly made it difficult to sustain the idea that all Mexicans comprised a single, monolithic racial identity. But it was when whites attempted to distinguish the racial differences between individual Mexican that this difficulty became most apparent. Whites in greater Chicago relied on popular thinking which held that racial difference was essentially physical – or that it could at least be "read" through physical characteristics such as skin, hair, and stature. But attempting to read Mexicans' racial identity through physical characteristics was a very uncertain process, given the high level of phenotypical diversity that they brought with them from their regional origins in Mexico. As already suggested by the incident where prospective "Mexican" workers were turned away for being "negroes," different whites classified individual Mexicans' racial identity differently. This further contributed to Mexicans' ambiguous racial image, and would ultimately weaken attempts to make "Mexican" into a monolithic racial category.

A simple case in point was Chicago's 1930 census. The 1930 census was the first (and only) federal census that officially classified Mexicans among the census's "Other Races" category, rather than within the "white" category, *unless* Mexicans were deemed to be "definitely white" or "Indian." Scholars have often viewed this ruling as an unambiguous statement of Mexicans' non-whiteness by "the state," but in Chicago it actually laid bare the inconsistencies and confusion regarding Mexicans' perceived racial identity. In Chicago's 1930 census, a small

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earlier in this chapter, these kinds of concerns about Mexican male sexuality, and the way they reinforced racialized ideas about Mexicans, closely parallels white concerns about Filipinos in other parts of the U.S. at this same general time. See Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*, 109–16.

[54] George T. Edson (for the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics), "Mexicans in Gary, Indiana" (ca. October 20-28, 1926), p.7; in Container 13, Folder 28: "Edson, George T – Field Reports: Indiana," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

but substantial number of Mexicans, 7.9% overall, were enumerated as "white" Mexicans. Moreover, census enumerators were making these distinctions within individual census tracts, so it wasn't simply a case of one census enumerator listing Mexicans as "white" while others did not.[55] Rather, on a case-by-case basis, census enumerators judged 7.9% of Mexicans to be "white," as opposed to the majority of Mexicans who were enumerated as non-white by the census's de facto definition (yet still imprecisely so, as the "other" racial category attested).

Even death certificates for Mexicans who died in Chicago revealed the uncertainty that surrounded Mexicans' racial identity during this period. The death certificates for Cook County required the coroner to fill in a line labelled "Race," which brought forth a variety of responses. Alberto Gonzales, a Mexican resident of South Chicago who died of acute alcohol poisoning in 1925, was listed as "Brown." A 27 year-old Mexican woman who died in 1929 of pneumonia on Chicago's West Side was listed as "Mexican." Finally, an infant of Mexican parents (from Zacatecas) who died in South Chicago in 1928 was listed as "white," as was a Mexican man who died on Maxwell Street in 1934 – though the coroner who filled out the latter's death certificate felt compelled to scribble in "Mexican" next to his name.[56]

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[55] 1,537 out 19,362 Mexicans were labelled as "white" foreign stock (rather than "Other Races - Mexican") in the 1930 census for Chicago. 967 of these Mexicans were foreign born and 570 were of foreign or mixed parentage from Mexico. See: *Fifteenth Census of the United States - Population, v.2* (1930), Table 11, "Country of Origin of the Foreign White Stock, by Nativity and Parentage, for Cities Having 100,000 Inhabitants or More, 1930"; *Abstract of the15th Census of the U.S.*, Table 41 (p.98); and Department of Development and Planning (City of Chicago), *The People of Chicago – Who We Are and Who We Have Been* (Chicago, 1976), p.57 (note 83). Notably, the 7.9% figure of "white" Mexicans was nearly twice as high as the nationwide figure for "white" Mexicans, which was only 4%. See Neil Foley, "Becoming Hispanic: Mexican Americans and the Faustian Pact with Whiteness," *Reflexiones 1997: New Directions in Mexican American Studies*, Ed. Neil Foley (Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1997) 61. The dispersed nature of "white" Mexicans in census tracts throughout Chicago is reflected in Ernest W. Burgess and Charles S. Newcomb, eds, *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), Table 2: "Supplement - Distribution of Foreign Born White Population in Class "All Other," By Census Tracts, 1930," pp.26-29 (supplemental pages); and Table 3: "Supplement - Distribution of Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage in Class "All Other," by Census Tracts, 1930," pp.29-31 (supplemental pages). There was no tract-level delineation of the general "Mexican" category in Burgess and Newcomb's census volume. Neither was there a breakdown of the "Indian" category, so without viewing the entire manuscript census, it is impossible to know whether any Mexicans were enumerated as "Indian."

[56] Cook County death certificates 6009456, 6000890, 6020966, and 6026059; Series 205.014 "Dep't of Public Health - Death Certificates (1916-1943)," Illinois State Archives. These four certificates were found by running a

Aside from official bodies like the coroner's office and the local census commission, individual whites – and employers in particular – also made racial distinctions between individual Mexicans that added to the ambiguity of Mexicans' perceived racial image by threatening to undermine the idea that all Mexicans comprised a single race. Social scientists were especially prone to making these kinds of individual racial distinctions (using terms ranging from "dark Indian" to "perfectly white"),[57] but employers and other professionals did it as well, in stark contrast with recent European immigrants and others who were increasingly invested in the binary language of race. When an East Chicago employment manager with a "negative opinion" of Mexicans conceded that a minority of Mexicans were good laborers, he explained that "there are always exceptions. I have met Mexican people who are fine, as fine as anybody, but they are mostly of Spanish descent – people who have kept up their culture."[58] Making similar distinctions, but with reference to skin color rather than Spanish heritage (though the two were clearly related in whites' minds), a tin mill superintendent in Gary commented that "[t]he Mexicans are a little steadier than the Negroes. The light colored ones are better than the others."[59]

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search for the surname Gonzales. All four subjects were identified as being from Mexico.

[57] Other terms included "Indian," "a full-blood Indian, short, and very dark," and "mestizo" (in Manuel Bueno, "The Mexican in Chicago" (Spring, 1924), pp.7-9; Folder 4, Box 188, Ernest W. Burgess Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections); "Indian-type" Mexican (in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 242); and "perfectly white," "little or no Indian blood," "white Mexican," "mostly white" Mexican, and "largely Indian" Mexicans (all in Robert Redfield, "Mexicans in Chicago - Journal," entries for Friday, October 31, 1924; November 19, 1924; February 7, 1925; and April 7 & 9, 1925; Robert Redfield Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections).

[58] Interview with "Employment Manager's Assistant, Standard Forgings Company," Indiana Harbor (East Chicago), nd (1928 or 1929), in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.32 (stamped p.832), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). This quote and the preceding one are reproduced together in similar form in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 244.

[59] Interview with "Colonel Lloyd; Superintendent, Tin Mill, American Sheet and Tin Plate Company," Gary, nd (likely August 1928), in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.121 (stamped p.921), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

As implied in these statements, employers' and even real estate professionals' preference for "light," "Spanish"-type Mexicans was accompanied by an equivalent concern about darker Mexicans. Accordingly, white professionals actively distinguished dark Mexicans from other Mexicans as well, and they usually did so in racial terms, associating dark Mexicans with Indian-ness or blackness (in contrast to lighter-skinned Mexicans' "Spanish"-ness). For example, an employment manager at Illinois Steel's plant in Gary complained how he had been "stabbed" by "a Mexican from Sonora, an Indian" (even though Sonora had only a slight indigenous population that did not usually migrate north).[60] He then added that "[t]he Castilian Mexicans (who are whiter) are more intelligent than the darker Indians."[61] Drawing similar distinctions between "Spanish" Mexicans and darker-skinned Mexicans, an East Chicago real estate agent stated in 1928 that "[w]e are getting better Mexicans now. There are more families and more Spanish." Then, to further clarify the range of individual differences among Mexicans, he added, "Lots of Mexicans are very dark, darker than some Negroes."[62]

Apart from their own concerns about the racial differences between light and dark Mexicans, employers were also concerned that *other whites* (especially Mexicans' co-workers) might perceive dark-skinned Mexicans to be black. The result was that some employers only hired light-skinned Mexicans. This dynamic is a telling indication of the diversity of Mexicans' phenotypes, as well as the way that dark-skinned Mexicans ran the risk of being perceived as black, and suffering for it. As a rug company employment manager stated, "We take the light-colored ones. We want to avoid anything that isn't first class and looks as though it might be

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[60] See Chapter 2, especially n.18.

[61] He prefaced the second statement by stating that actual "Spanish" workers from Spain were better workers than Mexicans as a whole, who were "not very intelligent. . . about like boys." "Castilian Mexicans," "Indian" Mexicans, and "Spanish" were therefore all separate categories. Interview with "H.O. Egeberg; Employment Manager, Illinois Steel Company, Gary Works," August 9, 1928, in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.118 (stamped p.918), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[62] Interview with "Real Estate Man, T.M. Herskovitch and Company, Indiana Harbor," August 4, 1928, in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," pp.34-35 (stamped pp.834-35), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

colored."[63] An even better example of employer colorism based on the fear that dark Mexicans would be perceived as equivalent to blacks was the Wisconsin Steel works in South Deering. Manager Clyde Brading explained in 1928 that "[w]hen I hire Mexicans at the gate, I pick out the lightest among them. No, it isn't that the lighter-colored ones are any better workers, but the darker ones are like the niggers. When some contractors were doing work in our plant, they had negroes, and I noticed the attitude of our men toward them when they were in our cafeteria." As his final sentence made clear, Brading meant that *white employees* perceived dark-skinned Mexicans to be "like the niggers," which meant that their entry would have created major disruptions in a plant where employees had previously prevented the management from hiring any blacks. Indeed, in an alternate transcription of the interview, Brading stated more directly that "I chose Mexicans instead of negroes, and in order to minimize feelings of race friction, I employ only the lighter Mexicans."[64] In yet a third transcription, Brading clarified that it was when the outside contractor's "Negroes ate in our cafeteria" that Brading "saw danger of race friction" from his employees.[65] Indeed, Wisconsin Steel had not employed any blacks since 1895, and a master's thesis explained that the company refused to hire blacks because white employees made it clear that they would only accept blacks if the company installed "separate facilities" for them.

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[63] In spite of implying that dark-skinned Mexicans were not "first class," this employer also stated that Mexicans as a whole "are good, bad, and average, about the same as others." Thus, his preference for lighter Mexicans appears to have been motivated by what he perceived his white employees' attitude to be, not his own sense of colorism. Interview with "Mr. Wally; Employment Manager, Olson Rug Company," [nd], in Container 10, Folder 8, "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.95 (stamped p.895), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[64] Interview with "C.M. Brading," Wisconsin Steel (South Deering), May 15, 1928, in Container 11, Folder 32: "Chicago & Calumet Area – Field Notes – Typescript," p.5, Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). The alternate account of this interview appears on p.16 of this same set of field notes. An account identical to the first account above, but which identifies Clyde M. Brading as the "Employment supt.," appears in Container 11, Folder 57: "Wisconsin Steel," also in Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[65] Interview with Clyde Brading, Superintendent of Labor and Safety, Wisconsin Steel, in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.151 (stamped p.951), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). The presence of so many alternate versions of what appears to have been a single interview was rare in Paul Taylor's field notes.

The plant's management hired Mexicans instead of blacks in order to avoid having to do this.[66] But in doing so, company officials clearly had to avoid hiring any Mexicans who might look "like the niggers" and therefore cause "race friction" in the same way that "the niggers" did. In short, Wisconsin Steel's managers felt that too many Mexicans looked too similar to blacks in the eyes of their white employees, so Mexicans' employment had to be carefully screened.

In the 1920's, few voices in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary could be heard saying that Mexicans *as a whole* were white. But the very fact that employers and other professionals made these kinds of racial judgments about Mexicans on an individual basis – even to the point of judging certain individual Mexicans to be pseudo white – threatened to undermine all racialist thinking about Mexicans, and even binary thinking at all. This tendency to draw racial distinctions between individual Mexicans was in constant tension with the desire to affix a single racial identity to all Mexicans (which justified efforts of racial exclusion). This tension was captured in the predicament faced by Reverend Parkin, a white Methodist minister in South Chicago who did missionary work with Mexicans but remained committed to his parishioners' desires to segregate worship services between Mexicans and "Americans." Mexicans' diversity of skin colors placed him in a quandary. As he stated, "I have always insisted that they [Mexicans] go to the Spanish services although there are a few who are as white as the ordinary American whom it is rather hard to know what to do with."[67]

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[66] Raymond Edward Nelson, "A Study of an Isolated Industrial Community: Based on Personal Documents Secured by the Participant Observer Method," Master's Thesis (University of Chicago, 1929), pp.17-18 (on the plant's history of racial exclusion), and p.130 (on hiring Mexicans as an alternative to blacks that would not require separate facilities). Another steel plant manager in Gary confirmed that "[t]he reason the Wisconsin Steel Company employs light colored Mexicans is because they don't have Negroes." Interview with "H.O. Egeberg; Employment Manager, Illinois Steel Company, Gary Works," August 9, 1928, in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.118 (stamped p.918), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[67] Parkin stated that these lighter skinned Mexicans ultimately came to the "American" services from time to time. He also stated that these lighter-skinned Mexicans spoke English well and did not like to be "known as Mexicans," suggesting a dynamic of racial climbing that is explored further in Chapter 5. Transcribed conversation with Reverend Parkin, nd (ca. 1928) in Container 11, Folder 50: "Chicago and Calumet Area - Field Notes: Robert C. Jones" (folder 2 of 2), p.134, Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

Ultimately, the "white" Mexicans that Parkin reported on did attend some of the "American" worship services. In fact, Mexicans who were light-skinned enough to "pass" as white generally received better treatment from whites, even when these Mexicans were known to be Mexican. For example, a Mexican on Chicago's west side who, in his own words, "could easily pass for Italian," repeatedly avoided mass police roundups of Mexicans even when he told police that he was Mexican, and after "they looked at me."[68] Similarly, lighter-skinned Mexicans who were referred to as "Spanish" were identified as such even when whites knew them to be Mexican. As a light-skinned Mexican doctor explained in 1929, Mexicans from middle-class backgrounds who had learned English and who worked as clerks in Chicago businesses were "usually called Spanish." He added, "The Americans call me Spanish because I am white even though I am part Indian." In both cases, the Mexicans involved were known to whites as Mexicans, a pattern that clearly undermined the idea that "Mexican" was a monolithic racial category.[69]

The Ambiguity in Federal Definitions of Mexicans' Race

Federal racial classifications of Mexicans failed to stabilize a single definition of Mexicans' racial identity that whites in the Chicago-Calumet region could turn to and rely upon as they attempted to understand who Mexicans were racially, and as some of those whites looked for a

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[68] For this man, who was from a small rancho in Jalisco southwest of Guadalajara (a very non-indigenous, "ranchero" region), this occurred once after the shooting of an off-duty police officer by Mexican robbers on Chicago's Near West Side in 1924, and again when police arrested all Mexicans in his building for "selling liquor and lots of other things along that line." In the latter instance, police allowed him to spend the night at home on his word that he would report to police court the next morning. Interview with "d.g.," by Robert Jones, nd [ca.1924-1928], pp.1-5 (quotes on p.5), in Container 11, Folder 49: "Chicago and Calumet Area - Field Notes: Robert C. Jones" (folder 1 of 2), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[69] Interview with Dr. Francisco Luna, Blue Island, Illinois (Luna worked in Chicago's West Side), June 1929, in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.33 (stamped p.543), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). On the one hand, Luna's quote appears to be a fascinating statement of his belief that "white" and "Indian" were not mutually exclusive categories. However, given his educational level, Luna's claim to being "part Indian" may simply have reflected the official ideology of *indigenismo* in Mexico at this time – an ideology which held that "Indian" was a fundamental part of all Mexicans' identity. Luna need not have known of any specific Indian heritage in his family history in order to make this claim. According to the ideology of *indigenismo*, a Mexican could easily be phenotypically "white," and still be "Indian."

legal basis for officially segregating Mexicans. Mexicans were racial newcomers to the Chicago-Calumet region, a region where race was increasingly conceived of and enacted in binary terms, and a region that had no past history or tradition of racializing Mexicans. Local tradition provided a grounding for asserting Mexicans' non-white racial identity in places such as Texas – and Mexicans there continued to be racialized as non-white in both law and custom, despite the ambiguity at the federal level.[70] But white residents in the Chicago-Calumet region, especially those in official or quasi-official capacities, were much more likely than their counterparts in Texas and the Southwest to look to federal racial classifications as a guideline for their own dealings with Mexicans. When they did so, they received anything but a clear answer about Mexicans' racial identity, and they certainly did not find a firm juridical basis for classing Mexicans as non-white.

The federal government's assertions about Mexicans' race were marked by a great deal of ambiguity and inconsistency during the 1920's and early 1930's, both within and between the government's various branches. A good place to start is with the Census Bureau. As noted above, in 1930 the U.S. Census Bureau reversed its long-standing categorization of Mexicans (and children of Mexicans) as white, and officially labelled them under the non-white category of "Mexican." The change was of course inconsistent with previous (and subsequent) census policy, but even the 1930 policy was itself indecisive. In its instructions to census enumerators about this new racial category of "Mexican," the Census Bureau explained that Mexicans were racially mixed, but also suggested that the precise nature of that mixture, as well as the precise racial identity of any individual Mexican, was ultimately unknowable. Ironically, while claiming its own inability to make a precise racial classification of Mexicans, the Bureau then called upon local census enumerators to judge individual Mexicans' racial identity by identifying the minority of Mexicans who were "definitely" something other than just "Mexican." The instructions to the

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[70] Writing with reference to Texas, Neil Foley has noted that "[m]ost Anglo Americans . . . paid little attention to how the law or the census constructed whiteness and continued to regard most Mexicans as non-whites regardless of citizenship status." Foley, "Becoming Hispanic," 53–56, 61 (quoted).

census enumerators – which also, strikingly, associated the *racial* category of "Mexican" with the *class* category of "laborer" – read: "Practically all Mexican laborers are of a racial mixture difficult to classify, though usually well recognized in the localities where they are found. In order to obtain separate figures for this racial group, it has been decided that all persons born in Mexico, or having parents born in Mexico, who are not definitely white, negro, Indian, Chinese, or Japanese, should be returned as Mexican."[71] Implicit in this statement was the idea that "local" understandings of Mexican racial identity, as well as Mexicans' own racial diversity, might require certain Mexicans to be enumerated as something other than "Mexican," and that the Census Bureau would not step on locals' toes in prescribing how to do so. Yet, adding to its own inconsistency, the Bureau's wording also suggested that *all* Mexicans constituted a single race – when it referred to "this racial group." As noted above, a small minority of Mexicans in Chicago were indeed enumerated as "white" in 1930, while the vast majority were recorded as "Mexican" (as they were nationwide).

One could view the classification of Mexicans as a non-white race in 1930 as part of a growing movement to racialize Mexicans as non-white, beginning with the racist rhetoric fueling the Mexican immigration restriction debates of the 1920's, and continuing forward with the forced repatriation of Mexicans during the 1930's. But such an interpretation obscures the internal inconsistencies of the Census Bureau's own standards, and more importantly, only tells part of the story. At the same time the Census Bureau was removing Mexicans from its "white" category, other agencies of the federal government were making concerted efforts to classify Mexicans as white, while still others adhered to older policies that made "Mexican" its own racial category. During the 1920's (and in later years as well) the Bureau of Naturalization, with the support and encouragement of the U.S. State Department, continued to officially class Mexicans

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[71] Quoted in Foley, "Becoming Hispanic," 61; and in briefer form in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 52 n.14. As Foley explains, the "need to obtain separate figures" for Mexicans arose from the need by both sides of the Mexican immigration restriction debates of the 1920's to have specific data on the number of Mexicans in the U.S.

as "white." This was done primarily to preserve the legality of Mexican immigration, even though officials no less than the Secretary of Labor himself (who had charge of the Bureau) personally opposed unrestricted Mexican immigration and clearly believed that Mexicans were non-white. On the other hand, border officials and other officers in the Bureau of Immigration (also under the Department of Labor at this time), continued to employ a "race or people" classification system that assigned Mexicans (as well as other nationality groups) to their own racial identity, which was "Mexican." As seen below, this "race or people" designation of "Mexican" was more than just a surrogate for nationality, which the Bureau recorded separately. Indeed, the Bureau of Immigration's official guide to such matters, the *Dictionary of Races and Peoples*, included an entry for "Mexican" which declared that the "Mexican population ... is mainly of Indian or mixed origin," and went on to explain that "less than 20 per cent of the people of Mexico are of pure white blood."[72]

Thus, Mexicans who migrated to the Chicago region were officially marked with contradictory racial labels during various stages of their migration. For example, when Mexicans crossed the U.S. border, U.S. Bureau of Immigration officials filled out a "border manifest" for each one that recorded their personal data, including their race. On March 3, 1925, Ramona Aguilar, who was born in the largely indigenous Tarascan town of Tangancícuaro, Michoacán, crossed the border at Laredo, Texas, headed for Chicago in the company of her son, who had previously migrated there. Her border manifest listed her as not literate (in the Spanish language),

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[72] In fact, the *Dictionary* (which was initially prepared for Congress by the Dillingham Immigration Commission) stated that the term "Mexican" was "defined ... for immigration purposes" as only including native whites of Mexico, and therefore the Mexican population was, quite paradoxically, "largely excluded from this definition." According to the *Dictionary*, "for immigration purposes ... Negroes and American Indians [from Mexico] are listed separately regardless of nativity." In practice, however, immigration officials listed all Mexican immigrants as "Mexican" – a term that the *Dictionary* defined as white at the same time that it stated most Mexicans were wholly or partially Indian. U.S. Congress. Immigration Commission, *Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, prepared by Daniel Folkmar and Elnora C. Folkmar (Washington: GPO, 1911) 96. The Bureau of Immigration continued to use the *Dictionary* as a guide to its racial classifications into the 1950's. I thank Marian Smith for drawing my attention to this document, which she cites in Marian Smith, "Policy v. Politics: Immigration, Naturalization, and Mexican 'Whiteness,' 1897–1940," conference paper, Annual Meeting of the Organization of the American Historians (Memphis, 2003), copy given to me by author.

and recorded her "Nationality" as "Mex[ican]," her "Race" as "Mex[ican]," and her "complexion" as "d[ar]k."[73] This formula of entering "Mexican" for nationality *and* race, and "dark" for complexion was carried out for virtually all Mexicans who crossed into the U.S. at Laredo on their way to Chicago, or to any other destination, during the 1920's. Moreover, the recording of "dark" complexion and "Mexican" race by immigration officers in Laredo applied not only to non-literate Mexicans from traditionally indigenous areas like Ramona Aguilar, but also to urban and "literate" Mexicans like 20 year-old Maria Luisa Aguado y Jurado, who left Mexico City in February 1926 and entered the U.S. with her mother to meet her brother in Chicago.[74]

Yet, while Mexicans were deemed by the Bureau of Immigration to be of the "Mexican" race when they crossed the border,[75] many of these same immigrants possessed visas from the

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[73] Border admission Manifest # 7876 (Statistical) for Ramona Aguilar; Laredo, Texas Alien Admission Manifest Records (1903-1929), Reel 1, Unpublished Microfilm Accessions of the INS, RG 85, NA-DC. In the municipio (county) of Tangancícuaro, somewhere between 1% and 20% of the population spoke Tarascan, and Jennie Purnell identifies the Tarascan communities of the municipio as forming part of a distinct Tarascan zone during this period. See Dirrección General de Estadística (México), *Quinto Censo de Población, 15 de Mayo de 1930: Resumen General* (México, D.F.: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1934), Map: "Población que Habla Lenguas Indígenas, Censo de 1930" (between pages 134-35); and Jennie Purnell, *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico: The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke UP, 1999) 226 n.3.

[74] Border admission Manifest # 6961 (Statistical) for Maria Luisa Aguado y Jurado. Children under age 18 did not have their race recorded, and a few manifests that I viewed were illegible, but all other border manifests from Laredo that recorded Mexicans' race, nationality, and complexion followed this same pattern, including these three sample manifests for other Mexicans headed to Chicago: Raymundo Aguilar (unnumbered, handwritten border manifest, June 8, 1929), and Melquiades Aguado and his adult daughter Torivia Aguado (Manifest #'s 8001 and 8003, October 6, 1926). Laredo, Texas Alien Admission Manifest Records (1903-1929), Reel 1, Unpublished Microfilm Accessions of the INS, RG 85, NA-DC.

[75] Paul Taylor's analysis of Mexican immigration statistics in 1929 further confirmed that most Mexicans entering the U.S. were enumerated as being of "the Mexican race," even though that category was not firmly defined nor universal. In fact, "white" Mexicans were theoretically supposed to be enumerated as "Spanish," while "Indian" Mexicans were encompassed within the term "Mexican race," suggesting something of the racial meaning that the term carried for the Immigration Bureau. Taylor wrote: "No court decisions or departmental regulations define 'Mexican race,' [the category by which the Immigration Bureau enumerated Mexican immigrants at the border] but in the practice of immigrant inspectors, the procedure is substantially as follows: If one appears to be of Spanish (or other non-indigenous) ancestry no matter how many generations he himself may be removed from Spain, he is listed as of 'Spanish (or other non-indigenous) race.' Where mixed ancestry includes Negro or Chinese blood the race is determined by these strains. Thus 'Mexican race' generally means mixed European and Indian ancestry, although in fact pure Mexican Indians who are known to be such are also admitted as of 'Mexican race.'" Elsewhere in his discussion, Taylor confirmed that virtually all Mexican immigrants were enumerated as being of the "Mexican race." Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: Migration Statistics*, University

State Department's Consular Service that labelled them as "Caucasian" or "white." Visas were first required for immigrants in 1924, and they were granted by the U.S. Consular Service in the countries from which immigrants originated. As was the case with the Bureau of Immigration, the Consular Service recorded "race" separately from "nationality" *and* separately from "complexion." During the mid- to late 1920's Mexicans' complexion was generally, though not always, listed as "dark" by the Consular Service – regardless of the fact that their "race" was usually listed as white or Caucasian. Thus, when Francisco Anguiano applied at the consulate office in Ciudad Juárez for a visa to cross the border to neighboring El Paso in 1927, he was listed as being of the "Caucasian" race but having a "dark" complexion.[76] The visas of other Mexicans who migrated to the Chicago-Calumet region were generally recorded this same way (Caucasian "race" and dark "complexion"), regardless of their regional or class origins. Such was the case for the "merchant" Everardo Acevedo, from Puebla (by way of Mexico City and Monterrey); and for a second Francisco Anguiano who was a "shoemaker" from the rural Bajío, and became a steel worker in Gary (notably, Francisco would have had to sit in the "colored" section of Gary's movie theaters during the 1920's, regardless of any claims his visa made about him being "Caucasian").[77]

Other Mexicans who came to Chicago after the mid-1920's were listed by the Consular Service as being of the "white" race (rather than Caucasian), a designation which may have

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of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1929) 242, 247.

[76] "Application for Immigration Visa (Nonquota)," Francisco Anguiano, American Consular Service at Ciudad Juárez (Chihuahua), August 24, 1927, in Visa File #1185412 (Francisco Anguiano), U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS, formerly the INS), Washington, DC (Freedom of Information Act / Privacy Act (FOIA/PA) request #COW2003007807). See Appendix A for further information on the FOIA/PA sources used in this and other chapters.

[77] "Application for Immigration Visa (Nonquota)," Everardo Acevedo, American Consular Service at Matamoros, Tamaulipas, November 13, 1928, Visa File #1442178 (Everardo Acevedo), USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007511). "Application for Immigration Visa (Nonquota)," Francisco Anguiano, American Consular Service at Ciudad Juárez (Chihuahua), May 17, 1928; and Alien Registration Form (Francisco Anguiano), November 18, 1940; both in A-File #4077725 (Ramón Avila), USCIS (FOIA/PA request #PHI2003001714). Gary's segregated theaters are discussed in Chapter 3, and below.

connoted a more popular or supposedly common-sense notion of whiteness than the scientific term "Caucasian." Thus, in February 1930 (by which time the *non*-white Census designation of "Mexican" had been adopted), Sabás Aldrete applied for a visa to rejoin his parents in Chicago, where Sabás had lived from 1923 to 1928. Aldrete's form declared his race to be "white," and also declared his complexion to be "fair" (rather than dark), and his hair "brown" (not black). Moreover, Aldrete's application included the report of a medical examination by Dr. Carlos Cantu y Cantu, of Monterrey, which declared Aldrete to be "Color: blanco" (Color: white). Perhaps it was this medical document that contributed to Sabás's official designation as "white" and "fair," in contrast to the vast majority of Mexicans who were designated as "Caucasian" and "dark" (or even "Mexican" and "dark," as seen below). In this regard, it is striking that Sabás's father was born in Jalpa, Guanajuato, in a municipio that was over 50% indigenous-speaking in 1930. Thus, Sabás Aldrete was medically assessed and officially sanctioned as "white" even though his father hailed from Guanajuato's most heavily indigenous region, where the majority of persons spoke the indigenous Otomí language in 1930.[78]

However, while generally contradicting the racial scheme of the Bureau of Immigration by labelling Mexicans white or Caucasian, the Consular Service was itself inconsistent in its racial classifications. It appears that during the first few years that the Consular Service issued visas to Mexicans, it followed the Bureau of Immigration's racial standards and listed Mexicans as being

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[78] "Certificado Médico" for Sabás Aldrete, by Dr. Carlos R. Cantu y Cantu, February 18, 1930; and "Application for Immigration Visa (Nonquota)," Sabás Aldrete, American Consular Service at Monterrey, Nuevo León, February 20, 1930; both in Visa File #1775066 (Sabás Aldrete), USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007798).

Sabás Aldrete's 62 year-old father (with the same name) had registered as a "worker" with the Mexican Consulate in Chicago in July 1929, during his son's absence in Monterrey ("Matrículas expedidas durante el mes de julio, de 1929," File IV-102-29, AHGE. His birthplace of Jalpa (also known as Jalpan) is located in the southeast corner of the Municipio of San Miguel de Allende, where a majority of the population spoke a branch of the Otomí language in 1930. Dirrección General de Estadística (México), *Quinto Censo de Población, 15 de Mayo de 1930: Resumen General*, Map, "Población que Habla Lenguas Indígenas, Censo de 1930," between pages 134-35. In 1940, Carlos Basauri identified the population of this area as speaking the Chichimecas Pames branch of the Otomí language, and showed the indigenous-speaking region as covering the eastern portion of the Municipio of San Miguel de Allende, and extending north and east beyond the municipio itself. Jalpan would have been situated just within the southern portion of this region. Carlos Basauri, *La Población Indígena de México* (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1940) Vol. I, map, 168-69.

of the "Mexican" "race." For example, in May 1925 when Ramón Avila approached the U.S. Consular Service in Monterrey, Nuevo León to obtain an immigration visa to re-enter the U.S. (where he had previously migrated to Michigan, and possibly to Chicago as well), "Mexican" was entered for his "Race" and "dark" for his "complexion," duplicating the standard employed by border officials while contradicting the Census Bureau's operative classification at the time.[79] Similarly, Miguel Peña's race was listed as "Mexican" on the visa he received at Nuevo Laredo in October 1924 – in spite of the rare fact that his complexion was listed as "light."[80] Perhaps the Consular Service initially opted to mirror the Bureau of Immigration's standards, but then later moved to a "Caucasian" or "white" designation for Mexicans that was more in line with the State Department's practice of classifying all Mexican people as being of the white race (see further discussion below).

In contrast to the contradictory racial terms that federal agencies employed in classifying Mexicans throughout the course of their migration and settlement in Chicago, the Labor Department's Bureau of Naturalization was consistent in *treating* Mexicans as white for the purposes of citizenship and immigration, even though the Bureau stopped short of positively *stating* that all Mexicans were white. The Bureau's treatment of Mexicans as white had tangible effects on local racial practices in the greater Chicago region, unlike in longer-term Mexican receiving regions like Texas, where local precedent and practices had long established Mexicans' racial difference from whites. Additionally, the Bureau of Naturalization's racial classifications carried more juridical weight than those of other federal agencies. Naturalization proceedings were carried out and appealed in federal court, thereby providing a legal precedent for the

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[79] "Application for Immigration Visa (Nonquota)," Ramón Avila, American Consular Service at Monterrey, Nuevo León, May 4, 1925, in Visa File #808983 (Ramón Avila), USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007528). Avila's application stated he had lived in "Michigan, and different parts of U.S." from 1921 to November, 1923. His travel to Michigan was likely by railroad, which would have required at least passing through Chicago.

[80] "Application for Immigration Visa (Nonquota)," Miguel Peña, American Consular Service at Nuevo Laredo, October 18, 1924, in Visa File #740599 (Miguel Peña), USCIS (FOIA/PA request #WSC2003006910).

determination of Mexicans' racial identity that could then be applied to other legal situations at the local level.

The Bureau's treatment of Mexicans as white for citizenship and immigration purposes was therefore quite significant – especially in the greater Chicago region, where the actions of local officials suggest that they were looking to the Bureau for guidance on how they might treat Mexicans under the law. However, the Bureau's treatment of Mexicans as white came under intense scrutiny during the Mexican immigration restriction debates of the late 1920's, and the Bureau's response to this scrutiny did little to mitigate the federal government's inconsistent and ambiguous stance on Mexicans' race. Throughout the debates the Labor Department (under which the Bureau of Naturalization operated) was incredibly irresolute in its justifications for treating Mexicans as white. In fact, the Labor Department's public commentary on the matter actually reinforced the idea that Mexicans had such a highly mixed racial past that it was practically impossible to determine who they were racially. While the Labor Department still concluded that Mexicans should be treated as white on the basis of legal and diplomatic precedent (and in order to simplify administrative matters), the Department's *discussion* of the issue actually reinforced the idea that Mexicans as a whole were racially mixed and non-white, even though the precise nature of individual Mexicans' non-whiteness was unclear.

By the late 1920's a California-based movement to restrict Mexican immigration had gained considerable strength, and this movement turned to the racial argument that Mexicans were neither "white" nor of African ancestry (the two prerequisites for citizenship since 1870), and were therefore ineligible for citizenship.[81] The Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924 (also known as the National Origins Act, or the Johnson Immigration Act) stated explicitly that only persons "eligible for citizenship" could be allowed to immigrate to the U.S. Mexicans, along with

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[81] For summaries of the 1920's Mexican restriction debates, see Clare Sheridan, "Contested Citizenship: National Identity and the Mexican Immigration Restriction Debate of the 1920's," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21.3 (Spring 2002) and Weber, "Anglo Views of Mexican Immigrants: Popular Perceptions and Neighborhood Realities in Chicago, 1900–1940," Chapter 2.

all nations of the Western Hemisphere, were exempt from the restrictive quotas of the act, much to the vexation of those who sought to shut down Mexican immigration. However, restrictionists still argued that, under the law, Mexicans were *racially* ineligible for citizenship, and were therefore inadmissible as immigrants.[82]

Moreover, the fact that the federal government was so inconsistent in its treatment of Mexicans' "race" only strengthened the restrictionists' case. This inconsistency pertained even within the Department of Labor, as the Bureaus of Immigration and Naturalization utilized different guidelines for assessing Mexicans' race. While the Bureau of Naturalization treated Mexicans as white, the Bureau of Immigration, as seen above, enumerated virtually all Mexican immigrants at the border as being of the "Mexican race" (yet admitted them to the U.S. nonetheless). But the inconsistencies with regard to Mexicans went even further if one looked comparatively at other Latin American immigrants. In a naturalization case from 1919, the federal court at the Southern District of New York had denied citizenship to a South American "Indian" who had served in the U.S. Navy, because of his "Indian" ancestry – a heritage that could readily be argued for Mexico as well.[83] The inconsistent treatment of Mexicans' race by the Bureaus of Naturalization and Immigration, as well by other federal agencies, provided fertile ground for restrictionists to argue against the legality of Mexican immigration on racial grounds.

In response to these arguments and inconsistencies, members of Congress asked Secretary of Labor James Davis to officially comment on the issue in early 1929. Davis's response, in several memos and drafts prepared with the aid of the Labor Department's legal office, was that

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[82] On the legal bases for Mexican citizenship and immigration, see Smith, "Policy v. Politics"; plus the additional memos cited below.

[83] *In re Para*, 269 Fed. 643, 1919. Paul Taylor noted the federal inconsistencies raised by this case when he observed that Mexicans who were known to be fully "Indian" were admitted at the U.S.-Mexican border as members of "the Mexican race," rather than as Indians. He added: "It is interesting to note that one branch of the Department of Labor admits Mexican Indians as immigrants without raising the legal question whether race may bar legal admissability, while another branch bars a South American Indian from citizenship, despite his naval service. The inconsistency of procedure is further shown by the fact that on the Canadian border Indians were barred by the immigration officials until Congress ... declared them admissible [in 1928]." Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: Migration Statistics*, 242–43.

Mexicans should continue to be allowed admission as immigrants – primarily on the basis of an oft-cited legal precedent (*In Re: Rodriguez, 1897*) which held that all Mexicans were eligible for U.S. citizenship by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and other international treaties that had granted citizenship to the formerly Mexican citizens of Texas and the Southwest. The Solicitor of the Department of Labor cited numerous legal cases which upheld this precedent that Mexicans were eligible for citizenship, though other evidence from the period suggests that the legal footing for this interpretation may not have been as secure as the Solicitor made it out to be.[84]

On the issue of race, however, Davis's response was very ambiguous. According to the law, he could not officially concede that Mexicans were non-white and still hope to uphold the legality of their immigration. However, he also did not explicitly argue that Mexicans *were* white, choosing instead to suggest that as a practical and legal matter, Mexicans needed to be *treated* as white in so far as immigration law was concerned. Portions of Davis's comments were subsequently published by proponents of Mexican immigration restriction in California, who used some of Davis's own statements to argue for the inadmissibility of Mexican immigrants.[85] The

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[84] Solicitor's findings reported in Secretary of Labor James Davis to Albert Johnson (U.S. House, Washington 3rd District), February 14, 1929; in Container 10, Folder 1 "Correspondence (1927-1931)," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Also, Secretary of Labor James Davis to Hiram W. Johnson (U.S. Senate, California), February 14, 1929; and Secretary of Labor James Davis to Hiram W. Johnson (U.S. Senate, California), February 5, 1929 (longer draft, labelled "prepared in Solicitor's Office"), both in File 19783/155, Entry 26, RG 85, NA-DC (copies of all the materials I cite from this file were kindly given to me by Marian Smith, USCIS Historian, from her own research).

The legal support for Mexicans' eligibilty as citizens, as set forth in *In re Rodriguez* (which, significantly, was *not* a Supreme Court case, and could therefore be overturned), was likely not as secure as the Solicitor General suggested. As Paul Taylor noted, the argument that citizenship granted to a certain national group by treaty made all members of that group eligible for citizenship was contradicted by the U.S. treatment of Japanese and Chinese residents of the Hawaiian Islands. According to Taylor, "there appears to be no disposition to hold that Japanese and Chinese are [generally] eligible to citizenship because Japanese and Chinese residents in the Hawaiian Islands at the time of their annexation were naturalized by act of Congress. . . The issue has not had clear determination by the courts." Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: Migration Statistics*, 244.

[85] The arguments in Davis's memo and the restrictionists' counter-arguments were published with California taxpayers' money by Ulysses S. Webb, the Attorney General of California, in *Memorandum Relative to Communication dated February 5, 1929, Addressed by Secretary of Labor, Honorable James J. Davis, to Senator Hiram W. Johnson, Chairman of the Committee on Immigration, United States Senate*, prepared by U.S. Webb, Attorney General of California (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1929). Copy in File 19783/155, Entry 26, RG 85, NA-DC. References to Davis's statements about Mexicans' race appear on p.6. Significantly, the title clarifies that Davis's earlier, lengthier and even less resolute February 5th draft circulated to Senator

publication of Davis's statements gave them a broader impact than most internal government memoranda, and publicly underscored the federal government's ambiguous stance on Mexicans' racial identity.

In his memos, Secretary Davis began by evading the issue of Mexicans' race, quoting the opinion of *In Re: Rodriguez* (1897), that "Native citizens of Mexico, *whatever may be their status from the standpoint of the ethnologist*, are eligible to American citizenship" [emphasis added].[86] This became the theme of Davis's overall argument – that Mexicans' eligibility for citizenship didn't depend on their race. Ironically, though, he then expended considerable ink on the issue of Mexicans' race, alternately presenting evidence of Mexicans' non-white, racially mixed past, and then citing legal and government precedents for treating them as white. Davis first cited Mexican population statistics which showed that Mexico's population was primarily "mixed," secondarily "Indian," and only thirdly "white." From this, he concluded that "the basic race of the country is Indian, either pure-blooded or mixed with white stock." But he then noted that Mexicans "are, however, generally spoken of as belonging to the white stock, and this is accounted for largely by the fact that the greater part of the population speak Spanish, and our Government, in its relations with the Mexican people, has uniformly recognized them as belonging to the white race." Circling back again, though, he immediately questioned the validity of the government's diplomatic precedent for treating Mexicans as white, commenting that "there has always been a feeling of delicacy in dealing with this question ... [A]nthropologists, following their strict scientific classifications of racial groups, might not class Mexicans with the white race, and of course, they could not class them as Africans or of African descent."[87] By this statement, Davis made clear

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Johnson, not just the later versions.

[86] This quote and the following ones appeared in identical form in all three of the previously cited memos by Davis, unless noted otherwise. For convenience, however, I will simply cite the longer February 5th version (which circulated more widely, as attested by the California State publication cited above). Davis to Hiram W. Johnson, February 5, 1929 (as cited above), p.6.

[87] Davis to Hiram W. Johnson, February 5, 1929 (as cited above), p.7.

that Mexicans were not eligible for citizenship (and therefore, immigration) by virtue of their scientific classification as a race. Finally, though, he returned once again to his original contention that Mexicans *were* eligible for citizenship based on the legal and diplomatic precedents for treating Mexicans as white, concluding that "native Mexicans cannot be denied permanent admission to the United States because of their ethnological [i.e., "scientific"] status as a race."[88]

Throughout this discussion and throughout all of his memos, Davis never affirmatively stated that Mexicans were white and therefore *racially* eligible for citizenship. In fact, Davis's numerous back-and-forth observations on Mexicans' race highlighted in a poignant way how the government had considerable difficulty determining exactly what Mexicans' race was. One theme, however came through clearly: Mexicans had a highly mixed racial heritage that disqualified them from true, "scientific" whiteness. Moreover, this mixed racial background also made it incredibly difficult to ascertain individual Mexicans' racial identity, and Davis suggested that this unknowable aspect of Mexicans' race presented a practical and logistical obstacle to restricting Mexican immigration on racial grounds. As Davis wrote:

> The Mexican people are of such a mixed stock and individuals have such a limited knowledge of their racial composition that it would be impossible for the most learned and experienced ethnologist or anthropologist to classify or determine their racial origin. *Thus, making an effort to exclude them from admission or citizenship because of their racial status is practically impossible.*[89] [emphasis added]

Elsewhere in his memos, Davis made it clear that he personally opposed the levels of Mexican immigration at the time, and viewed Mexicans as a threat to "American laborers." He proposed that Congress pass legislation to place Mexicans on a quota system along with immigrants from Europe, and allow an additional number of Mexicans to migrate as temporary

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[88] Davis to Hiram W. Johnson, February 5, 1929 (as cited above), p.11. Significantly, Davis was less assertive in subsequent versions of the memo, where he wrote that "It thereupon *appears* that native Mexicans cannot be denied permanent admission ... because of their ... race" [emphasis added]. Davis to Hiram W. Johnson, February 14, 1929 (as cited above), p.6.

[89] Davis to Hiram W. Johnson, February 5, 1929 (as cited above), p.11.

laborers, with the guarantee that they would return to Mexico.[90] Moreover, in an interview with Paul Taylor a month after the memos were written, Davis was even more candid about his negative feelings toward Mexicans, and began with a racial metaphor that betrayed his personal sense of Mexicans' non-whiteness:

> They are saffronizing California. . . They haven't the mentality. Why don't they develop their own country? I am for people with mentality. I am for people who build brick instead of adobe houses. Where the Germans have settled the country [Texas] has bloomed like the rose. Across the street where the Mexicans live are adobe shacks. They [legislators] admit 60,000 Mexicans and only 1,000 Welsh. . . . The Mexicans are coming up to live in our communities in the north and we don't like it.

Davis then reiterated what he felt was "[t]he right solution," namely, "[t]he quota and discretion to admit more for seasonal purposes and make them go back."[91]

Given his poor opinion of Mexicans, his desire that the number of Mexican immigrants be decreased, and his personal view that Mexicans were non-white, it is clear that Secretary of Labor Davis had less than altruistic reasons for arguing that Mexicans should be treated as white under the immigration laws. The first reason appears to have been the practical and administrative problems associated with restricting Mexicans on the basis of race. His proposed quota, which was accompanied by his complaint that legislators had not already enacted a quota, reveals that he favored restriction, but wanted it to happen in a more well-defined way. As Davis made clear, what was needed was "some *effective* legal method" of restriction [emphasis added].[92] The

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[90] "Unless restrained by some effective legal method," Davis feared that Mexicans would continue to "invade" an overcrowded labor market, lower the living standards of American workers, cause unemployment, and even erode "wholesome social conditions in those parts of the United States where Mexicans are now largely settled." Davis also cited organized labor's opposition to Mexicans, and disingenuously cited social workers as saying that Mexicans invariably became public charges. Davis to Hiram W. Johnson, February 5, 1929 (as cited above), pp. 2-6, 12.

[91] He went on to say that California congressmen (assumedly Hiram Johnson included) all opposed Mexican, Filipino, Chinese and Japanese immigration, for fear it would "saffronize" California – a metaphor that clearly equated Mexicans' non-whiteness with that of the other races he named. Interview with Secretary of Labor James J. Davis, Washington, DC, March 1929; in Container 10, Folder 5, "Field Notes: Series B, Set I," p.77 (stamped p.249), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[92] Davis to Hiram W. Johnson, February 5, 1929 (as cited above), pp. 2-6, 12.

prospect of adjudicating individual Mexicans' racial identity at the border was "practically impossible," as Davis made clear in his assertions about Mexico's racially mixed past and the resulting unknowability of Mexicans' race in the present. What Davis wanted, and what he advocated, was a practical means of Mexican immigration restriction, with clear statutory guidelines provided by Congress. The result was his stance that Mexicans were not excludable on racial grounds. The fact that Mexicans' "race" did not provide a well-defined or effective method of restricting Mexicans' immigration tells much about the imprecision surrounding Mexicans' perceived racial identity. Ironically, it was the very diversity of Mexico's racial past, combined with administrative realities and Mexicans' own transnational mobility, that made it logistically preferable for Mexicans to be recognized as white by the Immigration Bureau.

However, Davis also revealed that the State Department was applying external pressure on the Labor Department and Congress to avoid any restriction of Mexican immigration. Davis complained that even "[t]he Mexican officials want restriction of immigration, but our State Department – when they smell the perfume of a foreign diplomat they are afraid we will disturb foreign relations or start a war."[93] The influence of the State Department in recognizing Mexicans as "white" and eligible for immigration and naturalization was confirmed in another interview Paul Taylor conducted in Washington that March, with Monnett B. Davis of the U.S. State Department (no relation to James Davis). Monnett B. Davis commented that placing Mexicans under a quota restriction "would be a reversal of our policy favoring American nations." According to Davis, "the absence of restriction ... is one of the few evidences that we are jointly sharing important problems." Davis explained that the exemption of the western hemisphere from the U.S. immigration restriction acts of 1921, 1922, and 1924 was "noted and appreciated" by Latin American countries, and that "[i]t is worse for us to take this exemption away after giving it than if none had been given. It would force Latin-American governments even against their judgment to come out against restriction by the United States." In concluding, Davis added that

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[93] Interview with Secretary of Labor James J. Davis, Washington, DC, March 1929 (as cited above).

"numerical restriction" might be considered by the State Department (and passed by Congress "even over the objections of [agricultural] business"), but only "if necessary."[94] His emphasis on numerical restriction was a clear attack on the racial argument being made at that time for Mexican immigration restriction, and understandably so. The last thing the State Department would have wanted was an official statement of U.S. racial superiority over Mexico at a time when the State Department had just narrowly succeeded in protecting U.S. business interests in Mexico – whose "revolutionary" government was publicly opposed to the private accumulation of wealth and property. Indeed, U.S. bankers and investors during this period had cause to be concerned about any official labeling of Mexicans as an inferior race. Almost a year earlier, the June 1928 edition of *Banker's Monthly* included a statement from the Mexican Consul General in the U.S. that exploitation and eugenicist arguments directed against Mexicans needed to cease if North Americans wanted to insure the safety of their investments in Mexico.[95]

The State Department's influence in favor of open immigration from Mexico and its strong opposition to the Labor Department excluding Mexicans on racial grounds would continue through the 1930's, gaining strength with the "Good Neighbor" policy and the increasing stress on "hemispheric unity" prior to World War II. This stance culminated in the Nationality Act of 1940, which included a State Department-backed clause adding "races indigenous to the Western Hemisphere" to the list of eligible races for U.S. citizenship. The explanatory comments to the proposed act reiterated the continuing importance of diplomatic concerns in ensuring that Mexicans were legally classed as white, stating that the clause had been added "[i]n furtherance of the efforts which have been made to more firmly cement the ties of international friendship

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[94] Interview with Monnett B. Davis, U.S. State Department, Washington, DC, March 1929; in Container 10, Folder 5, "Field Notes: Series B, Set I," pp.79-80 (stamped pp.251-52), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[95] As Consul General Santibañez stated, if local U.S. authorities would made an effort to prevent Mexican exploitation, and "if the sociologists would not speak with so much contempt of the Mexicans," then "the discomfiture and the sting which all this produces would not be reflected in the treatment accorded American capital invested in Mexico." *Banker's Monthly* v.1 n.6 (June 1928), 859; transcribed in Container 10, Folder 5, "Field Notes: Series B, Set I," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

between the United States and the Pan-American countries." The comments then went a step further by suggesting that not many Latin Americans were indigenous, anyway. Reiterating the importance of the clause to diplomatic relations, the text stated: "The highly desirable results which it is believed would follow such action are probably out of all proportion to the comparatively few persons who would likely be affected by this provision."[96]

What, then, was the relevance to the Chicago region of the inconsistency surrounding Mexicans' racial identity at the federal level, as well as the administrative and diplomatic factors that influenced the Labor Department to treat Mexicans as white? As already suggested, the main ramification of the federal government's inconsistency was that in the midst of their own confusion regarding Mexicans' racial identity, whites in the Chicago region could find no clear guidance for clarifying Mexicans' racial identity. But the federal government's interpretation of Mexicans' racial identity also had more direct and concrete ramifications for Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region. At a few crucial points, local whites were directly influenced by federal guidelines concerning Mexicans' race – and it was here that the greater juridical weight of the Labor Department's definition, along with the political pressure of the State Department, made a difference. In two cases described below, the tendency of the Labor Department and the State Department to treat Mexicans as "white" encouraged local whites to do the same, even against their wishes and against the broader patterns of housing exclusion and generalized violence directed against Mexicans. On the other hand, restrictionist arguments that were directed against the Labor Department at the national level resonated in Chicago as well, where some whites saw

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[96] The latter part of the statement was a bit disingenuous, given the way the clause settled once and for all any legal doubts about *all* Mexicans' eligibility for citizenship. U.S. Congress, House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization (76th Cong., 1st Sess.), *Nationality Laws of the United States – Message from the President of the United States (transmitting a report proposing a revision and codification of the nationality laws of the United States, prepared at the request of the President of the United States, by the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of Labor)*, Part I: Proposed Code with Explanatory Comments, (Washington: GPO, 1939), p.22 (commentary on Sec.303 of the proposed act). I thank Marian Smith for directing me to a copy of this committee print in the collections of the USCIS History Office.

Mexicans' "mixed" racial identity as proof of their racial inferiority. However, even this development produced contradictory effects. Recognizing Mexicans' mixed racial heritage also made it harder to conceive of Mexicans as a monolithic race, and such a conception was a useful basis for maintaining broad-based patterns of exclusion.

The first case in which federal concerns about Mexicans' race discouraged white Chicagoans from treating Mexicans as non-white occurred during the aftermath of the Chicago race riot in 1919. While the race riot attacks on Fidencio González and José Blanco have already been examined as a dramatic example of the way white residents in Back of the Yards treated Mexicans as racial equivalents of blacks, the State Department's involvement in Fidencio González's case influenced Chicago officials to vigorously prosecute González's attackers, and to avoid any official recognition of the fact that González had been attacked for being non-white or "Negro." To his credit, Cook County State's Attorney Maclay Hoyne had already charged González's white attackers for attempted murder when, on or after August 18th, he received news of the State Department's interest in the case.[97] The gravity of the matter, however, would not have been lost on him when his boss, Illinois Attorney General Edward Brundage, told him about the Governor's and State Department's interest in the case, both of whom kindly but firmly requested a prompt inquiry into González's attack. Among the documents the Attorney General gave to Hoyne was the letter from the Mexican Ambassador in Washington requesting that the Secretary of State "recommend that the offenders be arrested and punished by the judicial authorities." Also included was a signed letter from U.S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing to Illinois Governor Frank O. Lowden, stating: "I shall be glad to be advised of the action taken in

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[97] In fact, González's attackers were the first white defendants from the race riot to be indicted, on August 12, 1919. See "Indict 3 Whites and 5 Negroes For Race Riots - To Return True Bills Monday..." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Saturday, 9 August 1919, p.3; "Riot Grand Jury Votes to Indict 13 White Men," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Wednesday, 13 August 1919, p.5; and Grand Jury Indictment # 17599, *The People of the State of Illinois vs. Charles Schuh, et al*, 12 August 1919, Criminal Court of Cook County, Cook County Circuit Court Archives. In a little known side story of the Chicago race riot, it was actually the predominately white grand jury that apparently put pressure on Hoyne's office to bring more white attackers from the race riot before the grand jury. "White Rioters Face Bolting Jurymen Today," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Thursday, 7 August 1919, p.1.

this case, in order that the Mexican Ambassador may be appropriately informed." Finally, Hoyne received a forwarded letter from the Governor's Secretary recommending "the prosecution of the persons who committed the assault," and requesting a report to be returned to the Governor as soon as possible, so that it could be forwarded to the Secretary of State for his response to the Mexican ambassador.[98]

Clearly, then, when Maclay Hoyne went to write his report he would have been keenly aware that it was destined for the State Department, and likely the Mexican Ambassador. Moreover, it was clear that the Secretary of State and the Governor wanted to see González's attackers quickly and successfully prosecuted. Even without specific directions and explanation, Hoyne and Attorney General Brundage would have readily grasped the broader diplomatic ramifications of the case, given the climate of international relations between Mexico and the United States at the time. As was the case throughout much of this period, U.S. officials in the summer of 1919 were actively pressing the Mexican government for reparations and guarantees for the safety of U.S. citizens and their property threatened by the ongoing political and revolutionary violence in Mexico. These matters were widely publicized in the Chicago press. On August 7th, less than two weeks before Hoyne received the State Department and governor's correspondence, the *Chicago Tribune* ran an editorial entitled "A Showdown With Mexico," which reported how none other than "Secretary [of State] Lansing has urged the Mexican government to be diligent in pursuit and punishment of the bandits who on July 12 robbed an American citizen."[99] Two days later the *Tribune* reported that Mexican attacks on U.S. citizens along the border had been increasing, and argued (as suggested by the byline, "Mexico Unafraid") that a more belligerent stance toward Mexico was needed to threaten Mexicans into the respect of

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[98] Mexican Ambassador Ygnacio Bonillas to Robert Lansing, U.S. Secretary of State, August 9, 1919; U.S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing to Illinois Governor Frank Lowden, August 13, 1919; and "Secretary to the Governor" to Attorney General Edward Brundage, August 18, 1919; all in Folder: "August 1919," Governor Frank Orren Lowden Correspondence, Record Series 101.027, Illinois State Archives (hereafter "Series 101.027 (Gov. Lowden), ISA").

[99] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 7, 1919, p.8 (editorials page).

U.S. life and property.[100] The *Tribune* also reported on hearings in the U.S. House and Senate regarding "outrages" committed against U.S. citizens and property in Mexico, with headlines like "Senate Directs Inquiry to Cure Mexican Plague."[101] The situation escalated by mid-month, so that a few days before Hoyne received his letters from the governor and the State Department, the front-page headline of the *Tribune* declared, "U.S. Threatens Carranza for Yank Murders."[102] In this context of U.S. accusations about the inability of the Mexican government to protect U.S. citizens and U.S. property, racially-motivated attacks against Mexican citizens in the U.S. threatened to seriously undermine the State Department's hard line stance. Indeed, the State Department took careful note of a September 1st speech by President Carranza in which he referenced the attacks on González and José Blanco during the Chicago race riot, and State Department officials were well aware of Carranza's speech before they forwarded their version of Maclay Hoyne's report to the Mexican Ambassador.[103] In short, the stakes were clear for Cook County State's Attorney Maclay Hoyne when he sat down to report the details of Fidencio González's case and the prosecution of González's attackers.

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[100] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 9, 1919, p.13.

[101] "Senate Directs Inquiry to Cure Mexican Plague," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 9, 1919, p. 12. See also "Mexico Will Pass New Oil Laws Soon," *New York Times*, August 7, 1919, p.11 (about the U.S. State Department pursuing outstanding claims against the Mexican government for oil revenues lost by U.S. companies); and "Mexican Inquiry Ordered by Senate; Committee to Fix Damages for Outrages," *New York Times*, August 9, 1919, p.1.

[102] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 15, 1919, p.1.

[103] The U.S. chargé in Mexico sent a copy of Carranza's speech to the State Department on September 3rd, and the State Department received it on the 11th, though the chargé had also telegrammed the State Department about the speech sometime between September 1st and 3rd. The State Department made their report to the Mexican Ambassador about González's attack on September 16th (see below). Speaking prior to receiving the details of the report, President Carranza's speech inaccurately claimed that "The culprits [of the attacks on Blanco and González] have not yet been apprehended," a statement that nonetheless added fuel to the Mexican side of the "outrages" negotiations. See "Message of President Carranza to the National Congress, September 1, 1919" (as translated from *El Heraldo de México*, Mexico City), and related State Department correspondence, in U.S. Department of State, *Papers Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919*, vol. II (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1934) 531, 536. I thank Arturo Rosales for directing me to this document.

In his August 21st report, then, Hoyne went to great lengths to distance González's attack from the race riot itself, while also trying to expunge any suggestion of the racial motivations of the attack. As he reported, "It appears that the assault upon Gonzalez was not due to any personal, racial or religious antipathy toward him." Perhaps unaware that the Mexican Ambassador had been closely following the race riot, Hoyne next attempted, in increasingly awkward terms, to talk about the disorder and violence of the race riot without actually mentioning the riot as a whole, or even race. He stated: "At the time in question there was considerable disorder in certain parts of the city of Chicago, due to differences between various classes of American citizens, and various rowdies and other lawless persons seized upon these differences as a pretext to indulge in assault, riot and larceny."[104] As seen in Chapter 3, the record of deliberate, racially based riot activity in and around the Stockyards, along with the longer record of more generalized violence against Mexicans there, clearly undermined the validity of Hoyne's statement, as did the very manner in which González was attacked (being "mistaken for a Negro" by "white" attackers).[105] Yet, his contrived statement that González was somehow randomly attacked without any prejudice was copied verbatim into the State Department's later report to the Mexican Ambassador, which also reported how the Cook County State's Attorney had taken "prompt action to punish all those guilty," citing the case number against González's attackers and adding the Illinois Attorney General's pledge that "the persons

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[104] Report of Cook County State's Attorney Maclay Hoyne to Illinois Attorney General Edward J. Brundage, August 21, 1919, Folder: "August 1919," Series 101.027 (Gov. Lowden), ISA. The Mexican Ambassador's close following of the Chicago race riot is apparent from his correspondence with the Secretary of Foreign Relations in Mexico City regarding the riot, all of which occurred before he learned of the attacks on González: Mexican Ambassador to the U.S. Ignacio Bonillas to Salvador Diego Fernández (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores), August 1, 1919 and August 8, 1919, both in file 16-28-21, "Motines entre Blancos y Negros, habidos en Chicago, IL," AHGE. After he did learn of the attack on Fidencio González, the Ambassador's initial inquiry to the U.S. State Department made no reference to the race riot. The move was perhaps calculated on his part, and may explain how State's Attorney Maclay Hoyne thought he could describe González's attack without really mentioning the race riot.

[105] The quoted phrases are taken from: "Indict 3 Whites and 5 Negroes for race riots," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Saturday, August 9, 1919, p.3; and "Riot Grand Jury Votes to Indict 13 White Men," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Wednesday, August 13, 1919, p.5.

indicted will be vigorously prosecuted."[106] In October González's attackers were indeed all found guilty, albeit on reduced charges resulting from a plea bargain. Two were fined in the amount of $25 and $100 each, and two others were fined $100 and sentenced to one year in jail.[107] Though this might not have represented a truly "vigorous" prosecution, the outcome of González's case was certainly better than that for most African-Americans attacked during the race riot.[108]

In the end, the handling of the González attack case did not do much to mitigate the more widespread pattern of Mexicans being treated as racially equivalent to blacks in the Chicago-Calumet region. But the incident did serve as an object lesson to Chicago and Cook County officials that they could not *officially* treat Mexicans as non-white without facing repercussions from their superiors in local and state government, who wanted to avoid criticism from federal officials. By contrast, African-Americans in Chicago did not benefit from any parallel kind of federal-level intervention on their behalf. The idea of a federal agency like the U.S. State Department intervening on behalf of African-Americans in Chicago would have been unthinkable in 1919. For Mexicans, however, the context of U.S.-Mexican diplomatic relations would continue to work to their advantage for years to come, with the adoption of the "Good Neighbor Policy" and talk of "hemispheric unity" during World War II.

Later in the 1920's, the federal treatment of Mexicans as "white" under immigration and naturalization law exerted a more direct influence on Mexicans' lived racial experience in Chicago, by frustrating official efforts to segregate Mexicans at the local level. As described in

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[106] Acting Secretary of State to Ygnacio Bonillas, Mexican Ambassador, September 16, 1919, in File 311.121 G58/1, Box 3571, U.S. State Department Central Files, 1910-1929, Record Group 59, Records of the U.S. State Department, National Archives at College Park, Maryland (aka "Archives II"). I thank Mike Reis for retrieving a copy of this document for me.

[107] Criminal Court Docket Book, Docket Entry for Case 17599, *The People of the State of Illinois vs. Charles Schuh, et al*, Cook County Circuit Court Archives.

[108] The record of prosecutions against white attackers during the race riot was quite poor. See Illinois Attorney General Edward J. Brundage to Governor Frank O. Lowden, August 22, 1919, File "August 1919," Series 101.027 (Gov. Lowden), ISA; and also the assessment in Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922).

Chapter 3, white neighborhood and municipal organizations during the 1920's considered plans to officially segregate Mexicans in housing in East Chicago and South Chicago, and strategies of exclusion were clearly discussed in Back of the Yards as well. As noted, none of these plans were officially implemented against Mexicans (neither were they implemented against African-Americans). In South Chicago, however, the decision to *not* pursue official means of segregation against Mexicans was based on South Chicagoans' perception that Mexicans were "legally" white, a perception almost certainly based on the official stance of the Labor Department regarding Mexicans' race. In a Paul Taylor interview conducted in July 1929, the Secretary of the South Chicago Chamber of Commerce explained that "The legal case for such separation [residential segregation] is not so clear as for separation of the Negroes. We understand that the Mexicans are legally classed as white." At the time the Chamber of Commerce Secretary made this statement in July, proponents of Mexican immigration restriction had just publicized their critique of the Labor Department's stance that Mexicans were legally white under immigration and naturalization law. Secretary of Labor Davis's memos on the issue had been written only five months earlier, and were published that summer. While the Labor Department's legal classification of Mexicans as white was clearly under fire, it was also the operative legal standard of the moment.

Moreover, the South Chicago Chamber of Commerce Secretary's comments revealed a broader awareness of the legal cases and arguments surrounding the national debate over Mexicans' racial identity under the law. After his statement about Mexicans being "legally white," he went on to say that "We looked into it and found there were legal precedents for segregation of Caucasians, but the Mexicans are Caucasians because they have Caucasian and Mongolian blood."[109] As confused as the statement seems, the first part of the sentence (that there were legal precedents for segregating Caucasians) likely referred to one of the legal cases that Mexican

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[109] Interview with "Secretary of Chamber of Commerce," South Chicago, nd (likely July 1929), in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," pp. 62-63 (stamped pp.572-73), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

immigration restrictionists pointed to in support of their racial argument against Mexican immigration – the appealed naturalization case of an Asian Indian, *United States v. Thind* (1923). In this case, the U.S. Supreme Court concluded that even though Asian Indians were considered Caucasian in the scientific sense of the term, a "Caucasian" was not necessarily "white" for the purposes of naturalization law, particularly if their skin happened to be too dark. The opinion underscored the idea that the term "white" in naturalization law meant a "common" understanding by the "average man" of who was white, not a scientific understanding that might class a "brown Hindu" as Caucasian. Thus, from *Thind* one could argue that "Caucasians" could be legally segregated if they were popularly understood to be non-white.[110] This was likely what the Chamber of Commerce's Secretary was referring to when he stated that the Chamber had found a legal basis for the separation of Caucasians (and therefore, a legal basis for the segregation of Mexicans, *if* Mexicans were technically "Caucasian"). However, part of the problem in applying the findings in *Thind* to Mexicans was the differing scientific definitions of Asian Indians' and Mexicans' race. These differences were likely what led the Chamber's Secretary to add: "but Mexicans are Caucasians because they have Caucasian and Mongolian blood" – i.e., Mexicans were not "Caucasian" in the same way that Asian Indians were. Additionally, the legal reasoning

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[110] See discussion and quotes in Foley, "Becoming Hispanic," 59. On the way that *Thind* set a precedent for employing "common sense" definitions of racial identity, see also Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*, 44-46. However, Neil Foley and Ian Haney López both highlight the hypocrisy in the Supreme Court's decision by noting that in another case from the period (*United States v. Ozawa*, 1922), a Japanese man was determined ineligible for citizenship on the grounds that he was not "scientifically" Caucasian, even though he would have been white by a "common sense" assessment of his skin color. In essence, "white" was whatever the Court said it was. Ian F. Haney López, "White by Law," *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*, eds Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2000) 626–34, (2nd ed.)

The importance of the *Thind* and *Ozawa* cases to the Mexican immigration restriction effort is explored further in Smith, "Policy v. Politics". In short, restrictionists felt that the *Thind* and *Ozawa* cases provided precedent for the legal argument that persons not *popularly* perceived as being white were never intended to be considered as eligible for citizenship. Moreover, while the *Thind* case dealt with the case of an Asian Indian, it confirmed case law that had denied citizenship to American Indians as well. All the restrictionists needed to do was find a case of a Mexican applying for naturalization who also claimed Indian ancestry, in order to appeal the case and create a legal precedent for denying all Mexicans citizenship (and therefore immigration rights) on racial grounds. As Marian Smith shows, however, the Bureau of Naturalization worked very hard throughout the 1920's and 1930's to keep such cases out of the courts, which, in spite of a few near defeats, they succeeded in doing.

in *Thind* had not yet been applied to Mexicans in court. This meant that there was no legal precedent that South Chicagoans could firmly rely on for upholding their proposed segregation of Mexicans. Thus, *Thind* ultimately failed to provide a firm legal footing for the South Chicago Chamber of Commerce to pursue Mexicans' segregation.

In South Chicago's consideration of Mexican segregation, the federal stance that Mexicans were legally white clearly overrode popular perceptions of Mexicans as non-white at the local level. As a vivid illustration of this fact, the South Chicago Chamber of Commerce Secretary who explained that Mexicans were "legally" white was the same official who stated that Mexicans were "not white and not Negro; they're Mexican," being "a different race, like the Chinamen." He also claimed that Mexicans were the "scum of the earth," adding that "Many people prefer Negro laborers and neighbors."[111] Clearly, in this arena of proposed official segregation, the legal classification of Mexicans as white at the federal level trumped South Chicagoans' perceptions of Mexicans as non-white and racially inferior, ensuring that legal means of segregating Mexicans did not take hold. Even though the Labor Department's stance that Mexicans were legally white was only one of several views about Mexicans' race being bounced around at the federal level, it was the one that carried the most juridical weight, and it forced exclusionary measures in Chicago to proceed on a more informal basis than would otherwise have been the case.

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Whites' general agreement during the 1920's that Mexicans were racially inferior encouraged them to assume the worst about Mexicans' race and mobilize the kinds of exclusionary efforts that segregated Mexicans during the 1920's. Nonetheless, the ambiguity and confusion that characterized Mexicans' racial image during the 1920's ultimately meant that Mexicans' racial status had the potential to change. Prior to the 1930's, the direction of that

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[111] Interview with "Secretary of Chamber of Commerce," South Chicago, nd (likely July 1929), in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.63 (stamped p.573), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

change was still far from clear, with individual Mexicans and "Mexicans" as a whole being readily associated with blackness, Indian-ness, and degenerate racial mixture; while in other instances individual Mexicans were favored as "light," "Spanish," or even "white" Mexicans. The federal government's ambiguous stance on Mexicans' race did little to clarify matters for whites in greater Chicago. However, the treatment of Mexicans as legally white under citizenship and naturalization law did frustrate official attempts to segregate Mexicans, and would help lay the groundwork for Mexicans' changing racial image during the 1930's. Equally important, though, was whites' deep uncertainty about Mexicans' racial identity during the 1920's. This uncertainty ultimately made it possible for Mexicans to successfully "lighten" their racial image, when the changing social and cultural conditions of the 1930's made that manipulation possible.

CHAPTER 5

LIGHTENING MEXICANS' RACIAL IMAGE IN THE DEPRESSION ERA: DAILY INTERACTIONS, POPULAR CULTURE, AND CHICAGO'S WORLD'S FAIR

The decade of the 1930's was a key period in the broader transformation of Mexicans' perceived racial identity and racial status in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary. During this period, Mexicans – along with social service professionals, religious workers, and World's Fair organizers – succeeded in lightening Mexicans' racial image through representations of Mexican-ness in popular culture, and through daily social interactions in the working-class neighborhoods where Mexicans lived. This representational lightening was aided by several important contexts, including the pre-existing ambiguity and confusion in white perceptions of Mexicans' racial identity, and the drastic decrease in Mexican population (and especially Mexican men) during the 1930's. However, these efforts to lighten Mexicans' racial image also benefited from broader developments in 1930's popular culture – developments that represented a dramatic, though at times exoticizing, departure from previous representations of Mexican-ness.

In the spring of 1932, *Chicago Tribune* writer Ruth de Young captured the essence of these developments in her reporting on one of the most recent and fashionable cultural trends among middle- and upper-class white Chicagoans. In a feature article titled, "Mexico Holds More Interest to Travelers – Gains as Pleasure Land for Americans," de Young declared that "[b]ound up in this neighbor to the south is a spirit that has taken hold of us." Observing that "we are travelling to Mexico – by rail, water, plane, and over the new motor highway," de Young then quickly moved to the manifestation of this "spirit" in Chicago, declaring that "[w]e are decorating our homes with Mexican glass and pottery; we are staging Mexican fiestas." Indeed, de Young herself had attended a fiesta only a few days earlier, for which the *Tribune* had published a photograph showing "Senorita Xenia Zarina, dancer," and "Senora Milla Dominguez," singer, with the caption "Stage Mexican Fiesta." But as the theme of de Young's article suggested, the

fiesta had not been staged by the Mexicans in the photo, but by the Junior Friends of Art, a "girls" group that regularly sponsored programs in art, music, and fashion at upscale hotels like the Drake and the Blackstone. De Young enthusiastically reported on her attendance at the fiesta by noting that she "ate 'tacas de pollo' [sic] and 'tostaditas'; saw the Mexican dances, and heard their charming folk songs. The spirit was contagious."[1]

Forced repatriation is perhaps the most widely known feature of Mexican-American history during the 1930's. But at the same time that the forced repatriation drives of the West Coast were reaching their height, the "spirit" of fascination with Mexican-ness that de Young pointed to was taking hold throughout American popular culture, a phenomenon that historian Helen Delpar has referred to as the "enormous vogue of things Mexican" (echoing a phrase that the *New York Times* used to describe the phenomenon in 1933).[2] Perhaps because of the justifiable emphasis on forced repatriation, historical treatments of Mexicans' experience during the 1930's have generally been told without reference to this "enormous vogue" of Mexican-ness in U.S. popular culture.

However, the history of Mexicans in greater Chicago was one in which the "enormous vogue" made a substantial difference in the course of Mexicans' changing racial status – due in part to the voluntary form of repatriation that characterized the region, as well as Mexicans' relative new-ness as a racial group in the region's racial order. The largely voluntary character of Mexican repatriation in greater Chicago was unique (as was its relatively high proportional scale), and resulted from Chicago's long history of pro-immigrant activism by social service organizations and an immigrant-friendly political culture that inhibited the more blatant forms of xenophobic attacks that occurred in other regions of the United States. No forced repatriation

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[1] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 18, 1932, p.17. The "Stage Mexican Fiesta" photograph appeared two days earlier, on March 16, 1932, p.5

[2] Delpar identifies the nationwide "peak" of this vogue in the years of 1927-1935. Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations Between the United States and Mexico, 1920–1935* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1992), especially Chapter 2 (*New York Times* reference on p.55).

ever occurred in Chicago itself, and in terms of overall numbers, Mexican repatriation throughout the Chicago-Calumet region was mostly voluntary.[3] However, Mexican return migration in the region did occur on a vast scale, and this greatly reduced the perceived threat that Mexicans posed to white neighborhoods and white jobs. In this more relaxed environment, white ideas about the new-found desirability and "vogue" of Mexican-ness became a crucial factor that enabled Mexicans and their white counterparts to actively lighten Mexicans' racial image. Moreover, Mexicans' own efforts to alter their racial image drew on their conception of race as a potentially malleable category, as well as the long history of negotiating and re-negotiating racial identities in the greater Bajío region from which they came.

Mexicans and their non-Mexican advocates lightened Mexicans' racial image in four basic ways: First, through the social and discursive[4] distancing of Mexicans (writ large) from individual dark-skinned Mexicans (often derided as "Indian") – and from African-Americans and blackness; Second, by erasing Indian-ness and darkness from cultural representations of Mexican-ness (at times through folkloric dress and dance); Third, by displacing Mexican Indian-ness onto the distant but civilized Aztec and Mayan pasts (pasts, moreover, which white North Americans were encouraged to see as their own, especially at the World's Fair); and Fourth, by highlighting Mexican women and removing Mexican men from representations of Mexican-ness. This latter process removed the threatening, banditry-prone image of Mexican men from Mexican-ness, but also worked to lighten Mexicans' racial identity in two other, somewhat contradictory ways:

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[3] As noted further in Chapter 6, local interests in East Chicago and Gary both sponsored forced repatriation efforts that were openly hostile toward Mexicans. But the numbers of Mexicans affected by these efforts were small compared to the overall numbers of Mexicans who returned to Mexico voluntarily during the 1930's, with or without the assistance of social service agencies.

[4] All of the strategies for altering Mexicans' racial image that this chapter describes were to varying degrees discursive in nature, in the sense that they attempted to re-construct the knowledge of Mexicans' racial difference. But these discursive efforts were not exclusively oral or linguistic endeavors. As gender historians remind us, actions and social practices are also discursive, creating meaning and knowledge in the same ways that more traditional "texts" do. Joan Wallach Scott, "On Language, Gender, and Working-Class History," *Gender and the Politics of History*, Joan Wallach Scott (New York: Columbia UP, 1999, rev. ed.) 54 (n.1), 55; Chris Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Post-Structuralist Theory*, 2nd ed. (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1997) 108–9.

First, by displaying light-skinned Mexican women as the embodiment of Mexican-ness; and Second, by transferring Mexicans' darkness onto Mexican women, where this darkness was de-racialized and made into an attractive physical feature. Most significantly, both of these images of Mexican women – as virtually white and as attractively dark – were presented as sexually alluring to the white male gaze. As this last dynamic suggests, representations of Mexicans during the 1930's included exoticizing elements that would persist as a negative side effect of these forms of representation for years to come. Another lasting side effect of these forms of lightening was the tendency to draw divisions within the Mexican community – between "Indians" and "real Mexicans" during the 1920's & 30's; and between "illegal" Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in later decades.

All of these forms of racial lightening occurred in social and cultural venues that reached Mexicans' white working-class neighbors as well as white middle-class realtors, public officials, and policy makers. Although the racial perceptions and actions of Mexicans' working-class white neighbors were arguably the most important in shaping the housing exclusion and other forms of racial discrimination that Mexicans faced, both white groups mattered. The fact that middle-class realtors, business leaders, and policy makers were exposed to whitened images of Mexican-ness during the 1930's was not insignificant, as testified to by the role that these groups played in the segregation of African-Americans. Ultimately, it was the combination of the cross-class racial lightening examined in this chapter and the union and parish incorporation examined in Chapter 6 that made the transformation of Mexicans' perceived racial identity in the 1930's so dramatic and effective.

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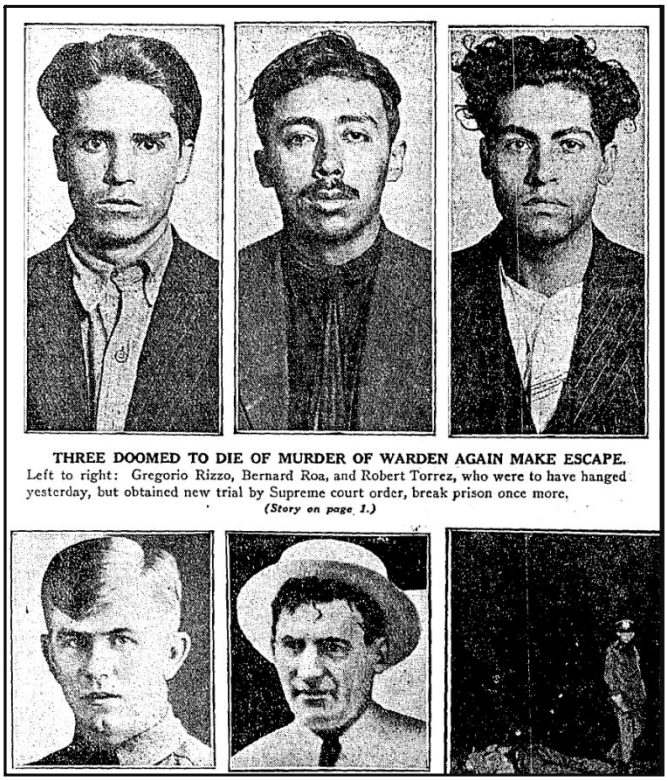
Prior to the 1930's white Chicagoans had generally associated the racial category of "Mexican" with phenotypical darkness. As seen in Chapter 4, the ways that whites spoke and wrote about Mexicans, including the association of Mexicans with blackness and Indian-ness, promoted and reflected this idea of Mexicans' racial darkness. However, it is also useful to

briefly look beyond these verbal constructions of Mexican-ness in the 1920's to visual images of Mexicans during the 1920's, in order to get a clear grasp of how much they contrasted with the phenotypically lighter images of Mexican-ness that circulated during the 1930's.

While there were few publicly-circulating visual images of Mexicans in greater Chicago during the 1920's, those that did circulate reinforced the idea of Mexicans' phenotypical darkness, even if unintentionally so. As shown in Chapter 4, the dominant popular representation of Mexicans during the 1920's – particularly in the press – was of Mexican men, and this perception of Mexicans as overwhelmingly male was also used to reinforce their racial other-ness. The *Chicago Tribune*'s published photographs of notorious Mexican criminal Bernardo Roa in 1927 emphasized this idea of Mexican-ness as male and as racially dark. Roa's published mug shot, alongside Mexican accomplice Roberto Torrez [sic] and Italian-American accomplice Gregorio Rizzo, was placed above the photos of two white accident victims on the photo page of the *Tribune*, accompanying a front-page article on Roa's prison break. Although it may well have been unintentional, the photo montage presented a circle of darkening phenotypes, from the "American" victims on the bottom, up through the Italian Rizzo on the left, to Roa and Torrez on the upper right (see Illustration 5.1). This presentation confirmed popular white ideas about Mexicans' darkness. It also contrasted sharply with the depictions of light-skinned women as the embodiment of Mexican-ness that would be popularized during the 1930's.

Illustration 5.1:
Images of "Whites," Italians, and Mexicans in the Press, 1927 (Bernardo Roa)[5]


THREE DOOMED TO DIE OF MURDER OF WARDEN AGAIN MAKE ESCAPE.
Left to right: Gregorio Rizzo, Bernard Roa, and Robert Torrez, who were to have hanged yesterday, but obtained new trial by Supreme court order, break prison once more.
(Story on page 1.)

Images of Mexicans that did not circulate so widely captured more of the diverse range of Mexican phenotypes, but still provided a striking contrast with later popular images of Mexicans during the 1930's. In 1928, University of Chicago social service administration student Anita Jones conducted research for her master's thesis on the "conditions surrounding Mexicans in Chicago," and her original thesis included a rich collection of photographs of Mexicans whom she visited. As seen in her photograph of students at the Presbyterian-run Firman House on Chicago's Near West Side, Jones's photographs captured a wide range of phenotypes among Mexicans in Chicago, as one would expect given the racial diversity of the greater Bajío region that provided the bulk of Mexican immigration to Chicago (see the upper-left image in Illustration

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[5] Roa's and Torrez's photographs appeared on the photo page of the *Chicago Tribune*, March 15, 1927, accompanying a front-page article on their escape from prison. Although the caption on the photo page did not specifically identify Roa and Torrez as "Mexican," the front-page article and numerous previous articles clearly did (see discussion of reporting on Roa in Chapter 4).

5.2).[6] But in confirming the phenotypical diversity that Mexicans brought with them from their regional origins in Mexico, Jones's photographs also differed markedly from the phenotypically whiter images of Mexicans that would later be promoted at the World's Fair and at publicized Mexican cultural events sponsored by institutions like Hull House.

Illustration 5.2: Photographs of Mexicans in Chicago by Anita Jones, 1928[7]

Firman House Vacation Bible School Class (Near West Side)

Proviso Railroad Camp

Children in Gardens, Gresham Railroad Camp

Mother and Child

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[6] The standards of racial identification popular among whites in Chicago at the time focused primarily on skin color but also on facial features and body type, as is clear from the kinds of accounts presented in Chapter 4.

[7] These photographs all appear in the original version of Jones's master's thesis at the University of Chicago. Anita Edgar Jones, "Conditions Surrounding Mexicans in Chicago," Master's Thesis, Social Service Administration (University of Chicago, 1928), photos on pages 53A, 58A, 80A, 84A.

In fact, in the photographs of Mexicans whom Jones identified as being the most vulnerable, such as women and children living in boxcar camps (see the upper-right and bottom photographs in Illustration 5.2), she seems to have focused on phenotypically darker Mexicans. Although the infant in the "mother and child" image at the lower right was light-skinned and fair-haired, the child's phenotype was contrasted by the relative darkness of the mother, who also had a wider nose that anthropologists and other whites at the time associated with indigenous Mexican or "Negro" features. The children in the gardens of the Gresham railroad camp were strikingly dark (and seemingly wayward); as were the mother and child at the Proviso railroad camp. In fact, these darker images of Mexicans were consistent with the assumption by some social work professionals that the Mexicans they served were, as a rule, phenotypically "dark." As a University of Chicago Settlement House worker stated in 1929, "Another difficulty [facing Mexicans] is that there is not much chance of a Mexican mingling with a crowd without recognition because of his color."[8] The accounts of some Mexicans passing for white or being seen as virtually white clearly contradicted this easy assumption of Mexicans' dark skin color. More importantly, however, the visual images of Mexicans that would circulate widely in popular culture during the 1930's – including those promoted by settlement houses themselves – were not of Mexicans whose darkness would stand out in a crowd.

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Social service professionals' efforts to lighten Mexicans' racial identity actually began in the 1920's, and were based on the implicit understanding that without such manipulation, Mexicans would be perceived as black, Indian, or otherwise racially dark – and certainly not white. One Chicago social worker in Back of the Yards believed that "[t]he Mexicans are mixed with Negro and Indian," and went on to explain how "When we sent a [Mexican] child for a summer outing to a private home, we tried to bleach the child out. The family expected a

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[8] Interview with "Reese," University of Chicago Settlement House (Back of the Yards), June 30, 1929, in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.52 (stamped p.562), Paul S. Taylor Papers (Series 3, Sub-Series "Mexican Labor"), Bancroft Library, University of California - Berkeley; *hereafter* Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

Mexican but we didn't want them to think we had sent a Negro."[9] The social worker's account provides a telling example of the fine line between "Mexican" and "black" in many whites' minds during this earlier period. Moreover, the reference to "bleach[ing] the child out" serves as a nice metaphor for what these social service workers and their related colleagues were doing in less drastic ways.

Already during the 1920's, white social service and church professionals actively encouraged Mexicans to distance themselves socially from blacks and blackness. For example, a Mexican worker in Gary reported in 1929 that: "One reason the Mexicans don't go to the public night schools is that the Slovaks and others regard the Mexicans as colored men. Some of them do go with colored women and some of them marry them, but not legally. *Miss Hines at the clinic told me to tell the Mexicans not to do it.*" [emphasis added][10] As this case suggests, the perception that Mexicans were racially equivalent to blacks often derived from the actual residential and social closeness of Mexicans and blacks during the 1920's. Paul Taylor noted that in South Chicago, Indiana Harbor, Gary in the late 1920's, and "to a lesser extent in other places," Mexicans and blacks lived "in the same streets as Negroes, often in the same houses." In a striking comment, Taylor then explained this closeness of Mexicans and blacks by commenting that "This proximity was favored by ... the weakness of the race feelings of Mexicans against Negroes." This claim, however, was largely rooted in a settlement workers' claim that the first

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[9] Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States, Vol II, Part 2: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 7, No.2 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1932) 235. Taylor also noted the similar sentiment in the account of a social worker in the Stockyards District of Chicago's United Charities: "We send Mexicans to the white summer camp but when we send a child for a vacation to a private family we tell them in advance that the child is Mexican. We would not bother to tell them in advance if the child was a Pole, and we would not send them a Negro at all." The original field notes reference, identifying the informant, is: "United Charities, Stockyards District," July 1, 1929, in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.56 (stamped p.566), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[10] J.M. Guajardo Interview, Gary, Indiana, 1929, in Container 10, Folder 5: "Field Notes: Series B, Set I," p.92 (stamped p.263), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

Mexicans arriving in the Hull House neighborhood in the late 1910's were notably friendly with blacks.[11]

During the 1920's, this social and residential closeness remained at times, but was also countered by the influence of the social service and religious professionals described here, as well as Mexicans' own efforts at distancing themselves from blacks when under the scrutiny of whites (see below). In February 1925, when Mexicans were still relatively new to South Chicago, budding anthropologist Robert Redfield commented on Mexicans' residential closeness to blacks while participating in a general housing survey of the district, and added in his journal that "Miss Walcott [in charge of the survey] says O'Neill is advising the Mexicans to move out of the negro streets" (O'Neill was a Spanish-speaking Methodist pastor involved with that denomination's Mexican "missionary" work in South Chicago). But Redfield's response to O'Neill's wishes was just as telling – "Lot of good that advice will do."[12] For Redfield, Mexicans' proximity with blacks was so established and desired that it would take a good deal of work to undo it. Indeed, as a social worker at Gary's International Institute lamented in 1929, "The Mexicans live among the Negroes here. *That is one of the terrible things.* Therefore they are classed with Negroes by

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[11] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 252. Taylor's primary source for his claim that Mexicans lacked "race feeling ... against Negroes" was the comment of a social worker in the vicinity of Hull House: "The Mexicans don't seem to have much prejudice against Negroes. I took one of the first Mexican families [1917] to a Negro family to secure lodging. The Mexican family did not object at all to staying with the Negroes, but I have never seen Negroes in the intimate affairs of Mexicans, for example at the christenings as godfathers, etc." In supporting his claim of Mexicans' friendliness to blacks, Taylor also noted a Mexican who, although "regret[ing] any intimacies" between Mexicans and "Negroes," noted that Mexicans "feel alone" and blacks are the only people who "speak to them smilingly." *Ibid*; original appears in: Agustín Angel Interview, Indiana Harbor (East Chicago), nd (likely 1929), in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.69 (stamped p.579), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Taylor's conclusion about Mexicans' and blacks' *residential* closeness appears to have been particularly influenced by the observations in South Chicago made by anthropologist Robert Redfield, who assisted in a housing survey in 1925 and noted: "The negroes and the Mexicans live together – negroes upstairs, Mexicans below, or Mexicans occupy shacks in the backyard of the negro dwellings." Robert Redfield, "The Mexicans in Chicago – Journal," entry for February 14, 1925 (p.96), Box 59, Folder 2, Robert Redfield Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[12] Redfield made these comments in the same journal entry noted in the footnote above, after commenting that Mexicans and blacks lived in the same streets and often in the same houses.

the whites." [emphasis added][13] The residential proximity of Mexicans with blacks during the 1920's represented a closeness that white social workers and religious professionals clearly desired to root out.

Progressive institutions like Hull House also sponsored Mexican festivals and "fiestas" where Mexican-ness was displayed in a positive and racially lightened manner. These public events worked to lighten Mexicans' racial identity through the presentation of folkloric forms of Mexican song, dance, and dress (*traje*). These folkloric forms were a central feature of the representations of Mexican-ness at the Century of Progress World's Fair as well. Their intended racial meaning becomes clear when one considers the history of these dress types in Mexico – namely, the male *charro* and female *china poblana* (and to a lesser extent, *tehuana*) dress types, which were becoming popular in Mexico at this time as "authentic" representations of a Mexican national identity. Each of these dress types technically hailed from a different Mexican state or region, thereby granting them their authenticity. The *charro* style was associated with Jalisco, the *china poblana* dress type with Puebla, and the *tehuana* type with Oaxaca and the Isthmus of Tehuantepéc. The *china poblana* dress characteristically featured the Mexican national image of the eagle and serpent on its front (usually embroidered). Significantly, both of the female dress types were, by traditional lore, derived from traditional indigenous women's dress, which also added to their perceived authenticity and Mexican-ness. However, as historian Rick Lopez has shown, the *charro* and *china poblana* types in Mexico had by the early 20th century become completely devoid of any explicit racial meaning, having been stripped of all but the minimum Indian influences and simultaneously infused with traditional European dress features. As early as the late 19th century, these deracialized dress types had become very popular with Mexican elites interested in creating an authentically Mexican aesthetic. In their effort to locate (and create) an authentically Mexican style, these middle-class and largely Mexico City -based elites altered

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[13] Interview with "Mrs. Candalario," International Institute, Gary, July 3, 1929; in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," pp.64-65 (stamped pp.574-75), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

traditional dress types to emphasize their similarity to nationalistic European peasant-type costumes. After the Mexican Revolution's ideological turn toward a rhetorical embrace of indigeneity, some Mexican elites began re-ethnicizing the *china poblana* dress type as indigenous (particularly by the braiding of women's hair), but the *china poblana* type continued to be utilized in non-indigenous ways as well.[14] In Chicago, the public display of the *china poblana* type almost always occurred *without* the braided hair that had come to represent indigeneity.

Mexican festivals at Hull House appear to have begun in the early 1930's, and possibly as early as the late 1920's. While further research on these festivals is needed, surviving photographs and flyers confirm the occurrence of the festivals during this period and into the early 1940's as well.[15] Moreover, by the late 1930's the Mexican "Club Recreativo" held *bi-monthly* "fiestas" for the "public" at Hull House, according to writers for the Federal Writers' Project.[16] The festivals appear to have stemmed from Hull House's broader emphasis on celebrating immigrants' cultures, but the surviving photographs also reveal several important patterns in the ways that Mexican-ness was represented. First, the *charro* and *china poblana* dress types were always used. Second, folkloric Mexican "dances" were always featured, most especially the

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[14] See Rick López, "The India Bonita Contest of 1921 and the Ethnicization of Mexican National Culture," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82.2 (May 2002): 301–02, and Figures 1, 12, and 13. As López notes, even Americans living in Mexico City adopted the *charro* and *china poblana* dress for their Fourth of July celebrations in 1921 – another testament to the way these dress types had become derecialized in Mexico.

[15] Possibly the earliest photograph of a Hull House Mexican festival that has survived in Hull House records is the one of two Mexican girls dancing in the Hull House courtyard (see Illustration 5.3). This photograph was taken by Hull House resident Wallace Kirkland, dating the photo to the 1923-1935 period (but likely the latter half of this period). The other image in Illustration 5.3, of a family in *traje* at Hull House, is dated 1930-1935. Furthermore, a "picturesque" Hull House Mexican festival – the "Festival of Mexican Culture" – was described by the *Christian Science Monitor* in 1937, and a flyer from the festival has also survived, both of which are presented and recounted in Cheryl R. Ganz and Margaret Strobel, eds, *Pots of Promise: Mexicans and Pottery at Hull House, 1920–40* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2004), p.49 (in the chapter by David Badillo) and p.99 (reproduction of festival flyer, which is part of the Adena Miller Rich Collection, Department of Special Collections, UIC). A 1939 flyer and 1942 photograph are also discussed below.

[16] "Point of interest not on Tours – MEXICAN SETTLEMENT, Halsted and Polk Streets...," nd, c.1936-1939; and Margaret Brennan and George L. Paz, "Spanish and Mexican Dance in Chicago" (c.1936-1938), p.4; both in Box 193, Folder: "Mexicans," Illinois Federal Writers' Project Papers, Illinois State Historical Library (Manuscripts Department); *hereafter* IFWPP-ISHL.

jarabe tapatío (known in the U.S. as the "Mexican hat dance"), which was closely associated with the *charro* and *china poblana* types. Third, the Mexicans who appeared in these displays of Mexican-ness were always children (especially girls), women, or families – a marked departure from popular white perceptions of (and concerns about) Mexican-ness during the 1920's (see Illustration 5.3).

Illustration 5.3: Hull House Mexican Festivals, c.1930's[17]

Girls Dancing, Hull House Courtyard

Family in *traje*, Hull House

Additionally, the Mexican Consul appears to have had a role in some of these festivals. A 1939 flyer for a Hull House "Mexican Night" (advertising "Colorful Mexico – Land of Wondrous Charm") included an address by the consul just prior to a film entitled "Romantic Mexico – a Travelogue."[18] The consul's presence is significant because at the World's Fair the consul played

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[17] JAMC neg. 144 (on left) and JAMC neg. 5676 (on right), Jane Addams Memorial Collection, UIC Department of Special Collections. See footnote 15 for the dating of these images (likely to the first half of the 1930's). These images are also available online in the "Mexicans and the Hull House Colonia in the 1920's and 1930's" image gallery, on the website "Urban Experience in Chicago: Hull House and its Neighborhoods, 1889-1963," Jane Addams Hull House Museum. The family at the right may be the Enciso family (Blas Enciso, father), who hailed from Mexico's eastern coast (unlike most immigrants to Chicago) and were described in a Federal Writers' Project paper as a family of dancers with identically gendered and similarly aged children as the ones in this photo. See Margaret Brennan and George L. Paz, "The Spanish and Mexican Dance in Chicago" (c.1936-1938), pp.4-6, in Box 193, Folder: "Mexicans," IFWPP-ISHL.

[18] "Mexican Night" flyer, 1939; in Folder 626, Hull House Collection (Series IX: Hull House Departments and Programs, Section H: General Files), Department of Special Collections, UIC (I thank Pat Bakunis for directing me to this document). The 1939 date is based on: the postage; the name of the Mexican consulate; the Sunday,

a key role in selecting the individual Mexicans who participated in "Mexican" events, and the individuals the consul chose were significantly lighter-skinned than the Mexicans who appeared in Anita Jones's photos. A similar phenotypical contrast is apparent in some of the surviving images from the Hull House festivals as well.

A set of 1942 photographs best captured the dress and staging of Mexican dancers dressed in *traje* for one of Hull House's Mexican festivals. In the following photograph from this set (Illustration 5.4), the Mexican man appears in *charro* and the Mexican women appear in dresses that to various degrees attempt to reproduce the key features of the *china poblana* and *tehuana* dress types. The central female figure has the most elaborate costume, which is an amalgam of the *tehuana* dress type, northern Mexico -styled braids with ribbons, and most significantly, a decidedly Spanish-style fan headdress. The central figure's braids hint at the indigenous (and therefore, "authentic") roots of her regional dress, but this hint of indigeneity is more than offset by the Spanish head-piece. These kinds of folkloric dress styles that de-emphasized indigeneity while emphasizing "authentic" Mexican-ness also characterized the costumes that Mexicans wore at the Century of Progress World's Fair – where the similarity with European nationalities' folk / peasant costumes could easily be seen by walking to the nearest European "village."

October 22nd date; and the fact that a documentary film titled *Romantic Mexico* was released in 1937 (according to the website, "The Complete Index to World Film Since 1895").

Illustration 5.4: Folkloric Dancers at Hull House, 1942[19]

The lightening of Mexican racial identity in the above image also occurred in more blunt terms. Compared to Anita Jones' photographs of Mexicans, this image featured *very* light-skinned Mexicans. Furthermore, in another parallel to the representations of Mexican-ness at the World's Fair, women were forefronted and emphasized in this image – both in number and in prominence – while the single Mexican man in *charro* retreated to a secondary, background, even vertically lower visual role. Finally, the women's poses were remarkably similar to the de-Indianized images of the *charro* and *china poblana* circulating in Mexico in the 1920's and 1930's (see Illustration 5.5 for comparison).[20]

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[19] JAMC neg. 2299, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, UIC Department of Special Collections.

[20] Frances Toor, "El jarabe antiguo y moderno," *Mexican Folkways* 5, no. 1 (1930): 27; reproduced in López, "The India Bonita Contest of 1921 and the Ethnicization of Mexican National Culture," Fig. 1 (p.302).

Illustration 5.5: The *charro* and *china poblana* in Mexico, 1930

Hull House was not alone among settlement houses in sponsoring folkloric representations of Mexican-ness that drew similarities to European national types and more generally worked to lighten Mexicans' racial image. During the 1930's, Presbyterian-run Firman House on Chicago's West Side combined camping with folkloric representations of Mexican-ness to improve the perceptions that West Side white youths held about Mexicans. Because the workers of Firman House had found "much resistance against the Mexican families" by other West Side residents, Firman House sponsored camping outings attended by Mexican children and other immigrant children on the West Side, where "other groups were provided the opportunity to appreciate Mexican culture as it was presented through song and dance by the Mexican campers."[21] According to the recollections of Mexican-American women years later, these types of Mexican children's groups were also invited to sing and dance at the Century of Progress World's Fair, as was the case with a group of Mexican girls who performed Mexican dances at the Marcy Center, another church-run institution on Chicago's West Side. Susie Gómez, a member of this group, later recalled that "I danced at the World's Fair in the 30's. Isabel Baltazar was my partner." Indeed, in a photograph of this group dating from the 1930's, the *charro* and *china poblana* types were all assumed by adolescent girls, another instance in which Mexican men were de-emphasized in the performance and imaging of Mexican-ness during the 1930's.[22]

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[21] Adelaide Hermansader, "History of Firman House," typescript (Chicago: Firman House, 1953), p.5. Presbyterian Historical Society Library (MS C429), Philadelphia.

[22] See the photograph and caption in Rita Arias Jirasek and Carlos Tortolero, *Mexican Chicago*, Images of America (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2001) 52.

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Although Mexicans were clearly a part of the forms of social distancing and representational lightening described above, there were also efforts to alter Mexicans' racial image that were more clearly initiated and carried out by Mexicans alone. As with Progressive-minded advocates of Mexicans, Mexicans' own attempts at manipulating their racial identity also began during the 1920's, even though they did not begin to have a great impact until the 1930's. More importantly, Mexicans' efforts to manipulate their own racial status drew heavily on the racial ideas that they brought with them from Mexico – particularly the conception of race as a malleable, context-specific, and multi-leveled (rather than binary) category.

For centuries, Mexico's dominant racial order differed from that of the twentieth-century urban North in at least two fundamental ways. First, although the Mexican order was far from egalitarian, it was nonetheless based on the acceptance – and during the 1920's and 1930's, official celebration[23] – of race mixture (*mestizaje*). Because of this, Mexico's racial order consisted of three general categories rather than two (white, Indian, and *mestizo*, or "mixed"). Secondly, these racial categories were relatively flexible and permeable, because they could be defined not only by skin color, but also by such non-phenotypical characteristics as language, education, and wealth.[24] This understanding of race compelled Mexicans to actively manipulate

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[23] Indeed, at the same time that the racial order of the urban North was coalescing around binary terms, Mexico was undergoing a broad nationalizing project led by José Vasconcelos that constructed *mestizaje* as *the* national racial identity. This project folklorized "traditional" culture as the best possible integration of Indian and Spanish cultures, but in the process demoted the rights, contributions, and needs of actual Indians at the time. Agustín F. Basave Benítez, *México Mestizo: Análisis del Nacionalismo Mexicano en Torno a la Mestizofilia de Andrés Molina Enríquez* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992). A phenomenon closely related to the construction of *mestizaje* as Mexican national identity was the development of indigenísmo, which elevated and praised Mexico's indigeneity in the abstract, while failing to elevate actual Indians in concrete terms. Alan Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910–1940," *The Idea of Race in Latin America*, Ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990) 70–113.

[24] See Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910–1940" On the similar dynamics of *mestizaje* in Latin America more generally, including Mexico, see Charles Hale, "Introduction [Special Issue on Mestizaje]," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 2.1 (1996): 2–3; Florencia Mallon, "Constructing Mestizaje in Latin America: Authenticity, Marginality, and Gender in the Claiming of Ethnic Identities," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 2.1 (1996): 170–81; Carol A. Smith, "The Symbolics of Blood: Mestizaje in the Americas," *Identities* 3.4 (1997): 495–521.

the very perception of their racial identity, not just whites' ideas about the quality and accomplishments of the "Mexican" race, which was the primary focus of African-American efforts at "racial uplift."

More specifically, Mexicans' efforts to alter their racial image drew on the long history of manipulating the relatively more permeable racial boundaries of the greater Bajío region from which the majority of Chicago's Mexicans came. The history of racial diversity and *mestizaje* in the greater Bajío region – and the resulting phenotypical diversity of the region's population – meant that racial identity was not easily discernible by physical traits. As a result, other social markers became more important in determining racial identity, as did the effort to manipulate others' perceptions of one's own identity.

The construction of racial identities in the town of Tzintzuntzan near Lake Pátzcuaro in Michoacán's indigenous Tarascan highlands provides a useful example of these dynamics. A Tarascan-named town, Tzintzuntzan was a culturally mestizo community throughout most of the 20th century. Largely but not completely indigenous in biological terms, it was formerly the capital of the Tarascan empire in west-central Michoacán. For non-indigenous Michoacanos living outside of the Tarascan region, Tzintzuntzan was widely regarded as an indigenous community, complete with the ruins of circular pyramids testifying to the town's former glory. But to local residents in the 1930's, 40's, and 50's, racial identity in Tzintzuntzan was anything but pre-determined. While the residents of Tzintzuntzan were generally phenotypically darker than the residents of *ranchero* communities in northwestern Michoacán and places like los Altos de Jalisco, there still was a great deal of phenotypical diversity within Tzintzuntzan. This phenotypical diversity was matched by a similar diversity of linguistic preferences and ability (between Tarascan and Spanish). Moreover, there was no easy correlation between phenotype and linguistic ability. In this setting, skin color certainly affected one's perceived racial identity, but other locally-recognized social practices and markers (such as language) could also influence one's perceived racial identity – and these markers could more readily be altered. Thus, a

prominent anthropological study of the town noted how "[t]he Indians know that using the Tarascan language marks them (in the eyes of the lake region mestizos) as social inferiors, so many bilinguals try to conceal the fact that they are fully competent in Tarascan as well as Spanish."[25] Other forms of concealing, altering or emphasizing various markers of race occurred as well. When speaking of the community as a whole, Tzintzuntzeños typically described "Indians" as outsiders from surrounding rural hamlets, while darker-skinned residents of Tzintzuntzan were labelled and known as "creole" in an effort to disassociate dark skin from Indian-ness in the town itself.[26] All of these efforts worked to de-Indianize the racial image of Tzintzuntzeños, both at the individual and community level.

Additionally, the contingent nature of racial identity in the greater Bajío meant that when people moved out of their home community and its relevant social contexts, or when they interacted with outsiders who were not rooted in those same contexts, their perceived racial identity could change. That is, being "Indian" or "mestizo" in one place did not mean that one would be perceived the same way in other places. For example, 20th century residents of Mazamitla in northwestern Michoacán spoke no indigenous language and did not consider themselves to be indigenous, but when land conflicts with neighboring San José de Gracia escalated, residents of San José deridingly referred to their adversaries as the "Indians" of Mazamitla.[27] Similarly, the 20th-century town of Pénjamo, Guanajuato was never considered Indian by its residents or surrounding neighbors (even though, as noted in Chapter 2, it was

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[25] George M. Foster, *Tzintzuntzan: Mexican Peasants in a Changing World* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967) 35.

[26] George M. Foster, *Empire's Children: The People of Tzintzuntzan* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1948) 27–34, esp. 32.

[27] The designation of Mazamitla's residents as "Indian" had some historical basis in the colonial era, when portions of northwestern Michoacán retained indigenous communities and/or received indigenous migrants, but the label could hardly be considered correct in terms of Mazamitla's language or culture in the 20th century. See the discussion of San José's conflicts with Mazamitla in Luis González, *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974), as well as the discussion of the racial history of this part of the Bajío in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

founded as a community largely made up of "Indian" migrants to the Bajío in the 18th century).[28] Antonio Alvarado, who was born in East Chicago but grew up in Pénjamo during the 1930's, never recalled anyone who was known as "Indian" in Pénjamo – or even "mestizo." As he stated, "I never saw an Indian until I was older and went to [the city of] Guanajuato, where I saw them begging for food. Of course, when we went to school we were taught that all Mexicans are part Indian, but we had never thought of ourselves that way."[29] But in spite of the clearly non-indigenous culture, language, self-concept, and regional reputation of Pénjamo's residents, when Mexican anthropologist Manuel Gamio caught up with a Pénjamo migrant in the U.S. in the late 1920's, he identified him as an "Indian" from Pénjamo.[30]

As these cases make clear, skin color and linguistic and social markers could all mean different things to different people in different contexts. Even within one's home community, it was possible to alter one's perceived racial identity by manipulating these various racial markers. But when moved out of one's home community and its relevant social contexts – as all emigrants did – the possibility that one could change one's perceived racial identity was even more pronounced. Mexicans from the greater Bajío who emigrated to the Chicago-Calumet region were therefore well primed for the work of altering their racial image; not just in relation to blacks and whites, but in relation to other Mexicans as well.

One way that Mexicans drew on these concepts and practices to lighten their racial image in Chicago was by distancing themselves – and Mexican-ness in general – from perceptions of

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[28] See discussion of Pénjamo and similar Bajío towns in Chapter 2.

[29] Interview with Antonio Alvarado by author, November 6, 2003. As an adult, Alvarado later "immigrated" back to Chicago in the 1940's, though his birth in East Chicago meant that he was already a U.S. citizen. His father, who had worked in East Chicago's steel mills in the 1920's and 1930's, had to work as an agricultural bracero in order to return to the U.S. in the 1940's.

[30] Manuel Gamio, *The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931) 42–45. Similarly, when a North American student visited Pénjamo during the early 1930's to study *repatriados* (which would have included Antonio Alvarado's father), he wrote: "Racially, the people of Pénjamo are predominately mestizos with considerable Indian blood. There are practically no light-skinned people there such as may be seen in some of the larger cities and in the Los Altos region of Jalisco." James Carl Gilbert, "A Field Study in Mexico of the Mexican Repatriation Movement," Master's Thesis, Sociology (University of Southern California, 1934) 41.

Indian-ness and Indians in Mexico. The case of Severna Gonzales is a case in point. In 1929, a case worker with Chicago's United Charities made an extended visit to the home of Plácido and Severna Gonzales, and spoke at length with Severna. Severna's responses to the case worker's questions about her personal history included explicit, as well as somewhat coded, attempts to establish her white racial identity with the case worker – or at the very least, to distance herself from any perceptions of Indian-ness. The case worker's report, drawn from her interview with Severna, began by stating that Severna was from Jaripo, Michoacán. Severna's father owned a large farm with a brick house, had received a degree of formal education, and could read and write. Quoting Severna's own words, the case worker stated that Severna's father was "white like Polish." As if to support this, the case worker also related Severna's claim that her paternal grandfather was white. Furthermore, Severna reported that her sister, Consuela, was also "a blond," but that the rest of the family was dark like herself. In a later section of the report, on Severna's "social contacts," the case worker noted, "She likes to have her friends come to her home to visit," but also quoted Severna as adding, "I likes to talk to white folks too."[31]

In these statements Severna actively distanced herself from Indian-ness and associated herself with whiteness in a number of different ways. The first was the reference to her father as "educated" and an owner of property – two characteristics that were seen as antithetical to Indian-ness in both Mexico and the U.S. Secondly, according to the markers of racial identity in Michoacán, her claim about her father's "brick house" represented nearly incontrovertible truth that she was not Indian. Severna's hometown of Jaripo bordered the indigenous Tarascan (or Purépecha) highlands of Michoacán, and one of the most visible markers of Tarascan villages in this region was the Tarascan style of wooden home.[32] Moreover, when Mexicans in Chicago

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[31] Typescript copy of United Charities case file, "Placida [sic] and Severna Gonzales, 4522 Laflin St.," notes on February 17, 1929 home visit (pp. 1, 4); in Box 59, Folder 2, Robert Redfield Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[32] As late as 1980, over 30% of the neighboring municipio (Tangamandapio) spoke Tarascan. During the 1920's, Jaripo was in fact a Spanish-speaking town, even though it had been predominately Tarascan-speaking in the 18th and 19th centuries. See Luz María Valdés, *El Perfil Demográfico de los Indios Mexicanos* (Mexico: Siglo

disparagingly labelled other Mexicans as "Indian," they typically described those so-called "Indian" Mexicans as living in "huts" in Mexico (see below).

The remainder of Severna's account laid claim to her whiteness in more explicit ways, beginning with her statement that her father was "white like Polish." In contrast to seeing Poles' whiteness as tentative or incomplete as some scholars have suggested,[33] Severna saw Poles as a *standard* of whiteness – a standard by which she could more convincingly establish her own family's whiteness. While she knew that she was perceived as darker-skinned, Severna repeatedly emphasized the whiteness of her family, by reference to her father's "Polish"-like whiteness, as well as her "white" grandfather and her "blond" sister. Finally, Severna concluded her interview by expressing that she "likes to talk to white folks" – as if she might be found guilty of darkness by too close of an association with her Mexican (or black) friends.

Mexicans from middle-class or highly educated backgrounds, who were also often "whiter" by the phenotypical standards of the day, sometimes tried to change white Chicagoans' ideas about Mexicans' race by altering the popular image of Mexico as a whole. A young Mexican man, identified only as "A.G." in the research notes of a sociology student, engaged in this type of interaction at his work site, a factory run by the Majestic Radio Company in Chicago. "A.G." was from Puebla, had received a high school education there, and had come to the U.S. hoping to learn English and enroll in a U.S. university. Although his interactions with his co-workers never addressed "race" directly, he implicitly addressed his co-workers' racial perceptions by changing their attitudes about Mexico as a whole, attitudes based in such racially-coded terms as "backwards" versus "civilized," "modern," and "cultured." He noted that "most of the men who work at the factory are foreigners. . . For some reason or other they have a bad

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Veintiuno Editores, et al, 1988) and Robert C. West, *Cultural Geography of the Modern Tarascan Area* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1948). West labels the town "Jaripeo," and the town name is mis-spelled in the United Charities case file as "Garepo" as well as "Garibo."

[33] See especially James R. Barrett and David Roediger, "Inbetween Peoples: Race, Nationality, and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16.3 (Spring 1997): 3–44.

impression of Mexico. The papers tell a lot of bad things about us and very few good things; and in the schools the students are taught that Mexico is one of the most backward countries in the world." He believed that such mis-representations were intentional, because he thought that teachers and newspapers couldn't help but know that "there are many cultured people in Mexico and that we have many fine buildings and live like civilized people." Accordingly, "A.G." took matters into his own hands. In addition to always maintaining a courteous attitude toward his non-Mexican co-workers, he actively sought to educate them about Mexico's high culture and civilized status. He reported that "I have an album containing pictures of the more important buildings in Mexico and some of the more beautiful landscapes which I have shown to the men where I work and they have been surprised to see that we have some modern cities."[34]

More strikingly, individual Mexicans also distanced themselves from Indian-ness by publicly disparaging the Indian-ness of *other* Mexicans in the greater Chicago region – a discourse that in some ways resembled the concerns of middle-class black residents (also known as "old settlers") about the ways that new black migrants in Chicago might lower the "prestige" of all blacks in the city during the Great Migration.[35] In 1928 Otilio Falcón, a skilled Mexican laborer working in Chicago's Stock Yards, told an interviewer that "you must know that ninety-nine percent of the Mexicans of Chicago are of the lower class. They come from some of the thickly inhabited Indian sections of Mexico where illiteracy is very high. . . I am not ashamed of being a

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[34] He also ignored the "ugly" stories and jokes that some of his co-workers told, and he told his fellow Mexicans in the factory to do the same "so that we can show them that we are decent." Transcribed statements of "A.G.", nd (ca. 1928) in Container 11, Folder 49: "Chicago and Calumet Area - Field Notes: Robert C. Jones" (folder 1 of 2), pp.30-32, Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[35] One of the major differences between this Mexican discourse and the "old settler" discourse was that Mexicans who disparaged "Indian" Mexicans were not necessarily more established in Chicago than the "Indian" Mexicans they identified. Moreover, the Mexican discourse openly criticized the *racial* quality of these "Indian" Mexicans and asserted that they were racially different from "real" Mexicans. On the "old settler" phenomenon in black Chicago, see Horace Cayton and St. Clair Drake, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945) and James Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). Similar kinds of group image concerns have occurred among other immigrant groups in U.S. history, including the concerns of reformed Jews about newer orthodox Jewish immigrants.

Mexican. But I am not proud of the Mexicans in Chicago. They are mostly Indians of the lower uneducated classes of *peones*. In Mexico they lived in *chozas* and were servants." The word *choza* meant hut, but with an even more biting connotation. It typically referred to a house made with a thatched roof, dirt floor, and woven-limb walls (rather than adobe) – a "hovel," in other words, that was typically associated with "backward" Mexicans and Indians in particular. Falcón continued by complaining that in Chicago these Mexicans "live in tumble-down houses," wasted their money, and did not seek to improve their lives through education. He concluded, "You see they are still Indians."[36] Mexicans who distanced themselves from Indian-ness in this way were oftentimes phenotypically lighter, more highly educated, and better English speakers than other Mexicans. Falcón, for example, had first migrated to Chicago in 1919, and worked at Swift & Company in the Stock Yards as an electrician rather than a common laborer (benefiting from his engineering background in Mexico). By the late 1920's Falcón had learned English well, and was apparently light-skinned enough to pass as "white." Speaking of his work at Swift, he stated that he had "never felt any discrimination because I was a Mexican. *Only a few of them know it down there*." [emphasis added][37]

Other Mexicans interviewed in the late 1920's also engaged in this distancing of "real" Mexicans from Indian-ness. A female Mexican store employee in Indiana Harbor echoed similar sentiments to Falcón's, using implicit and explicit racial terms that were intertwined with Mexican notions of class and respectability. She stated: "The people from old Mexico here disgrace the real Mexicans. The real Mexican is polite and courteous and tries to learn all that is good and will

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[36] Otilio Falcón Interview, July 18, 1928, p.2, in Container 11, Folder 33: "Chicago & Calumet Area – Field Notes – Typescript 1928" ("Rodrigo's Notes"), stamped p.128; and July 22, 1928 interview in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes, Series E, Set I," p.87 (stamped p.887); both in Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Some of the former interview, in altered form, also appears in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 270–71.

[37] See Falcón interviews cited above. His ability to pass likely explained the fact that by 1928, Falcón still lived *east* of Chicago's stockyards, a block and a half from the section of Emerald Avenue described in Chapter 3 where Mexicans had been driven out by violence from Irish residents. Falcón lived at 4212 S. Union Avenue, one block east and a half-block north of 43rd and Emerald Avenue, where Irish youth had repeatedly smashed the windows of a short-lived Mexican pool hall. Other Mexicans who formerly lived on Emerald Avenue ultimately moved to Back of the Yards due to "trouble" with the Irish (see Chapter 3).

benefit him. In Mexico a lot of the people that are here were either servants or mountain Indians. There are many peons from the haciendas here too. There they were uncultured and savage. Here they dress like civilized people and eat well, but do not pick up any education or manners."[38] Her complaint that the "servants," "peons," and "mountain Indians" of Mexico dressed and ate well in Chicago (without, in her mind, altering their true state of being) may in fact have reflected the way that some Mexicans adopted social practices that they felt would de-Indianize and lighten their racial image in the eyes of others – Mexicans and non-Mexicans alike. Her use of the term "mountain Indians," on the other hand, likely referred to persons from the indigenous Tarascan highlands in Michoacán, though the phrase also had a more general meaning in the greater Bajío and Mexico as a whole where indigenous regions were typically associated with less accessible mountain areas.[39] Other Mexicans similarly sought to impress upon their white American interviewers that not all Mexicans were the same, racially or otherwise. They stated: "It is plain that you cannot judge Mexicans or Mexico by the people you see here [in Indiana Harbor]"; "The Mexicans here are a lower class. . . . In Mexico we have these Mexicans as cheap servants"; and (in more explicitly racial terms), "The North American sees only the crudest Mexicans, los rudos, los indios."[40] Agustín Angel further clarified the basis for these Mexicans' concern that "lesser" Mexicans might harm the perceived racial quality of all Mexicans, especially when their inferior image was magnified in popular culture: "Ninety percent of the Mexicans who come here are no good and they come to bother those who are here . . . They give us a bad reputation and when

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[38] "Sales lady at Señor [Agustín] Angel," Indiana Harbor, August 8, 1928, pp.2-3; in Container 11, Folder 33: "Chicago & Calumet Area – Field Notes – Typescript 1928" ("Rodrigo's Notes"), stamped pp.213-14, Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[39] Mexican novelist Mariano Azuela, for example, described "mountain people" in Jalisco in the mid- to late-1910's as indigenous. Mariano Azuela, *The Underdogs: A Novel of the Mexican Revolution*, a new rendition, with notes, by Beth E. Jörgensen, based on the E. Munguía, Jr., translation (New York: Modern Library, 2002).

[40] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 243. The second quote is actually Otilio Falcón's – see Otilio Falcón Interview, July 22, 1928, in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes, Series E, Set I," p.87 (stamped p.887), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). The last quote Taylor attributes to Robert Redfield's research (ca. 1924-1925).

the papers say the Mexicans are all alike that hurts, too."[41]

The cases above are all examples in which Mexicans, oftentimes with lighter skin, tried to remake Mexican-ness in their own, lighter image, rather than the darker image of putatively indigenous Mexicans. Another way that some Mexicans accomplished this form of lightening was by subtly policing which Mexicans were included in public events where "Mexican-ness" was on display. Thus, while social service and religious professionals were initially frustrated by Mexicans' close relations with blacks, they later reported how some Mexicans began urging social workers to give preference to light-skinned Mexicans at these public events. One social worker reported how "a Mexican at a church supper told me to tell a[nother] Mexican to keep out. He said, 'What will the Americans think? He is so dark.'"[42] Similarly, "a light colored [Mexican] bank clerk said relative to inviting some of the dark skinned [Mexican] laborers to a settlement party, 'Don't invite those men. They are too primitive.'"[43] At the World's Fair, the Mexican Consul appears to have engaged in similar practices when selecting persons to represent Mexico at the Fair's "Mexican" events.

As seen in Chapter 4, whites often used "Spanish" as a label for Mexicans whom they deemed to be white, or nearly so. But some Mexicans actively sought to pass as Spanish as well, even to the point of hiding their Mexican-ness. Even though this occurred at the individual level and did little to improve whites' perceptions of Mexican-ness overall (as Mexican critics decried), this was a related form of racial lightening that was based on the basic assumption that the public perception of ones' race could be altered. Clothing salesman Carlos Pérez López explained to

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[41] Agustín Angel Interview, nd (c.1928), in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes, Series E, Set I," p.143 (stamped p.943), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Angel added that "[w]e want the coming of the Mexicans stopped, but we want it stopped from the other side," paralleling the anti-immigration sentiments that David Gutiérrez has observed more recently among Mexican-Americans in the U.S: David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1995).

[42] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 236–37.

[43] Interview with __ Ibañez, Filipino Worker at University of Chicago Settlement (Back of the Yards), June 30, 1929, in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.50 (stamped p.560), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

Mexican anthropologist Manuel Gamio in 1926 that "[t]he humble Mexicans never deny their nationality," but "[t]hose who have had better opportunities and on account of their appearance can pass as Spaniards, call themselves Spanish." Notably, Pérez López lived just inside the racially "defended" white neighborhood of Washington Park, which bordered the eastern boundary of Chicago's South Side "Black Belt," suggesting that Pérez López himself may have passed as white or even "Spanish."[44] Luís Zavala, who also lived in a contested white neighborhood on Chicago's south side, confirmed that "on the north side of Chicago" – where a small minority of Mexicans worked as clerks and hotel employees – "Mexicans pass for Spanish as soon as they have some success." Zavala's friend Agustín Angel added, "I am ashamed to say that in order to get work which wasn't on a railroad I used to say that I was Spanish." Angel had to do this at a factory near Chicago's municipal piers, and commented that "[w]hile I was there they fired four Mexicans as soon as the foreman found they were Mexicans."[45] As Angel's account made clear, there was a lot at stake in hiding one's Mexican-ness by passing as "Spanish," even for those who were light-skinned enough to engage in this kind of passing.

However, other Mexicans expressed a great deal of resentment toward lighter-skinned Mexicans who passed as something other than Mexican. Critics who were light-skinned themselves were often most critical of the way that passing (rather than representing light-skinned Mexicans as the embodiment of Mexican-ness) failed to lighten the racial image of Mexicans overall. One light-skinned Mexican, of a professional background in Mexico, complained that "[s]ome Mexicans" – i.e., those who were light enough – "when they learn a little English they say

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[44] "Sr. Don Carlos Perez Lopez" (Interview), 27 July 1926, Box 3, Folder 11: "Field notes and related material from research conducted in Chicago" (English translation, cited here, in Box 2, Folder 13: "Biographical Sketch - P"), Manuel Gamio Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California - Berkeley. Perez Lopez lived at 4705 S. Evans, one block west of Cottage Grove. In 1930, the census tract west of Cottage Grove along 47th Street was over 90% black, while the blocks to the east of Cottage Grove were completely white. See "Percent of Total Population Negro" map in Ernest W. Burgess and Charles S. Newcomb, eds, *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933).

[45] Agustín Angel, adding comments to an interview with Luís Zavala, Indiana Harbor (East Chicago), August 7, 1928, in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes, Series E, Set I," p.45 (stamped p.845), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

they are Spanish. They deny their nationality. *They don't help and associate with the other Mexicans*." [emphasis added][46] Mexicans who passed as white were more explicitly denounced in an article entitled "Those Who Deny Their Country," printed in the Chicago newspaper *Mexico* in 1925. This article (and other Mexican critiques) suggested that darker-skinned Mexicans also attempted to pass as Spanish, outlining the case of two Mexican foremen in Joliet, Illinois. The article first disparaged this "type" of Mexican worker as having "forgotten the little and bad Spanish" which he formerly knew (another code for one's indigenous roots[47]), and then went on to say, "worst of all, he denies his nationality, no matter how dark-skinned he is... passing [himself] off as Spanish before the authorities and before all who have had the disgrace" of knowing him.[48] Interestingly, this and other critiques bordered on disparaging the physical darkness of Mexicans who tried to pass as Spanish or white. A Mexican ballad transcribed in Chicago in the late 1920's accused dark-skinned Mexicans of "powdering" themselves (and debasing their manhood) in order to pass as "Saxon":

> Some are darker than *chapote* [i.e., tar or pitch]
> But they pretend to be Saxon;
> They go about powdered to the back of the neck
> And wear [under]skirts for trousers.[49]

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[46] J.M. Guajardo Interview, Gary, Indiana, 1929, in Container 10, Folder 5: "Field Notes: Series B, Set I," p.91 (stamped p.262), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Interestingly, Guajardo admitted his own difficulty in declaring his Mexican identity (which was an issue for him due to his light skin), stating that he "was ashamed to tell Mr. Eggeberg I was a Mexican. I was afraid" (Eggeberg was a steel plant hiring officer). Guajardo also appears to have participated in the effort to distance Mexicans from blacks, as he was the informant who stated how "Miss Hines at the clinic" asked him to discourage other Mexicans from going with "colored" women (see quote earlier in this chapter).

[47] The disparagement of other Mexicans' Spanish (as spoken in Mexico) was clearly a way of talking about educational background, which was closely linked with class. However, Mexicans' association of poor Spanish with Indian-ness shows that this discourse a racial undertone as well. As one example, see: Interview with Agustín Angel, Indiana Harbor, nd (likely July 1929), in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.70 (stamped p.580), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). On the other hand, the accusation that one had "forgotten" Spanish in the U.S. was part of a patriotic Mexican critique of becoming *pocho* – i.e., losing one's Mexican-ness in the U.S.

[48] *México* No.4 (February 7, 1925), pp.1, 4; as translated and transcribed by Robert Redfield in Box 59, Folder 2, Robert Redfield Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[49] "El Enganchado" (meaning "the hooked one," that is, a contract worker); transcribed in Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, vii (including original Spanish verses).

Of course, this song and newspaper article may not have been literal accounts of dark-skinned Mexicans passing as white, but rather, attempts to disparage lighter-skinned Mexicans who tried to pass as white. In any event, the repetition of this critique suggests that such attempts at passing were not infrequent.

Mexicans also manipulated their perceived racial identity by distancing themselves from blacks and blackness, in a variety of ways. One of these ways was literally spatial. For example, according to a Mexican who lived in East Chicago, Mexican Catholics in the late 1920's were upset with the fact that the Mexican Catholic parish in Indiana Harbor had been previously established in a black neighborhood: "The San José society put the church in the Negro neighborhood, but now they don't like it located there."[50] Similarly, the move of Our Lady of Guadalupe from the eastern edge of South Chicago to several blocks west represented a move away from South Chicago's core black blocks.[51] And a Mexican woman in Gary commented in the late 1920's about Mexican dances in Gary by saying: "I have been there many times, but I have never seen Negroes at any of these dances. I think they understand their inferiority and stay away from the dances in Gary."[52]

Some Mexicans also distanced themselves from blacks and blackness "on the ground," in more interactive ways. For example, Mexicans arrested for carrying concealed weapons in South Chicago during the mid-1920's told Irish-American police officers that they had to defend

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[50] Interview with Agustín Angel, Indiana Harbor, nd (likely July 1929), in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.69 (stamped p.579), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). Angel's comment, possibly along with others, may have been the source of Paul Taylor's published statement that Mexicans in Indiana Harbor expressed regret that they had "previously located their Catholic Church in the Negro neighborhood." Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 253–54.

[51] This move, however, appears to have reflected the concerns of Our Lady of Guadalupe's priests more than the congregants. See general details in Chapter 6; as well as the account in Malachy McCarthy, "Which Christ Came to Chicago: Catholic and Protestant Programs to Evangelize, Socialize and Americanize the Mexican Immigrant, 1900–1940," PhD Dissertation (Loyola University of Chicago, 2002).

[52] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 254.

themselves from local blacks, when South Chicago's Mexicans were actually fighting neighborhood Poles and getting along well with local black residents. The South Chicago police sergeant who reported this phenomenon said in 1925: "What arrests [Mexicans] do have are for drunkenness or for carrying knives and guns. With regard to this last offense their excuse generally is that they are afraid of trouble from the negroes. They settled among these, and their [sic] has been conflict between them." This officer's statement reflected an amazing displacement, substituting Mexicans' self-proclaimed conflict with blacks (proclaimed to Irish officers, that is) for Mexicans' well-observed conflict with Poles.[53] It is especially striking that in this interchange with police, Mexicans were able to transform their residential proximity with blacks from something that associated them with blackness (as noted by social workers) into something that distinguished and distanced themselves from blacks.

Religious leaders and social service workers also claimed that Mexicans disliked and avoided blacks. Reverend Baez, the Mexican-American Baptist minister in Gary who is quoted in Chapter 2 as saying that he was too dark-skinned to escape segregation in Gary's theaters, said in 1929 that "[t]he Mexicans don't like the Negroes because they are rough-mannered and because of their color. Some Mexicans say they do not want to go certain places because there are so many *prietos* [blacks]."[54] Baez's statement contradicted much other evidence of cordial Mexican-black relations, but both claims were likely true. Mexicans certainly had positive relations with blacks during the late 1910's and 1920's (see discussion above), but equally as certain was the fact that Mexicans tried to distance themselves from blacks – and became frustrated when they were unable to do so. A married Mexican man who worked at the Wisconsin Steel mills in South

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[53] Robert Redfield, "The Mexicans in Chicago - Journal," entry for January 10, 1925; in Box 59, Folder 2, Robert Redfield Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections. On conflicts with Poles in South Chicago, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

[54] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 254. The version of this account differs slightly in the original field notes, with the initial statement being made by Miss Rogers and Mr. Baez together. Interview with "Miss Rogers and Mr. Baez," Indiana Harbor, July 4, 1929; in Container 10, Folder 6: "Field Notes: Series C, Set I," p.72 (stamped p.582), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

Deering complained in 1928 that whites in South Deering refused to rent to him there, thereby forcing him to live in the same black part of South Chicago that Our Lady of Guadalupe moved out of in 1928. After complaining of the high rent, he added that "and then I have hard time finding house. They always tell me I have too many kids and won't rent to me. I have to live up with all the niggers [in South Chicago]."[55] Furthermore, Mexicans became greatly concerned about fellow Mexicans who *failed* to distance themselves from blacks. This trend appears to have increased over the course of the 1920's, and the concern was especially strong when it came to the issue of intermarriage between Mexicans and blacks. One Mexican commented in the late 1920's that "We have a hard enough time as it is with social discriminations; why have more trouble by marrying Negroes?" Others voiced similar opinions, like: "Many of the Mexicans mix with the colored women, but it lowers the prestige of the race"; "The Mexicans hate to see other Mexicans marry colored people. They're human beings the same as everybody but it looks bad among the people"; and, "The Mexicans don't want to be classed with the Negroes. The Mexicans who marry Negroes are ostracized and regarded as having degraded themselves."[56]

By the 1930's, the concern among Mexicans that Mexicans as a whole failed to sufficiently distance themselves from blacks appears to have been quite strong, even as other Mexicans continued to resist this pressure and maintain friendly relations with blacks.[57] This

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[55] Quoted interview with "Garzas" [alias name], 1928, in Raymond Edward Nelson, "A Study of an Isolated Industrial Community: Based on Personal Documents Secured by the Participant Observer Method," Master's Thesis (University of Chicago, 1929) 169.

[56] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 254. The second quote is taken from: Interview with Ignacio Vallarta (junior high student), Indiana Harbor, June 13, 1928, stamped pp.57-58, in Container 11, Folder 32: "Chicago & Calumet Area – Field Notes – Typescript," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML). See also the similar statement, "The Mexicans don't like to see their people marry Negroes," from: Interview with José S. Rodriguez, South Chicago, June 7, 1928, p.2 (stamped p.35), same container and folder, Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[57] For example, one of the witnesses on behalf of Crispín Arroyo during his 1930 registry hearing with the U.S Immigration Service was an African-American woman who got to know Arroyo as a neighbor when both lived along the black-white boundary between Chicago's South Side "Black Belt" and the white neighborhoods east of the stockyards, along Wentworth Avenue between 40th and 45th Streets. See "Report of Hearing of an Application for Registry, under Act of March 2, 1929, in the case of Crispin Arroyo," January 8, 1930, in Registry File R-1811 (Crispín Arroyo), USCIS (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007812). Later in the 1930's, Mexican CIO activist Refugio Martinez led the stockyards' primarily black Local 25 of the Packinghouse Workers' of America, a

concern was poignantly stated in 1936 in *La Defensa*, a 1930's Mexican newspaper in Chicago. The newspaper, whose office was located in the heart of Back of the Yards, had somewhat of a leftist, populist bent, reporting favorably on the work of the Illinois Workers' Alliance and featuring a regular write-in column called "Voice of the People."[58] In August 1936, however, it featured an editorial that mirrored white concerns in the 1920's about Mexicans intermingling with white bodies in various urban spaces. This time the tables were turned, with Mexicans expressing concern about blacks' presence in the more intimate spaces reserved for *Mexicans'* "white" bodies – more specifically, the "white" bodies of deceased Mexicans. The title of the editorial was "Race," and it began by referring to a series of questions the paper had received in a note from a reader some weeks before:

> The character of one of the questions is so important and of such interest to all the people, that we have decided to dedicate our entire editorial section, not to satisfy the curiosity of the author but in order to study a series of serious problems which pertain to all of us. The first question asked by the author of this note under the pseudonym, T.A. Tornillo, is the following: 'Why are the great majority of the corpses of our people in the Hull House district buried by negro undertakers?' This is a question which has occupied our minds. It is a delicate social question, requiring a profound [i.e., deep] study.

The editorial acknowledged several "material" reasons for Mexicans' use of a black undertaker, including the fact that a black undertaking establishment with a Spanish-speaking employee was situated right in the middle of the Hull House Mexican neighborhood on Chicago's West Side. But after granting these facts, the editorial then made its case for the need of Mexicans to distance themselves from blacks. Tellingly, it began in an apologetic tone that blamed *white* attitudes toward blacks as the reason Mexicans needed to take this stance, rather than Mexicans' own attitudes:

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position he held throughout most of the decade at the wish of the locals' members (see Chapter 6).

[58] Information on *La Defensa* can be gleaned from this article and other *La Defensa* articles that appear in the Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey (Chicago Public Library, microfilm), and from the brief description of the newspaper in George L. Paz, "'Little Old Mexico' in Chicago," p.7, in Box 193, Folder: "Mexicans," IFWPP-ISHL. *La Defensa*'s reporting on the Illinois Workers' Alliance is included in Chapter 6.

> We are not antagonistic, nor do we have any prejudice against the negro. The white resident, native or foreign, has a very low opinion of the negro. He despises his standards and his mercantile [business] and social activities. Concomitantly are despised those who associate with the negro in any way and then are considered morally inferior to a human being of ebony anatomy[,] and they are despised more than the negro. The negro himself experiences a feeling of superiority toward his white employees and clients, the number of which, let us repeat, is rather small. The economy of the price paid to a negro undertaker for a modest funeral, is not sufficient to pay for the bad name we acquire and the demerit suffered by our social standards from the point of view of those who consider that the negro race should be forced to live entirely isolated.

After this frank acknowledgment of white desires to segregate blacks, and the editor's warning that Mexicans' needed to not be seen as being too close to such a group (for fear they would be included), the editor stated that there was no excuse for this black undertaker being "engaged for the majority of the funerals of our people, in a neighborhood where our group is so numerous." Suggesting that Mexicans should find a Spanish interpreter from other sources, the editor then turned to his final line of argument – that Mexicans' deceased family members *deserved more* than a black undertaker, whose services actually threatened to decrease their racial worth, when Mexicans' true identity was whiteness:

> To bury the dead, is one of the deeds of mercy; if they are from our families, it is the last offering we can make to them. The last duty we should perform. Placing their corpses in the hands of undertakers who are not well accepted in the social system of the country we live in, is to make them unworthy of a better funeral. The fact that we decide to save a five or ten dollar bill shows that we hate to make the last offering and sacrifice for our people. For respect, dignity, or egotism, let us place our dead in the hands of *our own people, the white race. Let us make an effort to elevate our social position as a colony*. [emphasis added][59]

In the end, this editorial not only sought to distance Mexicans from blackness, but to openly embrace whiteness as a Mexican identity. Notably, the reference to "our own people" was not a reference to Mexicans, but to whites in general, of whom the editorialist proclaimed Mexicans to be a natural part. The final sentence of the editorial made clear the reason for this racial

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[59] "Race," *La Defensa* vol.2 no.34, August 22, 1936, as translated in the Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey (Chicago Public Library) (*hereafter* CFLPS), Spanish Section, Reel 62, Sub-Section I.C. The bracketed references are to words that appear to have been translated from Spanish to a similarly defined English word, when a different English word provides a truer translation.

distancing – to elevate Mexicans' "social position" – a phrase that could easily be read as "racial position."

Mexicans' efforts to distance themselves from blacks and blackness naturally raises the question of how African-Americans responded and reacted to these efforts. Detailed research and analysis on this question has not been undertaken here, but blacks' general perceptions of Mexicans appear to have been quite mixed overall, with a possible trend toward more positive views of Mexicans and Mexican-ness being promoted by the mid-1930's in the *Chicago Defender* and at black cultural events. As already noted, there is substantial evidence of friendly Mexican-black social and on-the-job relations, particularly in the neighborhoods where Mexicans and blacks both lived, from the date of Mexicans' arrival throughout the 1920's and beyond. Moreover, an early 1920's advertisement in the *Defender* for "settl[ing]" in Mexico declared Mexico to be a place where "your children can grow to be men and women of wealth, respected the equal of any other race."[60] On the other hand, by the late 1920's blacks in Chicago also voiced concerns about Mexicans as a labor threat and expressed the view that their immigration should be restricted. During the Mexican immigration restriction debates of the late 1920's, black Chicago congressman Oscar DePriest supported legislation to place Mexican immigration under a quota system, and a black worker interviewed in 1928 said: "It is better for the American white man and colored man not to have Mexicans here. They get the jobs."[61] During the Depression, a black Gary newspaper openly favored Mexican repatriation in May 1932, supporting proposals reported on by the *Gary Post-Tribune*.[62]

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[60] "Why Not Settle in Mexico" advertisement, *The Chicago Defender* (National edition), December 10, 1921, p.14.

[61] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 111, including n.45. These opinions may have reflected a broader black discourse prevalent at the time which criticized the favoring of foreign-born labor of any nationality over "American" (i.e., black) labor.

[62] The black paper echoed many white arguments for repatriation, claiming that Mexicans were a drain on resources ("burdensome leeches"), dirty, shiftless, and dishonest, presenting "an actual physical and moral menace to Negroes." However, the paper backtracked on its position a few weeks later, when the *Gary Post-Tribune* proposed sending blacks back South, along with the repatriation of Mexicans. See Raymond A. Mohl and Neil Betten, *Steel City: Urban and Ethnic Patterns in Gary, Indiana, 1906–1950* (New York: Holmes and Meier,

But by the mid- 1930's a different attitude toward Mexicans seems to have emerged in the *Chicago Defender* and among African-Americans more generally, and this attitude may have been at least partially related to the representations of Mexican-ness at the World's Fair (see below). In fact, in 1933 the *Chicago Defender* enthusiastically encouraged readers to see the "Maya[n] Temple" at the World's Fair, along with the "story of man's rise" presented at Fair's Hall of Social Sciences (as shown below, this exhibit forefronted Aztec and Mayan achievements).[63] And beginning in 1935 (coinciding almost precisely with the end of the World's Fair), the "society notes" sections of the *Defender* began reporting on "Mexican luncheons" and "Mexican dinners" being served at black social events in Chicago and throughout the nation, perhaps suggesting that blacks also subscribed to the "enormous vogue" of Mexico and Mexican-ness that pervaded U.S. culture in the 1930's and was further promoted by the World's Fair.[64] Also beginning in 1935, the *Defender* made repeated reports of Mexicans as co-strikers with blacks throughout the country, and in 1936 it enthusiastically reported on Mexicans (and Italians and Japanese) participating at a "Bud Billiken" picnic on Chicago's South Side.[65]

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At Chicago's Century of Progress World's Fair in 1933 and 1934, efforts to lighten Mexicans' racial image gained a grand new stage, crystallizing many of the themes outlined above

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[63] Louis G. Gregory, "A Century of Progress," *The Chicago Defender* (National edition), June 24, 1933, p.10.

[64] See, for example the reports on a "Mexican dinner and bridge party" (and a "Spanish feast") in Lincoln, Nebraska in January 1935; a "Mexican lunch" in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in February, 1935; and a "very appetizing Mexican luncheon ... served with cocktails, highballs and soft drinks" at a party on Chicago's South Side in April 1935. Many similar references continued throughout the 1930's. Quoted references appear in the following articles of *The Chicago Defender* (National edition): "Lincoln, Neb.," January 19, 1935, p.20; "Milwaukee News," February 9, 1935, p.21; and "Peter Pans Play Whist and Bridge," April 20, 1935, p.8.

[65] Moreover, a *ProQuest Historical Newspapers* search of the term "Mexican*" in the *Defender* returned only one depiction of Mexicans in 1935 that might be deemed negative (a speech which stated that Mexicans were displacing black workers in the South). The positive articles referenced by this footnote all appear in the *Chicago Defender* (National edition): "Texas State News – Paris, Texas," January 19, 1935, p.24; "Mixed Group Workers Win Texas Strike," April 13, 1935, p.3; "Cotton Pickers Strike," July 27, 1935, p.1; and "No Color Line At Bud's Big Picnic Aug. 15," August 22, 1936, p.3.

and drawing on the broader "enormous vogue" of Mexican-ness in U.S. popular culture. Notably, these representations of Mexican-ness at the World's Fair took place as Chicago's Mexican population was rapidly declining due to Mexicans' large-scale return migration to Mexico. This decline amounted to a 37% drop from 1930 to 1934; and an estimated 45% drop between the late 1920's and 1934. This demographic shift dramatically reduced the threat that Mexicans posed to white neighborhoods and white jobs. As Mexican population decreased, the possibility of a white neighborhood being "invaded" and "turning" Mexican disappeared, while workplaces and neighborhoods experienced a de facto kind of integration resulting from Mexicans' decreasing numbers. Perhaps more importantly, this population decrease also balanced the sex ratio between Mexican men and women for the first time in the Chicago region, thereby reducing the perceived threat that Mexican men posed to white women (see Chapter 6 for a more detailed analysis of the 1930's decrease in Mexican population). In this new demographic context, the Fair's promotion of Mexican-ness as a desirable, racially lightened, and oftentimes female identity met with more receptive eyes and ears among whites.

The World's Fair included a number of venues for representing Mexican-ness, including an "Old Mexico" entertainment club, a "Mexican Village," the "Mayan Temple," and special performances of Mexican music and dance, all of which utilized the folkloric *charro* and *china poblana* forms. In these venues, Mexican and non-Mexican performers alike transformed formerly popular images of Mexicans as dark, Indian, and/or black into a much lighter racial image. These transformations took place in three major ways. First, Mexicans' racial darkness and Indian-ness simply disappeared, or was erased, as seen in the promotional Fair photograph of two white American dancers dressed in *charro* and *china poblana* outfits and dancing the jarabe tapatío in the Fair's Mexican Village (see Illustration 5.6 below). In presenting white American performers as "Mexican," Fair organizers and concessionaires actively transgressed and blurred the line between whiteness and Mexican-ness, thereby erasing racial darkness and Indian-ness from the public image of Mexican-ness. Moreover, when white visitors to the Fair were actively

encouraged to imagine themselves as Mexican, an even more vivid kind of racial blurring took place. This blurring of Mexican-ness and whiteness contrasted sharply with the formerly blurred line between Mexican-ness and blackness in the 1920's.

Illustration 5.6: Remaking Mexicans' Public Image at the 1933-1934 World's Fair[66]

"Arthur Bublitz and Lenore Felden offer a bit of native dancing the Jarabe dance, at the Mexican Village …" [sic]

The Mayan Temple

The Mexican Village

Second, Mexicans' Indian-ness was displaced onto Mexico's *past* Indian civilizations, the Aztec and Maya, which were seen as the earliest forms of civilized progress in the Americas (see

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[66] Clockwise from left: "Mexican Village – Jarabe Dance" (promotional photograph), File 17-44; "Mayan Temple" (promotional photograph), File 17-38 (both in Series 17: Iconographic Materials, A Century of Progress Records, Department of Special Collections, University of Illinois at Chicago – *hereafter* COP Records, UIC); and "Mexican Village," in Century of Progress International Exposition, *A Century of Progress, 1933–1934*, "A collection of official photographs presented to Eugene M. Stevens." (Chicago: Kaufman and Fabry, photographers, c1934). The quote underneath the image of the two white American dancers is taken from the original caption, which also stated that the dancers (Bublitz and Felden) "are featured in the show that entertains afternoons and nights at the village."

"Mayan Temple" image in Illustration 5.6). This displacement closely paralleled the ideological movement of *indigenismo* (Indianism) in Mexico, which lauded and celebrated Mexico's indigenous past while seeking to de-Indian-ize actual Mexican Indians in the present.[67] Third, representations of Mexican-ness at the Fair highlighted an idealized and alluring image of Mexican women while de-emphasizing Mexican men – who had formerly been associated with racial darkness, banditry, and a sense of threat to white women and jobs. In nearly all of the Fair's Mexican events, women were prominently placed. The image of Mexican men assumed a background role, or was removed completely from representations of Mexican-ness (see the "Mexican Village" photograph in Figure 5.6 as an example). In addition to removing Mexican men from the image of Mexican-ness at the Fair, the highlighting of Mexican women worked to lighten Mexicans' racial image in two other, somewhat contradictory ways. On the one hand, the former associations of Mexicans with darkness and Indian-ness were erased when Mexican-ness was represented by phenotypically "white" Mexican women. On the other hand, the popular sense of Mexicans' darkness and Indian-ness was also displaced from Mexicans as a whole and transferred onto Mexican women, who were presented as attractive and alluring *because* of their darkness – a darkness that was de-Indianized and remade into an attractive physical feature.

Chicago's Mexican Consul and Fair organizers had discussed the possibilities of Mexico's official representation at the Fair for several years prior to the Fair's opening. While the Mexican government ultimately declined to sponsor a national pavilion, the Consul's internal plans and ideas about Mexico's representation revealed his desire to de-emphasize Mexico's contemporary Indian-ness at the same time that Fair organizers celebrated and highlighted Mexico's *ancient* Mayan civilizations. Early on, Fair organizers had decided to reproduce a portion of "Las Monjas" – a Mayan pyramid in Uxmal, Yucatán – as the pinnacle of the Fair's "anthropological" section, which focused on "native" cultures of the Americas. This reproduction ultimately became the Fair's Mayan Temple. To Fair organizers, the Mayan Temple exemplified the Fair's overall

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[67] On this aspect of indigenismo, see Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910–1940."

theme of "Progress" – in this case, progress embodied in "America's" pre-Columbian architectural and cultural accomplishments. This emphasis by Fair organizers was part of a broader movement of "archaeological Monroe-ism," in which U.S.-based archaeologists, writers, and elites laid claim to the accomplishments of pre-Columbian Latin American civilizations as part of a North American heritage that far outshone Europe's ancient archaeological past. Additionally, the Consul reported how Fair officials wanted "to bring a representative group of Mexican Indians, for example, Zapotecs, that will live in houses exactly like those that they have in Oaxaca." This "Zapotec" settlement would be located with the "villages and camps" of North American Indians that were also planned for both sides "of the grand esplanade" of the Mayan Temple. The proposed North American Indian camps ultimately came to fruition in the "Indian Village" that was placed near the Mayan Temple. Significantly, however, the Consul never made any plans or efforts to bring Mexican Indians to the Mayan Temple, even as he made elaborate plans for other aspects of Mexico's representation.

In fact, while Fair officials stressed Mexico's prominence at the Fair through the Mayan Temple and the proposed presentation of Mexico's "native" cultures and "Indian performances," the Consul envisioned a Mexican pavilion centered on the reproduction of a colonial-styled street in the Mexican city of Taxco – a non-indigenous, quaint mountain town known for its production of silver jewelry. The Consul sought to model his Taxco street after the "Old Spain" exhibit at the Barcelona Exhibition of 1929, further suggesting his emphasis on a colonial "Spanish" atmosphere (though he did concede that "our Indians" could be given spaces along the colonial street to sell Indian-made pottery and earthenware). Tellingly, the Consul held up this Spanish-colonial street as a prime example of the "typically Mexican aspects" of Mexico's "social and cultural evolution" that he proposed to reproduce in the "historical" section of Mexico's pavilion. In a subsequent proposal, the Consul further de-emphasized Mexican indigeneity, writing that the "entrance [to the pavilion] will be entirely modern, *el México Moderno*," with a theater for films, concerts, and "regional [i.e., folkloric] dances" on one side; a Mexican restaurant on the other;

and finally, the reproduction of the street in Taxco. Making direct reference to the "enormous vogue" and the *charro* and *china poblana* dress types (all of which further worked to de-Indianize Mexico's image), he also commented that "Mexico, by the colors of all its things and by the interest that has awoken during the past two years [he wrote in 1931], will be an enormous attraction at the Fair if it decides to present itself in this form, with *charros, chinas*, [and] *el 'mariachi' ...*"[68]

Although the Consul's plans for the reproduction of a Taxco street never came to fruition, the "Mexican Village" and "Old Mexico" club operated by Fair concessionaires reproduced much of the Spanish colonial atmosphere that the Consul envisioned (possibly even as a result of the Consul's advice[69]), and were situated far from the Mayan Temple. The Mayan Temple, on the other hand, was referred to in the official guide to the Fair as the "ancient seat of Mayan culture" and the guide spoke in laudatory terms of this great "civilization" in Mexico. This characterization was reinforced by the *Chicago Tribune* in 1934 when it printed a photograph of

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[68] The preceding two paragraphs are based primarily on the Mexican Consul's accounts given in: Rafael Aveleyra (Mexican Consul) to the Secretary of Foreign Relations, Mexico City, September 18, 1931 and November 29, 1932; both in File IV-546-14, Archivo Histórico "Genaro Estrada," Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City (Tlatelolco), *hereafter* AHGE. On "archaeological Monroe-ism," see Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations Between the United States and Mexico, 1920–1935*, Chapter 3 (Delpar also includes a brief discussion of the Fair's Mayan Temple in her analysis). Further expressions of Fair officials' interest in presenting Mexico's "Indian" or "native" cultures, as well as their praise for Latin America's pre-Columbian archaeology as superior to anything in Europe, appear in: Charles S. Peterson (Chicago City Treasurer) to Rufus C. Dawes (President, A Century of Progress), June 19, 1930; and Fay-Cooper Cole (Chief of the Fair's Social Sciences Division) to Emilio Almada, July 29, 1932; both in File 2-1141, Series 2 (Government Correspondence), COP Records, UIC. Cole's letter stated that the Consul's secretary had earlier "mentioned the possibility of bringing one of the most advanced of the Indian groups from Mexico [to the Fair] and showing a section of one of their towns." This was the closest that any Mexican official came to proposing the transport of Mexican Indians to the Mayan Temple, and it is not clear who raised the topic. In his letters cited above, the Consul clearly identified this proposal as the "intention" of Fair officials, not his own.

Fair organizers' view of Mayan culture as a civilized form of progress also appeared in the section of a promotional pamphlet entitled the "History of Man in North America," which featured a photograph of the Mayan pyramid in Uxmal and stated that the Fair's Anthropological Exhibit and Mayan Temple would display "the manner in which [man] has risen above his natural surroundings and produced great cultures and philosophies of life." "A Century of Progress" (promotional booklet, 1933), File 16-283, Series 16 (Publications), COP Records, UIC.

[69] The Fair's official correspondence file on the "Mexican Village" as well as the Fair's press releases show that the Mexican Consul was consulted regarding the Mexican Village and also organized official Mexican events there.

an impressive Mayan pyramid immediately following its graphic section on the Fair, with the title "A Reminder of Ancient Mayan Culture," and the comment that the Mayas' "flourishing Indian civilization" was equal to that of the Aztecs, "that other great tribe of civilized Indians." The Fair's weekly newspaper promoted the Mayan Temple in similar terms in an article entitled "Finding A Civilization in the Jungle," which reiterated the idea that Mayan civilization embodied an almost modern form of "progress" in the Americas: "So you see, the Maya were just as up-to-date as the newest song hit. We can somehow understand the Maya. No wonder their dazzling temple [painted "jade green" and "tawny gold"] fits right into the picture of A Century of Progress, with its gay colors and modern architecture." By contrast, the "Indian Village" that was placed near the Mayan Temple was described in the Fair's guide as housing "tribal" groups of North American Indians, not "civilizations," and none of these tribes hailed from Mexico.[70] Moreover, as depicted in the Fair's official picture books and at the Fair itself, these contemporary Indians – which were caricatured in at least one photo as "Injun" – stood in stark contrast to the images of Mexican-ness displayed at the Mexican Village.[71] Ultimately, the indigeneity that used to be so readily associated with popular perceptions of Mexican-ness was displaced onto the grand, proto-modern "Indian civilizations" of Mexico's past, while the Fair's depictions of Mexican-ness displayed no hints of contemporary indigeneity.

Although the Mexican government never sponsored a national pavilion at the Fair, the Mexican Consul coordinated many of the Fair's public events that involved local Mexicans, and in doing so the Consul's intention to lighten Mexicans' racial image and display lighter-skinned

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[70] *Official Guide Book of the Fair 1933* (Chicago: A Century of Progress, 1933), pp.63-66 ("Maya Temple" and "Indian Villages" sections). These sections both appeared within a broader section entitled "The Stirring Story of Mankind's Rise," which further framed Mayan culture as a high point in this story of progress. See also: "A Reminder of Ancient Mayan Culture," *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, May 6, 1934, Graphic Section, p.6; and "Finding a Civilization in the Jungle," *Official World's Fair Weekly*, June 10, 1933, p.40.

[71] As examples of Indian Village images, see the "Seminole Indian Village" photo that appears on the same page as a photo of the Mayan Temple; and the page of Indian Village images – including "Small Injun (Navajo): Heap Big Watermelon!" – all of which appear in *The Official Pictures of A Century of Progress Exposition Chicago 1933* (Chicago: Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation, 1933).

Mexicans as representative of all Mexicans became clear. Of course, Mexicans themselves were already familiar with similar forms of racial lightening – both in Mexico and in Chicago – even as the Fair provided a much larger stage for it. In a July 1933 dispatch to the Secretary of Foreign Relations in Mexico City, the Consul reported that on "occasions when it is necessary that Mexico be represented by some group of compatriots in regional dress, the organization of these groups, which appear together with those of other nations, require a careful selection."[72] The nature of this "careful selection" was suggested by the appearance, only two days earlier, of "Señorita Helen Martin of Mexico," a very light-skinned, non-indigenous-featured woman who was photographed by the *Chicago Tribune* with the Monte Alban jewels (an archaeological find in Oaxaca) in the Mexican Presidential Train that paid a visit to the Fair (see Illustration 5.7).[73]

Illustration 5.7: "Señorita Helen Martin of Mexico"

In this published photograph of "Señorita Helen Martin" – whose very name suggested a touch of exoticness while also remaining comfortingly familiar – a number of notable features stood out. The first was her *china poblana* dress, which conveyed an image of being authentically Mexican while also hearkening to the kinds of European nationalistic peasant costumes that were rampant at the Fair. Additionally, as with virtually all of the "Mexican" women who appeared in *traje* at the Fair, her hair was done in a modern, even "American" style, rather than in the braids associated with more indigenous portrayals of the *china poblana* type. But perhaps more importantly, this image of Señorita Martin was strikingly white, objectified, and

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[72] Carlos Palacios Roji, Mexican Consul (Chicago) to the Secretary of Foreign Relations (Mexico), July 3, 1933, File IV-546-13, AHGE.

[73] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 1, 1933, photo section (back page).

passive. Her skin color was remarkably light compared to the darker-skinned images of Mexican-ness examined earlier in this chapter that were popularly associated with Mexican-ness during the 1920's, and her phenotype was solidly within the bounds of "whiteness" as it was understood in 1930's Chicago. The passivity of her pose was also readily apparent, with her gazing at the jewels almost wistfully, like a 1930's movie star. Indeed, the "Jewels" caption could even be read as referring to *her* rather than the archaeological finds, an association made stronger by the fact that she appears to be wearing one of the pieces of jewelry around her neck.

The image of Señorita Helen Martin in the *Chicago Tribune* was but one of many female images of Mexican-ness purveyed at the Fair. In the Fair's Mexican events and presentations, Mexicans' public image was repeatedly displaced, in lightened but sometimes alluringly dark and exoticized form, onto women, who were often called "girls." These events often featured local Mexican women.[74] Thus, when the "Old Mexico" club reopened in a new location at the Fair in 1934, the *Chicago Tribune* captioned its reporting with "Native Girls Dance," reporting how the manager of the club broke a bottle of tequila on the lake side of the club's entry ramp, "following the appearance of Mexican dancing girls and a musical program... More than thirty native Mexicans in costume took part in the ceremony."[75] Similarly, when the Mexican Presidential Train with the Monte Alban jewels opened at the Fair a year earlier, the *Chicago Tribune* reported that "Soft voices of old Mexico sang, girls in native costume flashed white teeth, and formal courtesy was the rule..."[76] Even the reference to white teeth in this account worked to reinforce these "girls'" whiteness. On the one hand, the dancers' "flash[ing] white teeth"

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[74] In addition to the consul's own comments and the evidence of Marcy Center youth and other Mexicans performing at the Fair, the participation of local Mexicans is confirmed by photographs such as the 1934 photo of Rosita Pérez, in a "Century of Progress" frame, posed in *china poblana* dress with Mexican arts and crafts at the Fair. The caption to this published photo notes that Pérez "worked at the [Fair's] Mexican Pavilion as a hostess selling Mexican craft items and dancing." This photo appears in Arias Jirasek and Tortolero, *Mexican Chicago*, 58.

[75] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1934, p.10.

[76] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 1, 1933, p.7. The picture of "Señorita Helen Martin" in Illustration 5.7 was listed as a related photograph to this article.

provided a strong visual image of whiteness. But on the other hand, the fact that the dancers' white teeth jumped out may have implied an unspecified yet attractive darkness about their overall phenotype. This darkness, however, even if intentionally implied, was ambiguous and alluring, and not attached to any sense of non-white indigeneity, as evidenced by the perfect white teeth, the "soft voices," and the "formal courtesy."

But even more so than in the descriptive accounts of the Fair's Mexican events, the popularized visual images of Mexicans at the Fair made Mexican women the focus and object of fair-goers' gaze. This drew in part upon the highlighting of "Latin" women in 1930's cinema, in which Mexican-American actresses such as Lupe Velez and Dolores del Río starred in films that alternately showcased "Latin" women as sexually attractive for their "hot" Mexican tempers and lifestyle (as in Velez's 1933 film, *Mexican Spitfire*), or as Europeanized, aristocratic South American beauties, as in del Río's *Flying Down to Río* (also 1933).[77] In the same year as both of these films, the *Chicago Tribune* tapped into this broader phenomenon of highlighting Mexican women, honoring Mexicans' "Cinco de Mayo" holiday by including a photo of three light-skinned female Mexican performers gazing into the camera for its May 5th photo page (Illustration 5.8):

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[77] See *The Bronze Screen: 100 Years of the Latino Image in American Cinema*, DVD (Questar, 2003), Susan Racho, Nancy de los Santos, Alberto Dominguez, dirs.

Illustration 5.8: "Mexicans of Chicago Ready to Celebrate National Holiday," 1933[78]

In the images from the Fair itself, Mexican men always assumed a passive, background role, if they appeared at all. This was particularly evident in the images Fair promoters chose to include in the Fair's official guides and view books. Thus, in the "official picture" of the "Old Mexico" niteclub below, the women in *china poblana* dress commanded the central focus of the image, the men in the foreground had their backs to the camera (and actually appeared to be actors from a neighboring European "village"), and the Mexican men in *charro* appeared far in the background (see Illustration 5.9). Similarly, the single man in *charro* in the dual image of "The Mexican Village" ("Burros" and "A Folk Dance") was outnumbered by the women in *china poblana* who performed the *jarabe tapatío* with him, and his head was bowed away from the camera. Finally, in the "Mexican Village" photograph (at the bottom of Illustration 5.9), the pair of women were placed fully in the center, seemingly on display for the predominantly white male fair-goers that were gathered in a semi-circle in the photo's background. The face of the single man in *charro* who led the donkey was covered by the shadows of his sombrero. As for the women themselves, they were either phenotypically light or vaguely and attractively dark, with

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[78] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 5, 1933, p.36 (photo page). Tribune Photo, used with permission.

any possible hints of Indian-ness removed by the Europeanized version of *china poblana* attire that they wore.

Illustration 5.9: Mexican Images in the Fair's Promotional Publications[79]

In fact, this visual sexual economy – wherein Fair organizers and concessionaires presented Mexican-ness as female and alluring to the white male gaze – was actively policed. In

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[79] Clockwise from upper left: *The Official Pictures of A Century of Progress Exposition Chicago 1933*, "Old Mexico" (unpaginated); *Official Pictures of the 1934 World's Fair (25 Cents)*, "Photographs by Kaufmann & Fabry Co., Official Photographers" (Chicago: A Century of Progress, 1934), "Burros" & "A Folk Dance" (unpaginated); and "Mexican Village" (photograph), in Century of Progress International Exposition, *A Century of Progress, 1933–1934*. Notably, the "Old Mexico" photo shared the page with a starkly contrasted set of "Darkest Africa" images, featuring nose rings, animal skins, spears, and skulls.

one telling case from the records of the Fair's Mexican Village, dark-skinned actors portraying "Mexican" men were literally removed from the Mexican Village when these men stepped outside the passive, background role they were expected to play. According to a report by the Fair's Investigation Bureau, two Filipino men who worked as "Mexicans" in the Village were removed from the Village and eventually fired after the investigative bureau found them "continually annoying white girls who came into the village to dance."[80]

Popular perceptions of Mexican-ness were also racially lightened at the Fair when white performers assumed the role of Mexicans at the Mexican Village and Old Mexico niteclub. This has already been seen in the image of the two white dancers dancing the *jarabe tapatío* (in Illustration 5.6); but it was also apparent in the Fair's presentation of white women who performed barely clothed in chorus girl routines and floor shows at the Fair's Mexican venues – with the performances and the performers being billed as vaguely Mexican (Illustration 5.10):

Illustration 5.10: "Chorus Girls" at the Old Mexico Niteclub[81]

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[80] Inter-Office Correspondence, Charles H. Thurman to Leonard Cole ("Subject: Excerpt from Investigation Bureau Reports"), 17 October 1934, in File 1-10237 (Mexican Village), Series 1 (Correspondence), COP Records, UIC.

[81] Banner photo from "Way Down South in Mexico," *Official World's Fair Weekly – "How to enjoy this week at the Fair, Week ending July 22"* (1933), pp.10-11. Note that the performers are in two-piece outfits, which were quite risque at the time. During the same year this photo was taken, Mexican-American actress Dolores del Río caused an uproar when she became the first Hollywood actress to appear in a two-piece bathing suit, in the film *Flying Down to Río* (1933).

In these images, Mexican-ness was overtly represented as sexually alluring to men. In fact, at another show suggestively titled "Concha and the Dancing Devils," the Fair's administrative office ultimately had to demand that a railing be placed around the stage so that the audience couldn't touch the women performing at this "peep show."[82]

Illustration 5.11: "Fair's Mexican Beauty Queen"

Finally, as if to encapsulate the highlighting of women at the Fair's "Mexican" events, "Señorita Helen Martin of Mexico" made a grand reappearance at the Fair in 1934, but this time under the oppositely bilingual name of "Miss Elenita San Martin." Miss San Martín was crowned the Fair's "Miss Mexico" in July, solidifying in highly visible form the Fair's lightened and feminized representation of Mexican racial identity (Illustration 5.11).[83] This time, instead of appearing in the typical *china poblana* dress, the light-skinned "Mexican Beauty Queen" was crowned in a completely American-style outfit, with a sombrero and serape plopped on top as if to accentuate – perhaps even remind viewers – that she really was Mexican (an emphasis further reinforced by her now Hispanicized name, with the Anglo "Miss" attached to the front).

In addition to presenting a lightened representation of Mexican racial identity, the appearance of the Fair's Miss Mexico again worked to make a feminized form of Mexican-ness alluring to the white male gaze. As the caption to her posed photograph stated, she was "presented to crowds ... as feature" of "Mexico Day" at the Fair. Moreover, two weeks before Elenita San Martin's crowning as Miss Mexico, the Mexican Village received a permit from the Fair management to operate a theater where dances by Miss Mexico were the featured attraction.

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[82] J.J. O'Donnell to Charles H. Thurman (Inter-Office Correspondence), June 28, 1934, in File 1-10237 (Mexican Village), Series 1 (Correspondence), COP Records, UIC.

[83] *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, July 22, 1934, p.10 (related article mentioning "Miss Mexico" on p.7). Tribune Photo, used with permission.

Tellingly, the theater boasted the awkwardly bilingual name of "Tia Juana de la Pleasure."[84] Finally, as further testament to "Miss Mexico's" attractiveness to male fairgoers – and as evidence of the changing perceptions of Mexican racial identity that would even allow a Mexican woman to be imagined as a "beauty queen" in the first place – Miss San Martin was popularly selected to be among the top ten contestants for the Fair's Beauty Queen in 1934. Notably, no African-American or Asian-American women were included in this group. Miss San Martin, on the other hand, appeared prominently at the top center – this time with her light-colored sombrero emphasizing the relative darkness of her eyes and hair, but in an alluring way that made no allusions of Indian-ness.

Illustration 5.12: World's Fair Beauty Queen Finalists, 1934[85]

TRIBUNE Photo.

TEN FINALISTS TO COMPETE FOR HONOR OF BECOMING WORLD FAIR BEAUTY QUEEN; PICK WINNER TOMORROW NIGHT. The survivors of hundreds of aspirants for honor among girls employed on the grounds. Front, left to right: Myrtice Crory, Firestone; Dorothy Le Fold, Wilson & Co.; Gertrude Bain, Fair; Patricia Marquani, Billboard Grill, and Kay Griffith, Firestone. Rear: Bernice Loyrie, Ionian Gardens; Willow Youngsma, Holland-Dutch Village; Elena San Martin, Old Mexico; Luella Kaehler, Firestone, and Esther Fehrm, Jules Riviere perfumes. (Story on page 5.)

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After the World's Fair, public representations of Mexican-ness continued to follow the kinds of patterns established at the Fair, especially by displacing Mexicans' racial darkness and

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[84] Horace C. Ingram to Illinois Hollywood Corporation (Mexican Village), July 2, 1934, "Re: Application No. 1223," in File 1-10237, (Mexican Village), Series 1 (Correspondence), COP Records, UIC.

[85] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 5, 1934, photo section on back page, accompanying article on p.5 (Tribune Photo, used with permission). Reporting on the outcome of the beauty contest appeared in "World's Fair Notes," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 7, 1934, p.6, and photo, p.26.

Indian-ness onto the sexual attractiveness of Mexican women. But in addition to this, Mexican-ness itself was made into something that could be consumed and enjoyed – much like the image of Mexican women at the Fair. This latter dynamic built upon the "enormous vogue" of Mexican-ness that had risen on the national level and in Chicago in the years leading up to the Fair.

The picture of Mexican-ness painted by a 1935 article in Chicago's *Sunday Times* provides a prime example. The article was titled "Little Mexico in Chicago: Gayety, Color, and Strumming Guitars," and painted the picture of an exotic, non-threatening, and highly de-masculinized community tucked away in the midst of Chicago's urban landscape, waiting to be enjoyed by the newspaper's readership. The article focused on the "authentic" Mexican foods and products one could purchase there, while also devoting an entire section of the article to the community's "Raven Haired and Black-Eyed Beauties" – a section which mirrored the World's Fair's transformation of Mexican Indian-ness into a feminized, sexually attractive, and de-racialized form of darkness. This romanticized depiction of Chicago's Hull House Mexican community closed by painting a picture of the community's Mexican men as happy-go-lucky, non-threatening pleasure-seekers who joined in a drunken rendition of "La Cucaracha" that extolled the pleasures of smoking marijuana.[86]

In these kinds of representations, Mexican-ness became a consumable item and white Chicagoans were playfully encouraged to imagine themselves as Mexican – as already attested to by journalist Ruth de Young's claims that "we are staging Mexican fiestas" and that the "spirit" of Mexican-ness was "contagious." This type of imagining reached a height in numerous unpublished "tours" of Mexican Chicago and related writings that have survived in the files of

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[86] *Sunday Times* (Sunday edition of the Chicago *Daily Times*), v.6 n.224 (May 26, 1935), as transcribed in the CFLPS, Reel 63 ("Spanish"), Section III.A.

Notably, this transformed image of Mexican men mirrored broader transformations of Mexican male characters in popular American films during the 1930's. Whereas Mexican men had previously appeared as treacherous bandits, by the time of the 1934 film *Viva Villa*, the character of Pancho Villa – formerly known as a treacherous pariah for his murders of U.S. citizens – was depicted as a docile, simple-minded, and generally obedient but overgrown child whose utmost desire was to enjoy life's simple pleasures without being bothered. Perhaps more importantly, the actor who portrayed Villa, Wallace Beery, was clearly white.

Federal Writers' Project (FWP) in Chicago, dating from the late 1930's. Although these FWP "tours" and other descriptions were never ultimately published, their compilation reveals much about what an educated, predominantly white writing staff of the FWP thought would most interest middle-class readers about Mexicans and Mexican-ness.[87] In these depictions, as well as in actual tours organized by ecumenical church organizations for white and largely middle-class audiences, Mexican-ness was presented as an exotic commodity available for white consumption *and* emulation. Several of the Writers' Project tours even included guides for pronouncing the names of "authentic" Mexican foods, so that one could sound like a Mexican. This discursive shift was significant, for it signalled a blurring of the line between public conceptions of whiteness and Mexican-ness, a blurring that was further encouraged by the highlighting of "Spanish" characteristics at Mexican events. Again, this blurring of whiteness and Mexican-ness contrasted sharply with dominant perceptions of Mexican racial identity in the 1920's, in which the line between Mexican-ness and black-ness had been blurred.

The emphasis on Mexican-ness as amusing spectacle and desirable commodity even pervaded the FWP's descriptions of Mexican churches, which were not part of any "tours" project – suggesting the dominance of these frameworks in the FWP's treatment of Mexicans. A description of the festivities organized at the West Side Mexican parish of St. Francis for the feast day of Mexico's patron saint, the Virgin of Guadalupe, paid particular attention to the "entertainment" at the festivities, especially music and dance. The account stated that "Many of the Mexicans come in their native dress [*traje*], and the scene is colorful. Native dishes are served," and even tequila was available. The description went into detail about the enchiladas, tostadas, and tamales that one could buy, and added that tequila was available at the "bar" for twenty cents a shot. Effectively emphasizing the consumability of the Mexican-ness on display at

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[87] The FWP's treatment of Mexicans in Chicago also fit into the overall project's broader twin goals of "romantic nationalism" and "cultural pluralism" – goals which characterized the FWP's "tours" and "ethnic studies" projects alike (but which were also often in tension with one another). See Jerrold Hirsch, *Portrait of America: A Cultural History of the Federal Writers' Project* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2003).

St. Francis, the account mentioned that "this festivity, as well as all of their social festivities, is open to the public." The FWP's description of St. Francis's public events concluded by describing the parish's bazaars, with booths "both for articles – some of them hand-made by the Mexicans – and for food and drink. There is music and dancing again, then, and the gay Mexican dress."[88]

Another Federal Writers' Project piece on St. Francis was written almost like a tour-guide fact sheet, with separate headings relating to different aspect's of one's tour of St. Francis. Under "Admission" was written the enthusiastic comment: "There is no admission charge to the services at any time. You are always welcome to visit this house of worship of a gay and romantic people!" Given the ways that FWP authors described St. Francis as a place where Mexican-ness could be viewed and consumed, it was only natural that this writer would be excited about the fact that there was no "admission" fee. Finally, the "Transportation" section of the document gave directions to St. Francis from the Loop, a telling commentary on the middle- and business-class audience that the piece assumed. Emphasizing the quaintness of the final destination, the end of the "directions by cab" concluded with, "Continue down Halsted Street and you will ride through the heart of 'Little Old Mexico,' in Chicago!"[89]

Significantly, the author of this latter guide-like description of St. Francis was George L. Paz, who also wrote a more extended touristic description of "'Little Old Mexico' in Chicago" for the FWP. His anglicized first name, his mastery of English, and his shared last name with Frank Paz, a West Side Mexican-American Protestant who naturalized as a U.S. citizen before 1940, all suggest that he was among a small minority of Mexican-origin persons in Chicago who early on

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[88] Lillian Gregory, "St. Francis of Assisi Church," nd [ca. 1936-1938], pp.1-3, in Box 181, Folder: "Churches: #28 (Near West Side) Catholic," IFWPP-ISHL.

[89] George L. Paz, "The Church of St. Francis of Assisi," July 1936, pp.3-4, in Box 181, Folder: "Churches: #28 (Near West Side) Catholic," IFWPP-ISHL.

embraced a Mexican-*American* identity.[90] This fact makes his use of touristic, romanticized, and exoticizing imagery all the more interesting. He opened his "Little Old Mexico" piece by writing of the "drama of transplanting the romance of 'Old Mexico' into the industrial life of Chicago," and "the establishment of one of the most gay and colorful colonies in the city of Chicago." By the second page he took the reader to the Mexican neighborhood surrounding Hull House, writing that "[w]hen walking through the streets of this gay and romantic colony, one can feel the gayety and spirit of these people who have entrenched themselves and their culture into the gray sordid atmosphere of an industrial city." His essentializing image of Mexicans as a care-free "colorful" people was no doubt calculated to appeal to Depression-era readers in Chicago. But he then moved to the consumable and even "tempting" aspects of Mexican-ness available on the West Side, discussing the "stores whose delicacies tempt you to buy and taste of the foods of this exotic people." Suggesting the compatibility between Mexico's ancient Indian civilizations and his implicitly white "American" readership, Paz stated that "another dish that will appeal to the palate of most Americans are the famous 'Tacos' typical of the Aztec Indian." He also described "the tortilla" as "a food of which many Americans have heard but few have tasted," adding to its exotic appeal. But foods were not the only items available to consume. Paz also described "Mexican stores where you can buy shawls from Spain, sandals from Mexico and Mayan and Aztec pottery." Turning to the spectacle-like aspects of Mexican national and religious festivals, he freely mixed Mexican and Spanish elements, writing of the ever-present "colorful and gay dances of all Spain and Mexico," and adding that "the jotas, fandangos and tangos [all of which

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[90] I thank Deborah Kanter for sharing her findings with me about Frank Paz's protestantism and Mexican-American perspective. She uncovered this information in her research on Chicago's West Side Mexican parishes in the 1940's and 1950's. Frank Paz was also an organizer of the "Anti-Axis Mexican Committee" at Hull House in 1942, and later testified (as an American citizen) before the Fair Employment Practices Committee, on behalf of Mexican workers in Chicago. See the documentation in Box 1717, Folder: "OWI – Miscellaneous," Entry 155, Record Group 229 (Records of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs), National Archives at College Park, MD (aka "Archives II"); and Alonso S. Perales, *Are We Good Neighbors?* (San Antonio, Texas: Artes Graficas, 1948).

were South American or Spanish, rather than Mexican], are typical of the philosophy of this people, [for] they express their joy of living."[91]

The subtle yet suggestive mixing of Spanish and Mexican elements in Paz's depiction of "Little Old Mexico" was also repeated in FWP pieces that dealt more specifically with Mexican cultural forms, such as food and dance. However, these pieces also repeated the FWP's emphasis on the exotic yet always accessible appeal of Mexican-ness. A piece on "Latin American Cookery" in Chicago, for example, began by stating that "Restless Chicagoans who seek a highly colored life in books of travel and fiction often fail to realize the exotic elements in their own city." The writer set the scene by describing the region around Hull House as particularly "fascinating," stating that "One finds nationalities scattered about like living vignettes." The article then focused on the foods available at Puerto de Vera Cruz, "a pleasant little Mexican restaurant" across from Hull House. A separate FWP write-up on the restaurant included egregious grammatical errors in the names of foods ("tortulas" instead of tortillas, "tacas" instead of tacos, and "enchilados" instead of enchiladas) yet concluded with the confident and touristic statement: "Now you know the lingo and the place to find them."[92] The "Latin American Cookery" piece provided even further guidance for readers who wanted to play at being Mexican, dispensing detailed instructions on the "Mexican" way of drinking tequila. Notably, the piece also betrayed a casual disregard for the possible distinctions between Mexican-ness and Spanish-ness, describing how another restaurant had its start at the World's Fair "in the Mexican or Spanish-American village or whatever they called it at the time." The remainder of the piece further mixed the "Spanish" and "Mexican" features indiscriminately, even though a section on the pronunciation of foods distinguished between "Latin American" and "Castillian" pronunciations –

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[91] George L. Paz, "'Little Old Mexico' in Chicago," pp.1-4, 6-7, in Box 193, Folder: "Mexicans," IFWPP-ISHL.

[92] Elizabeth Drury, "Mexican Restaurant - El Puerto de Vera Cruz, 813 So. Halsted St., Tel. Hay. 7436," in Box 193, Folder: "Mexicans," IFWPP-ISHL. The nature of the errors suggests they may have occurred when transcribing handwritten text to typed text, if the typist was unfamiliar with the words.

as if readers could choose which identity ("Latin" or Spanish) they wanted to adopt during their dining experience.[93]

When moving from the topic of food to folkloric dance, FWP writers further emphasized the touristic and exotic aspects of their subject matter. A piece on "The Spanish and Mexican Dance in Chicago" inevitably dwelt upon the *jarabe tapatío*, which it introduced as "a gay and flirtatious dance." Although the *jarabe tapatío* was indeed, in its pure form, a courtship-like dance between a man and a woman, the article emphasized the sexualized aspects of the dance that had been more broadly raised in the representations of Mexican-ness at the Fair. After writing how the dancers' movements "imitate[d] the courtship of doves," the writers declared that when the "'china' ... stoops to pick [up] the hat, her partner passes his right leg over her, announcing to the world that he has won her." Then, the woman "places the hat upon her head, thus acknowledging her acceptance of the mate."[94] However, this and other FWP pieces also readily mixed "Spanish" and "Mexican" elements in their descriptions of Mexican dance. For example, the FWP's account of Mexican Independence Day celebrations in Back of the Yards highlighted the Spanish *jota aragonesa* dance, a dance that the above FWP piece also connected with the *jarabe tapatío* and with Mexican performers. Mexicans' apparent embrace of Spanish dances on Mexico's Independence Day is particularly striking. Regardless, the FWP's description of the Mexican Independence Day festivities readily adopted this interchangeability of Spanish-ness and Mexican-ness in its tour-like account of the festivities, stating that the "Spanish" *jota* dance "is very colorful; throughout the dance there is brilliant use of the castanets and much

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[93] "Foods of Foreign Groups in Chicago – II: Latin American Cookery" (no author, no date, ca. 1938-39), pp.7-14, in Box 88, Folder: "Foreign Foods in Chicago," IFWPP-ISHL.

[94] Margaret Brennan and George L. Paz, "The Spanish and Mexican Dance in Chicago" (c.1936-1938), pp.2, 6; in Box 193, Folder: "Mexicans," IFWPP-ISHL.

snapping of the fingers," and concluding that the celebration was "of such brilliance and gaiety that it is said by non-Mexican people to be a scene well worth visiting."[95]

As already suggested by the cases of Mexicans attempting to pass as Spanish, and by the Mexican Consul's emphasis on reproducing colonial Spanish elements at the World's Fair, this mixing and blurring of Spanish-ness with Mexican-ness effectively whitened the image of Mexican-ness. In many ways, the blurring of "Spanish" and "Mexican" was a corollary to the de-Indianizing of Mexican-ness at the Fair, for in displacing Mexicans' indigeneity onto the Aztec and Mayan pasts, the identity that remained was Spanish-ness.

However, the mixing and blurring of Mexican and Spanish identities in public displays of Mexican-ness actually pre-dated the Fair, and may have reached its height in the up-scale soirées held in downtown hotels by Chicago's Pan-American Club, which deliberately sought to bring together white Americans and the "leading" members of the Mexican community. For example, the advertisement announcing the formation of the club in 1928 stated, "The Pan American Club informs the Mexican colony of the inauguration of its new social center where Americans and *Spanish-Americans* will participate in various activities. The object of this club is to cultivate good relations between the *Mexican* colony and a large number of Americans who sympathize with the *Mexican* custom and language" [emphases added]. In a telling comment suggesting how the effort to lighten Mexicans' perceived identity was at the heart of this new club, the article added, "The nature and disposition of this group makes it necessary to admit only persons whose integrity and assets are recognized in the social sphere."[96] In 1934 the Pan-American Club continued its blurring of Mexican-ness with Spanish-ness in its advertisement for one of the festivals it held for Mexicans and "Americans" at Chicago's Maryland Hotel. After discussing the dinner and musical performance that were planned, the article noted that "[t]he second floor will

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[95] David Black, "Mexican Independence Day," August 20, 1936, p.2, in Box 193, Folder: "Mexicans," IFWPP-ISHL.

[96] "Important Notice," *México*, October 13, 1928, as translated in the CFLPS, Spanish Section, Reel 62, Sub-Section I.C.

be turned into a reception room where people from the various Spanish-speaking countries and Americans as well, will enjoy *a real Spanish evening*" [emphasis added]. But the core features of this "Spanish" evening were Mexican – one American was scheduled to speak about his last trip to Mexico, representatives of the Mexican consul were slated to appear, and an official from the Mexican National Railways (which, not accidentally, was at that time actively promoting U.S. tourism in Mexico) was scheduled to present "some Mexican films." The article added that "These films are of extreme importance and will no doubt make you feel for a moment as though you were in the land of the 'Aztecs.'" As these statements suggest, the evening's event also utilized many of the strategies of representation employed by Fair organizers and the FWP, even tapping into and cultivating the "enormous vogue" of Mexican-ness by featuring an artistic and literary program that included Mexican artwork which could be purchased at the affair.[97]

As was the case with the blurring of Mexican-ness and Spanish-ness, the FWP's focus on Mexican neighborhoods as exotic tour destinations was also not unique, but built upon the growth of actual Mexican neighborhood "tours" offered by various groups in Chicago during the 1930's. Many of these tours tapped into the broader 1930's "vogue" for Mexican-ness, presenting Mexican neighborhoods as exotic enclaves where Mexican-ness was readily available for consumption by native Chicagoans. For example, the pre-tour description for an unidentified January 1938 tour of Chicago's West Side Mexican community focused on stores offering things like "native music on records," "serapes" of "colorful woven" design, and even more exotic things like "confections made of cactus milk; and candied quince and cane sugar." In its description of one shop's "feather pictures," this tour also reiterated the Fair's fascination with Mexicans' civilized Aztec past, stating that "the idea of feather-pictures dates back to Aztec days," and

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[97] "Festival at the Maryland Hotel," *El Nacional*, February 10, 1934, as translated in the CFLPS, Spanish Section, Reel 62, Sub-Section I.C.

concluding that the pictures for sale were "fine examples of the creativeness and ingenuity of the Mexican worker."[98]

This January 1938 tour may have been an offshoot of earlier Mexican tours started in the late 1920's and early 1930's by a combination of university- and Protestant-affiliated groups in Chicago. A series of tours described in the late 1930's as "Reconciliation Trips" (the meaning and derivation of this intriguing term is unclear) began in 1927 under the leadership of a faculty member at Northwestern University. Additionally, a non-profit organization called "World Friendship Tours" offered similar tours in the early 1930's that involved a number of Protestant ministers active in Mexican "missionary" work, as well as faculty of the Chicago Theological Seminary in Hyde Park (home of the University of Chicago and the tour company's office). It is unclear whether or not the World Friendship Tours and Reconciliation Trips were related, but they shared many similar characteristics.[99] The most important similarity was that they offered tours of various immigrant and black neighborhoods, even as the "Mexican" tours were distinct for their emphasis on the consumability and exotic allure of Mexican-ness. The structure of these tours and trips suggested that they were directed at a middle-class, educated, white audience that lived well outside of the neighborhoods on the tours. As the title page of a tour pamphlet for World Friendship Tours stated, "You Are Invited to See Chicago Through Other Eyes . . . Interesting places – Stimulating discussions – Contact with Leading Personalities of other Races and Nationalities."[100]

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[98] "Tour Topics," Vol.2, No.35, January 4-8, 1938 [typescript], in Clippings File "Ethnic Groups - Mexicans," Chicago Historical Society.

[99] It is possible that the "Reconciliation Trips" grew out of the activities of the Newberry Center, a West Side settlement house affiliated with the Methodist Church in Evanston, and possibly Northwestern's Methodist seminary as well. Both the Reconciliation Trips and World Friendship Tours offered "tours" and "trips" to various "foreign colonies" in Chicago, and both typically ran tours on the weekend beginning around 2:30 in the afternoon and culminating with a dinner and evening program.

[100] "World Friendship Tours of Chicago" (pamphlet, nd, likely 1931-1932), in Box 9, Folder 10: "Robert Cuba Jones," Paul S. Taylor Papers (Series 1: Correspondence), Bancroft Library, University of California – Berkeley.

FWP writer Laura Large noted in the late 1930's that the Reconciliation Trips offered "Forty Different Trips featuring, for the most part, a study of the Foreign Colonies of the City." Her description of a sample "Mexico in Chicago Trip" repeated the form of the Mexican tours described above by emphasizing the authentic and always "colorful" Mexican crafts and foods that were available for non-Mexicans – and, implicitly, middle-class non-Mexicans who lived outside of the working-class West Side – to consume.[101] A March 1932 article in the Mexican newspaper *El Nacional* provided further details about a tour group that may have been part of the Northwestern-based "Reconciliation Trips." The article, entitled "Student Group Visits Mexican Colony," reported how a "group of students from Northwestern University, interested in the study of the customs and culture of the Mexicans, has planned an observation tour of the commercial and social centers of our colony in Chicago." The article also noted that "in years past this same group has visited us, having been much impressed by our educational, social and artistic progress." The students' tour featured "a cultural program which has excellent features," including a discussion of Mexicans in Chicago by Robert Jones and A. Wilson, and a "moving picture of the archaeology and architecture of Mexico, explained in detail by Mr. Joseph O. Velasco" – a feature that likely foreshadowed the World's Fair's emphasis on Mexico's civilized and distant Aztec past as well as its more recent colonial Spanish heritage.[102]

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[101] This sample Mexican "Reconciliation Trip" included a "view of Mexican pottery in the making" (likely at Hull House – see Ganz and Strobel, *Pots of Promise*), "the caning of chairs, and braiding of sombreros; also, colorful rugs and tapestry on looms." The tour then proceeded to a "visit to the establishments of Mexican dealers in spices, Mexican tea, earthenware, and corn grinders [*metates*]."] Laura Large, "Chicago Reconciliation Trips - Frederick H. Jaenicken," Illinois Writers' Project, nd [ca. 1936-1939], in Box A529, Folder: "WPA Federal Writers Project / American Guide - Major Cities Guide File / Chicago Tours - District Tours" (2 of 3), Records of the U.S. Works Projects Administration, Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, Washington, DC. Relevant documentation on the "World Friendship Tours" is cited below in the more detailed discussion of that organization's Mexican tours.

[102] "Student Group Visits Mexican Colony," *El Nacional*, March 12, 1932, as translated in the CFLPS, Spanish Section I.C. The tour was planned with the help of Reverend William O'Neill, a Methodist minister active in that denomination's "missionary" work with Mexicans in South Chicago, further suggesting the role of Protestant groups in these tours.

Robert Jones (a Cuban-born Quaker and graduate student at the University of Chicago who studied Mexicans) also appeared on the World Friendship Tours' program for "The Mexican in Chicago," likely in 1931 or 1932. The Mexican tour was printed alongside the program for "The Negro in Chicago," and the distinctions between the two are quite revealing. What was at stake in the Mexican tour was *who* Mexicans were, as well as the exotic features Mexican-ness offered for the audience's enjoyment. For "Negro Chicago," on the other hand, the attention was all on the accomplishments (and struggles) of an already-defined "Negro" race – i.e., how "Negroes" could be just as good / successful / civilized as whites. The Mexican tour program included many of the features that characterized representations of Mexican-ness at the Fair and on the tours above, beginning with an examination of Aztec and Mayan artifacts at the Field Museum of Natural History, as these would "form a basis for cultural origins. Spanish and Indian beginnings." The tour then proceeded through stops featuring "Mexican art and crafts"; "Interesting window displays, strange faces, a panorama of city life"; and, not to be missed, "A stop at Esteiro's, the trading center for things Mexican." The evening progressed with a "Mexican Dinner" featuring "real Mexican food," though the list of Mexican dishes in Spanish included a few typographical errors – "Enchi*ll*adas" instead of enchiladas, and more humorously, "Pacos" instead of tacos (suggesting a band of men named Francisco). In spite of the errors, the Mexican dinner clearly invited white tour-takers to consume and in some sense "be" Mexican, if only for a few hours. By contrast, the dinner agenda on the "Negro in Chicago" tour suggested no such dalliances with identity, stressing instead how one could have a truly fine dinner, *even* in black Chicago – "Dinner in the Poro College Dining Rooms. Good food, excellent service, attractive surroundings." The Mexican tour concluded with an evening program of "Folk-Ways - A Miniature Fiesta" that featured many of the representational elements that were key to lightening Mexicans' racial image at the World's Fair. Sponsored by the Club Nezahualcóyotl, whose name was borrowed from an Aztec ruler at the time of the Spanish conquest (and therefore hearkened to Mexico's glorious but distant indigenous past), the program immediately turned to

the *jarabe tapatío*, the markedly non-indigenous Mexican hat dance featured at the Fair, followed by other songs and music.[103]

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Throughout all of these efforts of racial representation and image-making – by Mexicans and non-Mexicans alike – the former associations of Mexican-ness with Indian-ness, blackness, and general racial darkness were broken, while the lines between Mexican-ness and whiteness were increasingly blurred. This process drew on Mexicans' own long history of negotiating racial identities in Mexico, as well as the related efforts of social service professionals, religious workers, Fair organizers, and others in Chicago. Whereas images of dark-skinned Mexicans were seen as authentic representations of Mexican-ness even as late as 1928, less than 10 years later images like this one (Illustration 5.13) were circulating in Chicago's press:

Illustration 5.13: Ethnic Adult Students at Chicago's Dante School, 1938[104]

The "Mexican" representative in the photo (front row, third from right) was, as one would expect, female, and she exhibited none of the features that were popularly understood at the time as

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[103] "World Friendship Tours of Chicago" (pamphlet, nd, likely 1931-1932), in Box 9, Folder 10: "Robert Cuba Jones," Paul S. Taylor Papers (Series 1: Correspondence), Bancroft Library, University of California – Berkeley.

[104] The Dante School offered adult English classes to immigrants. *Chicago Tribune*, May 27, 1938, back (photo) page (related article on p.9). I originally discovered this photo in the collections of the IFWPP-ISHL.

signifying Indian-ness or blackness. In fact, it is significant and striking that she appeared physically lighter than the "Polish" woman in the same figure (front row, second from left) – especially when Polish-ness was held up by Severna Gonzalez and other Mexicans in the 1920's as a standard of whiteness. Moreover, the comparison to Anita Jones' photos of Mexican women during the 1920's – or the *Tribune*'s photos of Bernardo Roa (Illustrations 5.1 & 5.2) – could not have been starker.

But the nature of the representational efforts that accomplished this lightening also produced exoticized images and essentialized ideas about Mexican-ness that would continue to persist well beyond the 1930's. The lingering persistence of these ideas was still evident more than a decade later in the 1950 description of Chicago's Mexicans that appeared in the sensationalistic exposé, *Chicago Confidential*, a book in a series of urban exposées by the journalist team of Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer. Under a section of the book entitled "Jumping Beans," Lait and Mortimer portrayed Mexican men as amusing, passive, and non-threatening, associating them with marijuana and laziness: "When they get a few dollars they spend them on tequila, their national drink, or on marijuana, their national smoke, or on whoring, their national pastime." Not surprisingly, the account then highlighted an image of alluring and available Mexican women, attributing their dark beauty to their Indian heritage, even as they were also morally suspect: "Young Mexican girls, because of their Indian blood, bloom extremely beautiful, but as they approach maturity they begin to fade and get sloppy. Many are professional prostitutes. The non-professionals don't play hard to get either."[105] This continuing reference to Mexican women as sexually alluring, and to Mexican-ness itself as exotic and amusing, was telling evidence that Mexicans' lightened racial image had not been achieved at no cost.

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[105] Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer, *Chicago Confidential* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1950) 88–89.

CHAPTER 6

NEIGHBORHOOD, PARISH, UNION: WORKING-CLASS SITES OF MEXICAN RACIAL TRANSFORMATION DURING THE 1930's

At the same time that Mexicans' racial image was being lightened in representations at the World's Fair and in social interactions "on the ground," another type of transformation in white perceptions of Mexican-ness was taking place in the Catholic parishes and CIO unions of the Chicago-Calumet region. By the 1930's, Mexicans experienced increasing levels of incorporation, integration, and partnership with whites in Chicago-area parishes and unions. In the industrial, predominantly working-class, and largely Catholic neighborhoods where Mexicans lived, parish, job and union were all closely intertwined with white residents' perception of neighborhood and place.[1] Thus, Mexicans' incorporation and integration in parishes and unions facilitated a greater acceptance of Mexicans in the working-class neighborhoods of the Chicago-Calumet region, and thereby helped reduce the patterns of anti-Mexican housing exclusion that had characterized the 1920's. On the one hand, whites' sense of the organic links between urban space, industrial employment, and sacred space had helped fuel the housing exclusion directed against Mexicans during the 1920's. But by the 1930's, these same links between parish, job, union, and neighborhood – when coupled with the publicly visible, and at times highly performative, incorporative practices at the parish and union level – promoted a lightening of Mexicans' perceived racial identity and reduced the perception that Mexicans were an inherently different and threatening racial "other."

However, these changes in the way Mexicans were perceived would not have been possible without the drastic reduction in Mexican population during the 1930's, as well as the

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[1] As examples of works illustrating this phenomenon in Chicago, see James R. Barrett, *Work and Community in the Jungle: Chicago's Packinghouse Workers, 1894–1922* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1987); Robert A. Slayton, *Back of the Yards: The Making of a Local Democracy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1986); and Dominic Pacyga, "The Russell Square Community Committee: An Ethnic Response to Urban Problems," *Journal of Urban History* 15.2 (Feb 1989): 159–84.

drastic reduction in excess Mexican males during this same period – both of which eased the threat that Mexicans posed to "white" jobs and neighborhoods. Because of this, and because white residents' understandings of parishes and unions were linked so closely to their sense of neighborhood and place, this chapter first undertakes a detailed analysis of what the 1930's decrease in Mexican population "looked like" from the neighborhood level. This decline in Mexican population and in the number of unattached Mexican men was perhaps more dramatic than in any other region of Mexican settlement in the United States (with the possible exception of other Midwestern cities), creating a visibly palpable change in the working-class neighborhoods of the region. The neighborhood-level story of Mexicans' population decline is followed by an analysis of Mexicans' incorporation and integration with white Catholics in Chicago's parishes. Finally, the story of Mexicans' participation in the union-organizing movements of the 1930's provides the final feature of this chapter's analysis, concluding with a brief look at the way Mexicans' wartime military service furthered the positive views of Mexicans' patriotism that were forged during the union drives. Taken together, these three main features help illuminate the forces that, along with the active lightening of Mexicans' racial image, led to a fundamental change in Mexicans' racial position in the Chicago-Calumet region during the 1930's.

Changing Neighborhoods: The 1930's Mexican Population Decline

The general scale of Mexican population decline during the Depression was dramatic, representing a 37% drop between 1930 and 1934 in Chicago, and an estimated 45% drop between the late 1920's and 1934 across the region (see Chapter 3). But in order to truly understand *why* this population decline made a difference, not only to the lightening of Mexicans' racial image but also to the integration of Mexicans into Catholic parishes and workers' unions, it is necessary to examine closely what this decline looked like from the ground up, from the perspective of the individual neighborhoods and blocks where Mexicans had settled in the 1920's. From the perspective of these neighborhoods, three patterns would have been readily apparent to white (and black) residents: 1) the overall number of Mexicans in their neighborhood decreased

dramatically; 2) the number of excess adult Mexican males in non-family groups decreased dramatically – which changed the perception of Mexicans as undercutting the "family wage" and reduced the perceived sexual and housing threat that Mexicans posed; and 3) Mexicans departed from the expanding margins of their residential districts and resettled in core blocks, effecting a consolidation of their residential distribution (even as the rapidly declining Mexican population overall ensured that even these "core" Mexican areas would not become *completely* Mexican, as was the case with African-American residential expansion during this period).

Obtaining a good picture of Mexican population changes at the neighborhood level during the 1930's requires a creative and resourceful approach to the limited and difficult-to-use sources on Mexican population that exist for this period. The difficulty in tracking Mexicans in these sources – during the 1930's they often were enumerated as "others" – is itself a fitting testimony to Mexicans' indeterminate racial status, as well as the artificial imposition of binary racial categories on the population statistics emanating from this period. Aggregate 1930's population statistics for Chicago tended to reduce all people into the binary categories of "white" or "non-white." As emphasized in Chapter 3, historians and sociologists who study the greater Chicago region are only gradually breaking out of this binary framework for thinking about housing segregation and race, even after many decades. Yet it is easy to understand why they would tend to think of things this way, when the statistical sources for the period (which even at their best only reveal a portion of the complexity of race in the urban experience) were decidedly skewed toward a binary enumeration and presentation of statistics, both in terms of choosing census tract boundaries to correspond with pre-existing black-white neighborhood boundaries and in terms of producing "white" versus "non-white" statistics that have too often been viewed as an enumeration of "white" versus "black" data (see further discussion in Appendix F).[2] It is only when one looks more closely, in less readily-available sources, that one discovers the breakdown

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[2] Appendix F provides a detailed review of the binary bias of sources on Mexican neighborhood population during the 1930's, and how this bias has skewed the conclusions of sociologists and historians ever since.

of "non-white" statistics into categories like "Negro" and "Other." And then, it is only when one compares these sources with other sources and anecdotal information that it becomes clear that in some neighborhoods, the "others" were all Mexicans.

The steel mill neighborhoods of South Chicago and South Deering on Chicago's far southeast side were both neighborhoods in which this was the case. Both were enumerated in the official surveys of the period, and both were also examined in a series of studies by University of Chicago students in the late 1920's and 1930's. Of the two, South Chicago has the most complete set of 1930's population records at the census tract level, providing a useful starting point for assessing what the 1930's Mexican population decline looked like from the neighborhood level. In addition to the 1930 and 1934 Chicago censuses, a University of Chicago Master's Thesis in Sociology by Edward Jackson Baur enumerated the total number of Mexicans living in South Chicago in 1936. The draft version of Baur's thesis (which I obtained from Baur's family) also contained a map plotting the number of Mexicans in each block (see Appendix G, 1936 data). Finally, the 1939 WPA-sponsored Chicago Land Use Survey also provides a means of measuring Mexican population at the block- and tract-level. In the published report of the Land Use Survey, Mexicans were simply enumerated along with blacks as "non-whites." However, a rare set of original mimeographed tables from the survey found in Northwestern University Library's government documents collections breaks down the published "non-white" data into "Negroes" versus "Others," which the published report does not do. Only with additional evidence, of course, can one deduce that the "others" were in fact Mexicans. In South Chicago and South Deering, however, there is a clear basis for making this determination, based on the 1934 Chicago census five years earlier, as well as a general knowledge of where Mexicans were living on Chicago's southeast side.[3]

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[3] In South Chicago's five census tracts, only tract 670 had any non-Mexican racial "others" in 1934 – 3 Chinese persons and 1 person of unspecified "other" race, in comparison to 717 Mexicans in the tract. Charles S. Newcomb and Richard O. Lang, eds, *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1934* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c.1934) Supplement Table 4, p.668.

The tract-level population figures for South Chicago derived from these sources are presented in Table 6.1 below. Not all of the data is directly comparable, as some of the data is for Mexican persons and some is for Mexican-occupied dwelling units (d.u.'s). However, the "percentage Mexican" of each of these categories is given in parentheses (when available), and provides a very rough means of comparison.

Table 6.1: Mexican Population of South Chicago by Census Tract, 1930-1939[4]
Percentage figures (%) give the proportion of the tract (or tracts) that was Mexican, either in terms of overall numbers or in terms of occupied dwelling units ("d.u.'s")

Year	**Tract 666** ("the Bush")	**Tract 667**	**Tract 669**	**Tract 670**	**Tract 671**	**S. Chicago** (all 5 tracts)
1930	682 (9.1%)	1017 (16.6%)	322 (8.5%)	1441 (42.0%)	779 (20.4%)	4,241 (17.2%) 714 families
1934	403 (6.0%)	629 (11.3%)	164 (4.9%)	717 (27.8%)	336 (11.6%)	2,249 (10.7%)
1936	~ 424 (+/- 46)	~ 523 (+/- 34)	~ 195 (+/- 22)	~ 769 (+/- 56)	~ 523 (+/- 44)	2,550[5] 796 families *763 to 796 d.u.'s*[6]
1939	74 d.u.'s (4.7%)[7]	116 d.u.'s (8.3%)	54 d.u.'s (6.1%)	192 d.u.'s (30.3%)	117 d.u.'s (15.1%)	553 d.u.'s (10.5%)

A number of important patterns are apparent from these figures. First and foremost, the overall drop in Mexican population (and the Mexican proportion of the total population) in South Chicago was severe, as it was throughout the Chicago-Calumet region. Moreover, it was rapid. The first period of Mexican depopulation between 1930 and 1934 saw a reduction of nearly half

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[4] Full source citations and discussion of this table appear in Appendix G.

[5] This is an exact figure, whereas the tract figures for 1936 are approximations (therefore the sum of the tract figures does not equal the total figure). See Appendix G's discussion of the tract data for 1936.

[6] I calculated "occupied dwelling unit" figures for South Chicago as a whole in 1936 in order to make the 1936 data comparable to the 1939 data. Appendix G explains why this figure is a range rather than an exact number.

[7] The percentage figures in this row give the percent of *occupied* dwelling units (rather than *total* dwelling units) that housed a non-white "other" "household" – which in South Chicago meant a Mexican household (see discussion above and in Appendix G on the justifications for this assumption). Note that the 1939 Land Use Survey used "household" and "occupied dwelling unit" interchangeably, as the number of households was always identical to the number of occupied dwelling units in a given block or tract.

of South Chicago's overall Mexican population. Some of South Chicago's most heavily populated Mexican tracts saw a four-year reduction of *more* than 50% – as for example in tract 670, in which the number of Mexicans fell from 1441 to 717; and in tract 671, where the Mexican population dropped from 779 to 336.[8] It is important to note the timing of this rapid decrease, which coincided almost exactly with the lightening of Mexican racial identity at the World's Fair in 1933 and 1934, as well as the first "Tours" of Mexican neighborhoods in Chicago.

Between 1934 and 1936 there was a slight recovery in South Chicago's Mexican population, although this recovery was uneven on a tract-by-tract basis, with tract 667 (which included nicer homes on the fringes of Mexican settlement) continuing to lose population, and tract 671 (in a somewhat less desirable area near the steel mills) recovering more than the others. This reflected a broader pattern of consolidation in Mexican residential locations in South Chicago and South Deering during the 1930's, a development that would have alleviated white fears about Mexicans spreading out and causing new neighborhoods to "turn Mexican."

Finally, Mexican population appears to have decreased even further between 1936 and 1939, though the evidence of this late-1930's decrease is not quite as clear in South Chicago as it is in South Deering. These years included the "Roosevelt Recession" of 1937 and 1938, which hit the steel industry especially hard. Indeed, by 1939 there were only 553 Mexican-occupied dwelling units in the five tracts that made up South Chicago, compared to the 763 (or more) Mexican-occupied dwelling units that Baur enumerated in 1936 – a reduction of an additional 28% over these three years. But when one looks at the *percentage* of dwelling units in South Chicago that were Mexican-occupied in 1939, it is almost the same as the percentage of Mexicans living in South Chicago in 1934 (10.5% of dwelling units in 1939, versus 10.7% of the population in 1934). However, there are a number of factors which suggest that these "percent Mexican"

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[8] In these highly Mexican-populated census tracts, the percentage of the tract that was Mexican in 1934 sometimes fails to capture the full scale of Mexican population decline. Because the loss of Mexicans in the tract so greatly reduced the overall tract population, the number of Mexicans remaining comprised a misleadingly high proportion of the tract population.

figures simply fail to capture the late 1930's population decline in South Chicago, primarily due to the dissimilar units of measurement used. For example, if Mexicans in the late 1930's had fewer persons living in each dwelling unit than non-Mexicans did (which, contrary to popular stereotypes, appears to have been the case[9]), this would obscure the late 1930's population decrease in the "percent Mexican" figures. Additionally, the tract-level figures for 1939 show that tracts on the periphery of Mexicans' residential area did see a continuing decrease in the "percent Mexican" figures between 1934 and 1939, whereas the less desirable core Mexican areas (tracts 670 and 671) saw a slight increase, providing further evidence of a consolidation of Mexican residential areas in the 1930's.

Moreover, a look at South Deering, southeast Chicago's other major Mexican neighborhood, more clearly reveals the late 1930's population decrease. Although there are no 1936 sources for South Deering, and the 1934 sources on population are not technically comparable with the 1939 sources on dwelling units, South Deering shows a significant, continuing decrease in its "percent Mexican" figures between 1934 and 1939. Moreover, South Deering also experienced the first severe decrease in Mexican population between 1930 and 1934 – to an even greater degree than South Chicago did. South Deering lost *more* than half of its Mexican population in the first four years of the 1930's, a decrease so large that it almost single-handedly caused a 14% decrease in South Deering's *overall* population. Then, after this severe population loss, the percentage of Mexican-occupied dwelling units in 1939 continued to fall below 1934's already diminished percentage of Mexicans in South Deering. Put simply, in South

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[9] According to Baur's 1936 survey of South Chicago, there were (at most) only 3.3 Mexicans for each Mexican-occupied dwelling unit in South Chicago (2,550 persons divided by 763 [or more] dwelling units – see Table 6.1). By contrast, there were four to four-and-a-half persons per dwelling unit in each of South Chicago's five census tracts in 1939, for an average of 4.2 persons per dwelling unit in South Chicago as a whole. (Section L of the manuscript "Census Tract Recapitulation" sheets for the 1939 land use survey included the total population of each tract, while the number of occupied dwelling units for each tract was included at the top of Section K. See Appendix G for full citations to the tract recapitulation sheets.)

Deering Mexicans went from making up nearly one in four persons in 1930 to occupying less than one in twenty residential units in 1939 (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Mexican Population of South Deering (Irondale), 1930-1939
Number and Percentage of Mexicans or Mexican-Occupied Dwelling Units[10]

	Mexican Population or Mexican-Occupied Dwelling Units (d.u.'s)	Total Population or Total Occupied Dwelling Units (d.u.'s)	Percent Mexican
1930	834	3452	24.2%
1934	397	2958	13.4%
1939	51 d.u.'s	1075 d.u.'s	4.7%

Other parts of the Chicago-Calumet region, especially Gary and East Chicago, lack such abundant statistical sources documenting the pattern of Mexican depopulation during the 1930's. Nonetheless, one anecdotal source from Gary provides a similarly dramatic illustration of Mexican de-population, including the initial period of rapid population decrease before 1934, and the second period of decrease in the late 1930's. The surviving minutes of the Mexican Church of Our Savior Presbyterian Church in Gary document the debilitating rapid departure of Mexicans from that steel mill town when the Depression hit the steel industry. The church's membership and leadership was decimated by Mexican departures in the early 1930's. It then went through a rebuilding phase from 1934 through 1937, followed by another heavy period of membership loss. These general periods correspond with the early and later phases of Mexican population loss described for South Chicago and South Deering above, and also correspond almost directly to the fluctuating fortunes of the steel industry during the 1930's.

On August 31, 1931, the church's pastor reported a loss of Mexican membership that far exceeded the proportional loss of Mexican population in South Chicago and South Deering. His entry read: "The church has lost 54 members to date owing to their departure to Mexico and

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[10] Sources for this table are the same as the 1930, 1934, and 1939 sources used for Table 6.1 and described in Appendix G, except that South Deering was located within Census Tract 701 and Community Area 51.

other places. . . Two [elders] remain among 20 members and about 20 children." In other words, by August 1931 this church had lost 54 of its 74 members to out migration (the pastor himself departed for a new call in El Paso after making this entry). Over late fall and winter of 1931-1932, the church's membership stabilized somewhat, with 19 members remaining in February 1932 when a new pastor took charge and noted that "many have gone to Mexico." By the summer of 1932, however, ***all*** of the church's original four elders (and one deacon) were reported to have "gone to Mexico," and when another new pastor took charge of the congregation on October 15, 1933, he reported only "three communicant members and some visiting members" remained. Through 1933 and 1934, the church retained only a handful of members, and regular services were discontinued. The church's chronological roll of communicant members recorded that ***all*** of the church's original 74 members had departed Gary by the end of the 1930's (most by late 1932), and the vast majority of them (sixty) had returned to "Mexico."[11]

The decimation of the church's membership between 1929 and 1933-1934 – from 74 to only 3 to 6 members – corresponds almost exactly with the initial Mexican population loss between 1930 and 1934 in South Chicago and South Deering. Following this period, the church's membership stabilized until the recession of 1937-1938. By April 3, 1936, roughly a year after the partial economic recovery of the steel industry, the church's annual report stated there were 23 active church members and 28 total members. By April 1937, the church boasted 35 members and 64 members in its Sunday School. But with the coming of the 1937-1938 industrial recession, the church's membership dropped again, just as the Mexican population in South Chicago and South Deering did. In May 1937, the transfer of 3 members and 2 children to churches in Mexico and La Verne, California marked the beginning of a second wholesale departure from Gary. Among the set of members who had joined the church during its rebuilding period (mostly during and after 1934, with a few from late 1932), many had again left Gary by the

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[11] The exceptions were 4 who left for Chicago; 1 who left for Indiana Harbor (East Chicago); 6 who went to Kansas; and 1 who went to El Paso (2 had departed to points unknown).

end of the 1930's. More so than in previous years, this second group of departing members exhibited a somewhat more U.S.-based form of mobility, but a mobility nonetheless.[12] The new appearance of Anglo first names among the Mexican Church of Our Savior's members in the late 1930's, as well as the recording of the church's minutes in English after 1937, may also suggest a decreasing orientation toward Mexico by the late 1930's. But in any event, by the end of 1938 when the "Roosevelt Recession" had taken its full toll on the steel industry, the church's council was resolving to "revive the church," revise its decimated roll of members, and conduct an "every member canvas."[13]

What caused the overall decrease in Mexican population at the neighborhood level during the 1930's, and more specifically, during the drastic periods of population loss in the first four years of the 1930's and then again at the end of the decade? The simple answer is that the rate of Mexican population decrease was directly proportional to the overall health of the industrial economy. In South Chicago and South Deering, this meant the health of the steel industry. This correlation was not inevitable, but was instead a function of Mexicans' precarious status as laborers in the steel industry; their continued orientation toward Mexico; and their continued mobility that had helped bring them to the Chicago-Calumet region in the first place.

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[12] While departures to Mexico certainly continued, they left Gary for destinations like Laredo, Texas; Toledo, Ohio; and Los Angeles and La Verne, California. Similarly, many of those who joined the church in 1934 and thereafter had transferred their church membership from Presbyterian churches in other parts of the U.S. – places such as Emporia, Kansas; Colorado Springs; and Taylor, Texas. Taylor had been a Texas stopping point and base of migration for Mexicans who had come to the Chicago-Calumet region in the 1920's as well – see the account of José Anguiano's migration path in Chapter 2.

[13] Preceding paragraphs based on: "Minutes of the Session of [the] Mexican Church of Our Savior Presbyterian Church - Gary, Indiana," including the "Minutes of Session" (in Spanish through 1937, thereafter in English); the Rolls of Elders and Deacons; and the Chronological Roll of Communicant Members. Collection PAC 34, Presbyterian Church Collection, Archives of Hanover College (Indiana) - Duggan Library.

While iron and steel production nationwide declined by nearly 60% between 1929 and 1933,[14] Mexican employment at Illinois Steel dropped at such a greater rate that one wonders how even half of South Chicago's Mexicans managed to stay in the neighborhood during the early 1930's. Mexican employment dropped from its peak of nearly 1,900 to less than 300 in a mere two years, between 1930 and 1932 (see Figure H.1 in Appendix H). Such drastic decreases (more than *six*-fold in this instance) make it readily apparent why one researcher wrote that "Mexicans have been laid off at a more rapid rate than all other groups."[15] The decreasing *proportion* of Mexicans in Illinois Steel's work force was dramatic as well, affirming the higher than average rate at which they were laid off. While Mexicans made up 15.3% of Illinois Steel's work force in 1929 (and 13.5% in 1930), they made up only 4.4% by 1932.[16] The total number and proportion of employed Mexicans dropped at similarly severe levels at other steel mills and steel-related railroad jobs in the Chicago-Calumet region (see Appendix H).

Finally, there was likely yet another drop in Mexican employment during the 1937-1938 recession. Mexican employment statistics for Chicago-Calumet steel mills in the late 1930's have not survived,[17] but based on the level of Mexican unemployment resulting from the 60% reduction in steel production in the early 1930's, one can only imagine the effects of the 1937-1938 recession on Mexican employment. Between September 1937 and March 1938, steel production nationwide fell again by the amazing rate of two-thirds.[18] It is not surprising, then, that the statistics on Mexican population in southeast Chicago suggest a second phase of

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[14] Otis L. Graham, Jr. and Meghan Robinson Wander, eds, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: His Life and Times: An Encyclopedic View* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1985) 166.

[15] Edward Jackson Baur, "Delinquency Among Mexican Boys in South Chicago," Master's Thesis, Sociology (University of Chicago, 1938) 38. It seems that Baur meant Mexicans were laid off at a rate even greater than blacks, though further research would be needed to verify this point.

[16] Baur, "Delinquency Among Mexican Boys in South Chicago," Appendix Table 32, p.291.

[17] At least not to my knowledge.

[18] Graham and Robinson Wander, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: His Life and Times: An Encyclopedic View*, 347.

pronounced Mexican population decline in the late 1930's. Again, it was not only the reduction in overall steel production and employment that caused this pattern, but also the fact that Mexicans were laid off at higher than average rates and the fact that many Mexicans maintained an enduring orientation toward Mexico, seeking to improve their lives and their families' well-being there.

In assessing Mexicans' departure from the Chicago-Calumet region during the 1930's, and in particular, the role of Mexicans' continued orientation toward Mexico in shaping this process, it is important to note that the forced repatriation of Mexicans was never a major part of Mexican return migration in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary. Although a detailed analysis of voluntary versus forced repatriation is not attempted here, other scholars of Mexican Chicago have noted this pattern. In Gary and East Chicago, some forced repatriation did take place, but even there it did not account for the bulk of return migration during the 1930's, which was generally desired by many Mexicans.[19] The basic experience of enduring the Depression's hardships (an experience shared with many Americans) appears to have been more of the signature Depression-era experience for most Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region. Likewise, the Depression's general

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[19] On the lack of official support for Mexican repatriation in Chicago (attributed to the presence of well established immigrant service organizations there), see David Stafford Weber, "Anglo Views of Mexican Immigrants: Popular Perceptions and Neighborhood Realities in Chicago, 1900–1940," PhD Dissertation (Ohio State University, 1982) Chapter 6. In East Chicago and Gary, local public-private partnerships in late 1931 and 1932 funded the repatriation of Mexicans to Mexico. Slightly over a thousand Mexicans were repatriated from East Chicago under these locally-funded programs; a similar number appear to have been repatriated from Gary under its locally-funded effort. While many Mexican participants in these locally-run programs desired repatriation, coercion was clearly involved in other cases, particularly by refusing charitable aid to those who refused to repatriate. The relative proportion of coerced versus voluntary repatriation in the programs is difficult to judge, but as a general measuring stick, East Chicago's entire program accounted for roughly one-third of all Mexicans who repatriated through the end of 1932. The number of "forced" repatriations through 1932 would have been a portion of this one-third; the proportion of forced repatriations over the entire decade would have been smaller than that. On East Chicago and Gary's programs, see Daniel T. Simon, "Mexican Repatriation in East Chicago, Indiana," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* II (Summer 1974): 11–23; Raymond A. Mohl and Neil Betten, *Steel City: Urban and Ethnic Patterns in Gary, Indiana, 1906–1950* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986) Chapter 4, "Discrimination and Repatriation..."; Francisco Arturo Rosales and Daniel T. Simon, "Mexican Immigrant Experience in the Urban Midwest: East Chicago, Indiana, 1919–1945," *Indiana Magazine of History* 7 (Dec 1981): 342–46; and Ciro Haroldo Sepúlveda, "La Colonia del Harbor: A History of Mexicanos in East Chicago, Indiana, 1919–1932," PhD Dissertation (Notre Dame University, 1976) Chapter 12, "La Crisis." The forced repatriation efforts of Northwest Indiana are also recorded in the records of Chicago's Mexican consulate, available in Mexico's Secretary of Foreign Relations archives in Mexico City (Archivo Histórico "Genaro Estrada," Tlatelolco, D.F.).

hardships posed a greater threat to Mexicans than any organized repatriation efforts.[20] In fact, this experience of struggling to live through the Depression may have formed one of the bases for Mexicans' increasing bonds with their white neighbors by the end of the 1930's.

Regardless, the fact that Mexicans were laid off first, and that they continued their pattern of high mobility by leaving South Chicago, all helped alleviate the threat that Mexicans had previously been perceived to pose in housing and employment alike. In particular, Mexicans' willingness to leave South Chicago (and the Chicago-Calumet region) during the Depression contrasted sharply with the urban North's recently migrated African-American population, which for the most part did not return to the Jim Crow South when conditions worsened, and attracted the ire of whites who continued to see blacks as a threat to housing, jobs, and public relief funds.[21] In fact, the black section of South Chicago between 89th and 91st Streets and east of Brandon Avenue (part of tract 670) showed a pronounced *growth* between 1930 and 1934, from 517 to 652 residents. Between 1934 and 1939, tract 670's black population remained steady and possibly even grew again, making up 25.3% of the tract's population in 1934, and 25.6% of the tract's households in 1939.[22]

While looking at Mexicans' declining employment and corresponding depopulation at the census tract level strikingly captures the massive scale and rapidity of Mexicans' departure from the greater Chicago region during the 1930's, a closer look at Mexican depopulation at the block-level provides a better sense of what it looked like from the perspective of the white residents of South Chicago and South Deering. Viewed at the block level, it is clear that Mexican

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[20] The economic struggles and hardships of Mexicans during the Depression are similarly amply documented in the reports of Chicago's Mexican consulate during this period, available in the Secretary of Foreign Relations archives in Mexico City (Archivo Histórico "Genaro Estrada," Tlatelolco, D.F.).

[21] See the retrospective analysis of Depression-era black Chicago in Horace Cayton and St. Clair Drake, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945).

[22] These statistics for black population in Tract 670 are taken from the same tract-level population statistics cited for 1930, 1934, and 1939 that are described in Appendix G and utilized above.

depopulation was not always even. Some blocks lost all of their Mexican residents, while other blocks retained a more stable Mexican population. The most important aspect of this uneven-ness was that Mexicans tended to depart most of the "new" areas that they had expanded into during the 1920's, while the remaining Mexican population consolidated in core areas that had long had a Mexican presence and were often closest to the steel mills, representing some of the least desirable property in the neighborhood. In other words, rather than whites having to fear that blocks near Mexican residential areas might "turn" Mexican, many of the blocks where Mexicans had previously established a presence completely lost *all* of their Mexican residents by the end of the 1930's. Significantly, it appears that whites moved *back into* these areas after the Mexicans had left. And even in the core blocks where Mexicans remained, their declining population generally ensured that they would not crowd out other groups (primarily whites) in the blocks – and these blocks were typically the least desirable blocks in the neighborhood anyway. Thus, the departure of Mexicans from the neighborhoods of South Chicago and South Deering during the 1930's alleviated most if not all of the threat that Mexicans had been perceived to pose to white neighborhoods and property values during the 1920's.

Because a portion of it was included in a 1925 housing survey (as well as the 1936 and 1939 surveys discussed above), the area of South Chicago that best lends itself to a block-level analysis of Mexican population changes is an area that was known as "the Bush" (part of Census Tract 666 in the statistics above). The Bush lay just to the north of the rest of South Chicago, being located east of Brandon Avenue between 83rd and 86th Streets, and bounded on the south and east by railroad tracks and the Illinois Steel mills (see South Chicago map in Appendix M-2, plus map below). The Bush's geographic isolation from the rest of South Chicago gave its predominantly Polish residents a very independent sense of neighborhood. Indeed, the neighborhood as a whole was on the expanding northern edge of South Chicago's Mexican settlement in the 1920's, and white residents attacked Mexicans entering and traveling through the neighborhood – particularly in its northern blocks (see Chapter 3). Social service

organizations quickly learned that in order to be accepted in the neighborhood, they had to demonstrate that they did not intend to disrupt the neighborhood's exclusion of blacks nor its ties to the Polish parish of St. Michael's, located at the northwest corner of 83rd and Brandon.[23]

Map 6.1 below graphically depicts the uneven-ness of Mexicans' declining numbers in the Bush during the 1930's. The most pronounced and dramatic departure of Mexicans occurred in the northern and western blocks of the Bush, while the less desirable southern and eastern blocks of the neighborhood (that were closer to the mills and farther from St. Michael's) showed a consolidation or even increase in Mexican population. Map 6.1 reveals this pattern by listing, within each block, the 1925, 1936, and 1939 statistics on Mexican population ("na" refers to statistics not available in the 1925 survey). Dashed underlines and italics denote figures that showed a decrease in Mexican population; lighter-weighted figures in the same style identify a decrease that vacated ***all*** Mexicans from a given block (see the key to highlighting on Map 6.1). By contrast, gray-highlighted figures signify a maintenance or increase in Mexican population, with asterisks added to those figures that show a marked increase.[24]

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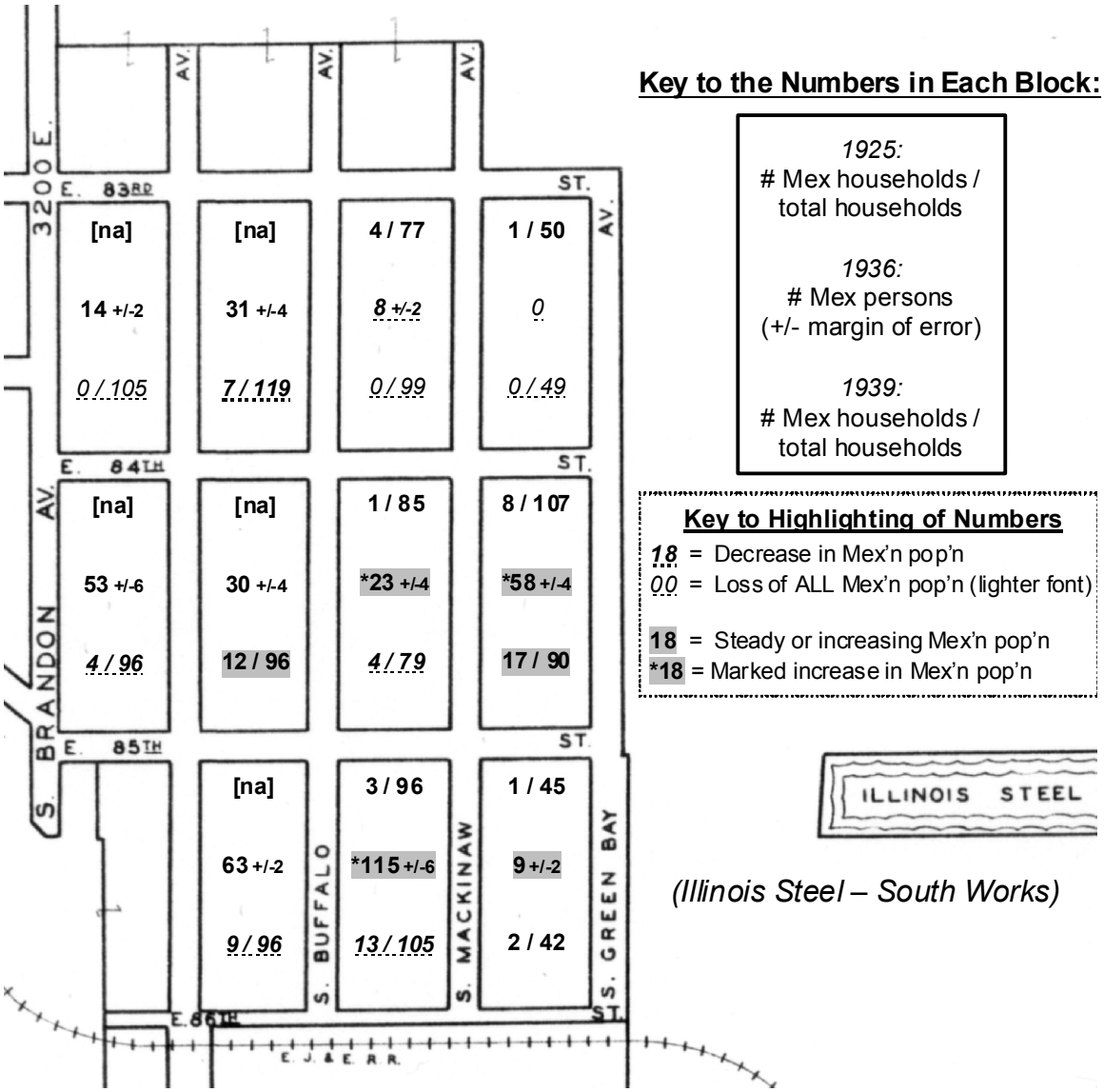
[23] According to Dominic Pacyga, the Chicago Areas Project was the most adept of all social service organizations in the area at building on the neighborhood's ties to St. Michael's Parish. As Protestant organizations, the South Chicago Neighborhood House and South Chicago Community Center faced an almost insurmountable obstacle in this regard, but as Thomas Philpott describes, they still largely excluded blacks (while accepting Mexicans) in an effort to gain acceptance in the neighborhood. (Their acceptance of Mexicans, though, likely had more to do with Protestants' missionary agenda vis-a-vis Catholicism, than it did with race.) Pacyga, "The Russell Square Community Committee: An Ethnic Response to Urban Problems"; Thomas Lee Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago, 1880–1930* (New York: Oxford UP, 1978) 327-28.

[24] Judging the increases or decreases between 1936 and 1939 is a bit difficult given the dissimilar measurements of persons versus households, but an approximation can be made if one remembers that the average number of Mexicans per household in 1936 was roughly 3.2 to 3.3 persons (see Table 6.1 and analysis above). It should also be noted that figures showing an increase or maintenance of Mexican population between 1925 and 1936 should be interpreted with some caution, as they may simply reflect a large 1925-1930 population increase that had not fully declined again by 1936.

Map 6.1: Block-Level Mexican Population Change in "the Bush," South Chicago – 1925, 1936, and 1939[25]



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[25] Base map adapted from the "Block Data" map for the Bush (Map 20-A), in *Land Use in Chicago* (Chicago, c.1943), vol. 2 of *Report of the Chicago Land Use Survey*, directed by the Chicago Plan Commission and conducted by the Works Progress Administration, 369. The block statistics for late 1925 are taken from Mary Faith Adams, "Present Housing Conditions in South Chicago, South Deering, and Pullman," Master's Thesis, Social Service Administration (University of Chicago, 1926), tables on pp.59 & 61. One table listed the nationality of family groups and the other listed the nationality of non-family groups, each by block. I added these figures together to attain the "household" statistics shown on this map, because Adams' survey enumerated one and only one family- or non-family group for each occupied dwelling unit, which she referred to as a "household." My use and Adams' use of "household" therefore has the same meaning as "occupied dwelling unit" and "household" in the 1939 statistics (see Appendix G, 1939 data). The 1936 block-level population statistics (as well as their margins of error) and the 1939 block-level "household" statistics are also described and cited in Appendix G.

As shown in Map 6.1, by 1939 Mexicans had *completely* departed three of the four more desirable blocks on the north side of the Bush.[26] In two of these blocks, the last remaining Mexican residents (14 Mexicans and 8 Mexicans, respectively) departed during the Depression's second economic downturn after 1936. In the far northeastern block of the Bush, however, the one Mexican head of household that resided there in 1925, along with other Mexicans that undoubtedly settled in the block later in the 1920's, had already departed by 1936. No new Mexicans replaced them by the end of the 1930's. In fact, it appears that white residents replaced Mexicans in all three of the northern blocks that Mexicans completely vacated, as each of the blocks had few vacant units and an entirely "white" population in 1939.[27]

The other northern block in the Bush, along with the two westernmost blocks between 84th and 86th, also lost a significant number of Mexicans between 1936 and 1939 – even though they did not lose all of their Mexican residents. Notably, the Mexicans who departed from these three more desirable blocks were also replaced by whites, just as happened in the three northern blocks that Mexicans completely vacated.[28] The northern block that was two blocks east of

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[26] The desirability of the northern and western blocks is not only apparent from their greater distance from the mills, but also from several other factors. One of these was the relatively lower percentage of buildings that were deemed in 1939 to be "unfit" for use or "needing major repairs" – only 2% to 17% of buildings on the north end of the Bush were given this designation, compared to 16% to 46% of the buildings on the south end of the Bush. See the block data map in *Land Use in Chicago*, 369. This map also shows that the northern blocks in the Bush had relatively more single and two-family homes than the other blocks, which hosted more multi-unit buildings and residences within businesses.

Finally, property values also reflected the relative desirability of the Bush's northern and western blocks. The property values of the western and northwestern blocks of the Bush ranged from $35 to $100 per front foot in 1932 (mostly $35-$40); whereas the southeastern blocks of the Bush ranged from only $25 to $35 per front foot (about 15% to 25% less). In more concrete terms, the four northern and western blocks that lost all or nearly all of their Mexican population by 1939 (see Map 6.1) were valued at $70, $50, $32.50, and $27.50 per front foot, while the block on the eastern edge of the Bush between 84th and 85th that held and possibly gained Mexican population was only valued at $27.50. See *Olcott's Land Values Blue Book of Chicago* (Chicago: Geo. C. Olcott & Co., Inc., 1932) 149 (in the foregoing figures I averaged the street values into a single value for each block).

[27] From west to east, the number of occupied dwelling units per total dwelling units in each of these blocks was: 105 out of 105; 119 out of 121; 99 out of 102; and 49 out of 52. *Land Use in Chicago*, Block Data Map for the Bush, p.369.

[28] There were only 2 to 4 vacant units in each of these blocks in 1939, and no "Negro" residents.

Brandon saw a moderate decrease in the number of Mexican households between 1936 and 1939, from approximately 31 Mexicans (roughly 8 to 11 "households")[29] to 7 Mexican households. But in the block between 84th and 85th on the west side of the Bush, the decline was more dramatic – from approximately 53 Mexicans in 1936 (around 14 to 18 households) to only 4 Mexican households three years later. A similarly large 1936-1939 decrease occurred in the westernmost block between 85th & 86th, which had approximately 63 Mexicans in 1936 (roughly 18 to 20 "households"), but only 9 Mexican households in 1939. What is most striking about these sharp declines in Mexican population on the western side of the Bush is that their losses of 50 to 75 percent transpired in three short years. Moreover, they were likely preceded by a similarly severe loss in the early 1930's.[30]

In contrast to the population losses on the northern and western sides of the Bush, Mexicans' population remained steadier in the southern and eastern blocks that were closer to the steel mills and railroad tracks, and comprised the core Mexican area in the Bush. First of all, several blocks in the southeastern Bush showed an increase in Mexican population after 1925 that still remained in 1936 (see the blocks with shaded 1936 figures in Map 6.1). Even though much of this growth may have occurred in the late 1920's, the fact that it remained through 1936 suggests that the Mexican population in these blocks held steadier during the early 1930's. The most dramatic of these 1925-1936 population increases occurred in the block between Buffalo and Mackinaw south of 85th, which grew from 3 Mexican households in 1925 to roughly 115 Mexicans in 1936. After 1936, on the other hand, most of the Bush's southeastern blocks did see a general loss of Mexican residents. Nonetheless, two southeastern blocks showed a steady and possibly even growing Mexican population between 1936 and 1939 – a remarkable feat in the face of the overall Mexican population loss during these years and the scale of the steel industry's 1937-1938 recession. The first of these was the easternmost block between 84th and 85th,

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[29] Baur's survey found roughly 3.2 to 3.3 Mexicans per "household" (see footnote 9 above).

[30] None of these blocks were surveyed in 1925, so they lack the data for a 1925-1936 comparison.

directly across from Illinois Steel's property. This block housed approximately 58 Mexicans (roughly 16 to 19 households) in 1936, and it still boasted 17 Mexican households in 1939, the most of any Bush block that year. Moreover, its 1936 population had represented a substantial increase over the 8 Mexican households residing there in 1925. The second block, between 84th and 85th and west of Buffalo Avenue, actually appears to have experienced a growth in Mexican population between 1936 and 1939. This block had approximately 30 Mexicans in 1936 (likely 8 to 11 households), compared to the 12 Mexican households that resided there in 1939. The stability and possible growth of these two blocks stood in stark contrast to the rapid declines in Mexican population on the northern and western sides of the Bush. Significantly, this consolidation of Mexican population in more long-standing Mexican areas appears to have happened in other parts of South Chicago as well, where core areas enjoyed a relatively more stable population (even when they lost residents) than the formerly expanding edges of Mexican neighborhoods.[31]

In South Deering, which saw an even more pronounced decline in Mexican population over the 1930's as a whole (see Table 2.1), a consolidation of Mexican residences becomes

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[31] A striking example of late 1930's Mexican consolidation in South Chicago proper was the half-block on the west side of Brandon Avenue between 90th and 91st streets (the block was split in half by the railroad tracks that ran behind it – see Map 3 in Appendix M-2). Although this half-block was not at the center of the core Mexican neighborhood in the 1920's, after 1928 it faced the side of the new Our Lady of Guadalupe church, which likely encouraged the consolidation of Mexican population there during the 1930's. In 1936 this half-block was home to approximately 58 Mexicans (likely around 16-19 households), with no Mexicans in the rest of the block. Three years later, the block had grown to 27 Mexican households – representing half of Mexican households in the entire census tract – a significant increase and consolidation of Mexican residences during this period of overall Mexican depopulation. See the 1936 and 1939 sources used in Map 6.1, which are described in Appendix G.

More generally, the blocks in South Chicago between 87th and 93rd and west of the railroad tracks behind Brandon Avenue showed a greater 1930's population decline than the blocks to the east of the tracks, which were closer to Illinois Steel and had a longer-established Mexican presence. While Paul Taylor's maps from 1928 depicted the Mexican population in these western blocks as being equally "dense" as the Mexican blocks east of the tracks (see Map 3 in Appendix M-2), Baur's 1936 map shows a much sparser Mexican population west of the tracks. This was further confirmed in the 1939 Land Use Survey, which showed that blocks west of the tracks were generally around 10% Mexican, as compared to the 25-50% Mexican blocks east of the tracks. The relatively more rapid departure of Mexicans from the western fringes of South Chicago's Mexican neighborhood would have alleviated much of the impetus for whites to "defend" the unspoken boundary of Commercial Avenue, which lay on the western side of this formerly expanding edge of Mexican settlement (again, see Appendix G for a description of Baur's 1936 map and the block-level figures from the 1939 Land Use Survey).

readily apparent from a comparison of the residences of Mexican elementary students in 1928 with the location of Mexican households in 1939. This data, supplemented by Paul Taylor's map of Mexican residences in 1928, is presented in Map 6.2, which clearly shows how Mexicans left "satellite" blocks during the Depression. By 1939 Mexicans had completely disappeared from many of the blocks that they had occupied in 1928 – especially on the more desirable northern ends of the neighborhood, and on the westernmost streets farthest from the Wisconsin Steel mills (see the blocks with "0" Mexican population in 1939, marked with italics and dashed underlines).[32] Even in the blocks where Mexicans remained in 1939, their population likely declined, with the possible exception of the core Mexican area in the neighborhood's southern blocks. Overall, this pattern resulted in the consolidation of the remaining Mexican population in the core blocks on the south end of South Deering and along the southern part of Torrence Avenue across from the mills. For example, while the far southeastern block of the neighborhood was home to about one-third of all Mexican children attending Bright School in 1928, by 1939 *over half* of all Mexican-occupied dwelling units in South Deering were in this block (26 of 51) – a clear consolidation of South Deering's remaining Mexicans, though not necessarily an increase in the block's overall Mexican population.[33]

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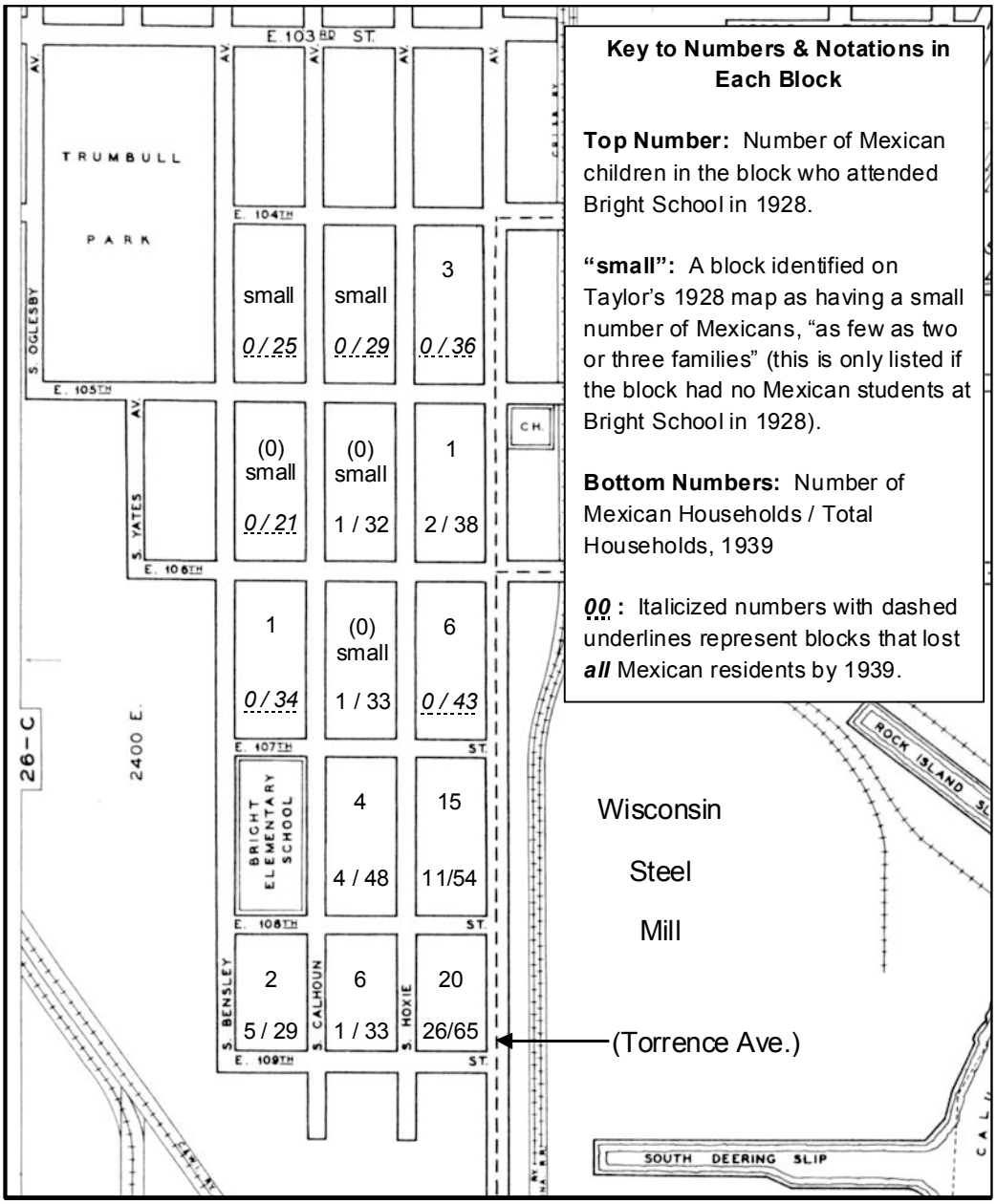
[32] On the desirability of these blocks, especially the ones farthest back from Torrence, see Mary Faith Adams' 1926 thesis, which contrasts the quality of residences along Torrence Avenue with the more desirable ones along Hoxie and further back in the neighborhood. Adams, "Present Housing Conditions in South Chicago, South Deering, and Pullman," 70–72. Joe Mulac, who grew up on Torrence Avenue in South Deering in the 1930's, confirmed this impression from a different perspective, recalling how the Irish-Americans who lived in the western blocks behind Torrence thought that they were "better than anyone else." Joe Mulac Interview, July 29, 2004.

[33] Due to the lack of comparable quantifiable sources on this southeastern block at the end of the 1920's, it is impossible to know whether the block's Mexican population had grown or just remained steady by 1939. Compared to 1925, the block showed a substantial increase in Mexican households (from 12 to 26), but it is impossible to know how much of this growth occurred in the late 1920's, and how much (if any) occurred in the 1930's. The 1925 figures appear in Adams, "Present Housing Conditions in South Chicago, South Deering, and Pullman," 110–12.

Map 6.2: Block-Level Mexican Population Change in South Deering, 1928 & 1939[34]



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[34] Base map adapted from the "Block Data" map for South Deering (Map 26-B), in *Land Use in Chicago*, 421. The 1928 block-level data on Mexican students at Bright School (between the 4th and 8th grades only), is taken from the color-coded plotting of student ethnicities in Raymond Edward Nelson, "A Study of an Isolated Industrial Community: Based on Personal Documents Secured by the Participant Observer Method," Master's Thesis (University of Chicago, 1929), map on p.199a. The source for blocks identified as having a "small" number of Mexicans in 1928 is Paul Taylor's map of South Deering (see Map 3 in Appendix M-2). The 1939 block-level data on Mexican households and total households is taken from the manuscript data of the Chicago Land Use Survey, which is described and cited in Appendix G.

The demographic effects of the Depression on the Mexican population of Chicago were not limited, however, to the rapid departure of Mexicans from the neighborhoods of South Chicago and South Deering, nor to the departure of Mexicans from the expanding fringes of these neighborhoods. Equally important, the return migrations caused by the Depression were most prevalent among the vanguards of Mexicans' migratory mobility – "single" men. By single men (known among Mexicans as *solos*) I mean those men who were in the north without wives or children – including those men who were married but whose immediate family members remained in Mexico (or in some cases, Texas). The return of single men to Mexico at greater rates than Mexican families had a stabilizing effect on the Mexican population in Chicago, balancing the sex ratio between Mexican men and women and reducing both the reality and the perception of an excess population of unattached Mexican men.

One of the ways of uncovering this aspect of Mexican return migration is by examining which segments of the Mexican population decreased most rapidly during the 1930's, making creative use, once again, of the population sources that have been utilized above. From these sources, it becomes clear that most of the drop in Mexican population during the first half of the 1930's was a drop in the number of "non-family" Mexicans – Mexicans living as lodgers in other families and as boarders in boarding houses. This category technically may have included women, but likely consisted mostly of unaccompanied Mexican males. The locally-compiled census data for Chicago's 1930 census enumerated 714 Mexican families in Chicago's Community Area #46, the set of census tracts that included all of South Chicago's Mexican population. By 1936, however, there were 796 Mexican families in South Chicago, in spite of the clearly severe drop in overall Mexican population between 1930 and 1936.[35] This means that the severe drop in south Chicago's Mexican population between 1930 and 1936 was almost wholly a movement of

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[35] Table 6.1 lists these 1930 and 1936 statistics on families.

unaccompanied single Mexicans back to Mexico. In fact, the number of Mexican families actually *increased* during these six years, even as Mexicans' overall population decreased dramatically.

Other sources confirm that the non-family Mexicans who departed South Chicago between 1930 and 1936 were indeed men. While South Chicago's overall Mexican population decreased by nearly half between 1930 and 1934, the number of Mexican males 20 years of age and over in South Chicago (who had previously been perceived as a particularly problematic sexual and racial threat) decreased by nearly *two-thirds*, from 2,123 to a mere 766. By 1936, the number of men twenty years and over had increased only slightly, to 786.[36] Significantly, this means that the slight increase in South Chicago's Mexican population during the steel recovery of 1935-1936 (an increase of 301 Mexicans) appears to have been mostly an increase in Mexican family members, as only 20 of these 301 additional Mexicans were men aged 20 years and over.[37] The 1934-1936 increase in Mexican family members likely represented a migration of non- adult-male family members into Chicago as steel employment briefly picked up for those men who had remained, or the birth of children to these families.

Consistent with the conclusion that the 1934 to 1936 Mexican population increase was an increase in Mexican family members is the fact that the sex ratio of Mexican males to Mexican females (of all ages) continued to decrease in South Chicago between 1934 and 1936, after having decreased markedly before 1934. In 1930, the cities of Gary, Chicago, and East Chicago had the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th highest male-female sex ratios among Mexicans in major U.S. urban centers, at 2.74, 2.10, and 1.99 respectively (only Detroit was higher, at 3.00; no other cities had ratios higher than 1.5).[38] Numerous observers commented on the predominance of Mexican men in the

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[36] Baur, "Delinquency Among Mexican Boys in South Chicago," Table 3 (p.37) and Appendix Table 34 (p.293); based on published census data for 1930 and 1934, and Baur's own research in 1936.

[37] The total Mexican increase of 301 persons between 1934 and 1936 is shown and cited in Table 6.1 above.

[38] These figures are taken from F. Arturo Rosales, *Pobre Raza: Violence, Justice, and Mobilization Among México Lindo Immigrants, 1900–1936* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999) Table 3, p.57, which cites U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States taken in the Year 1930*, Vol.2, pp.116-32.

Chicago-Calumet region throughout the 1920's, including a student observer in South Deering who commented that "most of the Mexican workmen are non-family men and spend their leisure time in their poolrooms."[39] But as Table 6.3 shows, the ratio of Mexican males to females in South Chicago dropped rapidly between 1930 and 1934, and then continued to fall between 1934 and 1936 – even though Mexicans' employment levels and overall population increased slightly during the 1934-1936 period.

Table 6.3:

Declining Male-to-Female Ratio of the Mexican Population in South Chicago, 1930-1936[40]

1930	**2.01**
1934	**1.36**
1936	**1.22**[41]

The balancing of Mexicans' sex ratio and the departure of single Mexican men – especially the dramatic 1930-1934 drop in men age 20 and over –was crucial in reducing the threat that Mexicans were perceived to pose in housing as well as in the workplace. As discussed in Chapter 4, Mexican men had often been perceived as a sexual threat to white neighborhoods in the 1920's. But the reduction of Mexicans' perceived sexual threat was not the only result of the departure of unattached Mexican men in the 1930's. This demographic shift also would have reduced the perception of Mexican workers as single men who were willing and able to live on less (by boarding with other men, etc.) and therefore undermine the living wage required by working

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[39] Nelson, "A Study of an Isolated Industrial Community: Based on Personal Documents Secured by the Participant Observer Method," 253. Nelson's comments reflected conditions in late 1927 and 1928.

[40] This table provides the sex ratio of all Mexicans in South Chicago, not just adults. The footnote to the 1936 figures gives the sex ratio of ***adult*** Mexicans in 1936, which was nearly the same as the overall ratio. Figures in this table are taken from Baur, "Delinquency Among Mexican Boys in South Chicago," Table 5 (p.45), utilizing census data and his own data that is described above and in Appendix G.

[41] Among Mexicans ***not*** born in South Chicago (which would more accurately reflect the adult immigrant Mexican population of South Chicago), the sex ratio of Mexican males to females in 1936 was 1.25, only slightly higher than the overall ratio. Jackson Baur, "Mexican Migration to South Chicago," Table 18, in Box 509 of "State Project Reports, and Research Publications, 1935-1943," WPA Library Records, Record Group 69 (Works Progress Administration), National Archives at College Park, MD (aka "Archives II"), ***hereafter*** NA-CP.

families. Indeed, this also had been a common white perception of Mexican workers in the 1920's, and it fed the racialized perceptions of Mexicans that led to exclusionary efforts in industrial neighborhoods such as Back of the Yards. The increased prevalence of Mexican workers who were family wage-earners in the industrial neighborhoods of the Chicago region helped ease the way for Mexicans' increased incorporation into unions and parishes in the 1930's, both of which were closely rooted to a sense of neighborhood. When combined with the simultaneous decline in Mexicans' overall population, which eliminated the threat that Mexicans might completely take over a neighborhood, the departure of single Mexican men during the 1930's helped pave the way for Mexicans' integration into parishes and unions – at the same time that popular representations of Mexicans' racial identity were being lightened at the World's Fair and in other venues.[42]

Changing Parish Landscapes:

The Integration of Mexicans and non-Mexicans in Chicago's Catholic Parishes

During the time that Mexicans in South Chicago and South Deering were rapidly leaving their neighborhoods, completely abandoning the expanding edges of their settlements, and shedding the single Mexican men in their midst, Catholic parishes in South Chicago, South Deering, and elsewhere initiated a process of integration between Mexican and non-Mexican parishioners that had a profound impact on Mexicans' acceptance in these neighborhoods. This integration at the parish level was a two-way process. First, Mexicans in the 1930's began, in a limited way, to become incorporated into existing territorial parishes, as happened at St. Kevin's parish in South Deering. But equally important, *non-Mexicans* were also incorporated – sometimes in symbolic but quite meaningful ways – into Chicago's Mexican parishes of St. Francis on the West Side and Our Lady of Guadalupe in South Chicago. Catholic clergy at Our Lady of Guadalupe (and perhaps to a lesser extant, at St. Francis) deliberately created dynamic

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[42] Louise Kerr was one of the first scholars to comment on the "stabilizing" effects of the Depression on Chicago's Mexican population. Louise Año Nuevo Kerr, "The Chicano Experience in Chicago, 1920–1970," PhD Dissertation (University of Illinois-Chicago, 1976) 69–77.

and publicly visible links between Mexican parishioners and other Catholics throughout the broader neighborhood through events such as parades and street festivals. As scholars such as John McGreevy and Robert Orsi have shown, such public events mapped out neighborhood space in meaningful ways for Catholic parishioners, ways that had a measurable influence on developing patterns of residential exclusion, as well as acceptance and incorporation.[43] As the public events at Chicago's Mexican parishes suggest, the twin aspects of this two-way process of parish integration were not always cleanly demarcated from one another, which only made them more effective at producing a growing acceptance of Mexicans in the predominately Catholic industrial neighborhoods of Chicago. But parish integration also occurred in the more day-to-day parishioner's realm of church donations, baptisms, and parish announcements.[44]

Already in the late 1920's, Thomas Wall of South Chicago's Royal Building and Loan Company declared that Father Tort at Our Lady of Guadalupe was doing a good job of "Americanizing" the Mexicans at Our Lady of Guadalupe. According to Wall, Tort was "an American citizen" and "intends to do much to promote American ideals and provide the training for the Mexicans that will enable them to become the highest type of citizen."[45] In fact, Wall would prove to be a central figure in the fundraising efforts and events surrounding the

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[43] John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1985).

[44] A growing number of scholars have begun examining the history of Mexicans and Catholic parishes in Chicago during the 1920's through the 1940's. The leading fine-grained analysis of the development of Chicago's Mexican parishes is Malachy McCarthy, "Which Christ Came to Chicago: Catholic and Protestant Programs to Evangelize, Socialize and Americanize the Mexican Immigrant, 1900–1940," PhD Dissertation (Loyola University of Chicago, 2002). Additionally, Deborah Kanter's work in progress examines both the "Americanization" of the Mexican parish of St. Francis on Chicago's West Side, as well as the "Mexicanization" of other West Side parishes beginning in the 1930's and 1940's. Anne Martinez's work in progress also addresses the role of Catholic parishes in the racialization of Mexicans in Chicago.

[45] Statement of Wall quoted in Raymond E. Nelson, "Mexicans in South Chicago (A study conducted under the direction of Dr. Arthur E. Holt for the Chicago Congregational Missionary and Extension Society)" (1928), p.21; in Container 11, Folder 59: "Chicago & Calumet Area - South Chicago - Raymond E. Nelson Study," Paul S. Taylor Papers (Series 3, Sub-Series "Mexican Labor"), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley – *hereafter* Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

construction of the new church for Our Lady of Guadalupe beginning in 1928. His statement, though, was significant in revealing his belief that Mexicans' participation at Our Lady of Guadalupe made possible greater connections between them and their non-Mexican neighbors, rather than reinforcing racial or national divisions. Indeed, Wall's statement reflected the sentiment of South Chicago's leading newspaper, the *Daily Calumet*, which in 1928 stated that Father Tort himself had taken out his own citizenship papers "at the first opportunity," and was "mighty proud of that fact. He urges the people of Mexican extraction to readily learn the language and adopt the customs of the United States."[46] Even as Wall's West Side professional colleagues in the real estate industry were ranking Mexicans as a greater threat to property values than blacks (and even as Wall may have remained concerned himself about Mexicans' threat to property values), his statement at the very least reflected the idea that Mexicans' deleterious characteristics could be mitigated over time. This attitude specifically contrasted with real estate professional Homer Hoyt's assessment of West Side realtors' rankings at the end of the 1920's, which concluded that Mexicans' and blacks' negative influence on property values was a permanent one, being based in race.[47]

Moreover, the fact that a *building and loan* agent echoed this sentiment was quite significant. Chicago's building and loans were typically ethnically-rooted organizations that aided immigrant and second-generation immigrants in purchasing homes. In Chicago, as elsewhere, European ethnic Catholics owned homes at higher rates than other persons of equal income levels,[48] and ethnically-defined (or neighborhood-based) building and loan associations often aided

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[46] The article discussed Our Lady of Guadalupe's new church at 91st and Brandon, and also stated that "[t]he plan is to make the new building a center for Mexican people where Americanization and educational work will be carried on..." "Break Ground Tomorrow for $100,000 Church," *Daily Calumet*, February 4, 1928, pp.1, 3.

[47] Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933) 314, 316.

[48] A detailed account of the higher rates of homeownership in 20th century Chicago by "white ethnics," and especially first and second-generation Catholic immigrants, along with references to the importance of ethnic savings and loan associations, is provided in Arnold Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983) 187–94.

them in this process. The somewhat more precarious economic status of these white ethnic Catholics often fueled their invective against non-whites and the threat they were perceived to pose to property values. Thus, this building and loan officer's opinion in late 1927 and early 1928 would have had an important effect, at least potentially, on white Catholics' subsequent stance toward Mexicans as residential neighbors in South Chicago – especially since Wall was also referred to as a "real estate broker."[49]

Our Lady of Guadalupe also fostered other, more palpable means by which whites in South Chicago came to view Mexicans as more similar to themselves. For example, an undated single-page record of donations at Our Lady of Guadalupe, likely from the late 1920's or early 1930's, recorded a surprising number of non-Mexican donors. These donors included names such as Matthew Clark, Mrs. Mary Mustus, John Ross, and Mrs. Nellie Meehan. In all, eleven donors, giving between $0.50 and $5 each, were non-Mexicans, compared to the twelve Mexican donors who gave from $0.50 to $4. More importantly, all but one of these non-Mexican donors lived in the immediate vicinity of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Significantly, the one non-Mexican donor who was from outside the neighborhood was a resident of South Deering and a member of its territorial parish, St. Kevin's.[50] This document mirrored a broader pattern of non-Mexican financial support for Our Lady of Guadalupe by largely middle class Catholics who had already left the industrial neighborhoods of Chicago, but the donor list discussed here suggests the

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[49] "Break Ground Tomorrow for $100,000 Church," *Daily Calumet* (Chicago Historical Society), February 4, 1928, p.1.

[50] The one non-resident, non-Mexican donor was "Mrs. M. Poroli" of 10455 S. Calhoun, who is mentioned in the discussion of St. Kevin's donors later in this chapter. Photocopied page of donors and addresses in the binder: "Historical Records: A Collection in Chronological Order, 1918-1948," (compiled by Mary Todd, Claretian Missionary Archives), Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives, South Chicago (some or all of these records have since been transferred to the Claretian Missionary Archives in downtown Chicago, which also may have the original documents). This record was filed with other documents from the parish dating from the late 1920's and early 1930's, and matches the typeface of those documents as well.

financially smaller, but no less significant, participation of local non-Mexicans in this support.[51]

Indeed, even as early as December 1924, the Polish parish of Immaculate Conception, located at 88th and Commercial Avenue, on the unspoken western boundary of Mexican settlement in South Chicago during the 1920's (see Chapter 3), offered a *daily* misa cantada (or missa cantata, the less elaborate sung version of the High Mass) which was sung by and benefited the Claretian missionary fathers who were then founding the fledgling Our Lady of Guadalupe parish. The initiation of the misas cantadas at Immaculate Conception appears to have coincided with the saint days for Mexico's Virgin of Guadalupe, but the Claretian fathers reported continuing to sing these daily masses at Immaculate Conception throughout the early months of 1925 (and collecting further donations from the Polish parishioners at Immaculate Conception).[52] It is particularly striking that Polish parishioners at Immaculate Conception supported Our Lady of Guadalupe in this way, given the pronounced Polish-Mexican violence then being carried out in South Chicago. Of course, the misas cantadas benefited the Claretian fathers *in charge* of the Mexican parish, rather than Mexicans or even the parish itself, and therefore may have represented a belief on the part of local Poles that the problematic Mexicans needed some

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[51] The broader middle-class Catholic financial support for Our Lady of Guadalupe has been well-documented in McCarthy, "Which Christ Came to Chicago." As McCarthy relates, Father Tort, a Spanish Claretian priest expelled from Mexico during the Mexican revolution, actively sought a source of non-Mexican financial support to build Our Lady of Guadalupe's present church building. Tort's solution (divinely inspired, according to his own accounts) was to establish the national shrine of St. Jude (the patron saint of hopeless causes) at Our Lady of Guadalupe. While the choice of a saint likely reflected Tort's state of mind in the 1920's about finding a source of financial support for his congregation, the St. Jude League also developed a police branch dedicated to supporting the shrine and congregation at Our Lady of Guadalupe. By the 1940's, a news release from Our Lady of Guadalupe declared the church to be "the Headquarters of the Police Branch of the St. Jude League, composed of some 5,000 members of the Chicago Police Department," and claimed that because of this, Our Lady of Guadalupe had "become generally known as the 'Policemen's Church'" (see "South Side Church to Unveil Huge Creche Christmas Morning," undated, on National Shrine of St. Jude letterhead, in Binder: "Historical Records: A Collection in Chronological Order, 1918-1948," [compiled by Mary Todd, Claretian Missionary Archives], Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives). McCarthy shows that the donations from St. Jude League, which came primarily from newly middle-class Irish-American Catholics living outside of South Chicago, provided the majority of funds that supported and developed Our Lady of Guadalupe during these formative years.

[52] "Crónica de la Cuasi-Residencia de los Misioneros Hijos del Corazón de Maria en Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., Octubre 1924 - Agosto 1946" (*hereafter* "Crónica" (tomo I)), entries for December 13, 1924 and June 1925; Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (Chicago).

religious attention – a viewpoint that was in fact shared by other Catholics in South Chicago who urged the Archdiocese of Chicago to attend to the Mexicans in South Chicago in order to quell the growing Polish-Mexican violence there.[53] Even so, this was a substantially different outlook than one of complete hostility, and it reflected an acknowledgment of a level of similarity between Mexicans and Poles that was rooted in their shared Catholicism.

The continued connections between Immaculate Conception and Our Lady of Guadalupe underscored this common ground, and likely paved the way for individual non-Mexicans to become more involved at Our Lady of Guadalupe. In December 1926, during Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiestas for its patron saint (Mexico's Virgin of Guadalupe), the priest at Immaculate Conception was invited to Our Lady of Guadalupe to say *the* high mass for Guadalupe's saint day.[54] At the end of May 1927, the Polish priest was at Our Lady of Guadalupe again, this time blessing the new Sacred Heart of Mary statue just prior to the high mass that day.[55] It is easy to see how the Polish priest's integration into Our Lady of Guadalupe's worship life might have eased the way for and encouraged the Polish parishioners of Immaculate Conception (and other Catholics as well) to establish their own links with Our Lady of Guadalupe. Indeed, in a striking comment in the Claretian fathers' journal entry for Christmas eve, 1927, the fathers noted that "only Americans, and no Mexicans" came to the church to make confession after the traditional Mexican *posadas* that evening. Similarly, the Christmas-time *noche buena* services in Our Lady of Guadalupe's new brick church in 1928 were attended by a good number of "Americans," many of whom apparently stayed through a series of late-night Christmas services that extended into the

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[53] These early appeals on the part of South Chicago's non-Mexican Catholics are described by Malachy McCarthy in his account of Our Lady of Guadalupe's founding, in McCarthy, "Which Christ Came to Chicago."

[54] "Crónica" (tomo I), December 1925; Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (Chicago).

[55] "Crónica" (tomo I), May 29, 1927; Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (Chicago).

small hours of the morning, culminating in a *misa cantada* that, although not starting until 3 am, was "completely full, half of Americans."[56]

The integration and symbolic incorporation of non-Mexicans into the social and spatial fabric of Our Lady of Guadalupe was most readily apparent in the highly public events that the church sponsored during the late 1920's and beyond. Many of these events were organized to fund the construction of the parish's new permanent church, which was completed in 1928 and gave occasion for a mass public spectacle that symbolically connected Our Lady of Guadalupe with its non-Mexican neighbors. But prior to the events surrounding Our Lady of Guadalupe's move to its new church at 91st and Brandon, the church's priests organized a number of "carnivals" and related events to raise funds for the new church. As reporting in the *Daily Calumet* confirms, parish carnivals were an already established means of raising funds for Catholic parishes on the southeast side, and were therefore a familiar public event for non-Mexican Catholics in the neighborhood.[57] Indeed, all of the church's benefit events sought to involve white Catholics in South Chicago and beyond. The church's first recorded carnival took place on September 1-18, 1926, on the undeveloped lots for the new church at 91st and Brandon. Although "the result wasn't very satisfactory," owing to bad weather and a lack of adequate time "before their celebration," the carnival was carried out "completely" by some "American Knights of Columbus and some women and some American youth."[58] Surviving letters from the following summer reveal the Claretians' deliberate efforts to involve the Knights of Columbus in that year's carnival. In the summer of 1927, Father Tort of Our Lady of Guadalupe sent out a series of form letters to Knights of Columbus members in Chicago advertising the two week long carnival to be held on the church's grounds beginning on August 13th. The letter asked individual Knights of

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[56] "Crónica" (tomo I), December 24, 1927 and December 1928 (p.58); Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (Chicago).

[57] As but one example, see the advertisement for St. Kevin's parish carnival in "Society and Club News of the South Side," *Daily Calumet*, June 5, 1928, p.4.

[58] "Crónica" (tomo I), Septiembre 1926 (p.27); Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (Chicago).

Columbus members to spread the word to "all the K. of C. of Chicago" in order to raise money to meet the "crying need of a church, social hall, and rectory."[59] Tort later reported that the carnival, along with a joint *jamaica* (bazaar), ran for two weeks and raised $1,500 for the new church.[60]

Additionally, throughout the winter of 1927-1928, South Chicago's *Daily Calumet* ran numerous advertisements for "card and bunco" parties to raise funds for the new church. One of them, which was held at a hall one block from the lots for the new church, was advertised in the *Daily Calumet* in highly enthusiastic terms. The article proclaimed, "The Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe will give a monster card and bunco party tonight at the Union State Bank Hall, 92nd and Houston Avenue. The committee has secured a numerous amount of prizes and novelties.

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[59] Tort stated that these facilities would be a "center of Christianization and moralization for all the Mexicans all over Chicago." James Tort, C.M.F., to "Dear Brother" [Knights of Columbus], nd, photocopied in Binder: "Historical Records: A Collection in Chronological Order, 1918-1948," (compiled by Mary Todd, Claretian Missionary Archives), Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives. Tort arrived at Our Lady of Guadalupe in May 1925, but was not placed in charge of Our Lady of Guadalupe (and of the Chicago Archdiocese's broader ministry to Mexicans) until later.

In his appeal to the Knights of Columbus, Tort acknowledged the Knights of Columbus's stance in opposition to the anti-Catholic posture and policies of Mexico's revolutionary government, noting that "I know that our Brothers the K. of C. are interested in the persecuted Mexicans down in Mexico; I think the K. of C. of Chicago, also should be more interested in the thousands of Mexicans right here in our city of Chicago." His appeal suggests a broader reason for the interest of non-Mexican Catholics (and the Knights of Columbus in particular) in the welfare of Mexicans in Chicago. Namely, a number of U.S. developments in the 1920's coincided with the anti-Catholic purges in Mexico to create a sense of Catholicism under siege during this decade. Most importantly, the strongly anti-Catholic Ku Klux Klan of the 1920's reached unparalleled popularity in the Midwest (and even on the south side of Chicago), while the presidential bid of Al Smith fired anti-Catholic sentiments and revealed a national Democratic Party that was ambivalent at best about denouncing the Ku Klux Klan (the Republican party never considered denouncing it). The Knights of Columbus was central in countering the Klan as well as the broader surge of anti-Catholic sentiment at this time, and the Knights' efforts in protest of the anti-Catholic policies of Mexico's revolutionary government fit into this broader defense of Catholicism in North America. As Tort's appeal suggested, this context may have played an important role in the Knights' efforts on behalf of Mexicans in Chicago, *especially* given Protestant denominations' early success in ministering to and converting Mexican immigrants in the greater Chicago region. Indeed, historian Malachy McCarthy argues that the battle over Mexicans' souls became a central focus of the broader religious struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism in Chicago during the 1920's and 1930's (see McCarthy, "Which Christ Came to Chicago"). On the rise of the 1920's Klan in the Midwest and its anti-Catholicism, see Leonard J. Moore, *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921–1928* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1991). On Klan "klaverns" on Chicago's south side, see Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915–1930* (New York: Oxford UP, 1967).

[60] "Crónica" (tomo I), August 13-27, 1927 (p.32); Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (Chicago).

There will be room for everybody, so bring your friends." In a private interview about the card and bunco parties, Father Tort surprised his interviewer by noting that *no* Mexicans came to the bunco parties, "as the party was given for those outside the church."[61]

But the most public space-making and incorporative events at Our Lady of Guadalupe were the special celebrations associated with breaking the ground and laying the cornerstone for the new church early in 1928, followed by a summer carnival and the dedication of the new church in late September. The ground-breaking ceremony for Our Lady of Guadalupe on February 5, 1928 was announced on the front page of the *Daily Calumet* one day before the event, along with a remarkably accurate picture of what the completed church would ultimately look like.[62] On the Tuesday following the Sunday ground-breaking, the *Daily Calumet* reported the days' events under the headline, "Throngs Witness Breaking of Ground for Mexican Church." The article emphasized the "throngs" of observers, the non-Mexican spectators and speakers, and the speakers' exhortations for non-Mexicans to cooperate in all of Our Lady of Guadalupe's endeavors. The ground breaking was also preceded by a parade from the old church at 9024 Mackinaw Avenue to the site for the new church at 91st and Brandon. As the article reported, "Five hundred men, women and children of Mexican birth or extraction, participated in the parade," while "hundreds" more Mexicans,"reinforced by many people of other nationalities, crowded the tract of land to witness the unique and colorful ceremonies."[63] The article's emphasis on the "colorful" aspects of the ceremonies foreshadowed the exoticization of Mexican-ness that would reach full fruition in the representations of Mexico at the World's Fair a few years

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[61] Raymond E. Nelson, "Mexicans in South Chicago (A study conducted under the direction of Dr. Arthur E. Holt for the Chicago Congregational Missionary and Extension Society)," 1928, p.22 (including reproduction of *Daily Calumet* article, winter 1927-1928) and p.23, in Container 11, Folder 59: "Chicago & Calumet Area - South Chicago - Raymond E. Nelson Study," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[62] "Break Ground Tomorrow for $100,000 Church," *Daily Calumet* (Chicago Historical Society), 4 February 1928, p.1.

[63] "Throngs Witness Breaking of Ground for Mexican Church," *Daily Calumet* (Chicago Historical Society), February 7, 1928, p.1.

later, as did the parade itself. The parade also mapped out the movement of the parish from the old church in South Chicago's mixed black-Mexican neighborhood to the new church location in a white-Mexican area, symbolically imbuing all of the intervening urban space with the parish's presence – while at the same time marking non-Mexicans' (and "other nationalities'") integration with the parish itself.[64]

While emphasizing the day's "colorful" features and clear Mexican presence, the article on the ground-breaking in the *Daily Calumet* also emphasized the role of the local non-Mexicans at the event, stating that "Blaine Jones was in charge of the program and made the arrangements, assisted by Daniel Duggan, William O'Rourke, Thomas Nash and many other young men. Vincent L. Knaus (a young local lawyer[65]) was the master of ceremonies and made the introductory speech, telling of the work of the members of the congregation and the aims and purposes of the new church and community center." Strikingly, only one of the days' speakers spoke in Spanish, a visiting exiled priest from Mexico. The non-Mexican speakers included local benefactor F.J. Lewis (who had purchased the property for the new church), John J. Poulton, the already noted South Chicago building and loan agent Thomas F. Wall, and even the local city council representative, Alderman Rowan.[66] After the speeches and the blessing of the church site by the exiled Mexican priest Amando J. de Alba, Father Tort lifted the first spadeful of dirt and the ceremonies concluded with a traditional Mexican song of the Virgin, and the "American" and Mexican national anthems.[67]

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[64] According to the Claretian fathers' account of the event, the parade proceeded from the old church's location in the following order: "1 - Two Police Officers, Mexican and American Flags; 2 - Musical band; 3 - Parish Cross; 4 - Boys and Girls; 5 - Banner of [the Virgin of] Guadalupe [Sodality] with all the [Mexican] women; 6 - Banner of the Holy Name [Society] with all the [Mexican] men; 7 - The new painting of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the clergy." "Crónica" (tomo I), February 5, 1928 (pp.40-41); Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (Chicago).

[65] See description of Knaus by the Claretian priests in their account of the event cited above.

[66] "Throngs Witness Breaking of Ground for Mexican Church," *Daily Calumet* (Chicago Historical Society), February 7, 1928, p.1.

[67] "Crónica" (tomo I), February 5, 1928 (pp.40-41); Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (Chicago).

Two months later, on Sunday, April 1, 1928, a more elaborate cornerstone-laying ceremony took place at the new church's location, preceded by an even bigger parade from the old church to the new church site. Father Tort reported that "all of South Chicago resonated with the grand procession that was made through the major streets along with the occasion of the blessing of the new church's cornerstone by the Bishop of Tabasco, Mexico, Doctor F. Pascual Díaz."[68] Newspaper accounts of the parade and procession made clear that Tort was not exaggerating. The *Daily Calumet* covered the top of its second page with "Thousands at Church Stone Laying," and declared that "The ceremonies rivalled that of any ever seen in South Chicago." The festivities at the new church featured most of the non-Mexican speakers who had spoken two months earlier, along with others, as well as the Mexican priest, Amando Alba. Moreover, a "large parade started the afternoon's ceremonies. It began from the site of the old church building at 9024 Mackinaw avenue, and continued over the more important streets of South Chicago, finally winding up at the site of the new church."[69]

Based on the way that such parades have worked for other Catholic parishes, the circuitous, large, and well-attended parade would have been especially effective at symbolically marking this urban space with Our Lady of Guadalupe's presence.[70] But again, even as this marking of space established Mexicans' Catholic presence in this segment of urban space, it also integrated white Catholics with Mexicans in this process. The very list of the parade's participants, provided in the *Daily Calumet*, suggested much about this Catholic-based integration. According to the *Daily Calumet*, the parade included:

> [the] Nielsson Band
> Ancient Order of Hibernians
> Catholic Order of Foresters

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[68] "... fué de gran resonancia en todo South Chicago a causa de la grandiosa parada procesión que se hizo por las principales calles..." "Crónica" (tomo I), April 1, 1928 (p.43); Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (Chicago).

[69] "Thousands at Church Stone Laying – Big Parade Starts the Ceremonies," *Daily Calumet* (Chicago Historical Society), April 2, 1928, p.2.

[70] As examples, see the works by McGreevy and Orsi cited above in footnote 43.

Knights of Columbus
Holy Name Societies
C. K. A. [Catholic Knights of America]
Polish Societies [listed twice]
Italian Societies
Mexican Orchestra
Mexican Societies[71]

An account of the parade and festivities published in the *Revista Católica* of El Paso, Texas provided further details of the ways Mexicans and non-Mexicans were integrated in these efforts to claim and sanctify Catholic urban space in the Mexican neighborhoods of South Chicago: "The march was opened by a squad of ten police officers on motorcycles, followed by the Mexican and American flags and a musical band, then an open automobile with Pascual Díaz, Bishop of Tabasco," and other clergy. "Making the honor escort for the Bishop were the Catholic Knights of America with their brilliant uniforms." After the automobiles came contingents from "all the societies of different nationalities, with their banners and flags: Poles, Germans, Irish, Croatians, Slovaks, Italians, Columbians, Spaniards, etc. Knights of Columbus, Isabelles, Foresters, and other societies." After these came the "most numerous" contingents from "the Mexican colony of St. Francis of Roosevelt Road, with their banners," and "this Church of Guadalupe, with hundreds of children from the parish, with little flags in their hands, followed by a handsome Mexican band."[72] As these accounts made clear, the parade deliberately incorporated a variety of non-Mexican Catholic groups in its symbolic imagery, even including Polish societies in spite of the fact that South Chicago's Poles were at the forefront of housing and other violent clashes with Mexicans during the 1920's. Moreover, the conspicuous placement of Mexican children in the parade was likely not accidental, but instead worked to mitigate the image of Mexicans as unattached single males, who had no families to support and could therefore undercut wages at the same time that they posed a sexual threat to white women.

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[71] "Thousands at Church Stone Laying – Big Parade Starts the Ceremonies," *Daily Calumet* (Chicago Historical Society), April 2, 1928, p.2.

[72] *Revista Católica* (El Paso), ca. April 1928, as reproduced in "Crónica" (tomo I), April 1, 1928 (pp.43-44); Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (Chicago).

Prior to the church's completion in September 1928, Our Lady of Guadalupe held one more summer carnival. The pre-carnival advertising in the *Daily Calumet* was typically upbeat, announcing that "The Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe will open its summer season by giving a monster carnival which starts Monday, the 4th, and continues till the 13th." Significantly, the use of the phrase "open its summer season" suggested an almost theatrical air to the affair (consistent with the themes later employed in representations of Mexican-ness at Chicago's World's Fair). Suggesting the public nature of the spectacle, as well as the ways that the carnival helped the church to lay claim to the urban space surrounding the church, the article also noted that Father Tort had received permission "to operate [the carnival] on the street, which is nearly all church property." The article further noted the participation of non-Mexicans by stating: "The committee is composed of prominent citizens of South Chicago who are working hard for the success of the carnival."[73] After the first night of the carnival, the *Daily Calumet* reiterated the church's active invitation of non-Mexicans – even into the as-yet being completed physical space of the church: "Father Tort, the pastor, invites the public to attend and also view the new church which is rapidly nearing completion."[74] Whereas Catholic parish carnivals and other public events were typically a means by which parishes claimed urban space and mapped out a public sense of the parish neighborhood that was inhabited by its parishioners, the events at Our Lady of Guadalupe incorporated Mexicans' non-Mexican, Catholic neighbors in making these symbolic claims, giving them a place in this space as well.

The official dedication of Our Lady of Guadalupe's new church at 91st and Brandon attracted an estimated 15,000 participants and spectators on September 30, 1928. The parade and dedication services were carried out in a manner that closely followed the patterns established

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[73] *Daily Calumet* article, prior to June 4, 1928, reproduced in Raymond E. Nelson, "Mexicans in South Chicago (A study conducted under the direction of Dr. Arthur E. Holt for the Chicago Congregational Missionary and Extension Society)," 1928, pp.22-23, in Container 11, Folder 59: "Chicago & Calumet Area - South Chicago - Raymond E. Nelson Study," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[74] "Society and Club News of the South Side," *Daily Calumet* (Chicago Historical Society), June 5, 1928, p.4.

in the ground breaking and cornerstone-laying ceremonies for incorporating white Catholics in the symbolic claiming of urban space by Our Lady of Guadalupe. Again, the ceremonies involved numerous non-Mexican local Catholics. The chairman of the building committee, who thanked Illinois Steel officials for their contributions and their attendance at the dedication services, was once again the building and loan agent Thomas F. Wall.[75] But the sheer scale and grandeur of the church dedication services overshadowed either of the previous events, even as it echoed their symbolic forms. As the Claretian fathers noted with pride, Chicago's Cardinal Mundelein himself blessed the new church, which was "received with great enthusiasm by all of the Mexican colony of Chicago, especially the associations of the [Mexican] Church of St. Francis and also those of this Church of Guadalupe; *accompanied by all of the other churches of South Chicago*" [emphasis added].[76] As reported in the *Daily Calumet*, about ten thousand persons witnessed the parade and dedication, while fifteen thousand participated in the high mass that followed (itself a sacred act of incorporation). The ten thousand spectators were described as "men, women and children of all nationalities – Polish, Irish, Germans, Croatians, Slovacs [sic], Italian, Mexican, Spanish, Columbians, together with delegations from many societies, including the Ancient Order of Hiberians [sic], Catholic Order of Foresters, Knights of Columbus, Holy Name Societies, [and] Catholic Knights of St. Gregory." The parade itself was led this time by *six* motorcycle squads "through the more important streets of South Chicago. The parade extended for over three blocks long." Once at the church, "more than a dozen policemen had to handle the crowd."[77]

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[75] Thomas F. Wall, Building Committee Chair, to E.J. Buffington, President of Illinois Steel Company, October 11, 1928; and Wall to P.J. Newton, superintendent of Illinois Steel's South Works (who attended the dedication), October 11, 1928; both photocopied in Binder: "Historical Records: A Collection in Chronological Order, 1918-1948," (compiled by Mary Todd, Claretian Missionary Archives), Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives.

[76] Undated, retrospective summary of the dedication services (also in Spanish), written on a loose sheet in the back of the Claratian fathers' "Crónica" (tomo I), Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (Chicago).

[77] "New Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, 91st St., Brandon Ave," *Daily Calumet* (Chicago Historical Society), October 1, 1928, p.1.

The dedication of Our Lady of Guadalupe's new church marked the culmination of the grand public events that Our Lady of Guadalupe staged during the 1920's. However, it did not end the pattern of non-Mexican incorporation in Our Lady of Guadalupe. Most of the church services noted above that attracted non-Mexican worshipers and donors actually occurred after September 1928 in the new building.[78] Moreover, as suggested by the "Tours" of the Mexican parish of St. Francis on Chicago's West Side (see Chapter 5), these incorporative efforts may even have begun targeting non-Catholics by the 1930's, utilizing many of the representational features that came to fruition in the "Mexican" events at the World's Fair in 1933 and 1934. The presence of Mexican bands and "orchestras" (likely orquéstas típicas), as well as other "colorful" features at many of Our Lady of Guadalupe's public events during the 1920's forecasted the performative features of Mexican-ness at the Century of Progress World's Fair. Indeed, prior to the construction of the church's new building in 1928, Father Tort oversaw the formation of a "Club Artístico de Guadalupe" within the parish that performed Mexican musical numbers and may have performed at many of the events described above, as indicated by the presence of Mexican bands and "orchestras" at these events. The club's stated goals were to raise funds for the church by providing musical and dramatic performances aimed at raising funds for the church, especially performances at *fiestas* sponsored by the church. The club even resolved to obtain a "professor" of music to hone their skills. Notably, the club's charter also noted that when the pastor approved it, the club could perform at events and fiestas outside the church, using the club's costumes. The reference to a special kind of dress (*vestidos*) for the club suggests that the Club Artístico performed in the traditional *traje* that performers of Mexican-ness at the World's Fair would use a few years later. Thus, it would appear that even though Father Tort publicly espoused the role of his church in "Americanizing" Mexicans, he also saw the value in cultivating public displays of Mexican-ness – not just to Mexicans, but to non-Mexicans whose cooperation

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[78] Carnivals and other events also continued. As but one example, see the card and bunco party noted in "Crónica" (tomo I), October 29, 1928; Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (Chicago).

would benefit the church.[79] The role of the Club Artístico at Our Lady Guadalupe may have represented an early form of making Mexican-ness a desirable and publicly-consumable quantity.

Additionally, the priests at Our Lady of Guadalupe began offering public Spanish lessons to non-Mexicans in the late 1920's, and continued this outreach through the 1940's, a development that also hinted at the joining of parish integration efforts with efforts to cultivate the "enormous vogue" of Mexican-ness. A student of South Chicago's Mexicans in late 1927 and early 1928 reported that even though Our Lady of Guadalupe did not include a parochial school in its initial building program, "they intend to conduct English and even Spanish classes for the public now."[80] Although the comment wasn't entirely clear about the audience for the Spanish lessons, the reference to "the public" suggests that the proposed lessons were for non-Mexicans. Moreover, by 1944 the priests at Our Lady of Guadalupe were conducting Spanish classes at the South Chicago Public Library, another indication that the students were not the church's Mexican parishioners. The Claretian priests referred to this weekly "duty" as being "of great prestige and value."[81]

Numerous scholars have noted the ways that parish parades and carnivals have worked to map out sacred space in urban neighborhoods. What is significant in the case of Our Lady of Guadalupe was that this spatial mapping was decidedly inclusionary and integrative, joining non-Mexican Catholics with Mexicans and Mexican-ness in this Catholic parish, rather than simply

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[79] "Club Artístico de Guadalupe" ("Objeto" and organization), nd (ca. 1926-1928, based on church address and chronological placement in collection); and unidentified minutes of meeting (likely of same club), titled "South Chicago a 29 de julio de 1928"; both photocopied in Binder: "Historical Records: A Collection in Chronological Order, 1918-1948," (compiled by Mary Todd, Claretian Missionary Archives), Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives.

[80] Raymond E. Nelson, "Mexicans in South Chicago (A study conducted under the direction of Dr. Arthur E. Holt for the Chicago Congregational Missionary and Extension Society)" (1928), p.21, in Container 11, Folder 59: "Chicago & Calumet Area - South Chicago - Raymond E. Nelson Study," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[81] "Crónica" (tomo I), 1944 (p.277, in English); Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (Chicago). Protestant institutions in South Chicago also offered Spanish lessons to non-Mexicans. The Bird Memorial (Congregational) missionary church (for Mexicans) advertised "Spanish" lessons by David Luna for beginning and advanced students in 1937. "Spanish Lessons Being Taught at Bird Memorial," *Daily Calumet* (Chicago Historical Society), May 25, 1937, p.2.

making a space for *Mexican* Catholicism. This inclusionary, incorporative aspect pervaded the broader activities of Our Lady of Guadalupe as well, including the public Spanish lessons it offered and even the public performances of its bands and orchestras, which may well have encouraged non-Mexicans to partake in the "enormous vogue" of Mexican-ness, just as the events of the World's Fair did.[82]

Significantly, nothing like this existed for African-American congregations in the Mexican neighborhoods of the greater Chicago region. One is hard-pressed to point to such grand, public spectacles of white Catholic integration of African-Americans as occurred with Mexicans at Our Lady of Guadalupe during the late 1920's. It is even harder to find a black counterpart to the ways that Mexican-ness was purveyed as a desirable quality and identity that whites might take on – even if only in playful and symbolic ways. Furthermore, there simply was no equivalent motivation among white Catholics to defend blacks from anti-Catholicism as there was to defend Mexicans – in light of Mexico's revolutionary government, the Klan in the U.S., and the pronounced Protestant missionary efforts among Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region.[83]

Nonetheless, when "push came to shove," particularly in the arenas of housing and sexual relations, Polish and other white residents of South Chicago in the 1920's still reverted to a posture of hostility with individual Mexicans – regardless of any inroads that had been made between non-Mexican Catholics and the Mexican parish of Our Lady of Guadalupe. But after the threat of Mexican residential expansion and excess single Mexican men disappeared in South Chicago, and after the broader cultural manipulation of Mexicans' perceived racial identity during the 1930's, these inroads that had been mapped out over the shared Catholic spaces of South Chicago's neighborhoods encouraged a more accommodating stance toward Mexicans, and a decreasing tendency to see them as a threatening racial "other."

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[82] For example, the "associations of the church" participated in South Chicago's Mexican Independence Day Parade in September of 1939, as described in "Crónica" (tomo I), September 15, 1939, Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives (South Chicago).

[83] See footnote 59 above.

Given the symbolic as well as physical incorporation of non-Mexican Catholics into Our Lady of Guadalupe's "parish boundaries,"[84] the integration of Mexicans into *other* Catholic parishes in the South Chicago area was by no means a necessary condition for Mexicans' integration with white Catholics. It may, however, have been a more palpable indication of white Catholic's acceptance and embrace of Mexicans, and may have represented a subsequent, crucial step in Mexicans' integration with non-Mexican Catholics in Chicago. For by the 1930's, Mexicans were being integrated into non-Mexican territorial parishes as well (though Mexicans' English ability may have been an important determining factor in this process). A look at the parish of St. Kevin's in South Deering reveals how this process took place on Chicago's southeast side, particularly by the 1930's.

When Father Edward B. McNally was transferred to the historically Irish-American parish of St. Kevin's in June 1931, one of his first official acts as pastor confirmed Mexicans' early integration into the parish. The first child that Father McNally baptized, within weeks of his arrival, was Margaret Martinez.[85] Significantly, the baby Margaret was the child of a Mexican father and a non-Mexican mother, Henry Martinez and Maria Janrique. But the history of St. Kevin's during these years also revealed the incorporation of entire Mexican families in ways that were made publicly known to the entire parish. For example, the bulletin for St. Kevin's 1935 Golden Jubilee included a smattering of Mexican names and families among its published list of patrons.[86] Similarly, St. Kevin's published "Christmas List" of Christmas givers for 1937 – the year the local steel industry suffered its second catastrophic recession of the Depression years –

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[84] I borrow this phrase from McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries.*

[85] *1885-1960 - Seventy-Five Years of Service to the Community* (St. Kevin's commemorative "diamond jubilee" anniversary book), third page (unpaginated) of "The History of St. Kevin's Parish"; Historical Files, St. Kevin's Parish Office.

[86] *Golden Jubilee of St. Kevin's Parish*, June 2, 1935, "Patrons and Patronesses." Churches Collection - St. Kevin's (Box 2), Southeast Historical Society, Calumet Park Fieldhouse, Chicago.

included a fair number of South Deering Mexicans and Mexican families, along with their offering amounts and addresses. In spite of the greatly decreased population of Mexicans in South Deering during these years, the list included Geraldine Lopez, J. Buenrostro, Soledad Blanco, Mr. and Mrs. M. Sifuentes, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Zavala (plus their children Alfred and Mary Zavala), Baltazar Martinez, and Mrs. Paul Castro and Lupe Castro. The married couples and two of the individuals gave amounts comparable to that of most of the persons and families on the list, from $1 to $2. Significantly, the list also included the 25-cent donation of "Mattie Poroli," who a number of years earlier had been listed (at the same address) as "Mrs. Poroli" in her $1 donation to Our Lady of Guadalupe in South Chicago (see above).[87]

Indeed, by the late 1930's the continued integration of Mexicans into St. Kevin's parish had become so successful that it became a source of concern for the priests at Our Lady of Guadalupe in South Chicago. In 1937, Our Lady of Guadalupe's Reverend Catalina complained to Chicago's Archdiocesan authorities that "conditions are getting so that it is impossible to do anything with the Mexicans of my Parish because of the interference of Father McNally of St. Kevin's. For the three years that I have been Pastor of this Church, Father McNally has been Baptizing children from my Parish and who live in the vicinity of the Church." Based on Catalina's other comments, it appears that he was referring to Mexicans in the vicinity of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a striking development. Catalina added that "my predecessor had the same trouble with him. I have tried to talk to Father McNally, but he still persists in doing these things."[88]

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[87] *St. Kevin's Church Christmas List 1937*. Churches Collection - St. Kevin's (Box 2), Southeast Historical Society, Calumet Park Fieldhouse, Chicago.

[88] Catalina was also upset about McNally allowing "public sinners" and those married outside the church to act as sponsors and have funerals, suggesting that St. Kevin's actually provided a more accepting parish for some Mexicans, particularly those who became crosswise with Our Lady of Guadalupe and its pastors. Catalina specifically complained of McNally officiating a funeral and funeral mass for a "Public Sinner" who lived only one block from Our Lady of Guadalupe. Rev. A. Catalina (Our Lady of Guadalupe), to Rev. Msgr. George J. Casey, Chancellor, August 7, 1937, Binder: "Historical Records: A Collection in Chronological Order, 1918-1948," (compiled by Mary Todd, Claretian Missionary Archives), Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives.

The brief record of this intra-Catholic fracas suggests that the process of integration and incorporation promoted so heavily by the Claretian fathers at Our Lady of Guadalupe since the 1920's had perhaps worked *too* well by the 1930's, ironically reducing the Claretians' proprietary hold on the spiritual welfare of Mexicans on Chicago's southeast side. Indeed, by 1947 the Claretian fathers' report to their provincial office noted that parishioners' participation at Our Lady of Guadalupe "was and is somewhat lacking in Baptisms, sick calls, funerals, marriages, and Sunday mass attendance." After providing various incidental reasons for this, the report noted "Perhaps the main one -- Our parishioners attend other parish churches," and specifically noted the Saturday "communion classes" that the Claretians offered to Mexicans at St. Kevin's in South Deering.[89] Although these instances only provide a brief glimpse at Mexicans' integration into non-Mexican parishes on Chicago's southeast side, they suggest a broader trend in the 1930's and 1940's that is confirmed in the parishes of Chicago's west side as well.[90] Combined with the incorporation of non-Mexicans into Our Lady of Guadalupe (and, though not examined here, St. Francis), these trends suggest a definite pattern of Mexican integration with non-Mexicans at the parish level -- an integrative process that had a profound effect on white Chicagoan's acceptance of Mexicans in the industrial neighborhoods of South Chicago and beyond.

Although not quite as effective or consequential overall, a certain level of integration between Mexicans and non-Mexicans was also fostered by Chicago's Protestant denominations, though with a much more mixed record. Moreover, by the nature of Protestant churches, this process was not so closely tied to concepts of neighborhood as it was in the case of Chicago's

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[89] "Copy of the Report on the Residence at Our Lady of Guadalupe at South Chicago, Ill. -- For the Provincial Chapter (1947)," Section VII - "Spiritual Welfare of the Parish," found in the Chronicles (Crónica) of the Claretian fathers at Our Lady of Guadalupe, Book 2 (Sep. 1946 - Dec. 1961), p.39, Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish Archives. Additionally, the March 11, 1947 entry in the chronicles recorded the request of St. Kevin's priest to have the Claretians come to St. Kevin's to teach catechism classes for all of the Mexicans in his church (Chronicles, Book 2, p.28).

[90] Deborah Kanter's work in progress examines this trend on the West Side, as well as the parallel pattern of "Americanization" at the Mexican parish of St. Francis.

Catholic parishes. Protestant Mexican churches in the greater Chicago area during the 1920's and 1930's were generally organized as missionary efforts of existing Protestant churches and denominations. During the 1920's, these church organizations typically remained somewhat isolated from their non-Mexican sponsoring churches.[91] But even in the 1920's, some efforts of integration were made, with varying success. By the 1930's, anecdotal sources suggest that this integration may have become more meaningful. The mixed but generally sparse record of Protestant attempts at social integration during the 1920's – stymied during those years by white racial attitudes, among other things – is apparent from a number of sources.

The accounts of non-Mexican Methodist ministers during the 1920's were generally negative regarding Mexicans' integration with non-Mexican congregants. As one Methodist minister, in charge of a Mexican mission on Chicago's West Side, commented, "There are some Americans who visit us from time to time but they do not mix in with the Mexicans. They come rather to see than to take an active part."[92] Even more negative were the accounts of Mexicans attempting to attend "American" services. According to Reverend Parkin, a Methodist minister who headed his denomination's mission-work with Mexicans in South Chicago during the 1920's, "Some Mexicans came into the American services before they had a church of their own. That wasn't at all satisfactory, however, because I could see that the Americans didn't like it. The Mexicans were strange people, they were dark and they seemed to be sneaking and furtive."[93]

Somewhat in contrast to this, the primarily German-American congregation at Peace Lutheran Church in Chicago (near the Brighton Park Mexican neighborhood northwest of Back

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[91] The definitive history of Protestant misionary efforts with Mexicans in Chicago during this period is McCarthy, "Which Christ Came to Chicago."

[92] Account of Reverend O'Neill (Pastor of the Methodist Church of the Good Shepherd [Mexican Mission], associated with the Marcy Center on the West Side), ca. 1929-1930, as quoted in untitled Robert C. Jones manuscript, p.135, in Container 11, Folder 50: "Chicago and Calumet Area – Field Notes: Robert C. Jones" (2 of 2), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[93] Account of Reverend Parkin, ca. 1929-1930, as quoted in untitled Robert C. Jones manuscript, p.134, in Container 11, Folder 50: "Chicago and Calumet Area - Field Notes: Robert C. Jones" (2 of 2), Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

of the Yards) had a broad missionary focus at the core of its congregational identity, and this focus included an outreach program to Mexicans in the area. Nonetheless, the Mexican "missionary" congregation at Peace developed as a mostly separate branch of the church, punctuated by a few strongly symbolic efforts of inclusion. To begin with, the Mexican congregation at Peace was not initiated by Peace, but was founded by a Spanish minister, José G. Fernández, who came to Peace looking for a space for missionary work with Mexicans. During the 1920's, the Mexican congregation never worshipped with Peace's congregation, and Fernández never had any duties or official presence in the main congregation. The Mexican congregation met in Peace's parish hall, rather than its main sanctuary, as shown in their 1925 congregational picture. Notably, the picture included no members of Peace itself, except the head pastor. Throughout the late 1920's and 1930's, the Mexican congregation remained its own separate entity, corresponding and reporting directly to the synodical headquarters of the Lutheran Church in St. Louis, rather than to the congregation at Peace.[94]

However, the Mexican congregation's picture *was* featured in the church's 25th anniversary commemorative pamphlet in 1927, which emphasized the church's "missionary" work among Mexicans, Poles, Lithuanians, and Chicago's "colored" residents.[95] Moreover, the ordination and installation of José G. Fernández, the Mexican congregation's pastor, was accompanied by a "polyglot" worship service in Peace that was heavily laden with symbolic gestures of inclusion. Much of this symbolism was described in the church's 25th anniversary booklet itself, which related how, in September 1925, Reverend Fernández was "ordained in one of the most impressive services ever held in our midst. A polyglot service was arranged for and

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[94] See reports and correspondence in: Foreign Tongue Mission Minutes, 1923-1930; Records of the Mission Board for North and South America (Box 1, Binder 1); Concordia Historical Institute, Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis.

[95] *Gott allein die Ehre! Fünf und zwanzigsten Jubiläum der Ev. Luth. Friedens Gemeinde, U.A.C., Chicago, Illinois, 1902-1927 (in commemoration of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Ev. Luth. Church of Peace, U.A.C., Chicago, Illinois)*, section entitled "Our Missionary Endeavors in the Immediate Vicinity," 50-53; in Folder "Peace Church (Friedens Gemeinde)," Box 120.13 "Illinois - Chicago, O-R," library collections, Concordia Historical Institute, Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis.

representatives of all of the foreign-tongue missions of Chicago and vicinity were present with their pastors as also the colored and deaf-mute congregations. Our pastor delivered the sermon, which was repeated by Pastor T.W. Strieter in Spanish to the 200 Spaniards and Mexicans present. When Pastor Fernández was ordained, all of the foreign-tongue pastors, as also the pastor of the Deaf-Mute Congregation, pronounced the same blessing in their respective tongues." In addition, five minute-long addresses were given by pastors in the "Spanish, German, Norwegian, Sign, Slovac, Polish, Lithuanian, and Lettish languages," and by a pastor "of the Colored Congregation." In what must have been a near musical cacophony – but also a very tangible enactment of spiritual communion and inclusion in the midst of diversity – the seminal Lutheran hymn "A Might Fortress Is Our God" was then sung simultaneously in eight languages, "each singing in 'the tongue wherein he was born.'" Similarly, the service's bulletin entry for the Lord's Prayer stated "let everyone pray in his own tongue." The conclusion of the anniversary booklet's account of the service exclaimed jubilantly, "The *Spanish-Mexican Ev. Luth. Church* meets every Sunday at 10 am, at the Parish Hall, fifty to eighty attending. – All glory to God!"[96]

By the 1930's, Protestant Mexican churches and missionary efforts may have become somewhat more integrated with "American" Protestant worshipers, as Mexican population and church numbers declined and the Mexicans and Mexican-Americans who remained became increasingly conversant in English. For example, the Mexican Church of Our Savior in Gary began recording its minutes in English in 1938, and by the late 1930's its membership included an increasing number of Mexicans with Anglo first names. And, already by the fall of 1934, when the church was trying to rebuild after the wholesale departure of its members in the early 1930's, the church's council recorded a suggestive resolution "to continue the Sunday School *jointly with*

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[96] Account of Fernández's ordination taken from *Gott allein die Ehre!* ... [op cit], 53; and the service bulletin, "Ordination of Jose G. Fernández, C.R.M., as Pastor of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Spanish-Language - Missouri Synod, Sunday, September 27, 1925, 7:30 pm" [title also in Spanish]; also in Folder "Peace Church (Friedens Gemeinde)," Box 120.13 "Illinois - Chicago, O-R," library collections, Concordia Historical Institute, Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis.

the American children who attend" [emphasis added].[97] The statement hints at a developing level of social interaction between Mexican and non-Mexican worshipers after Mexican population in the region had greatly decreased.

Indeed, although Protestant churches did not typically embody the same spatial sense of being as Catholic parishes, one South Chicago event from the late 1930's suggests the way that Protestant organizations also undertook broader public displays that incorporated Mexicans and non-Mexicans, even if not in such dynamic terms as Catholic parish parades and carnivals. On May 27, 1937, South Chicago's *Daily Calumet* reported on the second annual "community revue" of the South Chicago Lions' Club, which was to be held at South Chicago's (Protestant) YMCA, two blocks west of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The event, whose proceeds went to benefit the blind, was advertised under the headline, "Folkdancing, Songs of All Nations," and included a "Mexican Folk Dance," directed by Arturo Macias, put on by the Congregational Church's Bird Memorial church in the Bush. The Mexican folk dance undoubtedly repeated the characteristic features of Mexican folkloric dance that had been cultivated at the Fair a few years earlier. Moreover, the dance was itself part of a broader array of "ethnic" dances that reflected, to a degree, South Chicago's population as a whole (the dances included Polish, Russian, and "Chinese toe" dances). Perhaps more significantly, however, individual Mexican youth performers were well integrated in the overall program itself. All of the youth performers for the event were associated with groups organized at the various parks of Chicago's southeast side. Although no Mexicans appeared among the youth from Trumbull Park (South Deering) or Russell Square Park (the Bush), South Chicago's Bessemer Park boasted a group with a number of Mexican performers, including Ray Blanco's "whistling solo," "Syl and Blanco's" electric guitar performance, and a "song and dance" by the Mexican and non-Mexican pair of Alice Ganz and

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[97] "Minutes of the Session of [the] Mexican Church of Our Savior Presbyterian Church - Gary, Indiana," September 18, 1934 (translated by author). Collection PAC 34, Presbyterian Church Collection, Archives of Hanover College (Indiana) - Duggan Library.

Lupe Rivera.[98] This level of incorporation of Mexicans into a public event of the YMCA was especially striking given the fact that only ten years earlier the YMCA had initially tried to exclude Mexicans – especially Mexican men – from its facilities and programs.[99]

The Incorporation of Mexicans in the Union Struggles of the 1930's

Notably, the South Chicago YMCA not only sat across the Illinois Central tracks just west of Our Lady of Guadalupe, it was also in the same block as the organizational headquarters of South Chicago's Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and Steel Workers' Organizing Committee (SWOC), both of which were the site of buzzing activity during the very same days that the Lions' Club community revue featured an integrated program of Mexican and non-Mexican folk dances, and Mexican and non-Mexican performers. In late May 1937, the CIO and SWOC were engaged in a prolonged struggle to gain company recognition of their local unions, an effort that would result, a few days later, in the infamous "Memorial Day Massacre" at the Republic Steel plant in South Chicago. Although the site of the Massacre was somewhat removed from the core Mexican neighborhoods of South Chicago, Mexicans were active participants in the pro-union demonstrations that were so brutally quashed at Republic Steel. Indeed, Mexicans' participation at the Massacre reflected and solidified the respect of their fellow white workers on Chicago's southeast side and beyond.

The Memorial Day Massacre was merely the most visible incident in Mexicans' broader incorporation in the union organizing struggles of the Depression. Throughout the 1930's,

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[98] "Folkdancing, Songs of All Nations," *Daily Calumet* (Chicago Historical Society), May 27, 1937, p.1.

[99] Reporting on the South Chicago YMCA in his 1928 report on Mexicans in South Chicago, Raymond Nelson wrote that "The Mexican is not wanted at the YMCA, so the opportunities and privileges that that institution usually provides are not open to him. When the YMCA first opened up there were 8 Mexican young men rooming in the building. The opposition to them by the other members became so great that there was nothing else for the authorities to do but to get them out of the building as tactfully as they could. Since that time, few come to the institution. Frank Paco [sic] is the only one who now frequents the place. Jack, in charge of the bowling alleys said that they never encourage them to come around, that in fact they do not want to have them there." Raymond E. Nelson, "Mexicans in South Chicago (A study conducted under the direction of Dr. Arthur E. Holt for the Chicago Congregational Missionary and Extension Society)," 1928, p.32, in Container 11, Folder 59: "Chicago & Calumet Area - South Chicago - Raymond E. Nelson Study," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

Mexicans' high levels of labor activism – particularly in the packing and steel industries examined below – fostered a growing acceptance of Mexicans in the industrial neighborhoods of the greater Chicago region. But before illustrating how Mexicans were incorporated with whites in the packing- and steel-organizing movements of the 1930's, it is necessary to understand why this incorporation and partnership at the workplace led to an increased acceptance of Mexicans in housing. The first reason was a general one. As historians of Chicago's industrial neighborhoods have shown, working-class residents perceived strong links between the neighborhoods where they lived and owned their own homes, the workplaces where they earned their living and provided for their homes, and the unions that insured their wages at those workplaces.[100] Because of these connections, it is not surprising that Mexicans' partnership in workplace struggles went hand in hand with a more accepting attitude toward Mexicans in white working-class neighborhoods.[101]

But Mexicans' labor activism also altered two specific perceptions that had previously fueled working-class whites' racialist thinking about Mexicans: that they were an inherent threat to the "living wage" of working-class families, and that they were fundamentally un-American. As shown in the conclusion to the steel organizing section below, the attachment of Mexicans to patriotic "American" imagery in the union-organizing drives of the 1930's – including the dramatic stories of Mexicans upholding the American flag at the Memorial Day Massacre – reversed the former perceptions of Mexicans as treacherous aliens who were inherently opposed to American ideals and laws. A few years later, this new association of Mexicans with working-class Americanism would be further reinforced by Mexicans' wartime military service. Mexicans' military service and their newly perceived patriotism – commemorated locally in the steel neighborhoods where they lived – further underscored Mexicans' fundamental similarity to their

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[100] See citations in footnote 1 of this chapter.

[101] Nonetheless, African-Americans' incorporation in the CIO-movements of the 1930's did not lead to a similar acceptance of African-Americans in housing. The likely reasons for this dissimilar result are discussed at the end of this chapter.

white working-class neighbors. Similarly, while Mexicans' perceived threat to the "family wage" had helped motivate working-class white hostility toward Mexicans during the 1920's, the incorporation of Mexicans in the packing and steel organizing drives of the 1930's reversed this perception and solidified Mexicans' partnership with whites in the working-class fight for a family wage.

To fully appreciate why improved attitudes about Mexicans' relationship to the family wage would lead to a greater acceptance of Mexicans in housing requires returning for a moment to the framing context of the 1920's, when Mexicans' perceived threat to wages and neighborhood went hand-in-hand. Working-class whites in the 1920's feared that Mexicans' lower "living standard" would allow them to move into a neighborhood and live more cheaply than their white neighbors, thereby lowering the overall wage level that local industries would have to pay their workers. In Catholic neighborhoods where residents typically owned their own homes at disproportionately high rates in relation to their income,[102] this perceived wage threat represented a direct threat to whites' ability to sustain their homes, families, and indeed their very presence in the neighborhoods where they were already deeply connected by parish and workplace. Additionally, Mexicans' perceived lower "living standard" was seen as a threat to the general housing quality of working-class neighborhoods themselves.

These beliefs are readily illustrated by the statements of white workers, labor officials and other observers during the 1920's, as well as the broader 1920's discourse about Mexicans' "living standard," all of which provide a striking contrast to the new reputation Mexicans forged for themselves in labor circles less than a decade later. At the national level, the idea that Mexicans were "content" to live on less was repeatedly used by labor officials in the 1920's to

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[102] For example, the number of Czech and Bohemian building and loan associations before the Depression greatly outmatched the relative proportion of Czechs and Bohemians in Chicago. Paul Frederick Cressey, "The Succession of Cultural Groups in the City of Chicago," PhD Dissertation, Sociology (University of Chicago, 1930) 187-88. See also Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 187–94, as described in footnote 48 of this chapter.

emphasize the threat that Mexican workers posed to American labor.[103] Reflecting this same line of thinking, an early observer of Mexicans in Back of the Yards noted in 1924 that "[t]he low [living] standard of the Mexicans will increase the prejudice against them . . . Low standards will allow the Mexicans to work for lower wages, and they [will] come into conflict with other immigrant groups, through competition, and into conflict with the trade unions."[104] Indeed, throughout the Chicago-Calumet region the idea that Mexicans had inherently lower living standards was almost universal among whites. For example, a researcher in South Chicago in 1927-1928 reported local realtors' opinion that "[t]he average South Chicago Mexican live like cattle in their flats [sic]."[105] In Indiana Harbor, a similar account was published by the local press in early 1926. Quoting an East Chicago police chief's inspection of crowded Mexican housing conditions in the Block - Pennsylvania avenues district, the article stated that the chief "groped for words to describe what he had seen, 'Why, your dog or cat wouldn't live under conditions that those people do.'"[106] Clearly unaware of Mexicans like Crispín Arroyo, who by 1930 had saved his earnings and become the owner of two urban homes in Mexico (see Chapter 2), even pro-Mexican social workers at Gary's Neighborhood House reiterated this idea that Mexicans' ability

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[103] This national-level labor discourse is analyzed in Weber, "Anglo Views of Mexican Immigrants: Popular Perceptions and Neighborhood Realities in Chicago, 1900–1940," 87. Additionally, the idea that Mexicans were "content" to live on less was popularized by middle-class white artists and writers who romanticized Mexicans' "simple life" and thought that this was a positive "racial" trait. Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations Between the United States and Mexico, 1920–1935* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1992) 36, 38–41, 90.

[104] Manuel Bueno, "The Mexican in Chicago" (student paper, spring 1924), p.32; in Box 188, Folder 4, Ernest W. Burgess Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections. Notably, Bueno thought that the deleterious effect of Mexicans' "low standard" paralleled that of "similar instances of immigrants of low standards – as the Chinese and the Italians."

[105] Elaborating further, the investigator noted that "As has been before stated 3 and 4 families occupy the space ordinarily used by one American family. They live under very crowded conditions. Mr. Matushek, the South Chicago realtor, has said that in the homes he has been in, the only furniture of importance is the bed and the trunk." Raymond E. Nelson, "Mexicans in South Chicago (A study conducted under the direction of Dr. Arthur E. Holt for the Chicago Congregational Missionary and Extension Society)" (1928), p.14, in Container 11, Folder 59: "Chicago & Calumet Area - South Chicago - Raymond E. Nelson Study," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[106] *Calumet News*, February 6, 1926, cited in Sepúlveda, "La Colonia del Harbor," 60.

to live cheaply was an ingrained part of their being, publicly describing the "typical" Mexican family as living in a tiny basement apartment, lacking any furniture save a box-table, and sleeping "on the floor as they had in Mexico."[107]

These perceptions of Mexicans' low standards of living readily promoted the idea that Mexicans posed a direct threat to white workers' wages, a belief that was tied up in broader ideas about Mexican workers' supposed unsuitability to organized labor. Union representatives at the Boomers Local of the Brotherhood of (Railroad) Maintenance of Way Employees on Chicago's West Side complained that although Mexicans "get the [wage] scale . . , they keep the scale low. They live on what we would starve on. They are a bad thing for the working men of this country."[108] Similarly, Father Tort of Our Lady of Guadalupe commented in 1928 on this perceived link between Mexicans' low standard of living and their wage threat in the steel working neighborhoods of South Chicago. Handwritten notes by Tort's interviewer read: "Friction with Poles. The Poles say Mex are taking their work - Lower standard of living of Mex."[109] At Youngstown Sheet and Tube in nearby Indiana Harbor, a watchman who in 1928 wanted all Mexicans "sent back [to Mexico]" similarly linked perceptions of Mexicans' lower living standard with their threat to "American" workers' ability to provide for their families. He complained that "Mexicans and southern blacks get jobs (without families - i.e., can work cheaper) when [white] men with families and letter from Ch of Commerce won't be given a chance" (the parenthetical comment appears in the interviewer's original field notes). As his reference to white men "with families" revealed, the reality and perception of Mexicans in the

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[107] *Twenty Years of Neighborliness* (Gary Neighborhood House, ca. 1929), unpaginated p.11 ("Mexican Work"); in Record Group 301.7: Board of National Missions (PCUSA) - Division of Church Strategy and Development Records, 1871-1972 (Series 2, Sub-Series 1), Box 10, Folder 34: "Gary Neighborhood House, Gary, IN, 1911, 1938, nd"; Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

[108] Interview with "J. Mack and Andrews; [Railroad] Maintenance of Way Employees, Boomers Local, 1012 W. Monroe," nd (likely 1928), in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.94, Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[109] Father Tort Interview (handwritten notes), July 17, [1928], in Container 11, Folder 44: "Chicago & Calumet Area – Field Notes (1928)," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

Chicago-Calumet region as predominantly single and male (which changed dramatically in the 1930's) clearly played into the perceived threat that Mexicans posed to American workers' ability to earn a family wage. But Mexicans during the 1920's were also perceived as a specific threat to unions, as a result of their purported un-willingness to join unions and their use as strikebreakers in a few limited cases in the Chicago region during the late 1910's and early 1920's.[110] Moreover, the watchman quoted above also believed that Mexicans were part of a broader conspiratorial threat by industrial management to undercut workers' drives for independent unions, as "[he] [t]hinks they get letters for employment saying they will vote a certain way."[111] By contrast, by the time of the CIO's organization drives in 1936 and 1937 Mexican workers had earned a well-deserved reputation for their support of unionization as a means of defending workers' rights to a family wage, which in turn defended the ability of workers' families to make a living in the industrial neighborhoods of the greater Chicago region.

Mexicans and Packinghouse Labor Activism

According to the recollections of labor activists involved in the CIO-backed unionization drives of Packinghouse Workers' Organizing Committee (PWOC) during the mid- to late 1930's, Mexican packing workers played a crucial role. In several of the stockyards adjacent to the Back of the Yards neighborhood, Mexicans comprised the majority of workers who loaded ice into the tops of railroad cars used to ship meat from Chicago to much of the U.S. As such, labor organizers recognized Mexicans as a key part of the work force that needed to be organized in order to make the CIO-backed unions a viable force. Organizers were therefore gratified and impressed when the Mexicans in these departments, and in the yards in general, organized all at once, in a single bloc. According to organizers' recollections, this was the result of the fact that

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[110] Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States, Vol II, Part 2: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 7, No.2 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1932) 237–38.

[111] All of the preceding quotes from the Youngstown Sheet and Tube watchman appear in: "Sargeant-Watchman [sic], Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co., Indiana Harbor," nd, ca.1928, in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.43, Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

Mexicans had *already* been "organized" in a sense, in their own Mexican-based organization.[112] Perhaps ironically, this case fulfilled the worst fears of an anti-labor manager at a cement plant near Indiana Harbor, who in 1928 commented that "[t]he Mexicans have societies, and of course if they organize one way it's but a step to organize another way."[113]

Mexicans in the stockyards also gained positive notoriety through the accomplishments and fearless stance of individual Mexican labor leaders such as Refugio Martinez, who was eventually deported to Mexico by U.S. immigration authorities after World War II, based on his alleged 50-cent contribution to a communist organization in 1932. Herb March, one of the leading organizers in the PWOC, later recalled that Martinez "contributed more to organizing the Swift and Wilson plants than any other single organizer in Chicago," adding that "he wasn't looked upon as a Mexican organizer, we would send him into situations of any kind." Significantly, March made similarly positive comments in a 1939 article in the Chicago-based Packinghouse edition of *CIO News*. Refugio Martinez's career in organizing began in "the unemployment councils," a possible reference to the "Unemployed Workers' Alliance" that Chicago's Mexican press reported favorably on in 1936.[114] Martinez was fired by the Swift packing company in the early 1930's for his union activity, and subsequently went to work at the

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[112] As the account below of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee (SWOC) reveals, this organization may have been the Chicago branch of *Frente Popular Mexicano* (Mexican Popular Front), a short-lived Mexican-based organization allied with Mexico's major industrial union. The account of Mexicans joining the PWOC in a single bloc, drawing on their previous internal organization, is taken from: Herbert March Interview (by Les Orear), December 19, 1979, Illinois Labor Historical Society, Chicago. The account of Mexicans' important role loading ice in the Refrigeration Department is taken from: Les Orear Interview (by Erik Gellman), 2003. I thank Erik Gellman for providing me with materials from both of these interviews.

[113] Interview with "Sterndorf," Universal Portland Cement Co., ca. 1928, in Container 10, Folder 8: "Field Notes: Series E, Set I," p.49, Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[114] This organization was also known as the Illinois Workers' Alliance. In the summer of 1936 Local No. 6 of the Workers' Alliance opened a new office on the Near West Side that specifically catered to Mexicans' needs two days of the week. The Mexican press reported that "[t]he principal function of the new office is to attend to families who have difficulties in getting help from the relief administration. We are confident of the service that will be rendered to our people by this office." "Mexicans Invited to Discuss their Relief Problems" [translated title], *La Defensa*, July 3, 1936, as translated in the Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey (Chicago Public Library), Spanish Section, Sub-Section I.B.3.c.

Armour plant in accordance with his union leadership's decision not to fight his dismissal. In 1939 he was arrested at the corner of 43rd and Packers Avenue, known as the "CIO corner," while handing out flyers and otherwise participating in the organization drive against Swift, Armour, and Wilson. The PWOC later fought unsuccessfully against Martinez's deportation proceedings, making a resolution to defend him at their national convention in 1947, and organizing a "Martinez Defense Committee"and distributing flyers on his behalf.[115]

But Mexicans' improved opinion among fellow meatpacking workers in the 1930's was also the result of the struggles of less famous Mexicans in their day-to-day attempts to organize for CIO unions and workers' rights. In a Federal Writers' Project (FWP) interview in 1939, Back of the Yards resident Jesse Perez described his experiences as a stockyards laborer and "voluntary organizer for the P.W.O.C." In the space on the FWP form for "Special skills and interests," the interviewer wrote, "Interested in union work and political affairs, especially local yards activity." Perez's own account of his work initially addressed the discrimination that Mexicans received from company officials in the yards, but then tellingly backtracked and suggested that it was actually his CIO membership that led to his discrimination: "The bosses in the yards never treat Mexican worker same as rest. For 'sample, they been treatin' me; well, ever since I start wearin' the button they start to pick an' 'scriminates. I was first to wear the CIO button." Whether Perez meant that he was the first among Mexicans to unionize, or the first worker in his department, is not clear. Although Perez worked as a "beef lugger"[116] (after initially starting as a "laborer"), he

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[115] Herb March's comments on Martinez, including his early organizing in the "unemployment councils," appears in Herbert March Interview (by Leslie Orear), December 19, 1979 [audio tape], Illinois Labor Historical Society. March made similar comments over 40 years earlier in a CIO news article about Martinez's appointment to a new post within the PWOC, in *CIO News - Packinghouse Edition*, April 3, 1939, p.2. Other details on Martinez are taken from: *Proceedings, Fourth Constitutional Convention of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, C.I.O.* (Cleveland, Ohio, May 5-8, 1947), pp.83-87; and "It Can Happen to You," flyer printed by the Martinez Defense Committee of the United Packinghouse Workers of America (Chicago), ca. 1947-1948; both at the Illinois Labor Historical Society, Chicago. I thank Erik Gellman for passing along all of these documents and interviews to me. Refugio Martinez's career and deportation case is also described in Kerr, "Chicano Experience," 83–92, 156–57.

[116] If Mexicans loaded beef as well as ice in the packinghouse's refrigeration sections, this job may have been the same one described in the labor organizers' accounts of Mexican unionization described above.

also commented that "I can butcher, but they won't give me a job," a likely indication of the anti-Mexican discrimination that he alleged.

But it was the discrimination that Perez and his fellow workers suffered as a result of their CIO affiliations that animated Perez the most. In this regard, Perez clearly looked to the union as his ally and advocate, while the union benefited greatly from his sacrifice and grassroots leadership:

> They fired me on account of CIO union one time. I started organize the boys on the gang. I was acting as steward for CIO union. We had so much speed up and I was advisin' the boys to cut the speed and so when I start tellin' the boys we have a union for them they all join up. Almos' all join right away. So we talk all the time what the union goin' to do for us, goin' raise wages, stop speed-up, an' the bosses watch an' they know it's a union comin'.
>
> So every day they start sayin' we behin' in the work. They start speedin' up the boys more an' more every day.
>
> The boys ask me, what you gonna do? Can't keep on speed-up like this. We made stoppage. Tol' bosses we workin' too fast, can't keep up. The whole gang, thirteen men, they all stop. Bosses come an' say, we ain't standin' for nothin' like this. So 4 days later they fire the whole gang, except 2. So we took the case in the labor board and they call the boys for witness. Labor board say we got to get jobs back. Boss got to promise to put us back as soon as they can. That time was slack, but now all work who was fired. All got work.[117]

Perez's account is significant not only because of his own role in the CIO's unionization efforts,[118] but also because of what his story reveals about the joint efforts of Mexicans and non-Mexicans in the stockyards – even before the CIO was fully established there. The official record

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[117] Perez's words and the preceding paragraph are based on: Jesse Perez Interview (with Betty Burke), June 21, 1939, Form B: "Personal History of Informant" and Form C: "Text of Interview (Unedited)"; Folder "Betty Burke [interviews]," Box A707 (Life Histories, Chicago), Series A: Federal Writers' Project Records (Folklore Project - Life Histories subseries), Records of the U.S. Works Projects Administration, Library of Congress Manuscripts Division. At the date of writing, the text of Perez's interview was also available on the Library of Congress's website, under the "American Memory" project, "Culture, Folklife" section, "Life Histories, Federal Writers' Project" (http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/wpaintro/wpahome.html).

[118] Perez's own participation in union affairs may well have aided his residential mobility, as in June 1939 Perez lived at 4817 South Ashland, to the south of the core Mexican residential area in Back of the Yards. Indeed, Perez's block was enumerated by the Chicago's Land Use Survey (conducted within a few months of his interview) as having only 1.8% households headed by persons "other than white" – likely Perez himself. *Land Use in Chicago*, "Block Data" map for Ashland Avenue south of 47th Street. Even more striking, Perez was married to a "Polish wife," with "three small children." However, his social and residential integration may have owed more to the fact that, in the words of his FWP interviewer, he "[l]ooks like a Spaniard." Jesse Perez Interview (FWP, 1939, as cited above), Form A: "Circumstances of Interview"; and Form B: "Personal History of Informant."

of what was likely the "labor board" case that Perez described clarifies the integrative nature of these joint efforts. Case #84 of the Chicago Regional Labor Board (the local office of the National Labor Board) recorded complaints by workers at the G.H. Hammond Packing Company that closely resembled the case Perez described. Moreover, no other surviving case of the Chicago Regional Board matches Perez's description, suggesting that this was in fact the same case. Even if it were not, the facts of the case still reveal some important things about Mexicans' unionization efforts in Chicago's packing industry. First of all, the case was heard in the spring of 1934 and documented workers' complaints for being laid off in December 1933, a very early date for the independent unionization movement in the stockyards. Indeed, the case was filed in the name of the Stockyards Labor Council, an organization resuscitated by the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council in the 1930's, and that served as a springboard for the subsequent CIO drives.[119] But perhaps more importantly, the worker-plaintiffs in the case were an integrated mix of Mexican, Polish, and other laborers. The case appears to have involved other "gangs" of workers in addition to the gang of 13 that Jesse Perez reported supervising, as nineteen workers remained laid off on March 2, 1934. Of these 19, four had Mexican names.[120] One of them, "Jese P. Navarro," could well have been Jesse Perez, if Perez's full name was Jesse Perez Navarro. The other 15 men, however, included names such as Art Kampfert, Edward Husnik, "Korolewski," Walter Panek, Andrew Pavloski, Joe Bodorek, and Roman Rybka, a healthy smattering of the ethnic names characteristic of the stockyards neighborhood where all of these workers (and all but

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[119] Herbert March Interview (by Les Orear), December 19, 1979, Illinois Labor Historical Society, Chicago (courtesy of Erik Gellman).

[120] Furthermore, it is possible that other Mexican and non-Mexican workers who were laid off in December 1936 may have been reemployed by the time of the March 2nd hearing. The four Mexican names listed in the March 2, 1934 hearing were: Tony Esquible [Esquivel], Ascención Guajardo, Mujuel [Manuel?] Gonzales, and Jese P. Navarro [possibly Jesse *Perez* Navarro]. Notably, all of these Mexicans except for Jesse P. Navarro lived on the Near West Side, rather than in Back of the Yards, as Jesse P. Navarro did. See case file cited below.

one of the 15 non-Mexican workers) were living.[121] Surviving records of the case suggest that most, if not all, of the men laid off at Hammond (who initially numbered around 40) appeared at the hearings for the case, and a number of them certainly testified. Although the four workers who testified on February 2nd were not Mexican, the "several other laid-off workers" who testified on February 15th may have included some of the Mexican workers. Furthermore, the hearing docket for February 2nd noted "both sides present" for the case, and Perez's account suggests that all of the workers, including the Mexicans, appeared before the labor board.[122]

In any event, the participation of Mexicans in this case, whether standing literally or figuratively alongside their fellow white ethnic workers, both reflected and helped cultivate a new level of acceptance of Mexicans by white workers in Chicago's packinghouses. The picture of the Hammond case painted by Perez, and by the official records of the case itself, stands in stark contrast to settlement worker Mary McDowell's comments on Poles and Mexicans in Back of the Yards less than seven years earlier: "There is quite a good deal of friction between the Poles and the Mexicans in this general area. This ill feeling is due to the charge which Poles make that the Mexicans have reduced wages at the Yards by their competition and their willingness to accept lower wages. It is doubtful whether or not this is an actual fact: but the Poles claim that it is, and they believe it to be a real grievance. Last summer the feeling became very strong and there were many open clashes, street fights, and much bad feeling."[123] But as single Mexican men left

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[121] Only one of the non-Mexicans listed lived outside the Back of the Yards / Stock Yards neighborhood, which was Forest Graham of 562 East 51st Street. As noted above, three of the four Mexicans listed lived on the Near West Side, while "Jese P. Navarro" lived in Back of the Yards.

[122] "In the Matter of G.H. Hammond Company & Stock Yards Labor Council," Case No. 84, March 2, 1934, in Box 2, Folder: "Chicago Regional Board Decisions From August 6, 1933 to July 15, 1934"; and "Docket of Cases for Board Meeting, Friday, Feb. 2, 1934, 2:00 P.M.," in Box 7, Folder: "Dockets - Board Hearings"; both in Entry: "Administrative and Other Records of the Regional Offices of the National Labor Relations Board, ca. 1934 – Chicago Administrative Files," Record Group 25 (Records of the National Labor Relations Board), National Archives and Records Administration – Great Lakes Regional Branch (Chicago), *hereafter* NA-Chicago.

[123] Mary McDowell Interview, May 3, 1927, cited as "Document G" and reproduced in Cressey, "The Succession of Cultural Groups in the City of Chicago," 248. Reflecting the important potential that Catholic parishes had in easing such tensions, McDowell reported to that she went to the local Polish priest to try to help alleviate the Polish attacks on Mexicans.

Chicago during the 1930's, and as Mexican family men like Jesse Perez spearheaded the fight for independent unions in Chicago's packinghouses, the participation of Mexicans in the packinghouse unionization drives challenged these former perceptions and helped build a new form of integration – and likely even comradeship and trust – between Mexican and non-Mexican workers in Back of the Yards.

This new relationship between Mexicans and their fellow workers at the Hammond plant was aided by the successful conclusion of Case #84, a conclusion based heavily on the testimony of the workers themselves (possibly including Mexicans). On March 2, 1934 the Chicago Regional Labor Board determined that it was "Not likely that so many workers of average ability would all consistently misrepresent and misstate the facts. It seems more likely that the workers were taking advantage of their recently acquired rights to Industrial citizenship and were attempting to organize accordingly." The Board also noted that the company was likely trying to defend its long-standing Employees' Representation Plan (i.e., its company union), which was being threatened by workers' attempts to organize. In conclusion, the labor board wrote that "It is the consensus of the Board that the company, in laying off men, did consider their union affiliations," thereby violating Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act. The board also stated that "As to dealing with the immediate situation at the Hammond Plant it is recommended that the above-named workers be reemployed at once in their former occupations and at their former rates of pay," the same conclusion to the case that Perez reported in his FWP interview.[124] Moreover, even after the Hammond case, Jesse Perez and other Mexicans continued to be active in panethnic workers' organizing activities in the Stockyards. Perez, along with Victor Martinez, Roman Padilla, Mariano Garcia, Margarito Gutierrez, and many other Polish, Lithuanian, and other workers, was a plaintiff in a civil lawsuit filed against the Armour packing

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[124] "In the Matter of G.H. Hammond Company & Stock Yards Labor Council," Case No. 84, March 2, 1934, in Box 2, Folder: "Chicago Regional Board Decisions From August 6, 1933 to July 15, 1934"; and "Docket of Cases for Board Meeting, Friday, Feb. 2, 1934, 2:00 P.M.," in Box 7, Folder: "Dockets - Board Hearings"; both in Entry: "Administrative and Other Records of the Regional Offices of the National Labor Relations Board, ca. 1934 -- Chicago Administrative Files," Record Group 25 (Records of the National Labor Relations Board), NA-Chicago.

company in 1940, which alleged that Armour had failed to pay its workers overtime pursuant to Section 16(b) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. The lawsuit was for a period of time between October 1938 and October 1939 (during which time Perez was interviewed by the FWP). This case was also ultimately decided in favor of the plaintiffs, further solidifying Mexicans' role as co-partners in white workers' struggles for a living wage that would help secure the welfare of their families and homes in the stockyards neighborhoods of Chicago.[125]

Mexicans and Steel Workers' Labor Activism

Mexicans' unionization in Chicago's Steel Workers' Organizing Committee (SWOC) followed a similar trajectory to that of packing, with the one signal difference being the dramatic events surrounding the "Memorial Day Massacre," when police clubbed over a hundred picketing CIO workers (including many visible Mexicans) and killed five of them at the Republic Steel plant just south of South Chicago's Mexican neighborhoods. Moreover, Mexican participation in SWOC grew at least in part out of Mexicans' earlier involvement in the *Frente Popular Mexicano* (FPM), or Mexican Popular Front, a Mexico-based nationalistic organization associated with Mexico's main workers' union, the Confederación de Trabajadores de Mexico (Confederation of Mexican Workers), which was in turn supported by Mexico's revolutionary government.[126]

FPM's Chicago chapter was founded at the University of Chicago Settlement House in the Back of the Yards neighborhood on February 9, 1936. The founding goals of the Chicago branch included the betterment of all workers throughout the world, whom the FPM hoped would "join forces within the socio-economic movement (Popular Front movement)." In addition, FPM

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[125] The case was not decided until 1945. Civil Case File for "James J. Corbett, et al vs. Armour & Company" (1940), Case 2179, Civil Records of the U.S. District Court at Chicago, Record Group 21 (Records of U.S. District Courts), NA-Chicago. I thank Glenn Longacre at the National Archives in Chicago for uncovering this case for me, which I hadn't even been looking for.

[126] One of the better accounts of the FPM in Chicago, and the subsequent unionization of Mexican workers in general, is provided in the undergraduate senior thesis, Adam J. Gonzales, "Constructing Mexican Americanism in South Chicago and the Calumet Region: Steelworkers and Labor Organizations, 1935–1967," B.A. Thesis, History (Amherst, 2004). Gonzales also uncovered some of the sources on the FPM that are utilized here. More recently, Joe Flores's dissertation in progress (at the University of Illinois at Chicago) has begun examining the FPM in even greater detail.

stated its belief in using "the strike for a higher level of life." However, FPM was also a Mexico-focused nationalistic organization, and pledged itself specifically to the good of the "Mexican colony" in Chicago and the advancement of Mexico as a whole. In spite (and perhaps because) of these lofty goals, the FPM had a relatively short-lived life in Chicago, and it is not clear how popular it was among Mexican workers as a whole (it likely would *not* have been popular among Mexicans actively involved in Chicago's Mexican parishes of Our Lady of Guadalupe and St. Francis, as the Claretian priests of those congregations had been expelled from Mexico by Mexico's revolutionary, anti-Catholic government). Already by December 14, 1936, notes on a meeting of the FPM at the University of Chicago Settlement House recorded that the leaders of *Frente Popular Mexicano* had come to realize that the organization was not "as popular as they thought the name indicated," and that "not very much has been accomplished." Proposals to rename the FPM and "reorganize it on a different basis" were discussed.[127]

However, a de facto reorganization of the FPM's members had already taken place, as the notes of this same meeting recorded that many of the FPM's members were absent because they were attending a SWOC meeting in South Chicago.[128] Thus, even though FPM may not ultimately have been very successful on its own, it appears to have helped pave the way for Mexican workers' participation in the CIO-backed steel organizing drives, and provided early evidence of Mexicans' dedication to industrial unionism. In fact, the comment that most of the FPM's members were at a SWOC meeting in December 1936 may suggest that the steel working members of the FPM unionized in a single bloc, much as Mexicans had in the PWOC.

Regardless of the relative importance of the FPM in Mexican steel workers' unionization within SWOC, Mexicans in general appear to have joined South Chicago's Local 65 of SWOC in

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[127] *Frente Popular Mexicano* meeting notes, taken by University of Chicago Settlement House worker, in Folder: "Mexican Work 1930-1937," Box 25 (Adult Department), University of Chicago Settlement Collection - Part 2, Mary McDowell Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

[128] *Frente Popular Mexicano* meeting notes, taken by University of Chicago Settlement House worker, in Folder: "Mexican Work 1930-1937," Box 25 (Adult Department), University of Chicago Settlement Collection - Part 2, Mary McDowell Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

large numbers by late 1936, being recruited by a few key Mexican labor organizers who had earlier forged ties with independent unions and their leaders at Illinois Steel's South Works. The sudden unionization of Mexicans in Local 65 suggests that Mexican steel workers may indeed have joined SWOC as a bloc (or several blocs) based on earlier Mexican organizations or the personal networks of Mexican labor leaders. One of these leaders was Alfredo Avila, who in 1935 came unannounced to the home of George Patterson, an independent union organizer who would become a key figure in SWOC , offering his assistance in recruiting Mexicans for Patterson's independent union, the Associated Employees. The Associated Employees opposed the South Works' employee representation plan and was one of the independent, mill-based unions that would eventually be merged into SWOC's Local 65 in South Chicago. By 1936, Avila and another Mexican organizer, Manuel García, were on the executive board for the local SWOC organization, which at that point boasted around 200 Mexican members. Perhaps interviewed at the same South Chicago SWOC meeting that FPM members attended on December 14, 1936, John Riffe, office director for SWOC in South Chicago, explained Mexicans' sudden move to join SWOC by saying, "We have from 150 to 200 Mexican workers in our union. Four months ago we did not have one in it. It was a hard group to start." For the purposes of comparison, Illinois Steel employed a little over 600 Mexicans in 1935, and South Chicago as a whole had only 786 Mexican men over the age of 19 in 1936.[129] Noting the work of Mexican organizers, Riffe added, "We have one Mexican [as] a full time paid organizer [likely Avila], and about 35 to 40 active helpers."[130] Although this account described Mexicans as a "hard group," they were only a hard group to start, and Mexicans' ensuing record of union membership,

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[129] See Appendix H and footnote 36 above.

[130] Above paragraph drawn from Francisco A. Rosales and Daniel T. Simon, "Chicano Steel Workers and Unionism in the Midwest, 1919–1945," *Aztlán: International Journal of Chicano Studies Research* 6.2 (1975): 170; and Interview with John Riffe (quoted), SWOC director and office manager, December 14, 1936, Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey (Chicago Public Library), Spanish Language Section, Reel 62, Sub-Section I.D.2: Attitudes - Economic Organization - Labor Organization and Activities. See also Gonzales, "Constructing Mexican Americanism in South Chicago and the Calumet Region: Steelworkers and Labor Organizations, 1935–1967," Chapter 2: "Becoming American Workers," especially pp.35–40.

activism, and labor militancy in South Chicago likely dispelled any lingering doubts about their commitment to industrial unionism.

Mexicans' later levels of unionization in SWOC continued to be impressive. Throughout the late 1930's, the proportion of unionized steel workers who were Mexican continued to outpace the proportion of the work force that was Mexican. Moreover, Mexicans were active members, with 88% of Mexican members voting in union elections in 1936, compared to only 54% of the union as a whole who voted.[131] Mexicans' high levels of CIO membership by the end of the 1930's were even reflected in the immigration and naturalization files of Mexican steel workers in the Chicago-Calumet region. Even though the sample size is very small, of the four Mexican steel workers in Gary and East Chicago whose immigration records were examined for Chapter 2, three listed "CIO" under the heading of their 1940 Alien Registration forms which asked them to "list memberships or activities in clubs, organizations, or societies." Only immigrants who had not yet completed their naturalization had to file the Alien Registration Form, so the sample actually captures those Mexicans whom one might expect to have the lowest levels of unionization. Moreover, the fourth steel worker, José Anguiano, may simply have failed to list his CIO membership on the form.[132]

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[131] Gonzales, "Constructing Mexican Americanism in South Chicago and the Calumet Region: Steelworkers and Labor Organizations, 1935–1967," 42.

[132] Alien Registration Forms for: Teodoro Alfaro (coke loading operator at Inland Steel, East Chicago), September 17, 1940, in A-File #A1932040 (Teodoro Alfaro), U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS, formerly the INS), National Records Center, Lee's Summit, MO (Freedom of Information Act / Privacy Act [FOIA/PA] request #NRC2003046033); Francisco Anguiano ("laborer" at Carnegie Illinois Steel, Gary), November 28, 1940, in A-File #A4077725 (Francisco Anguiano), USCIS, Philadelphia (FOIA/PA request #PHI2003001714); José Anguiano ("stocker" at Inland Steel), October 9, 1940, in C-File #C-7045020 (AR#2457676) (José Anguiano), USCIS, Washington, DC (FOIA/PA request #COW2003007523, p.118); and Refugio (Ray) Aguilar (a "bottom maker" at Inland Steel), October 11, 1940, in C-File #C-7975861 (AR#3533263) (Refugio [Ray] Aguilar), USCIS, National Records Center, Lee's Summit, MO (FOIA/PA request #NRC2003046043).

Other works that discuss Mexican unionization in the Chicago-Calumet region (in East Chicago and Gary, respectively) include Jorge Hernandez-Fujigaki, "Mexican Steelworkers and the United Steelworkers of America in the Midwest: The Inland Steel Experience (1936–1976)," PhD Dissertation (University of Chicago, 1991); and, to a lesser extent, Ruth Needleman, *Black Freedom Fighters in Steel: The Struggle for Democratic Unionism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 2003). Both of these works, however, focus more on the history of Mexicans (and blacks) after they were already in the union, including their struggles to overcome the hidden forms of

More dramatic than Mexicans' membership statistics in SWOC and the CIO, however, was their action in the organizing drives in the steel-working neighborhoods of South Chicago. It is clear that by 1936, many Mexicans were willing to embrace independent and CIO-affiliated unions even at the cost of personal harm, a stance that did not go unnoticed among other unionists and residents of Chicago's southeast side. Peter Martinez, for example, became active in unionization efforts when he worked at Interlake Iron and Steel between 1936 and 1938, just south of South Deering. He was subsequently laid off in 1938, and was unable to find any other steel-related work for at least two years. According to Martinez's complaint to the Fair Employment Practice Commission, prospective employers in South Chicago would appear ready to employ him until they contacted Interlake, who would tell the new steel mill about his union activities and prevent him from being employed.[133]

Mexican women also assumed important leadership roles in the CIO and CIO-related unionization drives on Chicago's southeast side. Alfredo Avila's wife worked with Avila and George Patterson in organizing the Associated Employees at Illinois Steel's south works. Guadalupe Marshall, who had earlier been a key participant in the Frente Popular Mexicano, also became active in SWOC, planning Mexican events and helping to organize the "Little Steel" strikes of 1937. The Little Steel strikes resulted when several of the smaller mills in the Chicago-Calumet region refused to recognize SWOC as a legitimate employees' union. One of the Little Steel companies was Republic Steel, at 118th and Burley, just south and across the Calumet River from South Deering, which became the site of the Memorial Day Massacre. Marshall was herself beaten along with over 100 other union members at Republic Steel during the Massacre in May 1937. One of the five strikers who was killed died on her lap, and Marshall would gain further fame among unionists when she testified at the LaFollete hearings regarding the police's criminal

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discrimination embedded in seniority practices.

[133] Peter Martinez was actually a U.S.-born American citizen (likely from Texas or the Southwest). Peter Martinez case file (1940), Box 96, Entry 72: Non-Docketable Cases (Records of Region VI), Record Group 228 (Records of the Fair Employment Practice Commission), NA-Chicago.

actions at the strike.[134] Additionally, women from the "Asociación Feminil Pro-Mexico" of SWOC's East Chicago branch (Women's Pro-Mexico Association) were pictured prominently with their banner in a photograph of a 1939 CIO rally commemorating the Memorial Day Massacre. The organization's motto printed on the banner was "Pro la Mujer, Pro Patria" (for woman, for country). The group's presence suggests the prominence of Mexican women within the broader Mexican CIO movement in the Chicago-Calumet region.[135] Finally, the prominence of these Mexican women was itself quite significant. First of all, it poignantly countered earlier white perceptions of Mexican workers as single men who threatened the living wage of other workers. Secondly, working-class women have historically been powerful images in labor struggles, at times sympathetically viewed by male workers as the innocent victims of employers' unscrupulous actions, and at other times celebrated as heroic figures. The fact that *Mexican* women were elevated to this position in the steel organizing drives of the 1930's was quite significant, signalling Mexicans' newly accepted place in the decade's labor struggles.

More broadly, the actions of Marshall and other Mexican unionists at the Memorial Day Massacre and other 1937 strikes became an important part of the local lore and public memory of these events, reflecting a sea change of opinion about Mexicans in the working-class steel communities of southeast Chicago and Northwest Indiana.[136] An early president of SWOC later recalled that Mexicans at times made up 75% of the picket lines at these demonstrations, and

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[134] Rosales and Simon, "Chicano Steel Workers and Unionism in the Midwest, 1919–1945," 270–72.

[135] Given its explicitly Mexican identity, the Asociación Feminil may have reflected the CIO's promotion of national and ethnic associations within the CIO, such as the "Mexican Committee" that was created within SWOC in the late 1930's. Further research is needed to determine the role of this group and women more generally among the Mexican CIO unionization movement. This photo appears in Rita Arias Jirasek and Carlos Tortolero, *Mexican Chicago*, Images of America (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2001) 117, and is part of the Southeast [Chicago] Historical Society's collection (Calumet Park Fieldhouse). The caption in the published book mistakenly identifies the Republic Steel Strike as 1919 (the year of a different series of strikes in steel).

[136] On the ways that the Memorial Day Massacre became an important part of public memory, and even neighborhood identity, in nearby South Deering (home of St. Kevin's and a significant Mexican population from the 1920's on) see the Federal Writers Project "tours" description of South Deering in: Folder: "#51 South Deering" (Tours), Box 87, Illinois Federal Writers' Project Records, Manuscripts Department, Illinois State Historical Library.

unionists also recalled company officials warning their men to "watch out for the Mexicans." At the Republic Steel strike, one Chicago police officer reportedly referred to the picketers as a "Mexican army," even though Mexicans probably only made up about 15% of the crowd. This labeling of the picketers as "Mexican" by anti-union officials was likely intended to denigrate the crowds by associating them with negative Mexican stereotypes, but for the pro-union steel workers in the Chicago-Calumet district, such pronouncements only elevated Mexicans' status. At the Memorial Day Massacre in particular, Mexicans' very presence was itself noteworthy, given that Republic Steel had not historically been a significant employer of Mexicans. In fact, the white neighborhoods surrounding Republic Steel had no Mexican residents in 1934, as Mexicans in the southeast side's steel communities primarily lived in South Chicago and South Deering to the north.[137] Thus, Mexicans were actively and visibly sacrificing their own personal safety for their fellow, predominantly white, union members. Even in the few cases of Mexican picketers who worked at Republic Steel, their actions were dramatic and memorable. Mexican Republic Steel employee Max Guzmán was one of two strikers bearing the American flags at the Memorial Day Massacre, and was remembered for not letting the flag touch the ground after the picketers were attacked by the police. Mexican workers who were not Republic Steel employees were also remembered for their actions. A Mexican employee of Inland Steel in East Chicago, for example, helped regroup a picket line at Republic Steel that had begun to disperse after its initial clash with

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[137] As of 1928, Republic Steel employed, at most, fewer than 100 Mexicans, and likely very few at all. Paul Taylor did not include it in his analysis of industrial employers employing 100 or more Mexicans, and neither he nor any other anecdotal sources I have reviewed from the 1920's and early 1930's mention Republic Steel as an employer of Mexicans. Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 36–39.

Census tract 710 covered the neighborhoods immediately surrounding the Republic Steel plant, and neither it nor the neighboring tracts of 707 and 709 recorded any Mexican residents in Chicago's 1934 census. It *is* possible, though quite unlikely, that a handful of Mexicans lived in these white neighborhoods in 1934, as the 1934 census only tabulated Mexican statistics for blocks which had at least 10 persons enumerated in the "Other" race category, a category that included Mexicans as well as Asians, American Indians, and Filipinos. Newcomb and Lang, *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1934*, Supplement Table 4 (p.668). Additionally, no Mexicans were enumerated as "white" in these tracts in 1930. Ernest W. Burgess and Charles S. Newcomb, eds, *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), supplementary Tables 2 & 3 (supplementary pp. 26-31).

the police. Overall, after the violence had subsided, eleven of the hundred or so injured picketers were Mexicans, a dynamic public testament to Mexicans' support for the CIO, especially in a neighborhood and at a plant where Mexicans themselves did not live, and most of them likely did not work.[138]

The patriotic image of Mexican steelworker Max Guzmán not letting the American flag touch the ground during the Memorial Day Massacre was a striking one, especially given the fact that many Mexican workers during the late 1930's embraced the CIO and its patriotic American imagery even before they were themselves U.S. citizens. Of the three CIO members among the Mexican steelworkers whose immigration records were discussed above, none had taken out their first papers for citizenship by the end of the 1930's, and only one of them had started the process by late 1940. Only one of the three, Refugio Aguilar, appears to have ever become a U.S. citizen, and he did not initiate the process until sometime after 1940.[139] But even though Mexicans clearly embraced the CIO before they officially embraced American citizenship, their public defense of the American flag was a potent image in 1937, and one that contrasted sharply with perceptions of Mexicans' un-American-ness during the late 1910's and 1920's. A particularly telling contrast to the image of Mexicans upholding the flag in 1937 was an article in the *Chicago Tribune* less than twenty years earlier, when a pair of Mexicans on the West Side had reportedly cursed and spat on an American flag during the height of U.S. - Mexican tensions over Mexico's neutrality during World War I. The page-three article, entitled "2 Insulters of Flag Saved from West Side Mob," began by reporting, "Two Mexicans insulted the American flag last night at Desplaines and Taylor Streets and an angry mob of 1,500 men and boys beat them up and tore most of their clothing off them. Somebody cried 'Lynch the Mexicans!' One man found a rope and a search was started for a pole or tree." The two Mexicans then broke away from the crowd,

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[138] This paragraph draws on the narrative told in Rosales and Simon, "Chicano Steel Workers and Unionism in the Midwest, 1919–1945," 270–72.

[139] See the USCIS files (formerly Immigration and Naturalization Service files) cited in footnote 132 above.

one escaping and the other being "arrested" by police officers, apparently for spitting on the U.S. flag, "before the crowd could carry out their lynching intention." The two Mexicans had reportedly been spitting on a flag in front of a resident's home, and, according to the *Tribune*, shouting "To Hell with the American flag," and "Damn the flag and the country, too."[140] Even without any alleged explicit attacks on the American flag, Mexicans were still seen as an affront to patriotic Americanism as late as 1931. At Calumet Park Beach on Chicago's southeast side, the nearest beach to South Chicago and South Deering, rock-throwing Poles and Italians ejected a group of Mexicans from the beach during that year's Fourth of July celebrations.[141]

The drastically different image of Max Guzmán holding up the American flag at Republic Steel in 1937 was not likely lost on Mexicans' fellow white residents in South Chicago and South Deering. Indeed, by the late 1930's whites in South Chicago readily interpreted a patriotic American sentiment among Mexicans – even when Mexicans themselves were not trying to display such sentiment. Commenting years later on baseball games that he attended as a boy in Russell Square Park – a public space very much "claimed" by the primarily Polish residents of the Bush and the Polish parish of St. Michael's – one white South Chicagoan fondly recalled how his brother's baseball team had friendly games with local Mexican teams in the late 1930's. Recalling his family's and friends' positive attitudes toward the Mexican team members, he said, "They [the Mexican team] even called themselves the Ya-kees, or something like that, which I think was Mexican for Yankees."[142] The Mexican team was likely the *Yaquis*, named after one of Mexico's more notoriously fierce and rebellious Indian tribes (who even served in Mexican forces that clashed with U.S. troops during the various border skirmishes of the Mexican Revolution). But

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[140] "2 Insulters of Flag Saved from West Side Mob," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 11, 1918, p.3.

[141] Eduardo Peralta Interview (by Arturo Rosales), South Chicago, February 1975; cited in Rosales, *Pobre Raza*, Appendix A: "White and Black Civilian Violence Against Mexicans," July 1931 entry, p.210 (see also discussion on pp.115-16).

[142] Comments by a staff volunteer at the Southeast (Chicago) Historical Society, Calumet Park Fieldhouse, Chicago, during the author's interview with Joe Mulac, July 29, 2004; in response to a discussion about white perceptions of Mexicans and how Mexicans were treated in South Chicago and South Deering.

to their white South Chicago observers, the Mexican team was making a declaration of its American-ness and its love for the New York Yankees – certainly not as good as the Chicago White Sox, but still something.

Only a few years after the Memorial Day Massacre, Mexicans' wartime military service would further strengthen this new association of Mexicans with American patriotism in the eyes of working-class whites. Although precise figures on Mexicans' World War II enlistment rates in the greater Chicago region are not available, anecdotal evidence – such as the 500-plus members of St. Francis parish on the Near West Side who served during the war – suggest a high level of participation that mirrored Mexicans' well-recognized service record at the national level. Nationwide, Mexicans and Mexican-Americans won 37 congressional medals of honor during the war, the highest total of all ethnic groups in proportion to their population in the U.S.[143] Wartime Hollywood films such as *Guadalcanal Diary* and *Bataan* (both 1943) popularized Mexicans' sacrifices and service in the war – significantly, alongside ethnic whites in racially segregated units.[144] Additionally, U.S. wartime diplomatic needs, propelled by the "Good Neighbor" policies

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[143] On the number of St. Francis's parishioners who served during the war, see Arias Jirasek and Tortolero, *Mexican Chicago*, 82, citing wartime issues of the *St. Francis Crier*. The high level of Chicago Mexicans' military service during World War II is further suggested by the collection of personal photographs and captions on pages 84-89. The best general survey of Mexicans / Mexican-Americans and the World War II experience, and the ways that their wartime military service helped break down barriers of discrimination, is found in Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez, ed., *Mexican Americans & World War II* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005). However, it should also be noted that a number of Chicano scholars differ from the dominant (though by no means universal) conclusions in this volume that the wartime experience had an overall positive effect on the Mexican-origin population of the United States. This point, along with the number of congressional medals of honor awarded to Mexicans and Mexican-Americans during the war, is given in Steven Rosales, "Book Review: *Mexican Americans & World War II*," *Latino Studies* 4.1–2 (2006): 199–201.

[144] Mexican-American actor Anthony Quinn gave a highly sympathetic portrayal of Mexican soldier Jesús Alvarez in the popular film *Guadalcanal Diary*. In a more dramatic portrayal, a young Desi Arnaz played a Latino hero in the 1943 film *Bataan*, while several smaller films paid more specific tribute to Mexicans' military service and high levels of decoration, such as *A Medal for Benny* (1943). For a discussion of these and similar wartime films, see *The Bronze Screen: 100 Years of the Latino Image in American Cinema*, DVD (Questar, 2003), Susan Racho, Nancy de los Santos, Alberto Dominguez, dirs.

of the preceding decade, created positive publicity for Mexicans that did not exist for African-Americans and other groups.

In Chicago, this diplomatic context helped promote generally positive views of Mexico as a partner in "Hemispheric Unity,"[145] while also mobilizing federal support for local events and institutions that showcased Mexicans' patriotic spirit. The federal Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA), for example, lent its institutional backing and free Spanish-language posters and pamphlets for a conference of the "Mexican Anti-Axis Committee," organized by Francisco Paz at Hull House in December 1942.[146] Through the Chicago Areas Project, the OCIAA also funded the creation of the Mexican Civic Center on Chicago's Near West Side in March 1943. An August 1945 photo montage of the community center, published on the front page of the Metropolitan Section of the *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, was topped by a family meal-time photo featuring two Mexican GI's in uniform, Sergeant Enemecio Tienda and Private Charles T. Gomez (notably, the montage also featured a female Mexican dancer in *china*

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[145] As early as 1941, a *Chicago Daily News* article heaped "overwhelming" praise on Mexico's cooperation with the United States in the name of "Hemispheric Unity" (*Chicago Daily News*, December 22, 1941, as reported in Ricardo G. Hill, Cónsul General de México, to the Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores, December 23, 1941, File III-909-3 [parte I], Archivo Histórico "Genaro Estrada," Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City [Tlatelolco]). In April 1942, Chicago celebrated "Pan-American Week" with much support from the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA). Nelson A. Rockefeller, the U.S. Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, offered a speech on "The Common Sense of Hemispheric Unity" at a grand dinner at the Stevens Hotel closing out the week's activities (see the *Chicago Tribune* articles: "Pan-American Week Activities Start Today," April 12, 1942, p.20; "Americas' Fate Linked by War: N.A. Rockefeller," April 15, 1942; and "China Friends Seek Ways to Aid Students," April 19, 1942, part 7, p.2). Throughout the war, the OCIAA continued to offer support to "inter-American" activities and organizations in Chicago, including a roundtable discussion by "The Friends of Mexico," as well as Chicago's Pan American Council and Good Neighbor Forum. These Chicago-based activities and organizations are documented throughout the OCIAA's records. As examples, see: Raymond T. Rich, Director of Inter-American Centers (OCIAA) to Joseph H. Spear, Director of the Pan American Council (Chicago), April 6, 1943; and Joseph E. Weckler, Assistant to the Director, Division of Inter-American Activities in the U.S. (OCIAA) to Edith Ingram Kelly, President, The Friends of Mexico (Chicago), April 29, 1943; both in Folder: "Spanish and Portugese Speaking Minorities," Box 57, Entry 1: Central Files (file classification "0. Inter-American Activities in the United States -- Spanish and Portugese Speaking Minorities in the U.S."), Record Group 229 (Records of the Office of Inter-American Affairs) (*hereafter* RG 229), NA-CP.

[146] Memorandum, Dora Thea Hettwer to David J. Saposs, December 9, 1942, in Folder: "Inter-Office Memorandum -- Spanish Speaking Minorities"; shipping record for "Spanish Pamphlets and Posters" (via Railway Express), December 7, 1942, in Folder: "OWI - Miscellaneous"; both in Box 1717, Entry 155: "Planning and Analysis Section, Records Relating to Minorities," RG 229, NA-CP.

poblana dancing on top of a table, and made reference to "[w]hirling skirts and twinkling heels" in the caption). The related article on the Mexican Civic Center included a whole section entitled "Many in Service," which began by stating that Chicago-area Mexicans "have been brought closer to their adopted country by the impact of the war." The text quoted the Civic Center's director, Rafael Pérez, as saying, "There is hardly a [Mexican] family that does not have a father, brother, or sweetheart in active service." Turning to Mexicans' bravery in the services, the article added that Mexicans "have distinguished themselves in combat. Many have won the purple heart." After highlighting the West Side's own Mexican Congressional Medal of Honor winner, Manuel Pérez, the article concluded with the reflections of the center's director on Mexicans' highly decorated service record:

> The patriotism displayed in combat is an index of the feeling of Mexicans for their adopted country, Perez says. "We are proud of our Mexican heritage," he declared, "and loyal to the United States. There is no conflict between the two."[147]

The *Tribune*'s reporting on congressional medal of honor recipient Manuel Pérez certainly reinforced this image of Mexicans' patriotism and "loyalty" – even to the point of calling Pérez a "yankee." The report of his death in May 1945 in the Phillipines was announced with the headline "Chicago Yank Sacrifices His Life for His Platoon." The article made no reference to the fact he was Mexican, though his name and occupation ("former Chicago food packer") would have clarified this "Yank's" origin for many readers. A few months later, Pérez was posthumously awarded the congressional medal of honor for a separate, earlier action in which he was credited

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[147] "Mexican Center Smooths Way in A Strange Land," *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, Part 3 (Metropolitan Section), pp.1 (photos) & 6. The OCIAA's role in funding the "Mexican Civic Committee" is also recorded in the official records of the OCIAA, which suggest that a second "community house" may have been formed elsewhere in Chicago, possibly in South Chicago, which also had a "Mexican Civic Committee" that grew out of the work of the Chicago Areas Project. See: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, "Items in Budget Estimates for 1944 Disallowed in House Bill," [ca.1943], pp.47-49 ("The Chicago Area Project" section), in Folder: "Report of the Committee to the Senate on Spanish Speaking Minorities in the U.S."; and "Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs – Division of Inter-American Activities in the United States – Spanish and Portuguese Speaking Peoples in the United States Section – Functions and Operations" (nd, likely 1942), p.3; both in Box 1717, Entry 155: "Planning and Analysis Section, Records Relating to Minorities," RG 229, NA-CP.

with destroying 12 enemy pillboxes and killing 75 Japanese soldiers, earning him the title "Chicago Hero of Luzon" in the *Tribune*'s article about his medal.[148]

Such references to Mexican "heroes" and "Yanks" in the popular press undoubtedly did much to reinforce positive views of Mexicans' patriotism among white readers throughout the Chicago-Calumet region. But the service and sacrifice of Mexicans during the war was also brought home to Mexicans' white working-class neighbors in more local ways – ways that may well have reminded these white residents of Mexicans' similar sacrifice and patriotism at the Memorial Day Massacre. On a Sunday afternoon in the summer of 1946, for example, South Deering's Wisconsin Steel Works held a memorial service in Trumbull Park to honor 63 Wisconsin Steel workers who were killed in action during World War II. For the service, the company produced a commemorative booklet entitled "World War II Dead – Wisconsin Steel Works," which featured an American flag on the front and included a brief biography and circumstances of death for each of the 63 employees. Notably, six of the 63 employees who were honored that afternoon in the heart of South Deering were local Mexicans.[149]

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The CIO-based union movements of the late 1930's have often been noted for their anti-discriminatory policies and their deliberate efforts to break down racial and ethnic divisions. Accounts of the Little Steel Strikes and the Memorial Day Massacre in southeast Chicago did the same, and specifically identified Mexicans as being part of the diverse racial and ethnic mix that unified during the strikes. One pro-union newspaper account written a few days after the

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[148] "Chicago Yank Sacrifices His Life for His Platoon," *Chicago Tribune*, May 18, 1945, p.4; "Chicago Hero of Luzon Wins Medal of Honor – Girl Tells of Wedding that Cannot Be," *Chicago Tribune*, July 20, 1945, p.5. On Manuel Pérez's congressional medal of honor, see also the front-page article in the August 1945 *St. Francis Crier*, reproduced in Arias Jirasek and Tortolero, *Mexican Chicago*, 83.

[149] Wisconsin Steel Works, International Harvester Company, "World War II Dead," June 2, 1946; Southeast (Chicago) Historical Society, Calumet Park Fieldhouse, Chicago. Portions of this item are available online as part of the digital Industrial Heritage Archives project, currently being posted in the online exhibits section of the Pullman State Historic Site, at www.pullman-museum.org. I thank Rod Sellers for bringing this booklet to my attention.

Memorial Day Massacre poetically proclaimed that "South Chicago's melting pot of humanity – as diversified as the elements which go into the making of the steel rail which supports the train you ride – is fusing into one solid front, black and white, brown and yellow, and every tongue made understandable to all." The article commented on the "lack of friction present among the various racial identities moving in and out of the busy [SWOC] office" at 9233 Houston Avenue – the same block as the South Chicago YMCA, which was two blocks west of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Discussing Mexicans specifically, the article reported that "This is the first time in South Chicago, leaders said, that organizations, trade unions, etc. have been able to organize all groups on an equal basis. Mexicans, blacks, Polish, Italians, Germans, and Irish all are being poured into the pot and melted and molded into American citizens." In this article, Mexicans were clearly integrated with whites, and with blacks as well, in the non-discriminatory activism and policies of SWOC. Strikingly, however, this article appeared in Chicago's pre-eminent *black* newspaper, the *Chicago Defender*.[150]

The *Chicago Defender*'s positive reporting on Mexicans' role in the Little Steel organizing drives clearly shows that Mexicans' union activism earned the respect of black as well as white observers. But it also raises an important question. As the *Defender*'s article suggests, blacks were incorporated with whites, and with Mexicans as well, in the non-discriminatory actions and policies of SWOC and the broader CIO movement in the mid- to late- 1930's. But for African-Americans, this incorporation in CIO unions in Chicago did *not* lead to an end in black residential segregation. Although blacks and whites may have become allies in the workplace, Chicago continued to be "the North's most segregated city" in the 1940's and beyond. Why, then, did Mexicans' incorporation into CIO-supported unions make a difference in their housing status and even their perceived racial identity, when black integration into unions failed to help African-Americans in arenas outside the workplace?

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[150] Dan Burley, "Five Men Killed in Bloody Steel Strike; Expect New Uprisings in Chicago Area" (front page headline), *Chicago Defender (National edition)*, June 5, 1937, p.1.

In addressing this quandary of African-Americans' racialization in the urban North, historian John McGreevy has argued that the key reason housing remained a bulwark of segregation for blacks in the twentieth century was that white Catholics – a substantial portion of the urban North's population – continued to perceive African-Americans as non-Catholic, and therefore as a threat to parish neighborhoods.[151] McGreevy's observation is a useful one here as well, for Mexicans in 1930's Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary presented a very different case for urban Catholicism than African-Americans. In short, Mexicans and non-Mexicans by the 1930's were integrated with one another in Chicago's Catholic parishes in ways that blacks and whites simply were not.

This parish-level integration was not in itself enough to reduce the racial hostilities that Mexicans endured during the 1920's, especially in the realm of housing. But Mexicans' integration with non-Mexican Catholics in the parish landscapes of the greater Chicago region was an important enabling factor that allowed Mexicans' parallel incorporation in the CIO union movements of the late 1930's to have a greater positive effect on Mexicans' overall racial status and identity in the eyes of whites. Moreover, the impact of both of these developments was magnified by the demographic realities of Mexican housing in the 1930's – realities which were drastically different from that of African-Americans, who already had a large and well-established urban population that did not return South during the Depression. In essence, Mexicans ceased to be a dynamic housing threat in the 1930's in the same way that blacks were. In this new environment, Mexicans' twin processes of incorporation in Chicago's parishes and unions both reflected and enabled a reconsideration of Mexicans' racial status and identity in the eyes of whites – a reconsideration that was in turn shaped by the broader cultural lightening of Mexicans' already ambiguous racial identity during the 1930's.

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[151] McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, Introduction.

CHAPTER 7

UNEQUAL PARTNERS IN WHITENESS: THE TRUMBULL PARK RIOTS, "OPERATION WETBACK," AND THE POSTWAR RACIAL ORDER

In August 1953 the Chicago neighborhood of South Deering erupted in a series of "white"-initiated violent disturbances aimed driving out "Negroes" who had moved into the Trumbull Park Homes housing project, a New Deal era single-story public housing project that had previously housed no "non-white" residents. The violence was precipitated by the move-in of an African-American couple, Donald and Betty Howard. The Howards had accidentally slipped through the informal steering procedures of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) that directed black applicants to black projects and white applicants to white ones, because Betty Howard, who made the application, was "exceptionally fair-skinned." CHA executive secretary Elizabeth Wood seized upon the mistake as an opportunity to prove the CHA's commitment to integrated housing, a move that went against the wishes of the CHA's governing board, and would eventually cost Wood her position. The CHA continued to place additional black families in the homes in late 1953, 1954, and 1955, spurring a period of sustained mob violence that continued in earnest for almost two years, and resurfaced sporadically for the next decade. At its peak, the mob violence involved over two thousand protesters at a time. The protesters threw bricks and stones, lit fires, fired rockets and "aerial bombs," and otherwise used every available means to intimidate the black residents of Trumbull Park Homes and destroy their property, necessitating regular police escorts to ensure the black residents' safety whenever they left their homes.[1]

Trumbull Park has been held up as an example, *par excellence*, of organized white violence creating and enforcing a postwar "Second Ghetto" for blacks in Chicago. The Trumbull

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[1] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955* (Chicago, c.1955) 7, 8; Arnold Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," *Journal of American History* Sept 1995: 522–50; especially pp.522-24 and 526-27.

Park Homes riots were recognized at the time, and have since been recognized by historians, as one of the most notorious instances of anti-black violence in the postwar urban North. In 1955, the Chicago Commission on Human Relations' report on the Trumbull Park Homes referred to it as "the scene of Chicago's largest and costliest racial friction since [the Chicago race riot of] 1919."[2] More recently, historian Arnold Hirsch has argued that "the ethnic uprising in Chicago's Trumbull Park revealed – nearly a year before the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* decision – the shoals upon which the postwar movement for racial equality would founder."[3]

By "ethnic," Hirsch meant "white 'ethnic,' " the phrase that repeatedly appears in Hirsch's descriptions of South Deering's "southern and eastern European" residents and rioters.[4] Overlooked in this, however, is the fact that Mexicans comprised a sizable minority of the South Deering community at the time of the Trumbull Park riots, not to mention for several decades before the riots.[5] Indeed, given the salience of the Trumbull Park riots in the hardening biracial order of postwar Chicago, it is striking that South Deering's Mexican residents, who had themselves suffered housing exclusion during the 1920's, were sought out as partners in South Deering's efforts to expel African-Americans from the Trumbull Park Homes. Chicago-born Delores Hernández, who had moved to South Deering in 1943 with her Mexican father and

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[2] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, "Introductory Comment."

[3] Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," 523. Hirsch is also the author of the "Second Ghetto" thesis, which outlines how a de facto consensus of working-class residents and university and business elites tapped into unprecedented governmental powers after World War II to produce a new form of black residential segregation that was tied to public housing and "slum clearance." Arnold Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983).

[4] Hirsch uses this term "white 'ethnic' " to speak of Chicago's postwar housing riots in general, in Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 78, 81. In his article on the Trumbull Park riots, he referred to South Deering's disturbances as an "ethnic uprising" in the "heavily ethnic neighborhood of South Deering," which he also described as white and of southern and eastern European descent. Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," 523, 524. Further discussion of Hirsch's characterizations of South Deering's residents and rioters is included below.

[5] See the analysis of South Deering's Mexican population in Chapter 6, as well as further analysis below.

German-American mother, commented on this aspect of the Trumbull Park violence in an interview almost 50 years later. Speaking of the rioters, she said,

> My *God*, the way they carried on. It was terrible. And they wanted you to 'Stand on the corners with us and protest.' And I thought, I'm not standin' on the corner with *you!* You know, you didn't even want my father getting off the streetcar to go to work at the *mill*. And you didn't want us here, either. I'm not *standin'* on the corners with you.[6]

Hernández's account captures the dramatic shift that had occurred for South Deering Mexicans by the time of the Trumbull Park Homes disturbances. As her account alludes, her father had been attacked with a knife in the early to mid-1930's when he got off the Torrence Avenue streetcar in South Deering to go to the Wisconsin Steel mill (notably, the attack occurred at a point within a block or two of where he would later buy a house for his family). The attack was severe, with his assailants attempting to cut his throat and leaving him with a long scar on his chest and neck.[7] Delores's reference to that attack, along with her comment that "you didn't want us here, either," casts into striking relief the sea change that had occurred in white racial attitudes about Mexicans by the time of the Trumbull Park riots in 1953. Whereas Mexicans had been attacked as the racial equivalents of blacks in the race riot of 1919, and had suffered pervasive forms of housing exclusion in the 1920's, by the 1950's they had avoided the residential segregation that African-Americans suffered and were viewed as partners in the white exclusionary efforts that would give Trumbull Park its notorious name. Moreover, in spite of Delores's apparent indignation at being asked to join in the "protests" in 1953, some Mexicans did participate in these exclusionary efforts, in quite significant ways.

In analyzing Mexicans' participation in the Trumbull Park riots, this chapter reveals the profound transformation that had occurred in Mexicans' perceived racial identity and lived racial status between the 1920's to the 1950's. Yet, at the same time that the Trumbull Park

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[6] Delores Hernández recorded interview, 2002, in author's possession. "Delores Hernández" is a fictive name used throughout this chapter to protect her real identity. The names of Delores's family members and persons that she alone identifies have also been altered.

[7] Delores Hernández Interview (with author), March 16, 2005.

disturbances were so vividly illustrating this change, the image of the "illegal Mexican" sneaking into Chicago under the false beds of fruit trucks and by other means was widely publicized in Chicago, corresponding with heightened INS efforts to deport illegal Mexicans in the Chicago region. This effort culminated in the INS's widely publicized "Operation Wetback" in 1954, during the second year of the Trumbull Park riots. The juxtaposition of Trumbull Park and Operation Wetback clarify that Mexican-Americans in Chicago had by the 1950's established an accepted place for themselves in white Chicago neighborhoods, and that white Chicagoans – at least in these neighborhoods – consciously distinguished between "good" (i.e., old) and "bad" (i.e., new and "illegal") Mexicans. However, the cultivation of the "illegal Mexican" image retained racialized elements that would linger well into subsequent decades, when Chicago's Mexican-origin population would grow to become the second largest in the United States. This bifurcated image of Mexicans – as well-known working-class neighbors, parishioners, and allies in racial exclusion on the one hand; and as surreptitiously threatening, "illegal" "aliens" on the other – represented an important qualifier to the transformation in Mexicans' racial status by the 1950's.

The second key qualifier about Mexicans' racial status in postwar Chicago was that even on Chicago's southeast side where they had a long-established presence, Mexicans remained an "other" group in certain significant ways. On occasion, this other-ness placed them at risk of being placed in the middle of the black-white racial conflict at the Trumbull Park Homes, or suffering milder forms of exclusion elsewhere on the southeast side. In other words, the specter of possible exclusion never completely went away, even as Mexicans were welcomed on the white side of the housing riots at Trumbull Park. The result of this condition was that Mexicans were unequal partners in whiteness. They were truly partners; but they were truly *unequal* partners as well. This condition, along with the broader bifurcated image of Mexican-ness during this period, meant that Mexicans' transformation from targets of racial exclusion in the 1920's to co-agents in racial exclusion by the 1950's was not necessarily a uni-directional development, with no possibility of reversal. In other words, at the dawn of large-scale Mexican immigration to the

greater Chicago region beginning in 1970, Mexicans' hold on whiteness was a tenuous one. But it was a hold nonetheless – one that stood in stark contrast to Mexicans' racial position in the 1920's; as well as to that of African-Americans in the entire postwar period.

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Mexicans' role during the Trumbull Park riots was a natural extension of the position Mexicans occupied within the South Deering neighborhood, its public spaces, and its community institutions. A brief examination of these venues reveals how Mexicans' acceptance in these areas by the 1950's differed significantly from their position in the 1920's. Mexicans' new levels of incorporation and acceptance in the South Deering Improvement Association, Trumbull Park itself, and the broader South Deering neighborhood stemmed in many ways from the processes of incorporation already outlined in Chapter 6. The 1930's saw South Deering's Mexican population tumble drastically, removing the threat that Mexicans might take over certain blocks, or even the neighborhood itself. The resulting extended period of de facto residential integration worked alongside Mexicans' simultaneous incorporation in St. Kevin's and in local unions to make Mexicans visible partners in the institutions that mattered most to the community. Moreover, the racially lightened images of Mexican-ness promoted at the World's Fair and by folkloric representations of Mexican-ness reached South Deering's residents as well.[8] The resulting incorporation and integration, lived out in the everyday lives of South Deering's residents, can itself be seen as "discursive" – in that it re-wrote the "knowledge" of Mexicans'

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[8] Joe Mulac, who grew up on Torrence Avenue in South Deering in the 1930's, commented that Mexicans in South Deering at that time "weren't like the fancy, dressed-up guys that you would see playing their guitars and dancing and stuff. They were poor, like us." On the one hand, his comment suggests that the images of Mexicans popularized at the Fair and in other venues did not fully "take" with South Deering's residents. On the other hand, his comment shows that the images did in fact circulate among South Deering-ites. Moreover, it was the shared poverty of Mexicans and their European-descended neighbors that Joe Mulac saw as incongruent with the popular representations of Mexican-ness, suggesting that the racial lightening that these representations conveyed may still have had their effect. Joe Mulac Interview, July 29, 2004.

difference.[9] Although South Deering's non-Mexican residents might still have noted perceived physical differences among Mexicans, the knowledge of those physical differences was no longer overwritten with ideas of difference in family makeup, class interests, religious faith, or even residential location. In essence, Mexicans' perceived physical difference was no longer linked with alleged non-physical characteristics, the hallmark of racial thinking.

At the time of the Trumbull Park riots, Mexicans in South Deering were well incorporated in South Deering community events such as the South Deering carnival and the 4th of July South Deering parade and festivities. The incorporation of Mexicans in such public, neighborhood-based activities echoed – and likely built upon – the incorporation of Mexicans in Catholic parishes and unions two decades earlier. Notably, the carnival and the 4th of July celebration were both sponsored by the South Deering Improvement Association (SDIA). The SDIA published the openly racist *South Deering Bulletin* during the riots, lent its moral support and legal assistance to the white perpetrators of mob violence, and even (at times) coordinated the violence itself.[10] When asked whether she was active in the SDIA, Delores Hernández responded "Yes and no." But her elaboration on the point revealed a significant level of integration and incorporation with the SDIA's activities and social networks. Delores recalled that her "girlfriend Sylvia" was "very active," while Delores herself "helped out" with the carnival and the 4th of July celebrations. More importantly, according to Delores, other Mexicans in South Deering participated in all of these activities in the 1950's, for as she put it, Mexicans "were accepted as

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[9] On these notions of actions (not just "texts" or "talk") as "discursive," and of the ways that discourses about the "knowledge" of difference can have measureable and concrete effects on lived social experience, see Chris Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Postructuralist Theory*, 2nd ed. (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1997) 108–9; Joan Wallach Scott, "On Language, Gender, and Working-Class History [1987]," *Gender and the Politics of History*, Joan Wallach Scott (New York: Columbia UP, 1999, rev. ed.) especially p.55; and Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis [1986]," *Gender and the Politics of History*, Joan Wallach Scott (New York: Columbia UP, 1999, rev. ed.) 28–50.

[10] Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," 531; Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 89, 99.

part of the neighborhood."[11] Former SDIA president Alex Savastano, who was active in the organization at the time of the riots and became president after the disturbances had subsided, also confirmed that "Yes, Mexicans were active in the improvement association" – an organization whose weekly publication boasted the motto, "White People Must Control Their Own Communities."[12]

Notable as well was the fact that the SDIA's public activities, such as the carnival and the 4th of July, were all rooted in the public space of Trumbull Park, and the Park – particularly its playing fields – became an especially potent site of racial exclusion during the Trumbull Park Homes disturbances, when African-Americans demanded access to the park for baseball and football games and South Deering "whites" (including Mexicans) vigorously "defended" the fields with outright violence. In particular, the baseball game on July 10, 1954 devolved into one of the most violent episodes of the Trumbull park riots. As late as 1962, a car that carried blacks into the park was burned, and it was not until 1963 that blacks were again able to use the park, under heavy police guard.[13]

Neighborhood parks and public spaces have historically been a flashpoint for conflicts over racial integration, and Trumbull Park in particular was deeply connected to the South Deering community. Wisconsin Steel's management first invited city park officials to South Deering in 1910 to request that they build a park to benefit the mill's workers. In 1912,

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[11] Delores Hernández Interview, March 16, 2005.

[12] Alex Savastano Interview, August 5, 2004. *South Deering Bulletin*, September 20, 1956, copy given to author by Delores Hernández, who received it from another South Deering resident. See also the extended run of the *South Deering Bulletin* at the Southeast [Chicago] Historical Society, Calumet Park Fieldhouse. The *South Deering Bulletin* maintained this motto until the early 1960's. Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," 548.

[13] The July 10, 1954 game was scheduled in advance (and the group of black players issued a permit by park authorities) after two blacks who tried to use the park on June 22nd had been attacked. Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," 534–37, 550. Other instances of clashes over the park's playing fields appear in the daily reports of the Polish-speaking "special operative" that the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) placed in the Wisconsin Steel Mill and the broader South Deering community in 1954 (see full citations below).

construction on the park began, and the fieldhouse for the park was completed in 1916, with much community assistance. As one account noted, "quite a few of the Irondale [South Deering] people helped in promoting it." Moreover, a locally-written history noted in 1949 that "For the next ten to fifteen years [after 1916], the park became much like a private club for the residents of Irondale. It was difficult, if not impossible, for 'outsiders' to use the park facilities." The account also noted that "Particularly Irondalers living north of 106th Street considered the park as their own private play area."[14] Significantly, most of South Deering's Mexicans in the 1920's and even as late as 1939 lived south of 106th Street (along with Serbians, Croatians, and some Italians; see Map 3 in Appendix M-2, as well as Map 7.1 below).[15] Mexicans' inclusion in the public festivals at the Park by the 1950's was therefore quite significant.

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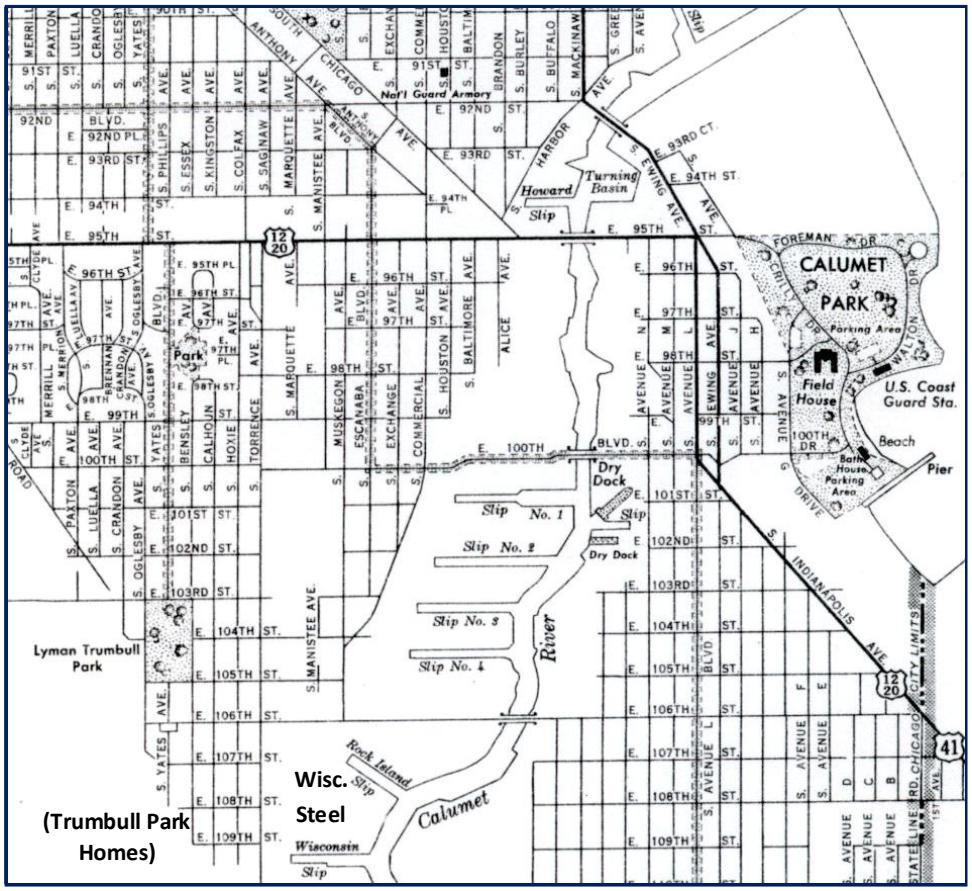
[14] Raymond Edward Nelson, "A Study of an Isolated Industrial Community: Based on Personal Documents Secured by the Participant Observer Method," Master's Thesis (University of Chicago, 1929) 18; and "History of Wisconsin Steel Works," (typescript, nd, ca. 1949), p.30 [& p.69 dating the document to 1949], document given to me by Delores Hernández, who received a copy from a fellow South Deering resident.

[15] Paul Taylor's map of Mexican residency in South Deering in the late 1920's (ca. 1928) showed all 9 blocks south of 106th Street as being blocks of "greatest" and "medium" Mexican density, with only four blocks north of 106th street showing any Mexicans, and these four blocks were all listed as "least density" areas (see Map 3 in Appendix M-2). Also in 1928, nearly all of the Mexican students enrolled at South Deering's Bright School (55 out of 59) lived south of 106th Street: Nelson, "A Study of an Isolated Industrial Community: Based on Personal Documents Secured by the Participant Observer Method," p.199a (Map). By 1939, with the consolidation of Mexican residential areas in South Deering, Mexicans continued to mostly live in the southeastern portion of South Deering, with 48 out of 51 Mexican heads of household living south of 106th Street. In 1939 Croatians constituted the most numerous group in five of the nine blocks south of 106th Street, Italians were the most numerous in one block, and Croatians and Italians together comprised the majority of yet another block. These statistics are compiled from the mimeographed "block tabulation" sheets for South Deering (all surveyed in 1939), bound in: Federal Works Agency, U.S. Works Projects Administration (Illinois), "Block and Census Tract Tabulations, Community Area 51" (sponsored by the Chicago Plan Commission for the Chicago Land Use Survey), Unclassed / Oversized WPA Collection, Government Publications Department, Northwestern University Library.

Map 7.1: South Deering, Trumbull Park, and the Southeast Side, 1952[16]



Indeed, as seen in Chapter 3, numerous conflicts had erupted between Mexicans and whites over Mexicans' use of parks, baths, and other "white" public spaces in 1920's Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary. Mexicans in South Deering faced this kind of opposition at Trumbull Park itself in the late 1920's, as already suggested by the reference to the park's exclusive use by residents living north of 106th Street. During the late 1920's, Mexicans regularly came to nightly English classes at the fieldhouse, but the director of the field house complained that Mexicans did not "come as freely as he would like" to the fieldhouse's "other activities." After noting that Mexicans *did* make "quite extensive" use of the fieldhouse's "shower baths," he "complained of the difficulty of mixing the Irish Americans with the Mexicans. 'The Mexicans are willing but the

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[16] Adapted from "Street Map of Chicago, prepared for the Chicago Motor Club," 1952.

Irish are not.'"[17] Whether or not the main source of friction was Mexicans' use of the shower baths is not clear, but if it were it would have mirrored patterns of hostility at other parks' baths during the 1920's, even though this hostility appears to have been less intense at Trumbull Park. Regardless, the friction Mexicans experienced in the Park's public spaces in the 1920's contrasted sharply with Mexicans' incorporation in the SDIA-sponsored parades and events in the Park by the 1950's.

In fact, Mexicans themselves were the targets of exclusionary violence in South Deering during the 1920's, as they were throughout the Chicago-Calumet region. An "American" informant in South Deering during the late 1920's explained that, "the latest nationality always gets the hazing, so the Mexicans get it from the young Irish toughs who tried [in gangs] to drive them out. But the Mexicans held their own pretty well, and after using the knife a few times they were let alone."[18] Although described in this account as an issue of newcomer Mexicans versus old-timer Irish (who by the 1920's were no longer South Deering's main ethnic group), Mexicans' later incorporation in the South Deering Improvement Association and the Trumbull Park riots was a major shift from the 1920's hostility aimed at "driving out" Mexicans from South Deering – especially when one considers that the same groups which attacked Mexicans in the 1920's and 1930's were arrested alongside Mexicans in the exclusionary violence of the Trumbull Park riots. Irish-Americans, who in the 1920's refused to commingle with Mexicans in the park and tried to "drive them out" of the neighborhood, made up 19.6% of the arrestees during the

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[17] Comments of Trumbull Park fieldhouse director, Mr. Mustard, late 1927 or early 1928, as recounted in: Raymond E. Nelson, "Mexicans in South Chicago (A study conducted under the direction of Dr. Arthur E. Holt for the Chicago Congregational Missionary and Extension Society)," 1928, p.32, in Container 11, Folder 59: "Chicago & Calumet Area - South Chicago - Raymond E. Nelson Study," Taylor Papers (S.3-ML).

[18] Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States, Vol II, Part 2: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 7, No.2 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1932) 225. Parenthetical brackets included in original source.

Trumbull Park riots, while the Spanish-surnamed persons who joined them made up 4.7% of all arrestees.[19]

South Deering's Poles had also attacked Mexicans as late as 1934, and Poles comprised a substantial 10.7% of arrestees during the Trumbull Park riots less than twenty years later.[20] The location of the Polish attacks in 1934, especially when viewed alongside the attack on Delores Hernández's father that occurred at the same time, suggest that white hostility toward Mexicans' presence in the mills motivated the attacks.[21] This motivation mirrored similar attacks that would later be made against black workers near the mills' gates in the 1950's (and it is important to remember in both cases how "the mill" was viewed as an extension of the neighborhood, and vice-versa). The Polish attacks on Mexicans occurred in the spring of 1934 at 108th and Torrence, near the point where workers crossed Torrence to go to work at the Wisconsin Steel mills. This was also the point where Antonio (Tony) Hernández, father of Delores Hernández, was attacked. Moreover, this was the most visibly Mexican part of South Deering, a visibility that likely became increasingly irksome to unemployed whites during the layoffs of the 1930's.[22] Chicago's Mexican

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[19] The percentage of Irish-named arrestees during the Trumbull Park riots was even greater than that of Italians, who outnumbered the Irish in South Deering by that time. On the ethnic makeup of arrestees during the Trumbull Park riots, see the sources footnoted in the discussion of Trumbull Park arrestees below, as well as Arnold Hirsch's analysis of Trumbull Park arrestees, who determined the following percentages of arrestee names at Trumbull Park in 1953-1954: 25.5% "Slav" (this would have included Serbians and Croatians); 19.6% Irish; 13.6% "Anglo"; 12.0% Italian; 10.7% Polish; 6.9% unspecified "southeastern Europe"; and 4.7% Spanish surname. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, Table 4, p.82. Hirsch's analysis and other sources clearly show that most of the rioters were South Deering residents. Seven out of every ten arrestees during the Trumbull Park riots were either residents of the Trumbull Park Homes or lived within four blocks of the project; 86.1% of the arrestees lived within twelve blocks (Hirsch, p.72).

[20] Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, Table 4, p.82.

[21] This would seem to stand in contrast to the process by which Mexicans were becoming incorporated into St. Kevin's at the same time. However, it should be noted that the 1930's Polish attacks on Mexicans may have been initiated by Polish workers who resided outside South Deering; and that 1934 still represented a relatively early period in the Depression, when the processes of incorporation outlined in Chapter 6 would not yet have achieved their full effect.

[22] A number of Mexican businesses were located between 107th and 109th Streets, and Mexicans roomed in the second floors and rears of the buildings. As a mid-1920's observer had noted, although Mexicans were not the most numerous group in these blocks, "To view Torrence Avenue on a warm summer evening of 1926 when it is too close for the inhabitants to remain in their houses, one might well judge the Mexican population to

press reported that on April 20, 1934, Luis Vargas was assaulted "by an enraged mob of Polish people at the crossing of 108th Street and Torrence Avenue," some of whom he recognized, who tore Vargas's passport (likely in an attempt to render him deportable by immigration authorities) and also stole two dollars from him. Then, at 7:30 pm on April 25th, Nicolás Gonzales and Pedro Peña were also attacked in front of a Mexican store at 108th and Torrence, "by two European drunkards who insulted everybody without consideration." The paper's report suggested broader anti-Mexican violence at the time – possibly even including the attack on Delores Hernández's father that she referred to at the outset of this chapter: "Among the Mexican residents in South Deering there is some uneasiness, because there is an atmosphere of ill will against the Mexicans."[23] But less than twenty years later, Mexicans would *join* with "white ethnics" in attacking blacks travelling to and from the steel mills across this same stretch of Torrence Avenue in South Deering.

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Mexicans' incorporation in the broader anti-black violence of the Trumbull Park riots is readily apparent from surviving arrest lists from the disturbances, and from other sources. But with the exception of a table in Arnold Hirsch's book, *Making the Second Ghetto* (which listed "Spanish-surnamed" arrestees in Chicago's postwar housing riots), Mexicans' role in the Trumbull Park riots has been repeatedly overlooked.[24] Even Arnold Hirsch's narrative accounts

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predominate in these two blocks." Mary Faith Adams, "Present Housing Conditions in South Chicago, South Deering, and Pullman," Master's Thesis, Social Service Administration (University of Chicago, 1926) 70 (the blocks surveyed are identified on p.12). In addition to these sources, Joe Mulac, who grew up in the 1930's on Torrence between 104th and 105th, also recalled the southern blocks of Torrence as heavily Mexican. Joe Mulac Interview, July 29, 2004.

[23] "Assaulted Mexican" (re: Vargas) and "Act of Barbarism" (re: Gonzales and Peña), *La Lucha*, April 28, 1934, as translated in the Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey (Chicago Public Library), Reel 62, Spanish Language Section, Sub-Section I.C.

[24] This single reference appears in Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, Table 4: "Ethnicity of arrestees by percentage and riot" (pp.82-83).

of the riots do not describe Mexicans' role in the disturbances, or their long history in the neighborhood.

In fact, Mexicans' long history as residents of South Deering was overlooked in the earliest popular accounts of the Trumbull Park riots, all of which described South Deering as a "white" community of predominantly southern and eastern European background. A *Chicago Tribune* report on the first week of violence at the Trumbull Park Homes described the homes as being "in the center of an all white neighborhood."[25] Even the initial report on the riot by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations (CCHR) referred to the "all-white community of South Deering."[26] Yet, a mere 14 years before the outbreak of the Trumbull Park riots, the 1939 Chicago Land Use Survey had enumerated Mexicans in South Deering as a "non-white" residential group, causing numerous blocks in the neighborhood to be listed as having anywhere between 5% and 40% "non-white" residents.[27] Clearly, Mexicans had not always been an invisible part of South Deering's "white" community. Rather, the way Mexicans were obscured

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[25] "4 Men Seized in Disturbance on South Side," *Chicago Tribune*, August 11, 1953, p.A12.

[26] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, "The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances – Documentary Report Number I – August 1953 - March 1954," typescript, ca. March 1954 (copy in Government Publications Department, Northwestern University Library), p.1.

[27] *Land Use in Chicago* (Chicago, c.1943), vol. 2 of *Report of the Chicago Land Use Survey*, directed by the Chicago Plan Commission and conducted by the Works Progress Administration, "Block Data" map for South Deering (Map 26-B), p.421. Of course, the decision to enumerate Mexicans as non-white (on maps that included *only* "white" or "non-white" for "race") was not made specifically for South Deering, but for Chicago as a whole. On the one hand, the 1939 Chicago Land Use Survey was simply following the protocol of the 1930 (and for Chicago, 1934) census, which enumerated Mexicans as an "other" non-white race. But on the other hand, the U.S. Census Bureau had already decided by the spring of 1937 that Mexicans would be enumerated as white in the 1940 census. At the time of the Chicago Land Use Survey in late 1939, the initial preparations for the 1940 census would already have been underway. The Land Use Survey's decision to enumerate Mexicans as non-white therefore appears to be a somewhat deliberate local decision, and it resulted in Mexicans being listed as "non-white" on the Land Use Survey's maps and statistics – which, significantly, appear to have been intended as a resource for real estate professionals (the Chicago Real Estate Board sponsored the dissemination of the mimeographed "block tabulation" data sheets produced by the Land Use Survey). For the date of the Census Bureau's decision, see U.S. Department of Labor, Immigration and Naturalization Service (Washington), Circular No. 111, May 18, 1937, "To All Districts, Immigration and Naturalization Service"; in File 19783/155, "Eligibility of Mexicans to Naturalize, 1916-1944," Box 1574, Entry 26, Record Group 85 – Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (hereafter RG 85), National Archives, Washington, DC (hereafter NA-DC) – courtesy of Marian Smith, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services Historian.

from popular 1950's descriptions of South Deering reflected an increasingly overriding urge to understand race and racial conflict in postwar Chicago in binary "black" and "white" terms. Because it had not been very long since Mexicans had been perceived as non-white, acknowledging their position on the "white" side of the postwar housing conflicts would have confused this easier, binary way of understanding Chicago's postwar racial order (even though Mexicans' position in these conflicts could indeed have been described as "white").

Researching and writing in the wake of the black urban uprisings of the 1960's, historians such as Arnold Hirsch followed a similar line of thinking, which did in fact accurately describe racial conflict in much of Chicago.[28] In his article on the Trumbull Park riots, Hirsch described the Trumbull Park Homes as being located in the "heavily ethnic neighborhood of South Deering," and his footnote painted the picture of a universally white ethnic community of southern and eastern European descent, providing 1960 census figures for South Deering's nominal "black" and large "foreign stock" population (0.7% and 46.9%, respectively). Furthermore, in breaking down the foreign stock population figure, Hirsch noted that Yugoslavs (Croatians and Serbs) predominated, "followed by Russians (non-Jews), Poles, and Italians."[29] In large part, Hirsch was remaining true to his sources. His footnote cited the 1960 *Local Community Fact Book*, a decennial compilation of Chicago census-related statistics issued by the University of Chicago, which included the black and foreign stock statistics Hirsch cited as well as a narrative description of South Deering's 1960 population. The narrative description declared that "in 1960, the leading nationalities among the foreign stock were the Yugoslavians, Russians, and Poles." Hirsch apparently added Italians to his list by examining the more complete statistical

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[28] For example, when writing of Chicago's postwar housing riots in general Hirsch stated that "[t]hese communal uprisings ... were ... expressions of the general feelings of the city's white 'ethnics,'" whom he described as the "children and grandchildren of predominantly Catholic Irish and southern and eastern European immigrants." Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 78.

[29] Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," 524, including n.7.

tables in the back of the volume.[30] However, Hirsch did not include the narrative description's references to Mexicans. Discussing South Deering's history, the narrative description declared that by 1920, "Mexicans were beginning to settle in the community," and commented that over the course of the 1920's, "While the number of Italians and Poles decreased, Mexicans became more numerous."[31]

Consulting the previous edition of the *Local Community Fact Book* would have revealed an even more complete picture of Mexicans' presence in South Deering. In fact, a review of the 1950 *Fact Book* reveals that the 1960 *Fact Book*, written in the wake of the riots at Trumbull Park, had deleted or obscured numerous references to Mexicans that had previously appeared in the 1950 version. For example, the statistical tables on "foreign white stock" in the 1960 volume that Hirsch cited dropped Mexicans from the list of nationalities that the 1950 tables had included. Significantly, the reason for this omission was that the 1960 census statistics were not comparable with the 1930 figures for Mexicans, since Mexicans had been enumerated differently in 1930 with regard to the census's binary racial framework (i.e., Mexicans were not "white stock" in 1930). The omission provides yet another poignant example of the way that Mexicans often became statistically invisible as a result of their historically ambiguous racial classification and the overriding urge to classify Chicago population statistics according to a dominant black-white framework.[32] By contrast, the 1950 *Local Community Fact Book*'s tables had provided statistics for "Leading Nationalities of Foreign-Born White[s]," which included "Mexico" as the third-

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[30] Evelyn M. Kitagawa and Karl E. Taeuber, eds, *Local Community Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1960* (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory - University of Chicago, 1963) 116–17, 301.

[31] Kitagawa and Taeuber, *Local Community Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1960*, 116.

[32] On this decision to omit Mexicans from the statistics in the 1960 volume, see Kitagawa and Taeuber, *Local Community Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1960*, 288–89. See also the discussion of this broader phenomenon in Chapter 6, and the more detailed discussion in Appendix F.

ranking nationality after Yugoslavia and Italy.[33] The 1950 *Local Community Fact Book* also included more detailed narrative accounts of Mexicans' presence in South Deering, and much of this narrative description was reproduced in the final report on the Trumbull Park riots by the CCHR.[34] However, these Mexican references were lost in subsequent descriptions of South Deering. The 1960 *Fact Book*'s description of South Deering deleted most of the previous references to Mexicans, possibly to be in line with the erasure of Mexicans from the statistical tables in the 1960 edition.[35] Mexicans' presence in South Deering was also obscured by historians in their later accounts of the Trumbull Park riots.[36]

More importantly, aside from the "Spanish-surnamed" line in Arnold Hirsch's table of housing riot arrestees, historical accounts of the Trumbull Park disturbances have failed to identify

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[33] Philip M. Hauser and Evelyn M. Kitagawa, eds, *Local Community Fact Book for Chicago, 1950* (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory - University of Chicago, 1953) 211 (Table 2). The same ranking of Mexicans appeared in the fact book on 1940 statistics as well. Louis Wirth and Eleanor H. Bernert, eds, *Local Community Fact Book of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), "Data for Chicago Communities" - #51 (South Deering), Table A.

[34] In addition, the CCHR's report added additional data taken directly from the census about the Mexican population in South Deering. Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, "Background Information on Trumbull park Homes," p.7.

[35] One can trace specific passages that deleted references to Mexicans between 1950 and 1960. In 1960 the paragraph beginning with "While the International Harvester Company bought..." deleted its former description of house types and residents (Mexicans and non-Mexicans alike) in "Slag Valley" just northeast of South Deering. More importantly, in 1960 the paragraph describing the current community and its residents, beginning with "The population of South Deering increased..." dropped its 1950 references to Mexicans and Italians, as well as its statement that "The Mexicans tend to live south of 103rd Street" – even though this statement was still basically true in 1960, according to residents' own accounts. Hauser and Kitagawa, *Local Community Fact Book for Chicago, 1950*, 210; Kitagawa and Taeuber, *Local Community Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1960*, 116.

[36] Most notably, Arnold Hirsch's works on Trumbull Park (both his article and *Making the Second Ghetto*) make no mention of Mexicans as a residential group in South Deering, even though he utilized the CCHR's final report (which referenced Mexicans) extensively throughout his work. Although I am critical of Hirsch's omission and the binary racial analysis that his omission allows, I am indebted to him for a number of sources that are essential to my analysis in this chapter. Arnold Hirsch took generous time to respond to my inquiries regarding the sources he used for his arrest lists, digging through his old files for references, and also directed me to a wealth of untapped information in the reports of an undercover informant that the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) placed in South Deering in 1954 (see below). In short, my analysis here would not have been possible without his assistance. Moreover, I find his work on race and housing in the urban North to be very compelling overall. In fact, *Making the Second Ghetto* was a motivating factor in my own decision to pursue a dissertation topic in urban history and race relations.

Mexicans among South Deering's "white ethnic" rioters. However, a further analysis of the arrest lists and other records that Hirsch initially uncovered paint an illuminating picture of Mexicans' role in the anti-black violence of the Trumbull Park Homes disturbances. These records show that adolescent and young adult Mexican males – formerly the most threatening symbols of Mexicans' non-whiteness – participated along with adolescent and young adult "whites" in the violent efforts aimed at ridding the Trumbull Park Homes of their new black residents. Moreover, older "white" adults in the community, and older Mexican adults as well, supported these youths' activities and saw them as an integrated piece in the community's broader "resistance" against black residential entry into the neighborhood.

It did not take long for Mexicans to become involved in the riots at Trumbull Park. Moreover, the first record of Mexican involvement in the riots included an adult man, not just adolescent Mexicans. On Tuesday, August 11, 1953, on the third day of large-scale disorder surrounding the Trumbull Park Homes and six days after the initial violence against the Howard family, 31 year-old South Deering resident Jesse Delgado was arrested along with seven other adults and 18 juveniles who comprised one of the first mixed-age, multi-ethnic groups of rioters that would be arrested during the Trumbull Park Homes disturbances. According to a news report on Tuesday's disturbances, "Groups [had] gathered at street corners throughout the area," just as Delores Hernández had been asked to do (Delores lived diagonally across Bensley Avenue from the Howards' apartment at 10630 Bensley). Indeed, from Sunday, August 9th through the early hours of Monday the 11th, South Deering had seen its first crowds of one to two thousand rioters, who in addition to "standing on corners" had thrown rocks and sulphur candles into the Howards' home and at passing cars and CTA buses on Torrence Avenue carrying black passengers. During these same days, likely on Monday the 10th (the most violent day), 18 year-old Trumbull Park Homes resident Alex Villafuerte was arrested with a similarly multi-ethnic group of juvenile and adult rioters. Villafuerte's residence in the Homes further suggests the acceptance of Mexicans not just in South Deering but in the housing project as well (significantly,

Villafuerte resided at 10637 Yates, an apartment diagonally behind the Howards' apartment at 10630 Bensley).[37] In sum, Delgado and Villafuerte were arrested alongside South Deering whites who had filled the streets and corners in South Deering's first coordinated, "communal" attempt to intimidate and attack the family of Donald and Betty Howard, as well as all blacks passing through or near the neighborhood.[38]

The next known Mexican arrest occurred in September, during which time the violence in South Deering had matured and settled into more strategic, routinized patterns that utilized more dangerous methods of attack, including arson. Around 9:15 pm on September 20th, the CCHR reported that "eight juveniles and two men were arrested when they were seen carrying a beer bottle and a fruit jar full of gasoline at 107th and Torrence."[39] The next day's *Chicago Tribune* reported that the two adult men who were arrested "refused to obey orders to move along and became abusive," and that two of the juveniles arrested with them carried the containers of gasoline. The "two men" were 23 year-old Anthony Giangiulio and a 25 year-old Mexican man, Guadalupe Sabala.[40] Delores Hernández recalled of Sabala that "He was in with all the Serbs and

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[37] Delgado's arrest appears in the *Chicago Tribune*'s first detailed article on the disturbances, as well as in a list of South Chicago police cases gathered by the ACLU. Villafuerte's arrest only appears in the *Tribune* article. The *Tribune* article did not name all of the arrestees, so there may have been more Mexicans as well. The *Tribune* article also was not entirely clear on the dates of some of the arrests, especially when compared with the detailed chronological report of disturbances and arrests issued by the CCHR. See "Ask FBI Action in Disorders at Housing Center," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 12, 1953, Part 2 - p.9; and the list of pending cases stemming from the Trumbull Park riots at the South Chicago Police Station Court on September 2, 1953, included in: Edward H. Meyerding, Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union (Illinois) to Francis McPeek, Director (CCHR), September 25, 1953, in folder 8, box 11, American Civil Liberties Union - Illinois Division Papers (hereafter ACLU - Illinois Division Papers), University of Chicago Department of Special Collections. For general descriptions of disturbances and arrests during this period, see Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 10–13, 61.

[38] Arnold Hirsch has called the mob tactics at Trumbull Park and other postwar housing riots as "communal," based on the coordinated action of all facets of the community in these riots. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto* 69, and Chapter 3 as a whole.

[39] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 21.

[40] "Seize 11 More Near Trumbull Park Project," *Chicago Tribune*, September 21, 1953, p.C7. Sabala's family name was probably Zavala originally, but was repeatedly referred to in sources at the time as Zabala or Sabala.

Croatians, you know, [that were] his age. They played ball and stuff, you know."[41] Sabala and the group of young men and boys arrested with him were clearly engaged in the arson- and "bomb"- related activities that came to characterize the Trumbull Park Homes riots. Moreover, their arrest on 106th or 107th and Torrence was significant, for this was right across the street from the gates of the Wisconsin Steel mill. The location suggests, on the one hand, a possible effort to intimidate black workers and commuters passing into or near the steel mills; and on the other, the group's possible role in creating "diversionary" disturbances that the rioters increasingly relied upon to draw the police away from the heavily-guarded Trumbull Park Homes, thereby making it easier for the rioters to attack the black apartments there. The project itself was indeed a target for rioters that evening. A separate report by the CCHR stated that on September 20th, "scores of automobiles [were] driven around [the] project in protest demonstration."[42] In other words, there was a broad community effort of intimidation and "protest" that weekend, and the actions of Sabala and his cohort were not isolated, but an integrated piece of that broader effort. It was also significant that this group operated and was arrested in the heart of South Deering's most Mexican blocks (south of 106th Street, especially in the eastern blocks along Torrence and Hoxie).[43] The police who arrested Sabala also found another "gasoline jar" in the alley behind 10734 Hoxie Street, in the center of this area. Guadalupe Sabala lived directly across the street from the where the "gasoline jar" was found, at 10731 Hoxie, and another Mexican who would

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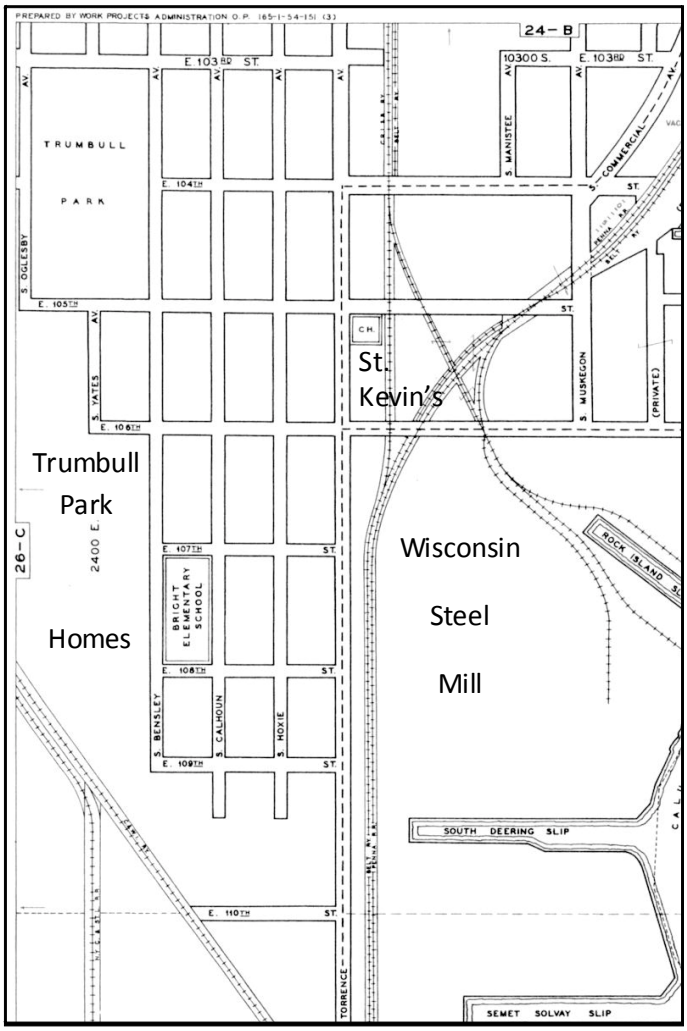
[41] Delores's reference to Sabala hanging out with Serbs and Croatians "his age" reflected her broader commentary that in the 1940's and 1950's, "Mexican" youth tended to be more readily accepted by their peers than they were by their peers' parents, as the older generation of "white" residents were less accepting of Mexicans as a whole. Delores Hernández remembers Guadalupe Sabala as someone who "was a little tougher,"and who was eventually shot and killed while still in his 30's (a fact verified by the *Chicago Tribune*). Delores Hernández Interview, March 16, 2005.

[42] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, "The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances – Documentary Report Number I – August 1953 - March 1954," typescript, ca. March 1954 (copy in Government Publications Department, Northwestern University Library), p.3.

[43] See earlier discussions of Mexican residences in South Deering, above and in Chapter 6.

later be arrested, Peter Perez, lived a few doors down.[44] Moreover, "Ken's Tavern," one of South Deering's taverns that Mexicans regularly frequented in the 1950's, was right on the corner at 107th and Hoxie (see detailed Map 7.2 below).[45]

Map 7.2: South Deering (Detail)[46]



It was early the following summer that adolescent Peter Perez was arrested at his home at 10752 Hoxie. At the time, the disturbances in South Deering had just begun to pick up again with

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[44] "Seize 11 More Near Trumbull Park Project," *Chicago Tribune*, September 21, 1953, p.C7.

[45] Delores Hernández Interview, April 21, 2005.

[46] Adapted from the "Block Data" map for South Deering (Map 26-B), in *Land Use in Chicago*, 421.

the onset of warmer weather. In contrast to the previous Mexican arrests, Perez was arrested by himself, likely for the possession of explosives. The CCHR reported that "during the last of May and the first few weeks of June a number of people had been arrested and fines levied for the possession of explosives."[47] Indeed, the criminal code for Perez's offense was a 125- series number, the same as that of other arrests during late May and early June, and different from the 193- series codes for disorderly conduct and violence that were levied against rioters arrested during the more violent episodes of the disturbances.[48] The use of explosives during the Trumbull Park riots was just as serious, however, if not more so. As Arnold Hirsch has noted, by "mid-1954" aerial bombs in and around the Trumbull Park Homes were "detonated at precise thirty-minute intervals. The numbing regularity of the blasts served as a pointed reminder that a hostile community awaited any 'invader' who 'might take a chance and walk out.'"[49] Four months earlier, in a February interview with the *Chicago Daily News*, the vice-chairman of the CHA "showed remnants of aerial bombs almost seven inches long," and stated that "Someday a child may be standing at a window and be killed or blinded. These are not firecrackers – these are dynamite bombs."[50] Thus, while arrested alone, Peter Perez appears to have been involved in

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[47] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 44. Perez's arrest, without his name or any other elaborating details, is noted on p.45.

[48] Perez's arrest is listed in "Arrests – Trumbull Park Area" (March-August, 1954), in Folder 712: "Disturbances at Trumbull Park Housing Project, Nov 53 - Nov 54," Housing Division Records, Chicago Urban League Papers, University of Illinois at Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[49] Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," 531.

[50] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 33. In March, a month after the CHA vice-chairman's statement, and three months before bombs were discharged at "regular half hour intervals," the CCHR commented on the first eight months of violence by reporting that "As many as 50 to 100 [aerial bombs] were exploded in one night on several occasions. At other times five or ten were exploded nightly for weeks." The report also described the aerial bombs as follows: "These are a type of fireworks that, when exploded, propel a second charge that explodes with a brilliant flash. A loud noise accompanies the explosion. The 'aerial bombs,' cardboard cylinders mounted on a wooden base, range in length and diameter from about 2 inches by one-half inch to about 8 inches by 2 inches." Chicago Commission on Human Relations, "The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances – Documentary Report Number I – August 1953 - March 1954," typescript, ca. March 1954 (copy in Government Publications Department, Northwestern University Library), p.5.

activities that were a core part of the South Deering communities' overall "defense" of the Trumbull Park Homes from black "invaders."[51]

In fact, in the month prior to Perez's arrest on June 8th, an undercover operative placed in South Deering by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) had observed a band of "kids" acquiring explosives and explosive-related materials with the coordinated assistance of adults in the community. As the ACLU's operative got to know this group of youth better, he determined that the group included a number of Mexicans. The ACLU had placed its Polish-speaking operative in South Deering in April 1954, where the man, who had grown up in Chicago's Pilsen neighborhood near 21st and Ashland, obtained a job in the Wisconsin Steel mills and gradually integrated himself into the social fabric of the community, especially its taverns. During his time in South Deering, he also made inroads with a teenage group of "kids" (boys) who were involved in many of the disturbances. One of his first mentions of these youths noted their "dark" skin color (which, as his later commentary made clear, might have meant Mexicans or Italians). On Saturday, May 1, 1954, the operative went into "The Cottage," a local tavern known colloquially as "Scully's," after its owner, Ted Scully. At one point in the evening, a noise was heard at the back door. The operative wrote that when "Scully" went to the door, "He was gone just a few minutes but I looked back there and he was talking to two kids who looked like they were Italians or some other kids of a nation of dark people. . . [they] looked like they were about seventeen years old." The kids didn't come in, but after a couple of minutes Scully returned and winked at one of his customers who began to say something about the boys' visit.[52] At a little after 8:00 pm

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[51] In contrast to Guadalupe Sabala, Delores Hernández remembers Peter Perez as a "very quiet" young man who kept out of trouble. Verifying his address, Delores also recalled that he would not have been much older than a teenager at the time. She was "*really* surprised" to see that he had been arrested for any offense during the riots. She was not informed, however, that Perez had likely been arrested for the possession of explosives, rather than for physical violence and disorderliness during the riots. According to Delores's account, Peter Perez later committed suicide, while still a young man. Delores Hernández Interview, March 16, 2005.

[52] Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," May 1, 1954, in box 11, folder 9, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections. As noted above, I thank Arnold Hirsch for pointing me to the ACLU operative's reports as a useful source.

that very night, according to the CCHR, "a crowd of 25 to 50 teenagers were on the corner of 107th and Calhoun [one block east of the black-occupied units in the Trumbull Park Homes]. Two fire hydrants were opened and two aerial bombs exploded." Shortly thereafter, Frank Brown, one of the new black tenants in the Trumbull Park Homes, called police headquarters to complain that "aerial bombs were being exploded around his home" and the police were doing nothing about it. Later that night, reported the CCHR, "[d]uring a twenty minute period between about 10:10 and 10:30, fifty to seventy-five aerial bombs were exploded in the area."[53] It was one of the most intense barrages of aerial bombs exploded at the homes, and strikingly coincided with the first time the ACLU operative saw Scully meeting with the boys – who were "dark" – in the back of his tavern. Although only suggestive, the coincidence suggests the links that existed between these gangs of youth and the broader South Deering community. Moreover, as time went on the ACLU operative learned that Mexicans (along with Italians) were a part of this group of "kids."

On the following Wednesday, a number of bombings occurred again, and they "continued and increased in frequency" from Thursday through Saturday.[54] On Saturday May 8th, the ACLU operative, who signed his reports "L.G.," was again at Scully's. The patrons' discussions that night testified to the ways the broader community valued the youths' actions, and saw them as part of a broader "communal" effort, to borrow Arnold Hirsch's term. Scully's customers first expressed their satisfaction with the "good job" a "kid" had done in breaking all the windows of an African-American's auto. Operative L.G. reported that "one of the regulars in Scully's was talking and laughing about the gang of kids who do all of the damage and create all of the trouble and who also shoot off the bombs. He was saying that they are the toughest of the tough and they don't give a damn for the coppers or any one else." The patrons went on to discuss with

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[53] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 41.

[54] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 42.

satisfaction the stories of a number of the "kids'" specific exploits. Then, "at seven thirty PM" the ACLU operative again "saw Scully talking to two of the hoodlum kids from the neighborhood." As on the previous Saturday, they talked outside, then Scully came back in. The ACLU operative concluded by stating, "I did see a lot of these kids around [the neighborhood] in groups and they are of all nations and they certainly look tough."[55]

In subsequent weeks the ACLU operative successfully attempted to get closer to this group of "kids" and learn more about which specific nationalities of "all nations" or a "nation of dark people" they represented. On the following Thursday the operative first spoke with some of the boys, who "as they walked away said, Its a lot of fun and the niggers are scared and they will never stay here." That Friday, after leaving Scully's, the operative "went back alone to 107th and Calhoun and walked around the vicinity and did see some of the kids" who were staying at least a block away from the housing project after being "picked up by the police and turned loose with a warning." The operative added that, "One kid who looked like a mexican said, I get picked up if I go near. He was laughing and thought it a big joke." It was the first of the informants' increasingly concrete references to Mexicans forming a core part of this group of boys and young men. The informant returned again to the area on Saturday night, where he further identified Mexicans in the group, as well as an adult whom he thought to be Mexican providing the group with what looked to be explosives. Describing the youths, the operative commented, "Some mexicans and some of all nationalitys [sic]. They are all very tough kids and they don't say very much at least they did not to-day." Then, the operative observed a man drive by and hand some "packages" to the "kids," who ran into passageway near 107th and Calhoun – the passageway would have led to the same alley behind Peter Perez's house where the "gasoline jar" was discovered the previous summer (Perez himself would be arrested only a few weeks later). Operative "L.G." noted that the driver of the car who gave the boys their packages "looked like

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[55] Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," May 8, 1954, in box 11, folder 9, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

he might have been a Mexican." This same driver subsequently gave another package to another car that passed him in the street.[56]

During the evenings of the following week the operative caught up with the kids at Trumbull Park's playing fields, where he again identified them as Mexicans and heard more from them about their role in the Trumbull Park Homes disturbances. On Tuesday of that week, the operative saw "two of the mexicans" playing softball at the park, who along with another boy asked him for cigarettes during the game. The operative gave them some, establishing what would become his persistent means of entree with the group over the following weeks.[57] On Thursday, he caught up with the boys again at the park and recorded a conversation which clearly outlined the Mexican youths' incorporation in the broader community's effort to run the "niggers" out of the Trumbull Park Homes – especially, but not only, by means of explosives. As the operative wrote,

> I went over to the vicinity of the Trumbull project to-night after dinner and talked to some of the kids at the park including the Mexicans. They are just a bunch of wild kids who will do anything for a kick. One of the Mexicans came to me four times to bum a cigarette and I told him that I worked in the mill and he said that some of his people worked there including his father. I told him that I was hanging around to-night to see if there was going to be any fireworks to-night. He said he did not think so as the kids have no bombs. . . [The Mexican boy told the informant the fireworks were typically shipped in from Ohio, and that] all of the kids in the neighborhood have had some of the bombs given to them and some of them get them by express even when they have not sent away for them . . . He said that the kids don't care about the niggers as they can handle them and if the coppers are taken out of here they will run those damn niggers right out.[58]

The ACLU operative remained in contact with this group of boys over the following weekend, and even went on Saturday and Monday with "the Mexican boy" and "an Italian boy named Gino"

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[56] Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," May 13, 14, and 15, 1954, in box 11, folder 9, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[57] Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," May 18, 1954, in box 11, folder 9, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[58] Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," May 20, 1954, in box 11, folder 9, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

into Helen Lalich's store at 107th and Calhoun for sodas. The boys were regular customers at Helen's, and Helen herself was one of the most vociferous protesters of the arrival of the black tenants in the Trumbull Park Homes.[59] During the boys' visits to Helen's, they talked with Helen and others about the Trumbull Park Homes and the state of the community's struggle to get the blacks to leave.[60] The ACLU operative returned to Helen's the following two weekends as well, each time with Gino and one or two "mexicans."[61]

On Wednesday, June 9th (a day after Peter Perez was arrested at his home), the police in South Deering announced a new policy that the black tenants of the Trumbull Park Homes could walk freely between the project homes and 103rd street to the north along Oglesby and the west side of Bensley – thoroughfares to the west of South Deering proper, but ones that ran along both sides of the highly symbolic public space of Trumbull Park (this was the natural walking route for commuters from the Trumbull Park Homes using bus service on 103rd Street). The directive changed the previous policy requiring black tenants to have police escorts at all times for their own safety, and was supposed to have been accompanied by an increased police presence along the routes. Black tenants also unsuccessfully tried to gain free passage along 106th Street

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[59] She and her boys had been arrested less than two weeks earlier on May 11th, and the operative reported that she and her family were praised in the community as people who were willing to "do something." "Arrests – Trumbull Park Area" (March-August, 1954), in Folder 712: "Disturbances at Trumbull Park Housing Project, Nov 53 - Nov 54," Housing Division Records, Chicago Urban League Papers, University of Illinois at Chicago Department of Special Collections; Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," May 20, 1954, in box 11, folder 9, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[60] Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," May 21, 22, and 24, 1954, in box 11, folder 9, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections. At the time, the community's initial exuberance over the news on May 3rd that Donald Howard and his wife had moved out of the homes had been quickly dampened by the news of new black families being placed in the homes by the CHA, as well as the handing down of the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision on May 17th, which was locally interpreted as promoting "social" integration, intermarriage, and black assaults on white jobs and white women. See Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," 530, 533; and ACLU operative reports for May 4-24 (as cited above).

[61] On these occasions, Helen again "raved" about the blacks in the homes and complained that no one was doing anything about it but her and her family. Gino commented when leaving, "She is right but sometimes she talks like she is a little bit screwy." Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," Friday May 28 and Thursday June 3, 1954, in box 11, folder 9, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

between the project homes and Torrence Avenue on the east, and attempted to use this route as well over the following week and a half, with dire repercussions. Indeed, the result of the change in police policy was that for the remainder of that week and the following two weekends, "almost nightly crowds" gathered along these thoroughfares to harass the black tenants, and at least ten violent attacks were made on individual blacks along both routes and at Wisconsin Steel's gates at 107th and Torrence. More attacks likely went unreported. Reports on the two best-documented of these attacks specifically identified "four teenage boys" and a group of "four or five young men" as the main assailants.[62] These teenage boys were likely the same group of Mexican and other boys that the ACLU's informant had gotten to know. As operative "L.G.'s" reports showed, this group typically congregated during the evening commute time at the ball fields in Trumbull Park, which lay between the newly "open" thoroughfares of Oglesby and Bensley Avenues just south of 103rd Street. Indeed, the first documented attack on June 11th began in this very area, just south of 103rd on Bensley. Moreover, the second of the well-documented attacks, on June 17th, occurred on 106th Street between Calhoun and Hoxie, just around the block from the boys' congregating point in and around Helen Lalich's store at 107th and Calhoun, and around the block from the homes of Guadalupe Sabala and Peter Perez on the 107th block of Hoxie. Because no arrests of teenagers were made after these incidents, there is no record of who specifically was involved, but it is highly probable that the assailants included the "mexican kids" and this same group of teenagers, especially when one reads the ACLU operative's reports from this period.

On Thursday, June 10th, one day after the announcement of the police department's new policy and one day before the "four teenage boys" attacked black commuter Mr. Sneed on the east side of the park, the ACLU's operative recorded a detailed visit with the boys that further illuminated the Mexican boys' overt hostility toward the black tenants of the Trumbull Park

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[62] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 45–46 (entries for Wednesday, June 9 through Saturday, June 19, 1954).

Homes, and, strikingly, the Polish operative's own amazement and puzzlement over the Mexican (and possibly also Italian) boys' own dark skin. "After dinner," the operative wrote,

> I went back to Trumbull Park and watched the kids play ball and I gave several of them cigarettes. There were two police squads near the park and they also were watching the game but they also were keeping an eye on this mixed up bunch of kids. Every nationality and *some of them even blacker than the negro's* and each and every one of them full of devilment and they would do a lot of damage if something would get started *and these black ones who are Mexican seem to hate the negro even worse than the whites.* [emphases added] If something does start out here these punks could be very dangerous as the[y] love excitement. Walked over to Helen's with four of them and there is nothing cooked up and they are upset because there is no action. If there was any organized action contemplated at this time I would know it as these punks are itching for some thing and they would know it but they do not know of a thing. They are cussing out the coppers at all times and they do not trust any copper and they wont tell any of them the right time.[63]

By late June and early July, the focus of conflict shifted from the newly opened thoroughfares in and out of the Trumbull Park Homes to the park itself, in anticipation of the South Deering 4th of July parade and ceremonies in Trumbull Park, which for decades had been sponsored by the South Deering Improvement Association, the organization that tacitly sponsored and coordinated much of the violence during the Trumbull Park Homes disturbances.[64] On the evening of Tuesday, June 22, 1954, black Trumbull Park Homes resident Hendrick Young and his brother Clarence decided to "bat a ball around" in Trumbull Park on their way home, and were

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[63] Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," June 10, 1954, in box 11, folder 9, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[64] On South Deering's Fourth of July parade and festivities, which included a beauty pageant as well, see the box of South Deering Improvement Association (SDIA) photographs in the collections of the Southeast [Chicago] Historical Society, Calumet Park Fieldhouse; as well as the photographs and text in Rod Sellers and Dominic A. Pacyga [compiled], *Chicago's Southeast Side* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 1998). The SDIA's support and organizational role in the Trumbull Park riots is widely attested in most of the primary and secondary sources on the riots (though it is equally denied by former South Deering European-ethnic residents, including those who were active in the SDIA). One particularly telling statement was made by the organization's president during a meeting with the CHA on May 10, 1954, in which he said "my people will be in the streets as long as there are Negroes in the project!" Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 42. Moreover, the SDIA clearly was able to quell the violence when it strategically chose to do so in late July (see below). Indeed, Arnold Hirsch has explicated the way that the SDIA coordinated the community's violence as part of broader "system" of resistance – a term used by white participants at the time. Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," 530–31.

immediately assaulted by persons who were already in the park. Black tenants then applied for a permit to use the park for a baseball game on the afternoon of Saturday, July 3rd.[65] In the last week of June and the first days of July, the gang of "kids" that the ACLU's operative had become friends with were awaiting the July 4th holiday with great anticipation, due to the new availability of fireworks (police had previously cracked down on the express mail trafficking in aerial bombs in late May and June). The boys repeatedly talked about having "fun" over the holiday weekend, stating that "everyone" had fireworks and bombs, so they would be able to get some. Some of the boys' own fathers had even bought them in Indiana.[66] When operative "L.G." caught up with the boys at the ball field in Trumbull Park on Thursday, July 1st, he again reported the boys' excitement about the abundance of fireworks, as well as their statements that "Every one [is] going to make it hot for the damn niggers and they are going to chase them out... Get rid of them for good."[67]

On July 3rd, park officials notified the groups of black players at noon that the field was too wet for a ball game, and that their permit was rescheduled for the following Saturday. Nonetheless, at 5:30 pm a group of black players gathered in "Mr. Sneed's" residence in the Homes (he had previously been attacked by the "teenage boys" on Bensley Avenue, next to the Park) and the group proceeded to Trumbull Park, where they were met by a group of some 300 angry antagonists, who were "yelling all kinds of names and saying you dirty black bastards get out and stay out and you are never going to live here. We will dynamite you out." Park officials and the police were also on hand, and the black players finally left when it was agreed that no

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[65] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 46.

[66] Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," June 25, 26, 27, and 28, 1954, in box 11, folder 9, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[67] Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," July 1, 1954, in box 11, folder 9, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

"whites" would play on the field, either, and that the black tenants would receive the permit for the fields on the following Saturday, July 10th.[68]

As previously noted, the July 10th baseball game in Trumbull devolved into one of the most violent and notorious events of the entire Trumbull Park Homes disturbances, involving somewhere between 200 and 500 gathered protesters and approximately 400 police officers, all surrounding the park and the playing field where the 16 black baseball players had their game. Canvassing the neighborhood taverns earlier that afternoon, the ACLU operative reported that "Every one was talking about the game this afternoon and every one said that they were either going or they were going to be very close to the Park." Unsurprisingly, the group of Mexican and other "kids" was also present at the park, where the ACLU operative found them playing ball on the park's southeast diamond two hours before the black tenant's game. The operative joined in the boys' game until the black players arrived and cut through the park to the field they were going to play. At this point, the ACLU operative went with the boys to join the crowds surrounding the other baseball field. Shortly after the game started, a firecracker was thrown at one of the black players, drawing blood. Five minutes into the game, a foul ball left the park and nearly sparked a fight between the gathered crowds and the black player who went to retrieve it. Five minutes later another ball left the park and a "free for all fight" began. Captain Barnes, a much-hated figure by local whites, was overwhelmed by the crowds when he attempted to arrest one of the white attackers and received no help from fellow police officers. The crowds then nearly turned over the police cars and wagons that took away the black players. When a "Polish woman" threw a rock at one of the vehicles, a black police officer restrained her by putting "his arms around her to hold her" and then "the crowd really went mad and started after these colored policemen." White police officers surrounded them to protect them and the crowd yelled "bring those dirty lousy black bastards of coppers out here again and we will take care of them." During

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[68] Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," July 3, 1954, in box 11, folder 9, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections; Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 47–48.

the remainder of the evening, the ACLU operative recorded the increasingly violent anger among South Deering's residents, including proposals to have a "pineapple" bomb ready "next time" in case the cops put all of the blacks in one car again, so they could "toss it in" before the police closed the door. The operative asserted that "This was not just idle talk. They meant every word of it."[69]

In his own account of the July 10, 1954 baseball game, historian Arnold Hirsch also tracked the emerging anger among "whites" after the game, citing the ACLU operative's accounts of new talk about "burning the dirty bastards out." What Hirsch did not highlight, however, was that these "whites" were the very group of Mexican and Italian kids that the ACLU operative had been tracking. As Hirsch recounted, the ACLU operative "felt that plans should be made to protect the Blacks' apartments 'if and when they attempt to play ball again.' He had heard *several whites* say 'that it would be a good time to touch the joint off.'" [italics added][70] In fact, the operative had not just heard "several whites" say this, but had written:

> ... I was afraid something would happen at that time as some of the kids said that it would be a good time to touch the joint off. *These kids were Italian and Mexican and they are tough as can be.* [italics added] Respectfully submitted...[71]

Four days after the game, the Mexican boys continued to express a violent hostility toward all blacks in the neighborhood. More significantly, they suggested in their conversations with the ACLU operative that their parents basically felt the same way. As the operative reported on July 14th,

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[69] Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," 536–37; Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," July 10, 1954, in box 12, folder 1, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[70] Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," 537.

[71] Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," July 10, 1954, in box 12, folder 1, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections. In addition to the "touch the joint off" quote, Hirsch also quoted from earlier portions of this sentence of the operative's account, which read: "... *if and when they attempt to play ball again* there should be[,] if there hasn't been[,] *plans made to protect the negro apartments* while they are playing ball ..." (the sections Hirsch quoted are italicized here).

> I went over to the park and met some of the kids who were fooling around with a ball. Some of them were Mexicans and some Italians. They now are all steamed up about what happened at the ball game and they now are looking for, as they put it, a stray nigger so that they can give him the works. They now feel that no matter what they do to the negro the parents will back them up and they are feeling bad because they were not some of the crowd that got pinched. . . These kids now are more dangerous than ever and they do not know any better and if they meet one of the negro's alone and there is a gang of them it would be too bad for that negro.[72]

It may have been the SDIA itself which ultimately prevented the boys from making any such attack in the coming weeks. On July 16th the SDIA had met with city officials whom the SDIA believed had given them a guarantee that no more black families would be moved into the homes – provided that the SDIA prevented any further violence at the ball fields or elsewhere in the neighborhood. Subsequently, black tenants used the park's baseball fields without incident on the two weekends immediately following July 10th. On July 17th, in fact, SDIA officers had themselves cleared away the small crowd of protesters that had initially gathered for the game. By the weekend of July 31st and August 1st, however, black tenants were refused a permit for the park's fields after being told that no more fields were available (this occurred after the park's officials had been unavailable to black tenants for most of the week). In response, the black tenants announced that they planned to go swimming in the park's pool on July 31st, a potentially even more volatile public space given "white" concerns about the intermingling of black and white bodies and fears of black sexual aggression.[73] Although no black tenants ultimately attempted to use the park's pool that weekend, the news greatly aroused South Deering's residents, including the Italian and Mexican boys. Catching up with them again at the Trumbull Park ball fields on Thursday, July 30th, the ACLU's operative reported that they were discussing different ways of preventing any blacks from using the pool, and the operative gathered that the boys' parents had been discussing this concern at home, as the boys talked about the danger of the water being

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[72] Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," July 14, 1954, in box 12, folder 1, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[73] On the fear of black sexual aggression in South Deering, see Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 186; Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," 532–33.

contaminated with syphilis and "other diseases" by the black tenants' use of the pool. After heavily monitoring the pool over the weekend, the boys were gloating by Sunday evening about how they had intimidated the black residents out of their plans, and discussed how they had planned to "gang up" and hold the blacks under water, a threat that the operative said was very serious because some of the kids "can really swim."[74]

The attacks on blacks by Mexican youth during the Trumbull Park Homes disturbances were not just an aberration of delinquent youth, but reflected a broader incorporation of Mexican adolescents (along with Italian and other teenagers) into the "white" "defense" of South Deering. This was suggested by the hints of the Italian and Mexican boys' parents sympathizing with their efforts and "back[ing] them up" throughout the spring and summer of 1954, and was further attested to by the logistical support and moral reinforcement the boys received from adults such as "Scully," Helen Lalich, and the boys' covert bomb-suppliers. The arrests of older Mexicans like Jesse Delgado and Guadalupe Sabala also suggest the broader ways that Mexicans as a whole were incorporated into South Deering's anti-black protests. Though still quite young herself at the time, the fact that Delores Hernández, a mother of small children, was asked to "stand on corners" further confirms this pattern. And when asked whether other Mexicans agreed to "stand on corners," Delores responded, "Yyeeah, there *were* some."[75]

The final surviving reference to Mexicans' involvement in the Trumbull Park Homes disturbances provides further evidence of this broader incorporation of Mexicans with the overall efforts of "whites" on the Southeast Side to resist black residential entry. Less than a month after the Trumbull Park ball field incident, at 3:40 am on August 6, 1954, 26 year-old Guadalupe Sabala was arrested for the second time, this time with Daniel Vitas (29 years old), James O'Leary (24 or 25 years old), Nick Socki, and Nick Bundy – a rich mix of European surnames

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[74] Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," July 30, 31, and August 1, 1954, in box 12, folder 1, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[75] Delores Hernández Interview, March 16, 2005.

that testified to Mexicans' incorporation into the broader "white" side of the violence surrounding the Trumbull Park Homes disturbances. Vitas lived just a few doors up the street from Sabala, and O'Leary lived three blocks to the north on Hoxie. Nick Socki and Nick Bundy lived in the even more racially-exclusive "East Side," a neighborhood across the Calumet River to the east of South Deering where Mexicans continued to experience difficulty in renting apartments as late as 1960.[76] James O'Leary's relative Charles O'Leary (likely his father) had been a particularly violent-prone agitator the previous May.[77] In short, Sabala was arrested with a group that was highly representative not only of South Deering and its violent protesters, but also the broader white southeast side.[78] Moreover, the five men were arrested during a spate of violence following

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[76] The men arrested with Sabala, and their residences, are provided in: "Arrests – Trumbull Park Area" (March-August, 1954), Folder 712: "Disturbances at Trumbull Park Housing Project, Nov 53 - Nov 54," Housing Division Records, Chicago Urban League Papers, University of Illinois at Chicago Department of Special Collections.

Vitas and O'Leary, like Sabala, also became involved in other criminal activities, the reports of which provide a record of their ages at the time of their arrest with Sabala. Vitas was arrested in a vice raid in Woodlawn (6157 Ellis Avenue) on August 17, 1953, less than two weeks after the Trumbull Park riots began ("Vice Suspect Slain When He Tries to Flee," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 18, 1953, p.11). By 1960 James O'Leary was a 30 year-old ex-convict who was convicted of robbery ("3 Ex-Convicts Found Guilty of 1958 Holdup," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 15, 1960, p.5). Both of these articles listed addresses for O'Leary and Vitas that were identical or nearly identical to their addresses in 1954.

Delores Hernández's sister experienced difficulty trying to rent an East Side apartment in 1960 with her husband, who also, ironically, was a "mixed" child – of Mexican and Polish parents. When Delores's sister and her husband inquired, the owner said, "No, I don't want my windows broken." Delores Hernández Interview, March 16, 2005. The way that Mexicans continued to face isolated forms of housing exclusion on the East Side in 1960 – even as they acted on the "white" side of Trumbull Park, Calumet Park, and other riots – confirms how the specter of racial exclusion never completely disappeared for Mexicans. Viewed in this context, the participation of "dark" Mexican youth in the Trumbull Park riots could possibly be seen as an effort by some of South Deering's most potentially vulnerable Mexicans to "prove" their sense of belonging and inclusion.

[77] A week after the CHA had moved two new black families into the Trumbull Park Homes (which occurred eight days after the Howards moved out), Charles O'Leary threatened to "burn out" a store on Torrence Avenue that sold to blacks, and later on the same day, while in a drunken state physically threatened the local CHA manager of the Trumbull Park Homes with a long metal chain. Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 41–43 (entries for May 3, May 11, and May 18, 1954).

[78] Indeed, even Sabala's later arrests and criminal involvement in incidents not related to the Trumbull Park Homes reflected his integration with European-descended whites across the southeast side. At South Deering's 1955 Fourth of July celebration and picnic in Trumbull Park, Sabala, who was 27 at the time, was arrested along with a multi-ethnic, multi-aged group of men from Sabala's immediate neighborhood and from South Chicago and the East Side. The group, which included Louis Korach, 24; Joseph Kunysz, 28; John Przybyla, 38; Joseph Sheahan, 23; and Frank Nazimek, 34, was arrested for starting a "brawl" after police attempted to eject two of the

allegations by the SDIA that city officials had reneged on a July 16th closed-door agreement to freeze the number of black tenants in the Trumbull Park Homes (this was the same "agreement" that had reportedly quelled further violence at Trumbull Park following the July 10th baseball clash).[79] In other words, these men's actions were coordinated, even if only in a very general sense, with the broader efforts and strategies of the SDIA and the South Deering community as a whole. All of these factors confirm Arnold Hirsch's characterization of the Trumbull Park Homes riots as "communal" in nature, in which all segments of the community worked in coordinated fashion – including Mexicans.[80]

Mexicans' participation in other postwar housing riots, most notably at Calumet Park in 1957, provides further evidence that Mexicans' role at Trumbull Park was not an isolated development, but instead reflected the broader incorporation of Mexicans into whites' "defense" of working-class neighborhoods and public spaces, especially on the southeast side. Calumet Park provided the nearest beach for South Chicago and South Deering, and became the site of

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men, who were drunk, from the park. Although unrelated to the Trumbull Park Homes disturbances, the animus for the fight likely drew on the long-term hostility that had developed by that time between South Deering residents and the police. (See "6 in Picnic Brawl Held to Grand Jury," unprovenanced news clipping (1955), folder 2, box 12, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections; and the following *Chicago Daily Tribune* articles: "Beat 5 Cops; Youth Shot," July 5, 1955, p.1; "5 Held in Park Rioting Appear in Court Today," July 6, 1955, p.7, and related article photo, "Injured Police Identify 5 in Trumbull Park Brawling" in photo section; "4 Sentenced to Jail Terms for Trumbull Park Disorder," November 19, 1955, p.15; and "Admits Housing Row Guilt and Gets 10 Months," [falsely identified as dealing with the Trumbull Park Homes], December 15, 1955, p.C14.

Guadalupe Sabala would also later become a partner in more serious crimes with another multi-ethnic group including East Siders Eugene Izzi and Thomas W. Kauffman. As already noted in Delores Hernández's recollections of Sabala, Sabala was ultimately murdered in 1962, reportedly by Izzi, after Sabala refused to give Izzi his share of the money stolen in a series of interstate drugstore robberies. See the following *Chicago Daily Tribune* articles: "Victim Found Slain in Gang Murder Style," November 8, 1962, p.D10; "Faces Charge of Murder in Gun Slaying," December 24, 1962, p.6; "Denies 'Ride' Killing; Tells Police 'Abuse'," December 25, 1962, p.D4; and "Judge Denies Bail Bond in Murder Case," December 27, 1962, p.A22.

[79] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 50 (entries for August 2 & 4, 1954).

[80] On Hirsch's characterization of the Trumbull Park Homes and other postwar riots as "communal" – which meant, among other things, that the violent actions of youth were not aberrations but fully supported by and incorporated in the broader community's stance – see Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 69, 74–75, and the rest of Chapter 3 in general.

pitched racial violence between "whites" and "blacks" in the summer of 1957. On July 28, a large group of mostly adolescent boys and young men began throwing stones and bricks from a railroad embankment at a group of nearly 100 blacks, "including women and children," who were picnicking in the park below. As would later be revealed, this group of blacks had used a portion of the park that had formerly been "reserved" for "whites." Black groups had used the park before, but only in designated places. As night set in, the violence spread to the surrounding streets, especially 106th Street, where rioters capitalized on a traffic jam to attack any vehicles with black riders. The violence quickly spread all the way west to South Deering, where rioters were already well-versed at waylaying black drivers and riders in the vicinity of 106th and Torrence (see Map 7.1 for reference). By the next day, an estimated 6,000 to 7,000 rioters had been involved, and sporadic violence continued in the area over the coming month. Moreover, it seems certain that Mexicans were involved among these rioters as well, this time drawn primarily from South Chicago's Mexican neighborhoods. Three weeks after the initial outbreak, the city levied additional criminal charges against a group of 35 defendants, four of whom had Spanish names as well as addresses in our near the core Mexican neighborhoods of South Chicago and South Deering. The group of arrestees included 19 year-old Manuel Hernández of 9251 Houston Avenue (one block down the street from Our Lady of Guadalupe parish); South Chicago residents Robert Ortiz (20 years old) of 8908 Commercial Avenue and Jessie Rodriguez of 8742 Exchange Avenue (22 years old); and 17 year-old Robert Hernández of 10812 Calhoun Street in the heart of the Mexican-inhabited blocks of South Deering.[81] Additionally, 10.5% of all Calumet Park arrestees identified by Arnold Hirsch had Spanish surnames.[82]

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[81] "35 More Face Stiffer Race Riot Charges," *Chicago Tribune*, August 21, 1957, p.8. For general accounts of the Calumet Park riot and disturbances, see Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 65–66; as well as the following *Chicago Tribune* articles: "S. Side Melees; 44 Hurt," July 29, 1957, p.1; "Police Arrest 35 More in Race Disorder," July 30, 1957, p.2; "Daley Pledges Police Liaison in Race Work," July 31, 1957, p.10; "Send 934 Cops to Keep Order on South Side," August 4, 1957, p.33; and "Three to Face More Severe Riot Charges," August 13, 1957, p.6.

[82] This 10.5% figure is out of a total of 51 arrestees, and represents the average of three independent assessments of the ethnicity of the arrestees (somewhere between 5 and 6 Spanish names). Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*,

Spanish-surnamed persons also appear to have been arrested in earlier anti-black housing riots at Park Manor and Englewood in 1949. Both of these riots occurred on the expanding edges of Chicago's south side "Black Belt," and were not directly adjacent to major Mexican (or Latino) neighborhoods, yet Spanish-surnamed persons still appear to have been involved.[83] Viewed in their totality, Mexicans' participation in the housing riots of the postwar period confirms that Mexicans' participation in the better-documented Trumbull Park riots was not an aberration, but indicative of a more pervasive pattern by which Mexicans had become integrated and incorporated in the practices of white racial exclusion. At Calumet Park, in fact, this integration and incorporation stood in vivid contrast with an uncannily similar "stoning" of *Mexican* 4th of July picnickers – including women and children – that had occurred 26 years earlier, in 1931.[84]

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If concluded here, the story of Mexicans' newfound racial position during the Trumbull Park and Calumet Park riots might seem pretty straight-forward. In spite of omissions made in popular accounts at the time as well as by historians writing afterward, it is clear that Mexicans were part of South Deering's communal effort to keep South Deering "white," and that they were part of similar efforts at Calumet Park (and possibly other postwar housing riots as well). This

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Table 4: "Ethnicity of arrestees by percentage and riot," pp. 82-83.

[83] The Park Manor riots were at 71st and St. Lawrence. However, the Englewood riots, on the west side of the "Black Belt" at 56th and Peoria, were in the general vicinity of the Mexican-inhabited Back of the Yards neighborhood. I have not personally reviewed the arrest lists for the Park Manor and Englewood housing riots, and unfortunately, the surviving lists consulted by Arnold Hirsch for both riots are quite small – 18 total names for Park Manor, and 29 for Englewood. Hirsch listed 3.9% and 2.4% Spanish-surnamed arrestees for each riot, respectively. These percentages mean that two of the three persons Hirsch asked to review the lists identified one Spanish-surnamed person at each riot, while the third reviewer reported no Spanish-surnamed persons at either riot (none of the reviewers were Spanish-speakers). Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, Table 4: "Ethnicity of arrestees by percentage and riot," pp. 82-83; and map on p.57.

[84] Eduardo Peralta Interview (by Arturo Rosales), South Chicago, February 1975; cited in F. Arturo Rosales, *Pobre Raza: Violence, Justice, and Mobilization Among México Lindo Immigrants, 1900–1936* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), Appendix A: "White and Black Civilian Violence Against Mexicans," July 1931 entry, p.210 (see also discussion on pp.115-16).

integration of Mexicans into the enactment of white racial exclusion represented a striking transformation from Mexicans' racial position only twenty to thirty years earlier – including in South Deering and the Southeast Side itself.

But the story is not quite so simple. Yes, it is certainly true that Mexicans by the 1950's had escaped the entrenched levels of residential segregation that they appeared to be headed for in the 1920's and that African-Americans continued to contend with in the 1950's and beyond. And, strikingly, in some very prominent instances such as the Trumbull Park riots, Mexicans were themselves co-agents in African-Americans' continuing segregation. But a closer look between the cracks of the Trumbull Park disorders – and beyond them to the greater Chicago region as a whole – reveals a messier picture of Mexicans' racial status, characterized by two key features. The first was a bifurcated image of Mexicans in the eyes of whites – an image split between Mexicans as established partners in the working-class community struggles of their neighbors on the one hand; and as newcomers and "illegal" "alien" Mexicans who surreptitiously snuck into Chicago, on the other. The second feature of the "messiness" surrounding Mexicans' racial position was that even as Mexicans participated in the communal actions of white racial exclusion, they still retained the status of being a racial "other," to quote the term Delores Hernández has used in her recollections. Although this "other" status was usually subsumed and overcome by the larger black-white racial struggle in working-class communities like South Deering and the Southeast Side, Mexicans' "other"-ness meant that they always remained at risk of being placed uncomfortably "in between," or worse, in the developing 1950's racial order.

The "messiness" in Mexicans' racial status in South Deering during the 1950's becomes readily apparent from an uncommented-on internal tension in the CCHR's summary report on the Trumbull Park Homes riots. As already noted, Mexicans were described in the report as being a part of the community of South Deering, and the report even provided the details of attacks and incidents that other sources identified as being carried out by Mexicans. Strikingly, however, the

report also described Mexican and other Latina/o tenants of the Trumbull Park Homes who were *victims* of racial incidents during the Trumbull Park riots.

For example, in March 1952 (the spring before the Howards moved into the Trumbull Park Homes), an Argentinean woman, "Mrs. Estelle Salis" [sic – likely *Solís*] moved into the homes with her children and had six of her windows broken by stones the following day. She moved out three days later.[85] While the CCHR's summary report did not elaborate further, an earlier CCHR report had stated that the incident occurred after "an Argentinean family *of dark complexion* moved into Trumbull Park Homes" [emphasis added], explaining that "People in the neighborhood assumed that the family was Negro and staged a threatening demonstration."[86] The reference to the "dark" skin color of the victims would be repeated in the accounts of other attacks and threats against Mexicans and Latina/os in the Trumbull Park Homes, strikingly reminiscent of the ways that Mexicans during the 1920's were mistaken for blacks and/or viewed as the racial equivalents of blacks. Yet, equally as striking was the fact that the Mexican youth rioters in South Deering had been described in very similar terms by the ACLU operative, as being "even blacker than the negros" – despite the fact that they ended up on the "white" side of this conflict. In other words, Mexicans with dark skin appear to have been racially suspect *unless* they were already known to the broader South Deering community. This caveat was probably less than reassuring to many of South Deering's long-time Mexican residents.

In fact, it was emblematic of the broader uncertainties of Mexicans' unequal partnership in whiteness, in which Mexicans might run the risk of falling back into a non-white or racially in-between position. Thus, when a Mexican family moved into the Trumbull Park Homes in November 1953, three months after the disturbances began, "[s]ome women ... mentioned to a

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[85] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 9.

[86] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, "The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances – Documentary Report Number I – August 1953 - March 1954," typescript, ca. March 1954 (copy in Government Publications Department, Northwestern University Library), p.2.

lady in the family that she should not bother to clean her windows as they would be broken that night." The main offense of this Mexican family appears to have simply been the timing of their move, as they entered a community that felt itself to be under siege by a conniving CHA that sought to "sneak" blacks into South Deering – including those that didn't look fully black, like Mrs. Howard. Indeed, the CCHR's summary report noted that "Police overheard women saying that she [the Mexican woman] was really a Negro."[87] Skin color also appears to have been a motivating factor (according to the CCHR) in the attack on a teenage Puerto Rican girl on May 19, 1955, shortly after she had moved into the Trumbull Park Homes. Described as a "dark complexioned Puerto Rican girl," she was pelted with stones and struck with a stick while returning from lunch to Bright School, which was just down the block from the apartment the Howards had initially moved into in 1953. In both of these cases, the victims' newness to the neighborhood – and their entrance into the Trumbull Park Homes themselves – helped make them racially suspect. Similarly, a month after the attack on the Puerto Rican girl, the CCHR reported that "a Mexican tenant and his daughter were threatened by five young men with baseball bats at 106th and Torrence at about 8:15 p.m.," and "a short time later a group of youths pushed a Puerto Rican girl at 106th and Torrence."[88] The nature of these attacks further drives home the messiness of Mexicans' racial position by this time, which was itself being further complicated by the growth of a small Puerto Rican population in South Deering.[89] The attacks on the Mexican

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[87] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 28 (entry for November 19, 1953).

[88] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 58 (entry for June 8, 1955).

[89] Puerto Ricans were a noticeable but still small presence in South Deering during the 1950's, especially in comparison to the larger Mexican population. They first started appearing in sources like the CCHR's report around the mid-1950's. However, the *Local Community Fact Book* still did not list Puerto Ricans in its 1960 narrative description of South Deering. Nonetheless, by 1960, South Deering's census tract had a Puerto Rican population of 3.3%, compared to a Mexican population between 10% and 20%. Even at the lowest point of Mexican population in South Deering in 1939, 4.7% of all dwelling units were Mexican-occupied (see Chapter 6, especially Table 6.2). Kitagawa and Taeuber, *Local Community Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1960*, 117. Mexican figures taken from the map, "Mexicans - 1960: Percentage of Total Population by Census Tracts," Marta Isabel Kollman de Curutchet, "Localization of the Mexican and Cuban Population of Chicago,"

tenants of the Trumbull Park Homes stand in stark contrast not only with Mexicans' previously described role as instigators of violence, but also with the case of Trumbull Park Homes resident Alex Villafuerte, who was a riot instigator in 1953 even as he was also a resident in the Homes. Moreover, the June 1955 attack on the Mexican father and his daughter at 106th and Torrence contrasts with the attacks and riot activities instigated by Guadalupe Sabala and other Mexicans against blacks at that very same spot during the previous two years.

These complexities suggest that it may be useful to return to Delores Hernández's initial statement about refusing to "stand on corners" during the Trumbull Park riots. As shown in the analysis above, her account clearly shows the ways that Mexicans (at least, those Mexicans already known to the South Deering community) were welcomed into the "white" defense of the neighborhood. But her indignation at the request to "stand on corners" deserves more attention. Her reference to the attack her father had received in South Deering when she was a little girl suggests that there was a part of her that found it hard to forget that event, and even continued to feel she wasn't fully welcome in the community, despite the invitations to join in the racial protests against black tenants in the Trumbull Park Homes. When shown how Mexicans were enumerated as "non-white" in the 1939 Chicago Land Use Survey but South Deering was described as "all white" in 1953, and asked whether Mexicans had come to be seen as white by the 1950's, Hernández responded in the negative. "I think they [Mexicans] were always considered non-white. [*"Even in the 1950's?"*] Oh yeah. Well in them days, Michael, when you filled out a form, you'd fill out white, because it was just 'black' or 'white.' But..." Given her "mixed" ancestry, the situation was even a bit more complicated for Delores, who stated that it was hard to grow up "not on either side" and to be "always other." But this "other"-ness always involved a separation from whiteness, for she felt that she "never passed" as white, even though she had been born to a German-American mother.[90] The condition she described was one in

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PhD Dissertation (Geography) (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1967), 25.

[90] Delores Hernández Interview, March 16, 2005.

which one felt always at risk of falling from racial favor, or perhaps even getting caught in the middle of black-white conflicts such as those at the Trumbull Park Homes.

This risk of getting caught in the middle of the black-white violence of the Trumbull Park Homes disturbances was especially palpable for Delores in the fall of 1953 and summer of 1954, when she lived almost directly across the street from the Howards' apartment in the Trumbull Park homes. She and her Mexican husband at the time, along with one infant child and another on the way, lived in a rear apartment on the 106th block of Bensley, only one door down from being directly across from the Howards at 10630 Bensley. Delores's most vivid memories of the riots were the aerial bomb attacks that residents in the alley behind her apartment directed at the Howards' home in the fall of 1953. Delores's house was directly in between the attackers and the attacked, and as she makes clear, her rear neighbors who fired the bombs were not particularly careful about avoiding her house in the middle, hitting her door and even catching her hanging laundry on fire. Her account of the attacks is one of the richest narratives of the Trumbull Park disturbances, and reveals how Mexicans – although asked to join in the anti-black violence – could quite literally get caught in the middle of it. Delores began by describing the family across the alley behind her that was "doing a lot of the attacks":

> A family called Ventresca, Ventresca family, Italian people, you know? They would really get set up. Some way they could set off .. rockets ... and they would explode, like a bomb. Tryin' to scare the pants... When they shot it off, it would make a real nice BOOM, you know? And I had a ... a small baby. Used to hang my – what they used to call [i.e., have for] "Pampers"[91] . . . . And my sister and mother had bought me a special diaper; it was called, I remember the name of it, it was Dexter diapers. . . . Nice diapers! Expensive. And I had five dozen. That's a lot of diapers. So, when I would wash em, then I had the lines, you know, full of diapers. Well, I had a little baby, and I was pregnant with another one; sometimes I didn't get out there and get the diapers off the clothesline, before dark. So as soon as dark, they would start shootin' off those bombs and rockets, whatever they were. [*pause as if for a punch-line*] Caught my diapers on fire. Which was in the ... [It] was bad... You know, and this was in the *yard*; Their target, was not goin' where they wanted it to go, it was goin' in *our yard*. Plus– the door, where you come *into* our apartment, because we

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[91] Having been tasked with the laundering of cloth diapers for my own first child, Delores and I commiserated at this point about the "joys" of cloth diapers. As she commented, "Oh it's pleasant, isn't it?" Having had two children in cloth diapers at the same time, however, her experience clearly trumped mine.

> lived in the back of this house, a little apartment in the back, ... the wood, ... wood on the door was all ... split where the rock[et]-, whatever they was shootin' off, would *hit*. It was, tearin' up the door. Can you imagine if you was comin' out or goin' in?!? Coulda killed you. ... Yeah, cause I was- you know, it was with the diapers out in the yard, and tryin' to get in and out with the baby?, and *pregnant*, without getting hit by one of those things?[92] [*"You'd never know when it was gonna happen, or anything?*"] No– Well, soon as dark, you know, ... and dependin' how fast you could run in between; And there was no other way to get into the apartment or out.
>
> And, one night, they kept it up so late; It was so bad that the baby was just ... *shakin'*, cryin' and shakin' every time they would shoot it off. So, my husband went *out* there; and he went to *ask* them, *Please*, you know, *stop*, you know, it was enough for the night. [*pause*] They were all gonna "jump him." A whole bunch of em were gonna "jump him." They were callin' him, you know, all kinds a names, and you know, "nigger lover," blah blah blah. Just because he asked them, I mean... And I rem[ember]-, I had to run out there, and it was– I had to think of something to tell em, you know, to keep them from jumpin' him and beating him to a *pulp*. It's ... the *anger*. You know, ready to take it out on anybody.[93]

Of course, Delores's account is complicated somewhat by the fact that Mexican adolescents, while not specifically involved with the Ventresca family in this instance, were likely known to them as allies in the broader aerial bomb attacks on the Trumbull Park Homes, and may even have worked with them in other instances. Additionally, whites themselves were not immune from violence if they were perceived to be a "nigger lover." A white neighbor of the Howards who was perceived as being too friendly with them was so persistently threatened that he moved out of the Homes, while white-owned liquor stores and other businesses that served black residents were also targeted and suffered extensive property damage.[94] In some ways, the threats on Delores Hernández and her family simply resembled these other threats and attacks, and one would hesitate to conclude from them that the white victims were seen as non-white. Yet there was one crucial difference in Delores's story of her diapers being caught on fire, her back

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[92] This sentence ("Yeah, cause I was- ... hit by one of those things") was spoken later in the interview, but has been placed here where it fits topically.

[93] Delores Hernández Interview, March 16, 2005. The name of Hernández's neighbors has been changed in this account.

[94] Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955* (various entries).

door being cracked by aerial bombs, and her husband nearly being "beaten to a pulp." Delores's family suffered these things without having taken any action that might have been construed as friendliness toward the Howards and the black tenants of the Trumbull Park Homes. Indeed, when her husband did ask for the bombs to stop, he did so because of the effect they were having on *his* family, not on the black Trumbull Park Homes residents. The carelessness with which Delores's family was put at risk by the aerial bomb attackers suggests that the Ventresca family did not see Delores's Mexican family as a fellow "white" ally in the conflict.

. . . .

Nonetheless, even as Delores's account dramatically recounts the ways that her family – and even her baby's diapers – were literally caught "in between" the black-white conflict of the Trumbull Park riots, her reflections decades later reveal a striking similarity to the racial thinking that drove the Trumbull Park protests. For example, when shown the CCHR's account of the Mexican family being threatened with broken windows after moving into the Trumbull Park Homes in November 1953, Delores keyed on the CCHR's account of white residents saying to one another that the family was actually "negro." When asked whether Mexicans experienced resistance moving into the Trumbull Park Homes, Delores said, "Yeah, but this was not a Mexican family; this was, I think it was black, and they tried to... [*Q: You heard that rumor?*] Yeah, and there was Mexicans in there [already]."[95] Delores reasoned that the family that was attacked could not really have been Mexican, since there were already Mexicans living there. Delores's own sister lived in the Trumbull Park Homes around this time, without any apparent problems.[96]

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[95] As seen above in the accounts of resident Alex Villafuerte, Delores's assertion the the Trumbull Park Homes already included Mexicans appears to be true. Long-time South Deering resident Alex Savastano also stated that Mexicans lived in the Trumbull Park Homes at the time of the disturbances. Mr. Savastano was the last president of the South Deering Improvement Association, before it went inactive. Alex Savastano Interview, Shoah Project Interviews – Trumbull Park / Civil Rights, Southeast [Chicago] Historical Society, Calumet Park Fieldhouse.

[96] Delores Hernández Interview, March 16, 2005.

Delores's belief that the family that was threatened in November 1953 was actually black was but one of a number of beliefs that revealed Delores's incorporation into broader patterns of "white" thinking about the Trumbull Park Homes riots. The belief that the "Mexican" family in November 1953 was actually black reflected a larger body of conspiracy theories that South Deering whites held about the Trumbull Park Homes disturbances, most of which revolved around the idea that "the negro organization" – usually the Urban League – had secretly instigated the entire Trumbull Park Homes disturbances, and secretly influenced CHA executive secretary Elizabeth Wood while providing unlimited legal funds and general support to the black tenants of the Trumbull Park Homes, who took "orders" directly from the Urban League.[97] Indeed, Delores continues to believe a number of these theories. She stated that it really looked like the Howards had been moved into the homes "on purpose," as part of a larger "politically"- motivated ploy. For Delores (as for other South Deering-ites), the fact that the Howards ultimately moved out after a year provided proof that they had been "put up" to move into the homes, and never intended to stay (a striking way of erasing the realities and effects of racial violence in blacks' decisions to leave the Trumbull Park Homes).[98]

Finally, Delores Hernández spoke critically about the city's response to the Trumbull Park riots in the same ways that whites in South Deering spoke about them at the time – particularly in terms of the heavy police presence in South Deering. In fact, her critique of the heavy police presence in South Deering was identical to the argument that white protesters in South Deering

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[97] On general conspiracy theories believed by South Deering whites, see Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 198–203. As additional examples, shortly after the onset of the Trumbull Park disturbances, when a Chicago city council member introduced a resolution calling on the city council to reaffirm the policy that public housing should be available to any person regardless of race or creed, Alderman Emil V. Pacini from the 10th ward, which included South Deering, "replied that the entire situation was 'pre-arranged and pre-meditated.'" Chicago Commission on Human Relations, *The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances: A Chronological Report, August 4, 1953 to June 30, 1955*, 14. In May 1954, the ACLU operative in South Deering recorded a conversation in Scully's tavern in which the patrons stated that the Urban League was funding a campaign to take over all housing, and then force intermarriage between blacks and whites. They also claimed that the Urban League had paid the blacks to move in to the Trumbull Park Homes. Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," May 8, 1954, in box 11, folder 9, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

[98] Delores Hernández Interview, March 16, 2005.

consciously used as a strategy for getting the city to remove blacks from the Trumbull Park Homes – namely, to force the city to bring so many police to South Deering that the rest of the city (and South Deering as well) would complain about the police shortage and decreased public safety in their areas. A corollary of this strategy was used in South Deering itself, as whites deliberately committed petty crimes and misdemeanors along Torrence Avenue and in other blocks away from the Homes in order to criticize poor police response there, or alternatively, to draw the police away so that the Homes would be left unprotected.[99] Delores's account of the people who would "stand on corners" reflects these very same themes, and even reveals how she was included in private white conversations expressing resentment toward the police:

> Those people, you [can] drive through the neighborhood, you'd see them standing on the corners, in little groups, in protest. And the police – every policeman in the city was in South Deering. [*"Yeah, they had as many as 1500 in the neighborhood at a time*."] Isn't that *ridiculous*? That was ridiculous.
>
> And ... Ha ha – Did I tell you the story about the dog food? There was this girl, she was *really* feisty, she's passed away now, she was a character. Anyway .. she's really cute, too, nice to be around; she was flirtin' with a policeman. She told him she's - Oh, she'd gonna fix him lunch. She made him hamburgers [*pause, laughing*] ... out of dog food! [*speaking in between laughter:*] She said they ate it, and told her it was good! Oh, man, it-, when she was tellin' it we were crackin' up. I don't remember if she told him or not, after they ate it, that they ate dog food... [*"But she did it because of the resentment toward the police for being there...*"] Right, cause they just overtook the neighborhood. They were marching– They had 'em marching because they weren't doing anything. So they'd be in like in platoons almost. Marching up and down the street – it was ridiculous. I mean something was going on- -Oh!- there was this policeman on the corner, and this woman said, in the middle of the block in Torrence, she said, "There's this guy exposing himself!" And he said, well, he couldn't go and check it out, he had to stay there. Huh! [*laughing in disbelief*]. So, I imagine– wondered what was goin' on in the rest of the city, with all the policemen here. It was ridiculous! It was ridiculous! ... It caused a lot of animosity and friction

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[99] On his way to work at Wisconsin Steel in July 1954, the ACLU's operative in South Deering noted that "word" was being spread by one of his co-workers that a "park policeman" had said that what they ought to do is write the mayor and complain about the cops being drained from the rest of the city. This strategy was talked about a lot in following days, both in the mills and in the taverns, where patrons also discussed the strategy of deliberately making disturbances *away* from the Park. Operative L.G., "Confidential Report," July 15, 1954, in box 12, folder 1, ACLU - Illinois Division Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections. The strategy of creating and then criticizing the reduced police presence in the rest of the city is also noted in Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 97.

> between the police and the people, and- [*changed tone, conceding*] And the people were pretty ridiculous, too.[100]

Although she finally acknowledged that "the people were pretty ridiculous, too," she still later commented:

> *I* understand they were trying to protect their neighborhood. ... [*confidential tone*] You know, look at the way it is now. *Be realistic.*
>
> [*"Right, but a lot of that is– there's a lot of reasons for that, with the mills shutting down, and–"*]
>
> I've lived in this city all my life. I see ... how it changes. [*pause for emphasis*] It's *people*. Not *mill*.

In fact, Delores defended the practice and justifications of racial exclusion on the Southeast Side even when it threatened to harm her own family. After telling of her sister's difficulty attempting to rent an apartment on the East Side, and commenting on the racial exclusiveness of the East Side and East Siders' related feelings of neighborhood superiority, I noted that I had heard that residents in Hegewisch (another southeast side neighborhood farther south) "thought they were even better [than the East Side]." Noticing my critical tone, Delores said, "*Well*– look at them now," and recounted the story of a recent gun shooting committed by a black man on the East Side (which had not maintained its racially exclusive stance as long as Hegewisch). To her mind, there were common-sense benefits to racial exclusion, and denying that non-whites made neighborhoods worse was simple foolishness. Speaking of the East Side black shooting, she said, "Blacks come in over there, they'd never had any problems [before], I mean, *come on*!" Having just told how white racial exclusion had negatively affected her sister on the East Side, Delores immediately turned around to defend it and suggest that the East Side should have remained *more* vigilant in its practices of exclusion.[101]

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[100] Delores Hernández Interview, March 16, 2005.

[101] Delores Hernández Interview, March 16, 2005. At the same time, Delores also told how she openly welcomed the first black neighbor in her neighborhood, and encouraged her son to invite his black high school friend to spend the night.

Even more strikingly, after a ride through the South Deering neighborhood confirmed that most of the neighborhood east of the Trumbull Park Homes remains Mexican and Mexican-American to this day (rather than black) Delores clarified that she was referring to these "new" Mexicans as the cause of the neighborhood looking "the way it is now." In other words, these new Mexicans were the "*people*, not *mill*" that had changed her neighborhood for the worse. On the one hand, Delores's sentiment provides a compelling case-in-point of the deep ambivalence with which Mexican-Americans as a whole have viewed Mexican immigration and Mexican immigrants in the post- World War II period, a phenomenon first illuminated by David Gutierrez in his pathbreaking work on this subject.[102] But in South Deering, Delores's stance was not simply a concern that her own position would be threatened by the newcomer Mexican immigrants in her neighborhood. Rather, her opposition to post- World War II Mexican immigrants in South Deering reflected the broader bifurcated image of Mexicans and Mexican-ness that had become apparent among whites by the 1950's, in which whites viewed Mexicans long-known to the neighborhood (such as Delores and her family) as acceptable, but greeted newer Mexican immigrants with hostility. In South Deering, the image of the "newcomer" Mexican was typically of a culturally "other" and non-assimilable immigrant who did not seek to become integrated into the rest of the community, as earlier Mexicans had. This theme was stressed in the recollections of white South Deering-ite and former SDIA president Alex Savastano, as well as Delores herself. After confirming that Mexicans had been active in the SDIA, Alex Savastano added, "Mexicans of *my generation*, that is, that I grew up with; *not* the ones that moved in later." In complaining of the quality and non-assimilability of Mexican immigrants who had come to the southeast side during and since the 1950's, Alex said "I really

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[102] According to Gutierrez, Mexican-Americans have indeed viewed Mexican immigrants as transnational brothers and sisters; but just as importantly, they have viewed them as potent cultural symbols that attract ongoing discrimination and hostility which threatens to undermine the gains Mexican-Americans have made. David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1995). Mae Ngai has described similar patterns of Mexican-Americans in response to bracero workers as well as illegal Mexican immigrants in the 1950's. See Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2003) 158–60.

feel sorry for the old ones," that is, those who had "learned English as I did" and worked their way up in the community, yet (in his mind) ended up having to live with the newer Mexican immigrants in South Deering and the southeast side.[103] Similarly, Delores Hernández explained, "Like I told you, I don't want to judge... They *are* different though, Mexicans now and of my father's generation."[104]

. . . .

The complaints of Alex Savastano and Delores Hernández about the "new" Mexicans in South Deering reflect a broader development in the changing perceptions of Mexicans during the 1950's – namely, the bifurcated image of Mexicans as long-time working-class allies, neighbors, and fellow parishioners on the one hand; and surreptitious, "illegal," or at the very least, unassimilable newcomers on the other. For at the very same time that longtime Mexican residents of working-class neighborhoods participated in the "defense" of these "white" neighborhoods from blacks, the Chicago District of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) initiated a series of deportation drives against Mexicans that publicized the image of Mexicans as "illegal" others. Popular white thinking about "illegal" Mexicans in the 1950's framed these "illegals" as standing outside the mantle of whiteness and working-class respectability. Mexicans who were cast in this light stood at risk of receiving the same exclusionary treatment that South Deering's Mexicans gave to the black tenants of the Trumbull Park Homes. This bifurcated image of Mexican-ness was the second key feature of the "messiness" surrounding Mexicans' racial status by the 1950's. Indeed, the first feature of Mexicans' messy racial position – their continued "other" status and fragile partnership in whiteness – appears to have been partly related to this bifurcated image of Mexican-ness, as suggested by the ways that *new* Mexican (and Latino) families to South Deering in the 1950's suffered threats and attacks during the Trumbull Park riots.

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[103] Alex Savastano Interview, August 5, 2004.

[104] Delores Hernández Interview, March 16, 2005.

Both features of Mexicans' bifurcated image – as surreptitious, "illegal" others; and as trusted and well-known coequals in working-class life – coexisted in remarkably comfortable fashion in postwar popular culture and social experience in greater Chicago. A review of the publicity and public response to the Mexican deportation drives of INS's Chicago District during the postwar decade, which culminated in the nationwide "Operation Wetback" effort undertaken in 1954, helps clarify the broad reach of the "illegal" and perpetually "other" image of Mexican-ness. But equally important, long-time Mexican residents and families continued to be viewed in an increasingly sympathetic light, as becomes clear by looking at the public image of Mexican and Mexican-American service men[105] during the era of the Korean War.

Mexican military service, along with the concurrent rights that military service was seen to confer (especially among a citizenry increasingly oriented to the state) was a crucial part of the positive, integrated image of Mexican-ness during the 1950's. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Mexican males' enlistment levels in Chicago were at least as high during the Korean conflict as they had been in World War II. Moreover, Mexican names were readily apparent in a 1960 listing of St. Kevin's veterans (from all conflicts) included in the commemorative diamond jubilee booklet issued by the parish for its 75th anniversary festivities. Twenty of the 382 names listed were obviously Spanish, including those of Trumbull Park rioters Guadalupe Sabala and Jesse Delgado (the names appeared just before a full-page ad for the South Deering Improvement Association). Indeed, by 1954 Mexican-Americans in South Deering had founded their own American Legion post, which was a visible, well-known, and well-respected institution in South Deering and the greater southeast side. On the one hand, the fact that South Deering Post of the American Legion post was specifically known as a "Mexican" post might suggest a continued level of anti-Mexican exclusion in South Deering. On the other hand, however, the post was given the name of the *entire* neighborhood, the "South Deering Post," with the blessing of the

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[105] As during World War II, permanent immigrants were eligible for the draft and for voluntary enlistment during the Korean War. Thus, both "Mexicans" and "Mexican-Americans" likely enlisted, though I refer to both as "Mexican" below (as I do throughout this dissertation, for reasons discussed in my Introduction).

previously-existing local, the Burke-O'Malley post (named after two South Deering veterans killed in the first World War). The fact that the "Mexican" post was accepted as the "South Deering Post" – one year after South Deering had erupted in the anti-black violence surrounding the Trumbull Park riots – suggests a pronounced acceptance of Mexican-Americans as a part of the South Deering community.[106]

Throughout Chicago, the Korean War contributions of Mexican-Americans (and likely, Puerto Ricans) who were killed or wounded in combat were regularly reported alongside the contributions and sacrifices of Chicago's many other European ethnic groups. For example, in April 1953 the *Chicago Tribune* ran an article entitled, "List 3 Illinois GI's as Killed in Korean War," with the sub-title "9 Chicago Area Yanks are Wounded." The nine "Yanks" included West Sider Raul P. Hernández and South Chicagoan Salvador Tenorio (who lived at 9108 Burley, just around the corner from Our Lady of Guadalupe church). They were listed along with names such as Elmo Carpenter, James O'Leary,[107] and Raymond Depina; and Hernández's photo was one of the two featured at the top of the article. In fact, the brief write-up on Hernández was the most personal and sympathetic of any of the descriptions. After reporting that he had been wounded on the "left arm, left leg, and right hand by 15 pieces of shrapnel," the article quoted his letter to his parents: "'Now I'll have to admit I was lying when I told you I was in a rear area,' Hernandez

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[106] The stories of South Deering's Burke-O'Malley and South Deering posts of the American Legion, including the founding and public acceptance of the latter, were related to me by former South Deering resident, veteran, and second generation Croatian-American Joe Mulac (interview with author, July 29, 2004). Rod Sellers of the Southeast [Chicago] Historical Society later informed me that Mexican-Americans in South Deering have recounted how the post was to be named after two Mexican-Americans killed in World War II (Ruíz and Rios), but they couldn't settle on which name to list first. See also the South Deering Post American Legion photographs and captions in Rita Arias Jirasek and Carlos Tortolero, *Mexican Chicago*, Images of America (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2001) 92, and in Accession 81-131, Southeast [Chicago] Historical Society, Calumet Park Fieldhouse. South Deering's Burke-O'Malley Post of the American Legion was founded in 1937 by a group of men that included Irish, Italian, and Anglo names. For that history, as well as the listing of St. Kevin's Spanish-named veterans in 1960, see: *1885-1960 - Seventy-Five Years of Service to the Community* (St. Kevin's commemorative "diamond jubilee" anniversary book), "In Service of God and Country" pages; Historical Files, St. Kevin's Parish.

[107] *Not* the same James O'Leary who appears elsewhere in this chapter.

wrote."[108] The inclusionary reference to Hernández and Tenorio as "Yanks," as well as the sympathetic portrayal of Hernández's family (and the very fact that the two were included in the article), revealed the profound changes in the public image of Mexican-ness that had been made possible by Mexican-Americans' wartime military service.

Nonetheless, the image of the "alien," unskilled, and increasingly illegal Mexican immigrant also represented an important component of popular representations of Mexican-ness during the postwar years. At the national level, the whole idea of "illegal" Mexican immigrants was fostered, albeit indirectly, by the continuance of the "bracero" guest-worker program after World War II. The bracero program established an official, legalized framework for short-term Mexican immigration that had not previously existed in such regularized form. Prior to the bracero program, the only way that Mexicans could be illegal is if they failed to pay the head tax and visa fees required for long-term immigration lasting beyond a temporary visit (there was no quota on Mexican immigration prior to 1965). Mexicans did try to evade head tax and visa fees, but it was the bracero program which first created, in a major way, the idea of Mexicans being within or outside the bounds of a legalized migration framework. Under the bracero program, any bracero who attempted to overstay their work contract – or who attempted to perform agricultural work without a contract and without regular immigration papers – was an "illegal." Thus, the bracero program produced, for the first time, lists of Mexicans who were not supposed to be in the United States. Many braceros did in fact "break" or overstay their bracero contracts and attempt to stay in the U.S., rather than return to Mexico and have to pay the immigration fees required to return as an immigrant.[109] During World War II, Chicago had been a particularly

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[108] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 20, 1953, Part 4, p.6.

[109] Mae Ngai's work has traced a broader, parallel pattern by which the notion of "illegal" immigrants was created by the institution of immigration restriction beginning in the 1920's. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Ngai also suggests a similar pattern resulting from the bracero program, as I argue here. See her Chapter 4, "Braceros, 'Wetbacks,' and the National Boundaries of Class," pp.147-49, *passim*. This chapter also outlines the substantially high rates at which bracero workers would "skip" or overstay their contracts, even during the first bracero programs initiated during World War II (see especially pp.155-57).

popular destination point for braceros who had "jumped" their contracts in the lesser-known railroad bracero program.[110]

However, the image of the "alien" and "illegal" Mexican was more broadly popularized in postwar Chicago by the increasingly public efforts of the Chicago District of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to capture and deport "illegal" Mexicans. The image of surreptitious Mexicans being illegally smuggled into Chicago first appeared early in the summer of 1948, when the Chicago press reported how local immigration agents, acting on an anonymous phone tip, seized 39 Mexican men as they got out of a false-bottomed cantaloupe truck on West Taylor Street. The police had received a call that a "group of Mexicans ... appeared to be emerging from the truck under a load of canteloupes."[111] The incident gathered nationwide press coverage, and front-page coverage in the *Chicago Tribune*. In telling the story of the incident, the press accounts and photographs emphasized the potentially threatening, othering aspects of these Mexicans who had surreptitiously travelled all the way to Chicago "in the false bottom of a

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[110] The railroad bracero program only operated during World War II, and was never re-initiated after the war. Individual railroads called for such a program as early as 1941, but these first proposals were objected to by "organized labor." By 1943 the program was well underway. Details on the railroad bracero program's organization, including photographs of wartime railroad bracero workers in Chicago, are provided in Robert C. Jones, *Mexican War Workers in the United States: The Mexico-United States Manpower Recruiting Program and Operation - 1942 to 1944 Inclusive* (Washington: Pan American Union – Division of Labor and Social Information, 1945).

Concerns over Chicago as a popular destination point for railroad braceros who had broken their contracts was voiced during a December 1943 meeting between various railroad company representatives and officials of the INS (the meeting had been called by the Western Association of Railroad Executives). It appears that Chicago's popularity stemmed from the city's continuing importance as a major railroad hub that also offered a rich array of industrial jobs. Memorandum of Chicago meeting, "C.G.G." [C.G. Grove, Maintenance of Way Department, Western Region, Pennsylvania Railroad] to "H.L.W.," December 31, 1943; in Folder: "[5] Supt. Labor and Wage Bureau - Western Region / 011.124 / Mexican Laborers. Employment of. 1943," Box 1024, General Correspondence File (1917-1953), Superintendant of the Wage & Labor Bureau / Personnel Department, Western Region, Records of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company (Accession 1810), Hagley Museum and Library - Manuscripts Department.

[111] Andrew Jordan, District Director, Chicago, to the Commissioner (INS), September 10, 1948, File 56255/288, Box 3082, Accession 58A734, Entry 33: "Subject and Policy Files, 1906-1957," RG 85, NA-DC. Note that the box and accession information for this entry of INS Subject files will change, as the INS's subject and policy files are currently being consolidated from the several accessions that they currently occupy into a single entry of INS general subject files.

rickety fruit truck." The *Tribune*'s front-page article was titled, "39 Mexicans Herded into Arms of Law," associating the Mexicans with cattle or other animals by emphasizing law enforcement officers' amazement that all 39 Mexicans had fit into the 4-foot high space in the bottom of the truck for the five day trip: "How the 39 survived confinement in the truck bottom, referred to by one observer as the 'moving Black Hole of Calcutta,' puzzled police. The truck's bottom wasn't large enough for a person to stand in." The *Tribune* also printed a two-column wide photo of the 39 Mexicans, standing in custody at the Maxwell Street police station, across the top of its second page. Titled, "Seize Mexicans Smuggled into U.S.," the photo further emphasized the amazement at the fact that all of these men could have fit, where no "person" could stand, in the bottom of the fruit truck.[112] Indeed, the Universal Press (UP) photo from the event, apparently staged, depicted the truck's driver, Texas-born U.S. citizen Reynaldo Sanchez, posed by a hole in the side of the truck through which can be seen several huddled, dark Mexicans crouched under the load of cantaloupes on the false truck-bottom above their heads (Sanchez himself appears notably dark in the photo). Like the *Tribune* article, the UP article's account of the "smuggled" Mexicans depicted them in de-humanizing terms. The declared that "The Mexicans had crouched or sprawled in the area beneath the false floor," and stated how police Lieutenant Harold Enger, who had led the raid "said that it appeared that the aliens had subsisted mainly on cantaloupes for the entire trip. 'The bottom of the truck was filthy,' he said. "It was covered with cantaloupe rinds and excreta. There was a little water available but not much. It looked to me as though the truck didn't stop once on the trip up here.'" The article concluded by reinforcing the physical, and thereby racial, other-ness of the Mexicans: "The raid was staged, Enger said, after he received a call that 'a lot of strange-looking men' had been taken into the west side building."[113]

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[112] "39 Mexicans Herded into Arms of Law," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 13, 1948, p.1.

[113] "Americans Held for Smuggling in 40 Mexicans" (UP), *Washington Times-Herald*, June 13, 1948; included in File 56255/288, Box 3082, Accession 58A734, Entry 33: "Subject and Policy Files, 1906-1957," RG 85, NA-DC.

Between this 1948 incident and the onset of the Trumbull Park riots in August 1953, the apprehension of "wetbacks" by the Chicago District of the INS increased and was increasingly publicized by Chicago's press, as were the increasingly regular "airlifts" that took apprehended Mexicans from Chicago back to the U.S.-Mexican border. While earlier news reports were often buried in back sections of the *Chicago Tribune*, by the time of Operation Wetback's initiation in 1954, the reports had assumed higher visibility, and had come to report on apprehensions of "wetbacks" in northwest Indiana as well. The growing concern and visibility was attested to by article titles such as "Round Up 800 Mexicans Here," "Send Home 170 Mexicans Nabbed for Illegal Entry," and "100 'Wetbacks' Sent South on Way to Mexico," all of which reported on the increasing frequency by which hundreds of Mexicans ("300 to 500" by September 1953) were regularly returned from Chicago to the Mexican border – on a *monthly* basis. On one occasion, the perceived gravity of the situation was illustrated by a photograph of Mexicans bedded on cots in a corridor of the overcrowded Cook County jail, where "100 Mexicans who have been rounded up by immigration authorities for deportation" added to an already crowded jail situation. Even articles featuring the activities of Mexican-American organizations such as the Mexican-American Council dwelled on the wetback threat, despite the fact that the organization was more focused on the needs of Mexican-Americans. Of course, this followed the already-noted pattern by which Mexican-American groups viewed "wetbacks" and new Mexican immigrants with a healthy level of suspicion, but Chicago articles on the Mexican-American Council from this period seemed especially eager to focus on this feature. A 1952 article quoted the outgoing president of the Mexican-American Council regarding his concern bout the "problems ... of the wetbacks coming to Chicago," who "were streaming into Chicago at the rate of about 30 a day." An article the following spring took the liberty of paraphrasing the concerns of the organization's new president about the "wetbacks who creep like shadows across the border." Finally, all of these articles about "wetbacks" in the Chicago region were accompanied by increasingly alarmist articles about

the border itself, such as "Border a Sieve and Mexicans Pour Thru It – Guards Say Whole Nation Could Move into U.S."[114]

Moreover, in spite of the fact that organizations like the Mexican-American Council clearly outlined that Chicago's "Mexicans" consisted of different groups – from long-established residents and their children to the more recent "wetbacks" – this new "illegal," "wetback" side of Mexicans' bifurcated image threatened the racial image of Mexicans as a whole. Sometimes this happened by the association of Mexicans' "illegal" border-crossing with other illegal border "smuggling," most notably in narcotics. The March 15, 1953 *Chicago Sunday Tribune Graphic Magazine* included an alarming excerpt from *Narcotics: America's Peril*, which overtly associated Mexicans' illegal border activities with non-whiteness. The article's opening references to "Mexican peons" cutting marijuana leaves high in the "Sierra Madres" was a racially coded term for Mexican Indians, as made clear by the article's subsequent references to the peons' "half breed" overseers who directed them and sold the product to traffickers in Ciudad Juárez. The article continued with a detailed account of the relative ease by which a trunk of marijuana and heroin valued at $75,000 was transported across the border by two Mexican men who "had made scores of similar trips – Sometimes it was aliens." The excerpted article's title was "Narcotics Smugglers – How They Work," and this "smuggling" image and theme would be repeated barely a week later when the *Tribune* reported on the arrest of two Mexican-Americans for "smuggling" Mexican "aliens" into Chicago.[115]

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[114] This paragraph is based on the following *Chicago Daily Tribune* articles: "Round Up 800 Mexicans Here; Last Sent Home," May 17, 1950, p.15; "Nab 100 Aliens in Indiana for Deportation," July 25, 1951, part 3, p.7; "Prisoners Overflow County Jail," February 1, 1952, p.4; "135 Mexicans Begin Trip Home; Some Face Trial," February 7, 1952, p.3; "Send Home 170 Mexicans Nabbed for Illegal Entry," February 9, 1952, p.6; "Dr. Louis Leal Tells Hopes of Mexican Group," September 25, 1952 (western suburbs edition) part 2, p.2; "2 Plead Guilty to Smuggling 6 Mexican Aliens," March 24, 1953, p.16; Louise Hutchinson, "Quiet 'Revolt' Helps Chicago Mexicans' Lot," March 29, 1953, Part 3, p.8 (SW) & part 3, p.1 (S); "Border a Sieve and Mexicans Pour Thru It," May 10, 1953, p.33; "100 'Wetbacks' Sent South on Way to Mexico," September 3, 1953, part 2, p.4; and "40 Immigration Aids Here Sent to Duty on Mexican Border," June 11, 1954, part 3, p.12.

[115] Will Oursler and L.D. Smith, "Narcotics Smugglers – How They Work," *Chicago Sunday Tribune Graphic Magazine*, March 15, 1953, p.20; "2 Plead Guilty to Smuggling 6 Mexican Aliens," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 24, 1953, p.16.

The way that the "illegal alien" part of Mexicans' bifurcated image came to racialize *all* Mexicans in Chicago as non-white was more apparent, however, in an October 1953 article in Chicago's *Sun-Times* – only two months after the onset of the Trumbull Park riots and the initial arrests of Mexican-Americans for their participation in the "white" side of the violence there. Tom Littlewood's feature article in the *Sun-Times*, titled "Mexicans Are Chicago's Least Understood Group," purported to offer a sympathetic account of the injustices Mexicans faced. Indeed, the article began by casting Mexicans as suffering from "most of the problems of the Negro – and many more besides," and even offered the sub-title, "Crowd Most Miserable Slums." But rather than forming a statement against the discrimination Mexicans received, these associations actually worked to cast Mexicans as a threatening racial problem in the same way that blacks were. In fact, the article very quickly adopted the reasoning so common to the Mexican immigration restriction debates decades earlier, that the discrimination which Mexicans experienced somehow made them *more* of a problem and threat to an assumedly "white," "American" population. As the article stated, "These people usually live in the most miserable of the slums and are given the dirtiest of jobs. In turn, they confront the community with social and law enforcement difficulties far out of proportion to their numbers." Moreover, the article subtly used the "wetback" image to tarnish the image of all Mexicans in Chicago. Having opened by stating that Chicago included "nearly 100,000 Mexicans," and then stating that "about 15,000, possibly many more, are 'wetbacks,'" the remainder of the article managed to focus almost exclusively on the "wetbacks" while purporting to discuss Mexicans as a whole. After describing the Chicago District of the INS's efforts to apprehend "wetbacks," the article opened its discussion of *all* Mexicans' migration to Chicago by stating "Chicago's popularity with the wetbacks isn't hard to understand." Its one reference to the earlier Mexican immigration stated that "Peons from the dusty fields of rural Mexico started flocking to Chicago about 40 years ago," painting the older Mexican immigrants in much the same terms as the current "wetbacks." In fact, the article even went on to state that "Large numbers of the older Mexicans who came to Chicago

as early as World War I, made little attempt to learn the English language, to become American citizens, or to play a normal role in community life."[116] Ironically, Mexicans' role in the "communal" riots at the Trumbull Park Homes during that very month may well have been perceived as a "normal role in community life" by South Deering's white residents.

The high point in the publicized "alien" image of Mexicans, however, came in 1954 with the culmination of the efforts of the INS's Chicago District to apprehend and deport "illegal" Mexicans as part of the nationwide "Operation Wetback."[117] As the aerial bombs and ballpark violence at the Trumbull Park Homes assumed an ominously routinized feel in the summer of 1954, Chicagoans as a whole were made fully aware of the oncoming "wetback" effort, with *Chicago Tribune* articles such as "Federal Drive on 'Wetbacks' to Center Here," and, in September, "Midwest Drive on Wetbacks to Open Friday." The former article, published in July, noted the U.S. Attorney General's proclamation that "Chicago would be a focal point of a federal immigration service drive to return 'wetbacks' to Mexico," and also quoted the Chicago District Director of the INS as stating that Chicago had an "estimated 25,000 to 40,000 'wetbacks,'" with only about 2,500 being returned each year by the District – "far fewer than the number of arrivals."[118]

As the Chicago District's deportation drive got underway in September, a concerned resident of Chicago's northwest suburbs wrote to the Chicago District INS headquarters about "the seriousness of the situation in the Northwest-Suburban area," where she felt that the INS was

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[116] Tom Littlewood, "Mexicans Are Chicago's Least Understood Group," *Chicago Sun-Times*, October 19, 1953; clipping in "Ethnic Groups - Mexicans" folder, Chicago Historical Society newspaper clippings files.

[117] The definitive source on the overall history of Operation Wetback remains Juan Ramón García, *Operation Wetback: The Mass Deportation of Mexican Undocumented Workers in 1954* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980). However, with the exception of a map depicting the regular "airlift" of "wetbacks" from Chicago, this work does not discuss operations in Chicago in any detail. The INS files consulted here, however, would not have been available at the time García's book was written. Recently renewed interest in the postwar bracero programs, however, is beginning to produce new scholarship that deals tangentially with the politics of "Operation Wetback" in relation to broader U.S.-Mexican relations vis-a-vis Mexican labor.

[118] "Federal Drive on 'Wetbacks' to Center Here," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 31, 1954, p.12; "Midwest Drive on Wetbacks to Open Friday," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 15, 1954, part 2, p.2.

failing to live up to its talk about apprehending undocumented Mexicans. In fact, Mrs. Mary Oddson's account of the "problems" resulting from "illegally entered Mexican aliens" revealed many of the same phrases, concerns, and strategies as those used by whites during the Trumbull Park riots and Chicago's postwar housing riots in general. In what was likely a complaint about recent news reports of the INS flying Mexicans back to the border,[119] she began: "It is very well to look at things lightly, deporting these aliens periodically, without prosecution, dismissing their illegal-entry with – 'can you blame them for wanting to come here?'; yes, very well indeed, when you are not confronted daily with problems arising out of having them as neighbors, co-workers and playmates and schoolmates for your children." The "problems" she referred to mirrored white concerns over blacks "invading" their neighborhoods at this same time, as made clear in her depiction of peaceful, suburban white neighborhoods that had been getting along fine until threatened by "wetbacks":

> These areas are lovely new sections, housing very respectable communities of fine real-American young families. These people are doing all they can to provide the best possible for their children, but the invasion into our communities by these 'wetbacks' not only has lowered our property values, but has brought their immorality, excessive drinking, disregards for civil laws and convention, and shameful neglect of their children, into the open for our children and teen-agers to see. How can we deal with any success against the problem of delinquency when we have a situation like this to cope with in our midst[?][120]

Indeed, the "problems" posed by "wetbacks" for these suburban residents were probably made all the more vexing by the fact that in moving to places like Bensenville, Schiller Park, and Franklin Park, these white suburbanites thought they had put the threat of racially changing neighborhoods far behind them. As expressed in her concluding denial of any "prejudice" in the complaints that she and her neighbors raised "against these people" (a typical denial in anti-black housing incidents as well, including Trumbull Park), she stated that "We are merely trying to protect and

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[119] See "Fly 2d Group of 'Wetbacks' Home Today," *Chicago Tribune*, September 21, 1954, part 3, p.12.

[120] "Mrs. Mary M. Oddson" to Walter A. Sahli (Director, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Chicago), September 22, 1954; in File 56364/45.3 (Operation Wetback, Chicago, 1954), Box 103, Accession 59A2038, Entry 33: "Subject and Policy Files, 1906-1957," RG 85, NA-DC.

safeguard that which is ours." And, the neighborhoods she was most concerned about were the "unincorporated areas" surrounding Franklin Park, Schiller Park, and Bensenville, because "[t]he village laws are more stringent governing the purchase of properties, building and general police control, whereas the unincorporated areas are not protected by their laws." The statement suggested the ways that local governments in the area attempted to resist the entrance of Mexicans through official means.

But it was in the last turn of Mrs. Oddson's letter that her account became most ominously reminiscent of white residents' strategies to combat the black "invasion" of their neighborhoods – including South Deering and other neighborhoods that erupted in white housing riots during the postwar period. Mrs. Oddson reported that in these unincorporated areas which did not have their own police force, "[i]ndividual reports against these aliens" had already resulted in "threats and reprisals" (assumedly made by Mexicans). The contemplated response, however, was one of mob violence – as made clear in the thinly-veiled threat of Mrs. Oddson, which mirrored the ways that communities like South Deering attempted to blackmail public officials with continued violence until racial homogeneity was officially guaranteed and enforced. As she put it, "[U]nless something is done soon, this [i.e., the 'threats and reprisals'] could rise to such proportions as to incite vigilante-styled law which certainly wouldn't speak well for the efficiency of your department, but what-ever alternative is there to protect the welfare of these communities."[121] Her last sentence almost seemed to trail off deliberately, implying that "whatever alternative" was needed *would* be used.

Interestingly, when the INS investigated three specific houses that Mrs. Oddson identified for them, it discovered that only one of the houses contained a single undocumented Mexican. The remaining inhabitants of the three houses included several legal Mexican immigrant families and their U.S.-born children, a family of Mexican-born but naturalized U.S. citizen parents and

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[121] "Mrs. Mary M. Oddson" to Walter A. Sahli (Director, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Chicago), September 22, 1954 (as cited above).

their U.S.-born children, and one house made up entirely of Puerto Ricans.[122] Mrs. Oddson's targeting of the naturalized U.S. citizens as "illegals" – persons whose citizenship meant that they had already been resident in the U.S. for at least five years, possibly more – reveals once again the ways that the "illegal" "wetback" part of Mexicans' bifurcated image could negatively affect more established Mexican-Americans as well as newer Mexican immigrants in the 1950's.

Yet, as further testament to Mexicans' bifurcated image in the eyes of whites, at the same time that Chicagoans were becoming increasingly aware of the racially-suspect "illegal" "wetbacks" coming into their midst, other articles in Chicago's press continued to view an exoticized, touristic form of "Mexican-ness" as an attractive commodity available for viewing and consuming, building on patterns that had been established almost two decades earlier. *Chicago Tribune* columnist Marge Lyon devoted an article to this topic in March of 1953, under the full-page banner headline of "Marge Finds You Can Go 'South of Border' by Staying in Chicago," and the sub-title, "Sees Much to Intrigue in Mexican Areas Here." Although the article noted the Mexican-American Council's identification of "illegal entry as the greatest problem of Chicago's Spanish-Speaking people" (mirroring, in fact, a flurry of reports during the previous month of several hundred "illegal" Mexicans being deported from Chicago),[123] the rest of the article focused on what Chicago's Mexican neighborhoods had to offer the *Tribune*'s non-Mexican readers. Beginning with the query, "So you would like to visit Mexico?" "Marge" then boasted that "You can hear Mexican [Spanish] spoken in stores and on the street" and "[y]ou can find [within a stone's throw of Hull House] the same silvercraft, exquisite figurines, tin masks and colorful baskets that tourists lug home," concluding with the exclamation: "You can buy Mexican

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[122] Memorandum, John A. Lannon (INS Investigator, Chicago, Illinois) to Irving I. Freedman (Chief, Investigations Branch, INS, Chicago), October 18, 1954, Re: "Attached letter from Mrs. Mary M. Oddson"; in File 56364/45.3 (Operation Wetback, Chicago, 1954), Box 103, Accession 59A2038, Entry 33: "Subject and Policy Files, 1906-1957," RG 85, NA-DC.

[123] See *Chicago Tribune* articles, "Prisoners Overflow County Jail," February 1, 1952, p.4; "135 Mexicans Begin Trip Home; Some Face Trial," February 7, 1952, p.3; and "Send Home 170 Mexicans Nabbed for Illegal Entry," February 9, 1952, p.6.

groceries!" (all brackets appeared in original). Indeed, the article included an entire section on "Shopping in Chicago's 'Mexico,'" even though the author's boast about "Spanish" window signs was depicted by a drawing of the grammatically-incorrect "El Favorita Grocery," instead of "La Favorita." Nonetheless, this image featured two attractive Mexican women doing their shopping, an image that fit well with Marge Lyon's claim that "Mexican women marry young with gay feasts, and then promptly become real homebodies." But Mexican women and men alike were both subtly depicted as enticing and exotic figures in Lyons' account of visiting a Mexican restaurant in South Chicago, where Mexicans' exotic features literally and figuratively crept out from under their seemingly more mundane coverings. Lyons described the restaurant "where Mr. Gonzales, broad and dark, helps serve food prepared by two Mexican cooks, one in a black rayon dress glittering with sequins under her blue apron." Such imagery paralleled the resuscitated 1950's image of "Latins" as romantic and exotic, as depicted in Hollywood films such as 1953's *Latin Lovers*. Lyons concluded the article with the pronouncement that "One trip like this and Mexico will seem just like home," crystallizing the article's invitation for its readers to imagine themselves as Mexican, even if only for an afternoon or evening.[124]

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The bifurcated image of Mexican-ness that characterized white perceptions of Mexicans in South Deering and Chicago as a whole during the 1950's helped ensure that Mexicans would continue to be unequal partners in whiteness. Mexicans were indeed partners and beneficiaries of whiteness, yet they were also unequal partners who at certain times and places still faced the risk of exclusion. Mexicans' partnership in whiteness – both their perceived partnership in the eyes of whites, and the partnership that was enacted by some Mexicans – was readily apparent from

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[124] "Marge Finds You Can Go 'South of Border' by Staying in Chicago," *Chicago Tribune*, March 23, 1952, part 6, p.4; included in: "Ethnic Groups - Mexicans" folder, Chicago Historical Society newspaper clippings files. Even as late as 1961, an article purporting to seriously discuss the state of the Mexican community featured the stereotypical image of a mariachi singer serenading one smiling "Alicia Ward" at Restaurant Azteca – the single image used to represent Chicago's Mexican community in this article. "Chinese Here Keep Ancient Culture Alive," last in a series on Chicago's "national" groups, which included Mexicans, *Chicago Tribune*, November 2, 1961, included in: "Ethnic Groups - Mexicans" folder, Chicago Historical Society newspaper clippings files.

Mexicans' position during the Trumbull Park and Calumet Park riots. This position contrasted sharply with Mexicans' racial position during the late 1910's, 1920's, and even the early 1930's, when Mexicans faced pervasive forms or racial exclusion and violence in housing and other venues. However, the unequal-ness of Mexicans' partnership was also apparent in the representations of and public response to "Operation Wetback" and the deportation drives of the INS; by the threats and attacks on newer Mexican residents in South Deering during the Trumbull Park riots; and by the uncomfortable, "other" position that Delores Hernández found her family in when it was caught between the aerial bomb launchers and the Howard's apartment in South Deering. Indeed, it seems possible that the continuing specter of possible racial exclusion for certain Mexicans in certain times and places may have motivated some Mexicans – especially "dark" Mexican youth who were perhaps the most vulnerable of all – to *prove* their partnership and inclusion in whiteness through the active performance of anti-black violence and exclusion.

Regardless of the reasons, Mexicans' partnership in the tacit as well as more explicit forms of racial exclusion on Chicago's greater southeast side would continue well after the Trumbull Park and Calumet Park riots in the 1950's. Moreover, Mexicans' hold on whiteness, tenuous though it was, had already ensured by the 1950's that Mexicans would not have to face the patterns and legacy of entrenched residential segregation and discrimination that African-Americans faced in the latter half of the 20th century. These features set important foundations for the subsequent development of Mexican-American communities in the Chicago region during the 1970's and beyond, when large-scale, continued migration from Mexico would eventually make Chicago the second-largest center of Mexican-origin population in the United States.

CONCLUSION

Mexicans' racial position in the 1950's differed markedly from the position they had occupied when they first arrived in the Chicago-Calumet region. During the 1920's Mexicans were truly segregated in housing and suffered the same forms of exclusion that characterized African-American segregation in the urban North, a fact that has been consistently overlooked in urban and African-American history. By the 1950's, however, Mexicans were on the opposite side of Chicago's "color line" in housing, even though their position was a tenuous one. In fact, despite the tenuous nature of their position, Mexicans would remain on the white side Chicago's "color line" in various significant ways in the decades after 1960.

This transformation in Mexicans' racial status represents a fundamentally different story of racial change than that which has been traced by whiteness scholars for European ethnic groups. This difference is apparent at both ends of Mexicans' racial trajectory. When they arrived, Mexicans' racial status placed them clearly outside the bounds of whiteness, unlike European immigrants who were "below" other whites and even "racially distinct from other whites," but still benefited from the mantle of whiteness in important ways. But at the other end of their racial trajectory in the 1950's, Mexicans' hold on whiteness remained tenuous and unequal (despite its real benefits), unlike that of European ethnics who reached a secure and "predictable" end point of whiteness that was not at risk of being reversed.

The attacks on Fidencio González and José Blanco during the 1919 Chicago Race Riot, for example, highlight Mexicans' differing position from European ethnics who were not yet "fully white." This becomes clear when one compares Blanco and González's story with the race riot experience of the "Inbetween" immigrants featured in James Barrett and David Roediger's seminal article in the whiteness school. Barrett and Roediger's introductory vignette relates the second-hand story of a "white ethnic" Chicagoan who, covered with coal dust, was frightened about being mistaken for a black man during the Chicago race riot, and cried out "I'm white! I'm

white!"[1] Unlike Blanco and González, the "Inbetween" immigrant that Barrett and Roediger describe was *himself* concerned about being mistaken for black. There is no evidence that anyone else perceived him to be black. In fact, the way that this immigrant's outcry made such a lasting impression on the other immigrant who retold the story years later suggests that the sight of a "white" immigrant having to make such a claim was an anomaly, rather than a common occurrence. Furthermore, even if the coal dust-covered immigrant were in fact at risk of being perceived as black, it's easy to imagine that a native-born, middle-class white man working on the furnace in his basement might have similarly been mistaken for a black man. In other words, the supposed uncertainty of this "white ethnic's" racial status, emphasized so strongly in Barrett and Roediger's article, may have had very little to do with the fact that he was an immigrant who was "not yet fully white," and everything to do with coal dust.

The case of Mexicans attacked during the Chicago race riot could not have been more different. First of all, Fidencio González and José Blanco *were* in fact attacked, they did not simply fear that others might think they were black and perhaps attack them. And although González and the ironically-surnamed Blanco were reportedly "mistaken" for blacks, this "mistake" occurred without any intervening coal dust. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 3, there may have been no "mistake" at all in the attacks on Blanco and González, whose racial identity as Mexicans marked them for being attacked in the same way that blacks were. In short, Mexicans' racial status in pre-1930's Chicago had a direct, material, and physical effect on their lives and well-being, in a way that the racial identities of recent European immigrants – despite their complex, fascinating and unsettled nature – failed to have. Rather than representing a messier, "different color" of whiteness, Mexicans' racial status constituted a differing, more fluid form of *non*-whiteness, a "darkness of a different color" that has not previously been acknowledged in the binary histories of race in the urban North.

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[1] James R. Barrett and David Roediger, "Inbetween Peoples: Race, Nationality, and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16.3 (Spring 1997): 3.

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Yet by the 1950's, Mexicans' divergence from the racial trajectory of African-Americans in the urban North was equally apparent, even as Mexicans' unequal partnership in whiteness differed from the secure hold on whiteness enjoyed by European ethnics. In fact, Mexicans' divergent racial trajectory from African-Americans continued in significant ways well after the 1950's, at least when measured in terms of Mexicans' relative residential freedoms. One measure of this divergence vis-a-vis African-Americans was the nature and location of the neighborhoods where Mexicans gained residential entry after 1960. In the decades following the Trumbull Park and Calumet Park riots, Mexicans moved into numerous white neighborhoods throughout the Chicago region that had previously resisted black intrusion. Thus, neighborhoods and communities that had erupted in violence over the attempted entry of black residents (such as the near-west suburb of Cicero) or where Martin Luther King, Jr. had led open housing marches in the face of jeering protesters (such as Cicero, Gage Park, and even South Deering) are now largely Mexican areas. In Cicero, some of the marchers with King had even donned sombreros, perhaps aware of this developing phenomenon.[2] At Gage Park (just southwest of Back of the Yards), King was stoned in 1966 in his effort to open the then-white neighborhood to black residents,[3] yet the unspoken boundary of the South Side "Black Belt" east of Gage Park has remained in place, with few signs of any black presence in the now-Mexican neighborhood.

Another symptom of Mexicans' divergence from African-Americans after 1960 was the fact that Mexicans increasingly moved away from neighborhoods shared with blacks during the 1960's. A geographical study of Chicago's Latino population between 1960 and 1970 (the majority of whom were Mexicans) noted the general tendency of Latinos during the 1960's and 1970's to "remain as separated as possible from the Black community." The author noted that

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[2] See the footage in *American Experience: Citizen King* (PBS Home Video, 2004).

[3] "Dr. King Felled by Rock," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 6, 1966, p.1. King was actually struck as he got out of his car in Chicago Lawn / Marquette Park, but the known destination and target of his open housing march was the Gage Park neighborhood just to the north.

"the most significant pattern of change [between 1960 and 1970] has been in the association with the Black community... , with the Latins evacuating many areas of high Black populations and moving into areas away from growing Black concentrations." In South Deering, where a handful of blacks had by the 1960's begun moving into the largely Mexican part of Torrence Avenue south of 106th Street, the study reported that Mexicans "mentioned their dissatisfaction with 'bad elements' becoming more numerous even in the heart of the area, the Mexican business district."[4]

This pattern was also readily apparent throughout Chicago as a whole, where areas of increased Mexican residence between 1960 and 1970 formed almost an inverse image of areas of black residence in Chicago. However, Mexican growth areas in the 1960's also displayed a "buffer zone" phenomenon, in which some of the largest areas of Mexican growth occurred in "buffer" areas along the edge of the "Black Belt" – as occurred later in Gage Park.[5] Although there were also Mexicans who moved into areas completely unassociated with blacks, the channeling of Mexicans into buffer areas suggests another way that Mexicans remained *unequal* partners in whiteness after 1960. Nonetheless, Mexicans' entrance into buffer areas and neighborhoods that had previously been "threatened" by the entry of blacks suggests the ways that Mexicans continued to be seen as a desirable residential alternative to blacks – and even one that might help uphold patterns of white exclusion along the boundaries of the Black Belt.

Indeed, in the years following the Trumbull Park and Calumet Park riots, Mexicans on Chicago's southeast side, and in greater Chicago as a whole, continued to act as partners in other, less overt forms of "white" racial exclusion. By the 1960's, Mexicans on Chicago's Southeast

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[4] Gerald W. Ropka, "The Evolving Residential Pattern of the Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban Population in the City of Chicago," PhD Dissertation (Geography) (Michigan State University, 1973) abstract, 168-69, 177-78 (quoted sections); see also 164-67. Ropka also observed that the increasing tendency to live apart from blacks was stronger for Mexicans than it was for Puerto Ricans.

[5] See Ropka, "Residential Pattern," fig.7–3: "Areas of Spanish-Speaking Population Growth Between 1960-1970" (p.142); fig.7-4: "Areas Vacated by Spanish-Speaking People Between 1960-1970" (p.143); fig.8-1: "Black Population in Chicago: 1970" (p.167); and (to see black growth areas between 1960 and 1970) the 1960 map of black residential areas in Arnold Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983) 8 (Map 3).

Side moved into white blocks with the knowledge that whites expected them not to sell or rent to blacks, a pattern that may have occurred in other "buffer zone" areas that Mexicans moved into throughout Chicago. To a significant degree, Mexicans appear to have upheld this tacit understanding. To this day, the South Deering neighborhood surrounding Trumbull Park is predominantly Mexican, while the public housing units and residential blocks on the west side of the Park are largely African-American. Sociologist William Kornblum, who lived and worked as a participant observer in South Chicago during the late 1960's, noted that among the "older white ethnic groups" of South Chicago, "it is clear to all concerned that the increasing presence of Mexican families serves to stem the wholesale exodus of white families," even though many white residents feared that the Mexicans were merely a "transitional" group. These residents would often state that "the Mexicans are helping to keep up the neighborhood but when their turn comes to sell houses they'll sell to blacks in a minute."[6] In reality, the opposite appears to have been true, with Mexicans remaining in these communities (and not selling to blacks), while "whites" have departed.[7]

Mexicans' tacit partnership in whiteness also continued during the 1960's in the arena of politics – though the backdrop continued to be Mexicans' perceived role in preventing the further entry of blacks on the southeast side. Describing South Deering (aka "Irondale") in the late 1960's, Kornblum reported that "as Irondale Mexicans have moved into commanding positions in neighborhood churches and political organizations, they have been required to uphold the traditions of racial exclusion which were established in the Trumbull Park riots."[8] This became

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[6] William Kornblum, *Blue Collar Community* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1974) 30.

[7] South Deering resident Delores Hernández commented: "And you know who the ones [were] who would sell to the blacks? The old white people that were leaving. *They* were the ones that were selling to the blacks. And it was like; to them it was like getting *even* with the Mexicans for being there – 'Now you can deal with having the black' ... When it–, they [old whites] were ready to leave, they were the ones that did exactly what they were accusing others of doing; and they didn't care *who* they were [that were moving in], 'cause they were leaving." Hernández claimed she had seen this throughout the southeast side. Delores Hernández Interview (by author), March 16, 2005.

[8] Kornblum, *Blue Collar Community*, 73.

apparent during the 1969 ward elections, when a black state legislative candidate came up for nomination who likely would have been the best candidate in the overall election. Mexican precinct captains carefully debated the ramifications of their decision, and their debate highlighted the role that they held in maintaining residential exclusion, as well as the ways that their political decisions continued to be shaped by the need to maintain the trust of whites in places like South Deering. In South Chicago, a Mexican precinct captain commented that "Here in South Chicago we could go for the plieto [sic – *prieto* is a Spanish term for blacks]. We are the ones who are holding this place together and the Pollakos [sic – *polaco* means "Polish"] know that. If we weren't moving in it would be all black now and the Pollakos would be gone. With us here they can stay. Look at them on my block, they're fixing up their houses, they ain't going nowhere." However, this precinct captain continued by stating the political opposition Mexicans would face from other neighborhoods if they supported the black candidate: "The Irondale guys [Mexican precinct captains] could never go for a plieto [sic] with the way their people are there. Do you think they can go and ask the Hunkies and Italians to vote for a black? Remember what they went through at the project [Trumbull Park Homes]. A Pancho ain't going to get them people to vote for a black, so you can forget the Irondale guys if we go for this." The others at the meeting assented to this opinion, recognizing that the support of a black candidate would endanger the standing of their own political organization.[9] Thus, they chose the path of continued partnership in whiteness, even as the speaker's comment that a "Pancho" couldn't get South Deering whites to "vote for a black" suggested Mexicans' continued "other" status and their unequal partnership.

The record of Mexicans' subsequent residential patterns, especially vis-a-vis blacks, suggests that Mexicans' acquiescence to these passive forms of racial exclusion were not without benefits for Mexicans. Even though the post-1970 mass migration of Mexicans to greater Chicago reinvigorated various forms of anti-Mexican discrimination, no Mexican equivalent to the "Black Belt" or "ghetto" ever developed in Chicago, East Chicago, or Gary; nor has this pattern

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[9] Kornblum, *Blue Collar Community*, 179.

developed in other cities of the urban north. In 1970, the Mexican-white dissimilarity index for the Chicago metropolitan region was only at the moderate level of 67.7%, compared to a black-white dissimilarity index of 91.9%.[10] By the early 1970's, with the onset of large scale Mexican and Latino migration to Chicago, the Illinois state Spanish-Speaking Peoples' Commission did uncover increasing instances of discrimination in real estate lending and buying practices for Latinos generally, while also noting that insurance companies had begun the practice of labelling "Spanish-speaking communities" as "high risk" areas.[11] Nonetheless, the disparity between Mexicans' and blacks' segregation levels remained virtually the same in 1980, with a 64.2% dissimilarity index for Mexicans and an 87.8% index for blacks.[12] Even more to the point, an Italian-American interviewee on Chicago's Near West Side stated in 1980 that "this neighborhood here is a mixed neighborhood. There are ... a few [of] every damned thing, but no blacks. A few Mexicans. We've got Mexicans in. They're buying but we don't care. They're white."[13] Moreover, Mexicans continued to live in neighborhoods occupied by non-Mexicans. The isolation index for Mexicans was only 38.0% in 1980, meaning that Mexicans on average lived in census tracts that were only 38% Mexican (and 50% non-Hispanic white), compared to an

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[10] Douglas S. Massey, "Hispanic Residential Segregation: A Comparison of Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans," *Sociology and Social Research* 65.3 (Apr 1981): 314. Due to the nature of the census data in 1970, the Mexican data used for these indexes only captured 1st and 2nd- generation Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, and this data came from a 15% sample of the overall population. Thus, Mexicans' dissimilarity was only calculated against blacks and whites who were also in the 15% sample. The black-white index for 1970 appears in Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993) 64.

[11] Spanish Speaking Peoples Study Commission, *Report to the 78th General Assembly of the State of Illinois*, 1972, p.23; in folder "Commission Biennial Reports – Spanish Speaking Peoples Study Commission," Series 619.002 (Spanish Speaking Peoples Study Commission, Biennial and Quarterly Report Files), Illinois State Archives.

[12] Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, "Residential Segregation of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans in Selected U.S. Metropolitan Areas," *Sociology and Social Research* 73.2 (Jan 1989): 81; Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*, 64. The "Mexican" census data for 1980 was more comprehensive than it had been in 1970, for in 1980 it included all persons of "Spanish origin or descent" who checked "Mexican," "Mexican-American," or "Chicano."

[13] Interview cited in Thomas A. Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890–1945* (New York: Oxford UP, 2003) 229 (n.10).

isolation index of 82.8% for blacks in Chicago.[14] While some neighborhoods such as Pilsen and Little Village were largely Mexican by 1980, they still were not so exclusively Mexican as black neighborhoods in Chicago's South and West sides. In Little Village, 25% of the population was non-Hispanic, whereas the adjacent black neighborhood of North Lawndale was only 2% non-black. Little Village was also characterized by an active business and employment sector, unlike North Lawndale. Moreover, "Mexican" neighborhoods like Pilsen and Little Village did not account for the majority of the Mexican population in Chicago, as did the black neighborhoods of the city's South and West sides.[15] In more recent decades, these patterns have persisted, in spite of the near doubling of Chicago's Mexican-origin population between 1990 and 2000. Although commentaries have noted that Mexicans' segregation from whites in Chicago is among the highest in the nation for Mexicans, Mexicans' dissimilarity indexes have remained basically the same: 64.6% in 1990 and 64.5% in 2000, while black-white dissimilarity indices have remained significantly higher (though decreasing somewhat), at 84% and 81%.[16]

Moreover, this post-1970 pattern went hand-in-hand with Mexicans' continued residential separation from blacks. Given Mexicans' tendency to move away from black residential areas in the 1960's, it is not surprising that in 1970 Mexicans were nearly as segregated from blacks as whites were, with a Mexican-black dissimilarity index of 89.9% – the black-white dissimilarity

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[14] Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, "Hypersegregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Black and Hispanic Segregation Along Five Dimensions," *Demography* 26.3 (Aug 1989): 378, 384. Massey and Denton also found that Mexican residential areas were not "clustered" in contiguous areas, as most black neighborhoods were, but remained spread throughout the metropolitan area. The 50% non-Hispanic white figure is given in Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*, 137, where they cite a higher isolation index for blacks. The discrepancy may be a difference of measuring blacks' isolation from all other groups, versus their isolation from whites only; or it could reflect a differing aereal unit of analysis (e.g., at the block level rather than the census tract level).

[15] Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*, 137. The statistics for Little Village and North Lawndale are for the "community area" known by each of these names ("community areas" in Chicago comprise numerous tracts, and are defined to reflect the boundaries of neighborhoods as known by residents).

[16] John R. Logan, *Hispanic Populations and Their Residential Patterns in the Metropolis*, Report (Albany, NY: Lewis Mumford Center, 2002) 7–8, (Online). Black-white dissimilarity indexes for 1990 and 2000 are provided in Lewis Mumford Center, *Ethnic Diversity Grows, Neighborhood Integration Lags Behind*, Report (Albany, NY: Lewis Mumford Center, 2001), Online, Table: "Black-White Segregation in Top 50 Metro Areas." Black and Hispanic dissimilarity indices are also available as "sortable lists" on the Mumford Center's website.

index in 1970 was only 2% higher, at 91.9%. In 1980, the Mexican-black dissimilarity index was 84.2%, still nearly as high as the black-white index of 87.8%. In 1990 and 2000, Mexicans' segregation from blacks fell slightly but continued to be nearly as high as whites' segregation from blacks in the metropolitan region – 81.4% in 1990 (compared to 84% black-white) and 78.3% in 2000 (compared to 81% black-white).[17]

Viewed from the perspective of Mexicans' initial entry into the Chicago region in the late 1910's and 1920's, the transformation in Mexicans' racial status by the latter half of the 20th century was a profound one. Nonetheless, Mexicans' unequal partnership in whiteness meant that Mexicans' racial status remained – and still remains – subject to change, in contrast to the racial trajectory of European ethnics. The forms of anti-Mexican discrimination that occurred in greater Chicago during the onset of large scale Mexican migration in the 1970's were but one sign of this. In recent decades there have been continuing instances of discrimination against Chicago's Latinos in general, and Mexicans in particular. It is therefore quite appropriate to refer to Mexicans and Mexican-Americans as "people of color," as numerous scholars and activists have done. Nationwide, the Mexican-origin population of the United States has suffered, and continues to suffer, forms of discrimination as a racialized non-white group. Yet in important ways, Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in greater Chicago have escaped the structural, urban forms of racial discrimination that African-Americans have faced, and have even benefited from their hold on whiteness, however tenuous it may be. Already by the end of the 1950's, Mexicans had passed through decades which witnessed the making of the "Second Ghetto" for African-Americans, and Mexicans had been spared. They therefore did not (and will not) have to contend with the myriad infrastructural legacies of residential segregation that blacks have faced in the greater Chicago region during the latter half of the 20th century and beyond. *Both* of these potentialities – the continued specter of anti-Mexican discrimination, yet also Mexicans' general

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[17] Mexican-black and black-white dissimilarity indices for 1970-2000 are taken from the same sources cited above for Mexicans' dissimilarity indices from whites – namely, Massey & Denton's research for 1970-1980, and Mumford Center reports for 1990-2000.

inclusion on the "white" side of Chicago's color line in housing – have continued to persist in the decades after the Trumbull Park riots. This is another reason why Mexicans' "darkness" – i.e., their subjugation as a non-white racial group over the course of the 20th century in Chicago – can be referred to as being of a "different color."

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This dissertation has illuminated three broad factors that contributed to the transformation in Mexicans' racial status between the 1920's and the 1950's – factors that also illuminate new perspectives in the fields of urban history, Mexican-American history, and whiteness studies. The first of these factors was the racial diversity and malleable conceptions of race that Mexicans brought with them from Mexico. Mexicans' racial diversity contributed to the pronounced confusion and ambiguity that surrounded white perceptions of Mexicans' racial identity before World War II, and in turn left the door open for the subsequent reconfiguring of "Mexican-ness" in the whites' eyes. On the other hand, the more malleable conceptions of race that Mexicans brought with them to Chicago encouraged Mexicans to actively manipulate their racial identity in the eyes of whites, which they did at the 1933-1934 World's Fair and in myriad other contexts. The second major factor contributing to the transformation in Mexicans' racial status was the demographic effect of the Depression on Mexican neighborhoods, and the concurrent incorporation of Mexicans with whites in Catholic parishes and CIO unions. Taken together, these developments encouraged working-class whites to consider Mexicans as partners, rather than threats, in their struggle to create a better life in the working-class industrial neighborhoods of the Chicago-Calumet region. Finally, the third contributing factor to Mexicans' racial trajectory was one that remained more in the background of these other developments, but was important nonetheless. This was the international context of U.S.-Mexican diplomatic relations, which ensured that Mexicans remained officially "white" at the most important, legal levels of the federal government, thereby frustrating local attempts to officially segregate Mexicans. This diplomatic context also worked to protect individual Mexicans in certain specific instances, such

as the during the prosecutions following the Chicago Race Riot. Additionally, the improved relations between the United States and Mexico during the 1930's and World War II worked to reshape popular images of Mexico and Mexicans, placing them in a more positive light. This latter process went hand-in-hand with the emerging "enormous vogue" of Mexican-ness in popular culture that worked to lighten whites' perceptions of Mexicans' race, even as it retained exoticized images of Mexican-ness.

The striking transformation in Mexicans' racial status that resulted from all of these factors reconfigures dominant historical accounts of race in the 20th-century urban North. As this dissertation shows, the racial order of the Chicago-Calumet region may well have coalesced around "white" and "black" for African-Americans and those European ethnics who had arrived before 1924, but looking beyond these groups reveals a much more fluid and unsettled racial order. Over the course of the mid-20th century, Mexicans were not strictly on one side or the other of this supposedly binary line. Additionally, Mexicans' racial status changed in a more significant way than it did for the European ethnic groups described in whiteness studies, and Mexicans' changing racial status was not as predictable or final as it was for those groups.

Finally, Mexicans' own efforts to alter their racial image in the eyes of whites was central to the striking transformation in their racial status by the 1950's. These efforts had transnational roots in the racial history of the greater Bajío region, a factor that has not previously received the attention it deserves in Mexican-American history. However, Mexicans' efforts to reshape their racial image in the eyes of whites were not romantically counter-hegemonic, but reflected a pragmatic assessment of Chicago's racial terrain by Mexicans who viewed race as a potentially malleable identity. Moreover, Mexicans' efforts to lighten their racial identity in the eyes of whites were encouraged by broader historical developments and other non-Mexican historical actors. These actors and developments included: white civic and religious leaders who sought to improve Mexicans' social position in the face of a hardening "color line" (and, during the 1930's, a broader national context of forced Mexican repatriation); the "enormous vogue" of Mexican-

ness in popular culture during the late 1920's and 1930's especially; and the increasing importance of parishes and unions to working class ideas of neighborhood belonging – a development that Mexicans were well-situated to take advantage of beginning in the 1930's.

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Scholarship in Latino Studies has recently begun questioning Latinos' claims to an inherently egalitarian racial heritage based on the history of racial and cultural hybridity (*mestizaje*) in Latin America and the Caribbean. In particular, Latino Studies scholar Silvio Torres-Saillant has highlighted and condemned the contemporary ways that Latinos tacitly embrace whiteness, and in so doing, lose the ability to directly confront racism and racial privilege in society as a whole, as well as within Latino communities.[18] But the history of Mexicans' changing racial status in greater Chicago reveals how the presence of latent forms of racism within Latino communities is not a new phenomenon, nor merely a product of racial classifications by the federal government that allowed Latinos to simultaneously claim a "white" *and* "Hispanic" identity. As this dissertation shows, Mexicans in the Chicago-Calumet region participated in this "tacit embrace of whiteness" as early as the 1950's, if not earlier. However, they did so in the context of escalating residential exclusion and violence against African-Americans, as well as the continued possibility that similar exclusion might be re-directed at Mexicans. In showing that the dynamics of Latinos' tacit embrace of whiteness are far from new, but instead rooted in a long and complex racial history involving Latinos and non-Latinos alike, this dissertation highlights

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[18] Torres-Saillant's critique, as well as his assessment of related critiques in Latino Studies, appears in: Silvio Torres-Saillant, "Inventing the Race: Latinos and the Ethnoracial Pentagon," *Latino Studies* 1.1 (Mar 2003): 123–51. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given their longer-term view, historians had previously identified some of these same themes, and have continued to interrogate them, albeit with different emphasis and from a different perspective. See Neil Foley, "Becoming Hispanic: Mexican Americans and the Faustian Pact with Whiteness," *Reflexiones 1997: New Directions in Mexican American Studies*, Ed. Neil Foley (Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1997) 53–70; Neil Foley, "Partly Colored or Other White: Mexican Americans and Their Problem with the Color Line," *American Dreaming, Global Realities: Rethinking U.S. Immigration History*, eds Donna R. Gabaccia and Vicki L. Ruíz (Urbana and Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006) 361–78; and Thomas A. Guglielmo, "Fighting for Caucasian Rights: Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and the Transnational Struggle for Civil Rights in World War II Texas," *Journal of American History* 92.4 (Mar 2006): 1212–37.

how Latinos' aversion to claiming a non-white identity may represent a much more complex and embedded obstacle to pan-Latino and interracial political activism than current Latino Studies scholarship has suggested. For what this scholarship fails to acknowledge is what could be ***and what had been*** gained by this embrace, in spite of the unequal and messy qualities of Mexicans' partnership in whiteness. The long-term view of Mexicans' changing racial position that has been presented here clarifies just what had been gained, and what was at stake. Only by acknowledging and understanding this history can scholars and activists fully understand the complex nature of Latino racial identity today, and seek to address Latinos' continuing tacit embrace of whiteness.

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APPENDIX A

U.S. and Mexican Records on Individual Mexicans in the Chicago Region (Immigrant Case Files and Consular Records)

Immigrant case files – including visa applications, records of entry, applications for registry, alien registration files (required in 1940), and applications for citizenship – provide the basis of most of the immigrant narratives in Chapter 2 as well as the analysis of federal agencies' racial definitions in Chapter 4. These historical files were created by the former Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and its predecessors, and remain in the custody of the INS's successor, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), which is now under the Department of Homeland Security.

I gained access to these agency files through the Freedom of Information Act / Privacy Act (FOIA/PA) process. My access was made possible by first researching Mexican immigrants' registrations with Chicago's Mexican Consulate (whose archives are in Mexico City), as well as registrations with mutual aid societies in East Chicago and Gary, in order to determine names, birthplaces, and birthdates of Mexicans living in the Chicago region during the 1920's and 1930's. With this personal information, it was then possible to make requests to the INS / USCIS for the files of persons who were born more than 100 years ago (the INS requirement for releasing files under the Privacy Act, unless one can prove that the subject of the files is deceased). One weakness of this approach is that consulate registrations and mutual aid society applications were almost exclusively made by Mexican men, leaving few leads for the files of Mexican women.

Citizenship and Immigration Services Historian Marian Smith provided indispensable help to me in making these FOIA / PA requests. She generously devoted time to identifying the relevant case file numbers for the immigrants whose birthdates and birthplaces I identified. Being able to include these INS case file numbers in my FOIA / PA requests was crucial to the ultimate success of my records requests.

APPENDIX B

Full Citations for Table 2.1 on Mexican Origins

This appendix provides full descriptions and source citations of each data sample of Mexican immigrants' origins provided in Table 2.1 (Chapter 2). The sample sources are listed and described below in the same order that they appear in the table.

Taylor's Sample: Drawn from 168 registrants with the Mexican Consulate in Chicago (January 1927 - May 1928); 1,849 clients of the Immigrants' Protective League, Chicago (1919 - February 1930); 460 employees of Wisconsin Steel Works (Irondale / South Deering, Chicago, May 1928); and 655 employees of Illinois Steel Company's South Works (South Chicago, June 1928).[1]

Jones's Sample: This is essentially a subset of Taylor's data above, consisting of the same 168 registrants with the Mexican Consulate (January 1927 - May 1928), and a slightly earlier and smaller set of clients of the Immigrants' Protective League (1,151 cases registered between 1919 and May 1928).[2]

Rosales's Sample: Drawn from marriage records of Our Lady of Guadalupe parishes in East Chicago and South Chicago; Inland Steel Company personnel data cards (East Chicago, 1918-1930); and the American Legion Repatriation File, East Chicago Public Library (early 1930's). The sample is therefore largely from East Chicago, and exclusively from steel plant neighborhoods.[3]

McCoyer's Sample (Registrants with Mexican Consulate): This sample of 555 Mexicans registered with Chicago's Mexican Consulate consists primarily of general registrations (in 1921, 1929-30, and 1933) but also a small number of cases where the Mexican Consulate interceded to obtain benefits for the families of deceased Mexican workers (in 1929 and 1930). I compiled this sample from the "Matrículas" lists in files 36-9-73, IV-102-29, and IV-643-38, and from death benefits cases in files IV-271-69, IV-649-23, and IV-80-35, all in the consular records of the Archivo Histórico "Genaro Estrada," Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City (Tlatelolco). While 58.6% of the registrants in this sample came from Michoacán, Jalisco, and Guanajuato, Jones' smaller sample of Mexican consulate registrants between January 1927 and May 1928 (a different time span than my sample) revealed only 50% from Michoacán, Jalisco, and Guanajuato (see Jones citation above).

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[1] Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States, Vol II, Part 2: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 7, No.2 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1932) Table 8, p.49.

[2] Anita Edgar Jones, *Conditions Surrounding Mexicans in Chicago*, [reprint of University of Chicago Master's Thesis (Social Service Administration), 1928] (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1971) Table 21, pp.35–36.

[3] Francisco Arturo Rosales, "Regional Origins of Mexicano Immigrants to Chicago During the 1920's," *Aztlán: International Journal of Chicano Studies Research* 2 (Summer 1976): Tables 1 & 2, p.193; Francisco A. Rosales, "Mexican Immigration to the Urban Midwest During the 1920's," PhD Dissertation (Indiana University, 1978) 107 (n.13), Table VI (pp.113–16).

Redfield's Sample, compiled by McCoyer: Sample compiled by me from Robert Redfield's notes on case files of the Immigrants' Protective League and United Charities in Chicago (ca.1920-1925), and individual interviews with Mexicans in Chicago (1924-1925), all from: Robert Redfield, "The Mexicans in Chicago - Journal" (various dates); Box 59, Folder 2, Robert Redfield Papers, University of Chicago Department of Special Collections.

Hughes's Sample: Sample of 266 Mexican heads of households in selected wards of Chicago, November 1924 - April 1925. The wards and neighborhoods selected all included low-income housing and a significant number of African-American residents. For the latter reason, the Back of the Yards Mexican neighborhood was not included, but portions of Mexican neighborhoods on the West Side and in South Chicago were.[4]

Baur's Sample: Taken from Edward Jackson Baur's master's thesis on Mexicans in South Chicago in the mid-1930's.[5] Baur's sample of 1,289 individuals, taken as part of a WPA-funded survey, appears to have included the vast majority of adult Mexicans living in South Chicago in 1936. There were 2,249 Mexicans living in South Chicago's census tracts in 1934, and Baur's project collected family schedules for roughly 2,500 Mexicans in 1936, suggesting that his origins sample of 1,289 represented roughly half the neighborhood's total Mexican population, and therefore a substantial proportion of all "Mexicans" who were not children born in the United States.[6]

McCoyer's Sample (Applicants to Sociedad Mutualista 'Benito Juárez'): Compiled from application forms to East Chicago's Benito Juárez mutual aid society, found in: Box 1, Folder 9: "Membership Records, Sociedad Mutualista 'Benito Juárez,' 1947-1949," Unión Beneficia Mexicana Records (Collection #136), Calumet Regional Archives, Indiana University-Northwest, Gary.

McCoyer's Sample (Chicago-Bound Mexican Alien Admission Manifests at Laredo): Compiled from Reel 1, Alien Admission Manifest Records at Laredo, Texas (1903-1929), Unpublished Microfilm Accessions, Record Group 85 (Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service), National Archives, Washington, DC. This sample represents only a preliminary search of Laredo manifests for persons whose last name began with A and who listed Chicago as a destination. Note that the family of Melquiades Aguado, discussed in Chapter 2, was only counted once in this sample, to avoid over-representing this family's origins.

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[4] Elizabeth A. Hughes, *Living Conditions for Small-Wage Earners in Chicago* (Chicago: Department of Public Welfare, City of Chicago, 1925) 10.

[5] Edward Jackson Baur, "Delinquency Among Mexican Boys in South Chicago," Master's Thesis, Sociology (University of Chicago, 1938) Table 31, p.290.

[6] Ibid., 15, and Table 28 (p.288).

APPENDIX C

Mexican Emigration Statistics on Emigrants' Origins, Used in Table 2.2 and Figures 2.1 - 2.3

The Mexican emigration statistics for 1924 and 1925 that are used in Table 2.2 and Figures 2.1 through 2.3 in Chapter 2 have some potential inaccuracies in the data they provide on Mexican emigrants' origins. However, these potential inaccuracies do not likely alter the general conclusions made about the relative proportion of greater Bajío emigrants among Mexican emigrants as a whole, or about the strong correlation between greater Bajío emigrants and mestizo emigrants.

There are two potential sources of error within this set of origins data. First, the statistics on origins actually give emigrants' "last residence" rather than their birthplace or "hometown." Aside from the general inaccuracies inherent in this, it is possible that this form of reporting would have artificially inflated the origins figures for northern border states, if Mexicans from the greater Bajío region (or elsewhere) first migrated to Northern Mexico and stayed there before crossing the border. However, there is no evidence of a sizable pattern in this regard.

Second, and more importantly, the emigration statistics for 1924 (but not for 1925) include *all* persons crossing Mexico's northern border into the United States, regardless of nationality. So, for the 10 months cited in the 1924 figures, only 77.8% of the entire sample were actually Mexicans. However, even if one artificially creates a worst-case statistical scenario, the proportion of Mexican border-crossers emanating from the greater Bajío region still does not begin to compare to the high proportion of greater Bajío immigrants in the Chicago-Calumet region during the 1920's. Take the following hypothetical scenario: If one assumes that *all* of 1924's border-crossers from the greater Bajío region were Mexicans, and if one divides that number by the total number of *Mexican* border-crossers (rather than border-crossers as a whole), the percentage of emigrants from Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Michoacán (GJM) is still only 30.4%, and the percentage of Central Plateau emigrants is still only 51.3%. Both figures are much

smaller than the proportion of Mexican immigrants in the Chicago-Calumet region who hailed from GJM and from the Central Plateau during the 1920's, even though both of these hypothetical figures are almost certainly inflated.

In fact, the 51.3% figure for the Central Plateau is especially likely of being too large, given the fact that the Central Plateau statistics included persons whose last residence was Mexico City – a popular destination for many non-Mexicans, especially U.S. citizens. Indeed, the origins figures for the federal district in 1924 were significantly higher than any other samples of Mexican origins from this period. This strongly suggests that the federal district figures included many non-Mexicans. Border-crossers (regardless of nationality) whose last residence was Mexico City represented a robust 15.2% of all *Mexican* border-crossers in 1924 – a sizable (and likely inflated) portion of the hypothetical Central Plateau figure of 51.3%. The likelihood that the 15.2% figure (and therefore the 51.3% figure) was falsely inflated by its inclusion of non-Mexicans is borne out by a comparison to the 1925 statistics, which showed a high proportion of *non*-Mexican border crossers emanating from the federal district. In 1925, a whopping 5,267 of the 8,665 border-crossers who emanated from Mexico City were foreigners. The Mexicans who came from Mexico City represented only 8.1% of all Mexican border-crossers in 1925. Thus, the 15.2% Mexico City figure for 1924 is likely twice as big as it should have been. This would make the hypothetical 51.3% figure for the Central Plateau roughly 7-9% too high. Moreover, the remaining 42-44% of Mexicans hypothetically emigrating from the Central Plateau could still be too high if it included non-Mexican border-crossers from *other* Central Plateau states.

APPENDIX D

Mexican Census Data on Race and Indigenous Languages (1921 & 1930), Used in Table 2.3

This appendix provides further details about the nature of data on race and indigenous language speakers provided in the Mexican censuses of 1921 and 1930, and used in Table 2.3 in Chapter 2.

Mexican Census Data on Race:

The actual racial categories used in the 1921 census were "Raza Blanca," "Raza Mezclada," and "Raza Indígena," i.e., "white race," "mixed race," and "indigenous race." The corresponding terms that appear in Table 2.3 are "white," "mestizo," and "indian."

The somewhat subjective nature of assigning persons a racial identity in the 1921 census was made clear by Paul Taylor in his community profile of Arandas, Jalisco (a study which he made shortly after his surveys of Mexican labor in the United States). Taylor stated that the 1921 census figures for the municipio of Arandas provided a completely misleading view of the population's racial makeup by over-representing the number of mestizos at the expense of whites. Taylor thought that this was the function of Mexican Revolutionary ideology, which held that all Mexico was racially mixed. According to Taylor, the municipio of Arandas was officially enumerated in the 1921 census as being 97.1% mestizo, 2.2% white, and 0.7% Indian. He commented that "While technically a high proportion of the population may be the result of mixture of races, in so many of them the degree of intermixture is so small that the census figures give an utterly erroneous idea of the racial composition of the population of Arandas." Indeed, Taylor called Arandas a "Spanish-Mexican Peasant Community" in order to emphasize the "white" identity that the community shared with much of "Los Altos," the highlands region of northeastern Jalisco.[1]

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[1] Paul S. Taylor, *A Spanish-Mexican Peasant Community: Arandas in Jalisco, Mexico*, Ibero-Americana (Berkeley: U of California P, 1933) 18, n.29.

Mexican Census Data on Language:

The 1921 census figures on indigenous language speakers provided the number of persons over the age of five whose "native" or "mother" tongue was indigenous. I calculated the *percentage* of indigenous-speakers by dividing the number of indigenous speakers by the total number of languages reported. Language was supposed to be reported for all persons over the age of five, but the total languages reported was slightly different than the total population over the age of five. For these reasons, I opted to use the total languages reported figure for calculating the percentage of indigenous speakers.

The 1930 language figures included both monolingual indigenous speakers and bilingual Spanish-indigenous speakers, which would seem to capture a larger proportion of the population (these two categories were actually listed separately in the 1930 census). The 1930 census publications stated emphatically that the figures for indigenous language speakers in the 1921 census were of poor quality, and not comparable to the 1930 figures. In short, Mexican census officials in the 1930's felt that the 1921 census underestimated the overall number of indigenous language speakers.[2] It should be noted that the 0.00% listed for indigenous language speakers in Zacatecas in 1921 actually reflected the statement that indigenous speakers "were not declared" ("no se declaron"), which is of course different than reporting that there were "zero" indigenous speakers. On the other hand, the 0.00% for Nuevo León in 1921 reflected the rounded percentage for a total of 4 indigenous speakers in that year's census.

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[2] Dirrección General de Estadística (México), *Quinto Censo de Población, 15 de Mayo de 1930: Resumen General* (México, D.F.: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1934), Preface, pp. xxix, xxx.

APPENDIX E

Indices of Mexican and Black Residential Segregation Used in Chapter 3: Sources, Methods, Limitations, & Previous Studies

This appendix describes the sources, quantitative methods, and limitations of the historical Mexican and black segregation scores presented in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 in Chapter 3. This appendix also assesses the general lack of studies on Mexican and Latino segregation prior to 1970, as a preface to discussing the paucity of data for measuring Mexican segregation in Chicago before 1970.

Previous Attempts to Calculate Historical Levels of Latino Segregation:

The calculation of Mexican segregation indices presented in Chapter 3 has not previously been attempted for the pre-1960 period, with one exception whose results were quite limited.[1] Besides that exception, the only other calculations before 1970 were for Southwestern cities in 1960.[2] This general lack of pre-1970 analysis is partly due to the absence or incompleteness of tract-level statistics on persons of Mexican origin before 1970 (see discussion below). Massey and Denton have analyzed levels of Latino segregation for 1970 and 1980, while a variety of online resources from the Mumford Center and other entities provide data for 1990 and beyond.[3]

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[1] Taeuber and Taeuber compared 1930 and 1960 dissimilarity indices for blacks, Mexicans, and other immigrant groups in Chicago. However, their calculations were based on "community areas," not the smaller and more precise census tracts. Moreover, their 1930 dissimilarity index for Mexicans was based on Mexicans who were recorded as "Foreign White Stock," which (as discussed in Chapters 3 & 4) represented only 7.9% of the Mexican population – a major oversight. Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, "The Negro as an Immigrant Group: Recent Trends in Racial and Ethnic Segregation in Chicago," *American Journal of Sociology* 69.4 (Jan 1964): 376.

[2] See Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman, *The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority* (New York: Free, 1970), 274-80.

[3] See Douglas S. Massey, "Hispanic Residential Segregation: A Comparison of Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans," *Sociology and Social Research* 65.3 (Apr 1981): 311–22 (1970 census data); Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, "Hypersegregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Black and Hispanic Segregation Along Five Dimensions," *Demography* 26.3 (Aug 1989): 373–91 (1980 census data); and Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, "Residential Segregation of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans in Selected U.S. Metropolitan Areas," *Sociology and Social Research* 73.2 (Jan 1989): 73–83 (1980 census data).

Nonetheless, despite this general lack of tract-level segregation indices for Latinos prior to 1970, Massey and Denton have claimed that "no group" besides African-Americans has experienced ghettoization since the early 20th century, "even briefly."[4]

Data Sources for Calculating Mexican Segregation in Chicago before World War II (Table 3.1):

Calculating Mexican segregation indices in the greater Chicago region is difficult for any period before 1960, due to the general lack of published census tract statistics suited to the task. Prior to 1940, neither census-tract data nor block-level statistics were published by the U.S. Census Bureau, though local officials in some cities published this data on their own. In East Chicago and Gary no such local efforts were made. In Chicago, University of Chicago faculty and other local figures tabulated and published tract-level data for the 1920 and 1930 federal censuses, and for the special 1934 Chicago census. Unfortunately, only the 1934 tabulations provided a specific breakdown for "Mexicans" at the tract level. The published 1920 data gave no tract-level information on Mexicans. In the 1930 and 1934 published data, Mexicans were grouped together with Asians, Native Americans, and other groups in a catch-all "Other Races" category. Only in 1934 was this category broken down further, providing statistics for Mexicans.[5] This was the data used to calculate the Mexican segregation indices in Table 3.1.

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[4] Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993) 18–19.

[5] In the tabulation of the 1930 census, however, a minority of Mexicans (7.9%), were classed by census-takers as "foreign born whites," rather than as part of the "Other Races" category, and this portion of the Mexican population was tabulated at the tract-level (see Chapter 3). Note also that the 1934 enumeration of Mexicans only captured those Mexicans in tracts that had ten or more persons of "other race." Therefore, the total number of Mexicans enumerated in the 1934 census may slightly underestimate the total population of Mexicans in Chicago. In numeric terms, 721 out of 935 tracts had less than ten persons in the class "other races." Each of these tracts theoretically could have contained as many as nine Mexicans, but visual inspection of the tracts, compared with a general knowledge of where Mexicans were living, suggests that few Mexicans were living there. Charles S. Newcomb and Richard O. Lang, eds, *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1934* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c.1934), supplement Table 4 (p.668).

The Continued Lack of Tract Statistics on Mexicans and Latinos after 1934:

Despite the increasingly detailed enumeration of African-Americans and "whites" in subsequent federal censuses, reliable tract-level data on Chicago's Latinos was not again published until 1960 (and even it had its limitations). Local Chicago efforts to compile and publish census data continued after the 1930's, but these efforts never produced consistent census tract data on Mexicans.[6] In the federal census, tract statistics were first compiled and published for select cities in 1940, but the published statistics did not include substantial information on Mexicans (or any Latinos) before 1960. For Chicago, the published tract statistics from the federal censuses in 1940 and 1950 only listed those Mexicans who had been born in Mexico (and responded to the census).[7] The 1960 census provided the first tract-level data since 1934 that sought to enumerate first- *and* second-generation persons of Mexican origin in Chicago (as well as first- and second-generation persons of Puerto Rican heritage, for the first time ever).[8] By

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[6] After the publication of Chicago census tract statistics by University of Chicago social scientists in the 1930's, the "Chicago Community Inventory" at the University of Chicago began publishing the *Local Community Fact Book* series, which listed population statistics at the "community area" level, a geographic unit larger than the census tract. Even at this less precise level, this series provided inconsistent data on Mexicans. For example, the 1940 and 1950 volumes included information on foreign-born Mexicans only, whereas the 1960 volume provided no statistics on Mexicans whatsoever. Moreover, the 1940 and 1950 editions did not provide statistics on Mexicans in community areas where Mexicans were not one of the "leading nationalities." See discussion of South Deering's 1950's population in Chapter 7; and Louis Wirth and Eleanor H. Bernert, eds, *Local Community Fact Book of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949); Philip M. Hauser and Evelyn M. Kitagawa, eds, *Local Community Fact Book for Chicago, 1950* (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory - University of Chicago, 1953); and Evelyn M. Kitagawa and Karl E. Taeuber, eds, *Local Community Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1960* (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory - University of Chicago, 1963).

[7] In 1940, the published tract statistics enumerated *foreign*-born "whites" who had been born in Mexico, "Cuba and other West Indies," and "Central and South America." In a move toward less specificity, the 1950 tract statistics only enumerated those "whites" who had been born in Mexico or "Other America" (note that the Census Bureau at this time defined all Latin Americans as "white" unless they were "definitely" a non-white race, such as "Negro" or "Indian"). However, the 1950 tract statistics also enumerated persons with "Spanish surname" for the first time, but only in five Southwestern states (California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas). This enumeration was meant to approximate the Mexican, Mexican-American, and "Spanish-American" population in the Southwest.

[8] The published census tract data for 1960 was the first that included foreign *stock* statistics for Latinos, which included foreign-born persons *and* native-born persons of one or two foreign-born parents. The "white" limitation on this category was also removed. However, the places of birth or parents' birth was still only broken down between "Mexico" and "All Other and Not Reported." Moreover, persons of Mexican heritage whose parents had been born in the U.S. would not have been counted at the tract level. On the other hand, the 1960 census tract

1970, even more detailed tract-level population data on Latinos appeared in the published census. The 1970 tract statistics were the first to enumerate persons of Spanish language, Spanish mother-tongue, and Spanish surname – for all tracted areas in the United States. The 1970 tract statistics also expanded the Puerto Rican category to include "birth or heritage," rather than birth or parentage. Nonetheless, the accuracy and completeness of the 1970 data was still called into question by a number of Latino advocacy groups.[9] (All of the census tract statistics referred to in the above paragraphs appeared as sub-series of the "Population" or "Population and Housing" volumes in each year's published census.)

Beginning with 1940, block-level statistics were also published by the federal census for Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary, but this data was limited in scope and never included information on Latinos (at least not before 1970). The data only recorded the number and race of "[male] household heads," rather than the population as a whole. More importantly, the only racial or ethnic distinction was between "White" (which at that point included Mexicans) or "Non-White" (which included not only African-Americans, but also persons of Asian, Filipino, and American Indian descent). Despite these inherent problems, sociologists have used these "white" versus "non-white" block statistics as a measurement of *African-American* segregation (including in the 1940 segregation scores included in Table 3.1). Within each decades' published census, the "block statistics" were included as a sub-series of the "Housing" volumes.

The Calculation of Dissimilarity and Isolation Indices in Table 3.1:

The formula I used to calculate the dissimilarity indices for Mexicans and African-Americans in 1934 was developed by sociologists decades ago, and its general meaning is

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statistics were also the first to enumerate persons of Puerto Rican "birth or parentage," though it appears that this information was first collected without publication in 1950. On this latter point, see the entry for "Hispanic / Latino ethnicity and identifiers" in Margo J. Anderson, ed., *Encyclopedia of the U.S. Census* (Washington: CQ Press, A Division of Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 2000), 244.

[9] On the imprecision of data on Latinos in the 1970 census, as well as the improvements made for enumerating Latinos in the 1980 census, see Margo J. Anderson, *The American Census: A Social History* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1988) 223–26.

explained in Chapter 3.[10] I manually entered the data for the 935 tracts of the 1934 Chicago census into an Excel database which I then used to calculate the indices in Table 3.1, rounding the resulting dissimilarity scores to the nearest whole number. Measured to a *tenth* of a percentage point, the index of dissimilarity for Mexicans was 86.7% when calculated as the segregation of Mexicans from all other groups in the city (including blacks), and 87.0% when calculated as the segregation of Mexicans from all other non-black, or "white" groups in the city. The index for African-Americans in 1934 was 93.9%.

The dissimilarity indices for African-Americans in 1940 were calculated by other authors from block-level census data (which actually measured the segregation of *all* "non-white" heads of households – see discussion of published tract and block statistics above). I also rounded these scores to the nearest whole number. Measured to a tenth of a percentage point, the scores were 86.3% for Boston, 86.8% for New York, and 82.9% for San Francisco.[11]

The isolation index and its formula have been explained and discussed by Massey and Denton,[12] and the Mexican and black isolation scores for 1934 have been calculated from the same 1934 tract data described above. The black isolation indices for 1920 and 1930 in Table 3.1 were calculated from tables reproduced by Thomas Philpott, and are therefore approximations (this method of approximation is further explained in the discussion of the 1898 segregation indices, below).[13]

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[10] The index of dissimilarity, and its formula, are described in Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, "The Dimensions of Residential Segregation," *Social Forces* 67 (1988): 281–315 and David R. James and Karl E. Taeuber, "Measures of Segregation," *Sociological Methodology, 1985*, Ed. Nancy Tuma (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1985) 1–32.

[11] Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*, 21.

[12] See Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*, 23; and Massey and Denton, "The Dimensions of Residential Segregation."

[13] Thomas Lee Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago, 1880–1930* (New York: Oxford UP, 1978) 127. The tables reproduced by Philpott gave the percentage of blacks living in tracts of various concentration levels, e.g., 0-5% black, 5-10% black, etc. (these tables are based on the work of Otis and Beverly Duncan, who reconfigured the 1920 tracts by the same 935 tracts used in 1930 so that the 1920 and 1930 figures would be directly comparable). The 1920 and 1930 black isolation indices given in

Potential Limitations of the 1934 Mexican Segregation Scores:

The dissimilarity index for Mexicans in 1934 should be interpreted with some caution, as the dissimilarity index has a tendency to slightly overestimate the segregation of groups that make up a very small percentage of the overall population, which was more true for Mexicans in 1934 than it was for blacks at that time.[14] But in comparing the Mexican and African-American figures in Table 3.1, this possible overestimation of the 1934 Mexican dissimilarity index may be mitigated by the fact that the black-white indices for 1940 were based on more precise block-level data, which tends to yield higher segregation scores than indices based on tract-level data. For example, a census tract in 1934 might have been only 5% Mexican, which would suggest that Mexicans were rather evenly distributed in that tract, when in reality Mexicans could have been highly concentrated in one or two blocks within the tract. The 1940 black-white indices would not have suffered from this kind of underestimation, since they measured segregation at the block level.

In a related problem, the boundaries of the 935 census tracts used in the 1934 census did not generally coincide with the boundaries of Mexican residential areas (as shown on Paul Taylor's 1928 maps), and therefore the 1934 Mexican segregation indices did not likely capture the full extent of Mexican segregation in 1934. For example, the densest Mexican settlement in South Chicago spread north-south across tracts 667, 669, and 670, but tracts 667 and 669 were east-west tracts in which Mexicans only occupied the eastern portion, making it appear as if

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Table 3.1 assume an average black concentration of 2.5% for blacks in the 0-5% group, 40% for blacks in the 30-50% group, etc., which appears to provide a reasonable estimate of the index, based on testing this method of approximation against the actual index calculated for 1934 (this is the method further described in the description of the 1898 black segregation scores below). Furthermore, any error in these indices is insignificant compared to the overall difference between the black isolation scores between 1920 and 1934 and the Mexican isolation score for 1934.

[14] On the limitations of the dissimilarity index, Massey and Denton state that the dissimilarity index is "strongly affected by random departures from evenness when the number of minority members is small compared to the number of areal units." Massey and Denton, "The Dimensions of Residential Segregation," 284.

Mexicans were well integrated within those tracts.[15] This problem of census tract boundaries would result in lower isolation *and* dissimilarity segregation scores for Mexicans in 1934. Significantly, black-white segregation scores during this period were comparatively unaffected by this problem of measurement, because the 935 census tracts first used in 1930 were deliberately drawn to coincide with the boundaries of black and white neighborhoods.[16]

1898 Black-White Segregation Indices (Table 3.2) – Sources, Methods, Limitations, and Comparison to the 1934 Mexican Segregation Indices:

The Mexican segregation indices that appear in Table 3.2 are simply reproduced from Table 3.1. The black-white segregation indices in Table 3.2 are based on the 1898 Chicago school census, which counted the "nativity" of all Chicago households (including "Colored" as a nativity), and enumerated these statistics at the precinct level.[17] However, the published 1898 census failed to include the *total* population of each of the city's 1,109 precincts, only listing the population of each racial or nationality group within each precinct. The total population of each precinct (or tract) is necessary for calculating segregation indices, but adding up all of the racial and nativity sub-totals within each precinct (to determine the total population of each precinct) would be prohibitively time-consuming.

Thankfully, previous research already undertook this work, albeit in a summarized, approximate form. A 1930 Master's thesis at the University of Chicago included a tabular summary of the 1898 data, listing the number of precincts where blacks made up a particular

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[15] Additionally, tracts 666, 671, and 701 each contained compact Mexican areas whose natural boundaries (railroad tracks, etc.) failed to coincide with their tract boundaries.

[16] Sociologists Donald and Mary Cowgill were the first to note this general limitation of census tract data when measuring any group. Historian Thomas Philpott observed this problem for measuring black segregation prior to 1930, and David Wallace observed how census tract boundaries after 1930 were drawn to address this issue – but only for black-white data. Donald O. Cowgill and Mary S. Cowgill, "An Index of Segregation Based on Block Statistics," *American Sociological Review* 16.6 (Dec 1951): 825–31; Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, 121–25; David A. Wallace, "Residential Concentration of Negroes in Chicago," PhD Dissertation, Sociology (Harvard University, 1953) 92–95 (note 3).

[17] *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago*, 1898-1899 (Chicago: John F. Higgins, 1899), "School Census of 1898 - Nativity Statistics by Precincts" (pp.121-252).

proportion of the population – e.g., the number of precincts where blacks comprised 20-50% of the population, versus the number of precincts where they made up 50-75% of the population, etc.[18] While this does not provide a figure for the total population of each precinct, it does provide the needed data on the *proportion* of blacks living in various precincts (even though this data is only summarized, rather than given on a more precise precinct-by-precinct level). A 1953 Harvard dissertation by David Wallace approximated 1898 segregation indices based on these tables. Wallace, however, used the Gini index of dissimilarity rather than the more standard dissimilarity index.[19] But Wallace's method of approximating a dissimilarity index from Cressey's tables can be utilized to yield an approximated index of dissimilarity as well. This is the method that was employed to obtain the 80% dissimilarity index for blacks in 1898, as presented in Table 3.2. The 1898 isolation index was calculated in the same way.

The potential error in this method stems from the need to average the proportional levels of black population within a given proportional range. In other words, for the precincts where blacks comprised 20-50% of the population, it is necessary to take the average of 20% and 50%, and assign this average proportion (35%) to *all* of the precincts falling in this range. If the precincts within the 20-50% proportional range were rather evenly distributed (with equal numbers of precincts having low percentages and high percentages within the range), this method of approximation is very accurate. If, however, the precincts in a given range were skewed toward one end of the range, the approximation could lead to a margin of error. From a cursory review of the original 1898 census, it seems safe to assume that the proportions of blacks in Chicago's precincts were rather evenly distributed throughout the different proportional ranges

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[18] Paul Frederick Cressey, "The Succession of Cultural Groups in the City of Chicago," PhD Dissertation, Sociology (University of Chicago, 1930), 86-89, 93 (Table XI).

[19] Wallace, "Residential Concentration of Negroes in Chicago," esp. 91–98. The Gini index tends to slightly overestimate segregation levels. When I calculated a Gini index for Mexicans' segregation in 1934, the result was 95.8%, as compared to the 87% index when calculated by the standard dissimilarity index. Moreover, the Gini index does not represent the percentage of minority members that would have to move to achieve even-ness, as the standard dissimilarity index does.

used in the 1930's Master's thesis – with one possible exception. It does not appear that the precincts enumerated in the 75-100% range actually averaged out to be 87.5% black (the average of 75 and 100). My own review of precincts with high black populations in the 1898 census suggests that most of these precincts had a percentage of black population that was only in the high 70's or 80's, which means that the *average* black population of these precincts was not likely as high as 87.5%. Overall, given the number of precincts and the computations involved, this means that the "real" 1898 black dissimilarity index is likely *slightly* lower than 80%, perhaps in the high 70's. For the same reasons, the 1898 black isolation index of 31% is also likely a bit high, with its true value more likely being in the upper 20's.

Notably, these potential margins of error mean that blacks' isolation levels in 1898 were likely even *more* similar to the isolation levels of Mexicans in 1934. Similarly, the localization of blacks in 1898 was lower as well – even further below Mexicans' 1934 dissimilarity index. Additionally, the fact that the 1898 census was based on a greater number of precincts than the number of tracts used in the 1934 census means that the 1898 statistics would tend to yield higher segregation scores than the 1934 statistics (for an equivalent residential pattern).[20] All of this further underscores that the Mexican segregation scores based on the 1934 statistics tended to underestimate segregation, when compared to the black segregation scores based on the 1898 statistics. Mexicans in 1934 were therefore at least as isolated, and even more localized, than blacks in 1898.

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[20] This greater sensitivity to segregation of the 1898 statistics was further compounded by the fact that the residential area and total population of the city was much smaller in 1898 than it was in 1934. Thus, the 1934 census (with 935 tracts) actually would have required *more* than 1,109 tracts to equal the sensitivity of the 1898 census.

APPENDIX F

The Binary Racial Bias of Sources on Neighborhood Population in the 1930's

This appendix surveys the binary racial bias of Depression-era population statistics that are used in Chapter 6, and how this bias has skewed the conclusions of sociologists and historians over the years. Appendix G describes how it is still possible to derive useful block- and tract-level data on Mexicans in Chicago from these sources, as has been done in Chapter 6.

By 1930, census tract boundaries in Chicago (and elsewhere) were deliberately drawn to correspond with already existing boundaries between black and white neighborhoods, in order to most accurately measure black-white segregation.[1] This was a more general pattern in most U.S. cities by 1940 / 1950.[2] Of course, census tracts defined in this way will readily reflect patterns of black-white residential segregation, but not the spatial boundaries between other groups that didn't happen to correspond with census tract boundaries. In other words, the very sources from this period pre-suppose a binary racial order. It is not surprising, then, that historians and social scientists analyzing these sources have tended to see binary racial distinctions rather than other racial distinctions.

Secondly, the enumeration of "block statistics," first compiled by the census in 1940, was highly structured by binary racial presuppositions, and gave the *appearance* of providing useful black-white housing data. In these block statistics the race of each household within a block was returned as either "white" or "non-white." The fact that the category "non-white" included more than just "Negroes" (and "white" included Latinos) seems to have been forgotten by historians and sociologists who have returned decades later to analyze this data, as well as by sociologists at the time. The first use of block statistics for calculating segregation indices was by the Cowgills in 1951, and to their credit they stated that they were measuring the segregation of "non-whites"

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[1] See Appendix E, "Potential Limitations of the 1934 Mexican Segregation Scores" section.

[2] See Donald O. Cowgill and Mary S. Cowgill, "An Index of Segregation Based on Block Statistics," *American Sociological Review* 16.6 (Dec 1951): 826.

from whites, but nowhere did they mention that "non-white" included more than African-Americans, and the heading for their tables of segregation indices simply labeled the data as "Segregation Scores of 187 Cities," giving the impression that they were providing black-white segregation scores.[3]

The legacy of these binary racial assumptions was continued by later scholars as well. For example, the table of block-level segregation indices for U.S. cities between 1940 and 1970 that appears in Massey and Denton's *American Apartheid* is almost certainly based on the same "block statistics" data, which only in 1970 began to specifically enumerate blacks, as opposed to the more general category of "non-whites." The block statistics that were published for 1940 through 1960 enumerated heads of households within each block as either "white" or "non-white." The groups included in each of these *seemingly* binary categories corresponded to the broader census categories for this period, with Mexicans included as "white" (in contrast to 1930), but "non-white" including Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Hindu, Korean, "or other nonwhite race, and persons of mixed white and non-white parentage," in addition to "Negroes."[4] Calculating black-white segregation indices on the basis of such data is clearly problematic, even as this data's treatment of Mexicans as white tended to make Mexicans invisible as well.[5]

A Chicago precursor to the "white" / "non-white" block statistics was the published report of the 1939 Chicago Land Use Survey, sponsored by the Works Progress Administration (WPA),[6] which is discussed further in Chapter 6 (just prior to Table 6.1) and in Appendix G below. The

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[3] Cowgill and Cowgill, "An Index of Segregation Based on Block Statistics."

[4] *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940 - Housing, Vol. 1 - Supplement - Block Statistics* (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, c.1940-1942), "Color of Occupants" description.

[5] See Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993) 46–47; citing Annemette Sorensen, Karl E. Taeuber, and Lesslie J. Hollingsworth, Jr., "Indexes of Racial Residential Segregation for 109 Cities in the United States, 1940 to 1970," *Sociological Focus* 8 (1975): 128-30.

[6] *Land Use in Chicago* (Chicago, c.1943), vol. 2 of *Report of the Chicago Land Use Survey*, directed by the Chicago Plan Commission and conducted by the Works Progress Administration.

Land Use Survey's published block statistics suffer from the same problem of appearing to provide black-white data when actually providing something more complex in the "non-white" category. This time, however, the "non-white" category included Mexicans (who were "white" in the Census's block statistics), under the "Other" heading. Despite the fact that *both* the 1939 and the 1940-1960 block statistics suffer from including other groups besides blacks in the "non-white" category, *and* despite the fact that the very definitions of "non-white" changed between the 1939 and 1940-1960 data, scholars have purported to show the changes in black population in Chicago city blocks between 1939 and 1950 by using the "non-white" statistics from these sources. A map in Arnold Hirsch's *Making the Second Ghetto*, based on a 1952 Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council publication, is a prime example.[7] This is yet another case of the statistical sources from the period being forced into a binary framework, and then scholars later using that data in order to argue for the salience of binary racial phenomena.

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[7] See the map in Arnold Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983) 57, citing Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council, *Areas of Negro Residence in the City of Chicago, 1950* (Chicago: Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council, 1952).

APPENDIX G

Sources for Block-Level & Tract-Level Statistics on Mexicans in South Chicago & South Deering, 1930-1939 (used in Tables 6.1 & 6.2 and Maps 6.1 & 6.2)

The following descriptions outline the sources and citations for the tract-level data depicted in Tables 6.1 (on South Chicago) and 6.2 (on South Deering), and the 1936 and 1939 block-level data depicted in Maps 6.1 ("the Bush") and 6.2 (South Deering). These sources are also discussed in Chapter 6 (preceding Table 6.1); and the 1939 Chicago Land Use Survey data is noted in Appendix F.

1930 Tract Data:

Mexican population figures for 1930 are taken from the number of racial "others" by census tract, as listed in the locally published census for 1930.[1] Technically, some of these figures could be slightly inflated, as the "other" category was defined as including other groups besides Mexicans (Filipinos, American Indians, Asians, and "others"). However, when the published census data for Chicago's 1934 census separated out the "other" category into its constituent parts, only 4 persons of "other" race in South Chicago's five census tracts were not Mexicans, so the margin of error in the 1930 figures is likely so small as to be insignificant. South Deering's single census tract registered *no* non-Mexican racial "others" in 1934, making its 1930 figures a highly accurate approximation as well.

The number of Mexican families in South Chicago's five census tracts in 1930 is taken from a different table in the same published 1930 census.[2] The table listed "Families by Color and Nativity of Head, and by Size, for Community Areas: 1930," which again gave statistics for racial "others," but this time broken down by Community Areas, which were larger than census tracts. Community Area (CA) 46 covered all of the five census tracts in Table 6.1, and there were no

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[1] Ernest W. Burgess and Charles S. Newcomb, eds, *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), Table 1 (pp.136-37 cover tracts 666-671).

[2] Burgess and Newcomb, *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1930*, Table 9, data for CA 46 (p.655).

Mexicans nor racial "others" recorded in the other tracts that made up CA 46 in 1930 or 1934. Therefore, the number of "other" families listed by this table for CA 46 is a very close approximation of the number of Mexican families in South Chicago's five census tracts, if not the exact number.[3]

1934 Tract Data:

As noted above, the locally published tract-level data for Chicago's special 1934 census included a table that broke down the "Other" racial category into its constituent parts, including Mexicans.[4]

1936 Block- and Tract-Level Data (South Chicago only, including "the Bush"):

The number of Mexicans per census tract and per block in 1936 (depicted in Table 6.1 and Map 6.1) is compiled from a block-by-block map of Mexicans in South Chicago that appears only in a draft version of Edward Jackson Baur's master's thesis at the University of Chicago. Baur's thesis drew upon an extensive WPA-funded sociological survey that conducted a door-by-door enumeration of all Mexicans living in South Chicago, thus providing him with the data for the map.[5] The draft version of Baur's thesis was given to me by his son, and I have since donated it to the University of Chicago's Department of Special Collections.[6]

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[3] It appears that the figure for "other" families provided by Burgess and Newcomb only counted traditionally-defined families in this figure, rather than boarders and lodgers. Burgess and Newcomb enumerated "quasi-family" groups separately in Table 11, "Families, Radios, Dwellings, and Quasi-Family Groups, for Census Tracts: 1930." Moreover, it would have been hard to identify a "head" whose race could be enumerated for non-family groups living in places such as boarding houses, institutions, hotels, and schools (the types of settings Table 11 enumerated).

[4] Charles S. Newcomb and Richard O. Lang, eds, *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1934* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c.1934), supplement Table 4 (p.668). Table 4 (proper) of this volume provided the general tract statistics, including the total population for each tract.

[5] Baur directed the WPA survey, though the project's official sponsor was his advisor, W. Lloyd Warner. Unfortunately, it appears that the voluminous research materials from the original WPA study were discarded.

[6] The map appears in Baur's draft thesis as Map 3: "The Distribution of Mexicans by 1/4 Blocks in 1936." This draft thesis is now included in the Edward Jackson Baur Papers at the University of Chicago's Department of Special Collections. The final version of Baur's thesis contained no such map, and was filed with the university as: Edward Jackson Baur, "Delinquency Among Mexican Boys in South Chicago," Master's Thesis, Sociology (University of Chicago, 1938).

Unfortunately, while Baur's 1936 map depicts non-family Mexicans (i.e., *solos*) with single dots representing one Mexican each, the dots for Mexicans in family groups represent four Mexicans for each dot. Thus, most of the dots approximate the number of Mexicans in a given quarter block by rounding the total to the nearest group of four, providing a margin of plus or minus two Mexicans for each quarter block where family Mexicans are depicted. The margin of error (+/-) that I have listed for each block and census tract is the sum of the quarter-block margins of error for that block or tract. However, at the tract level it is statistically very unlikely that all the quarter-blocks would be off by the maximum margin of error (2), and that their individual margins of error would all be in the same direction (all high, for example). Therefore, the approximate tract figures listed in Table 6.1 for 1936 are probably quite close to being accurate. Some sense of the margin of error is apparent by comparing these approximate tract figures with the total number of Mexicans Baur reported for all five tracts, which was 2,550.[7] By comparison, the sum of the approximate tract figures I calculated is 2,434, an underestimate of 4.8% for the total number of Mexicans in all five tracts.

The 1936 tract-level statistics may miss a few Mexicans living west of Commercial Avenue, as it appears that Baur did not survey Mexicans there. However, Commercial Avenue was one of the "unspoken boundaries" to Mexican residential expansion in the 1920's, and very few Mexicans remained there in 1939, as shown by the manuscript data from the 1939 Land Use Survey, so this omission is likely quite insignificant (there were only 4 Mexican-occupied dwelling units west of Commercial Avenue in 1939, spread out among tracts 667, 669, and 671; strikingly, there were 5 black-occupied dwelling units in this same area).

The number of Mexican *families* in all 5 census tracts is also given in Baur's thesis, and provides a means of estimating the number of Mexican-occupied dwelling units in all of South

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[7] Edward Jackson Baur, "Delinquency Among Mexican Boys in South Chicago," Master's Thesis, Sociology (University of Chicago, 1938) 35, 45, and Table 35 (p.294).

Chicago in 1936.[8] Baur's data shows that 66 out of 796 Mexican families in all five census tracts had two or more "others" (defined as not parents or children) living with them. If all of these groups of two or more others were other families, this would mean that at most, 33 families were living with 33 other families, for a total of 66 families that had two or more others living with them. This would mean that the number of Mexican-occupied *dwelling units* was only 796 - 33 = 763. In all likelihood, the total number of Mexican-occupied dwelling units was probably closer to the high figure (796). I have provided this approximation of Mexican-occupied dwelling units in 1936 in order to have a comparable figure to the 1939 data, which was all expressed in terms of dwelling units.

1939 Block- and Tract-Level Data:

The number and proportion of Mexican-occupied dwelling units in South Chicago's and South Deering's census tracts (depicted in Tables 6.1 & 6.2) are based on the "Census Tract Recapitulation" sheets from the manuscript data of the 1939 Chicago Land Use Survey.[9] Similarly, the block-level statistics on Mexican households and total households depicted in Maps 6.1 and 6.2 are based on the "Block Tabulation" sheets from the Land Use Survey's manuscript data.[10] It should be noted that the 1939 Land Use Survey used "households" and "occupied dwelling units" as equivalent terms, and I have used them this way as well.[11] In Tables 6.1 & 6.2,

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[8] Baur, "Delinquency Among Mexican Boys in South Chicago," Table 29 (p.288).

[9] Mimeographed "Census Tract Recapitulation" sheets for Tracts 666, 667, 669, 670, & 671 (South Chicago); bound in: Federal Works Agency, U.S. Works Projects Administration (Illinois), "Block and Census Tract Tabulations, Community Area 46" (sponsored by the Chicago Plan Commission for the Chicago Land Use Survey, 1939), Government Publications Department, Northwestern University Library (unclassed / oversized WPA materials). The relevant tract recapitulation sheet for South Deering is the one for Tract 701, which is included in the binder for Community Area 51 in this same collection.

[10] Mimeographed "Block Tabulation of General Residential Data" sheets (for the Bush), 1939; bound in the "Block and Census Tract Tabulations, Community Area No.46" binder cited in the preceding footnote.

[11] The number of households was always identical to the number of occupied dwelling units in the Land Use Survey's manuscript statistics on a given block or tract. It should be noted that this use of the term "household" means that there may well have been more Mexican families than the number of Mexican "households" or "dwelling units" that are listed in Tables 6.1 & 6.2 and Maps 6.1 & 6.2.

I chose to list "occupied dwelling units" as the unit of measurement, since this term more accurately describes the figures being presented. In Maps 6.1 & 6.2, however, I listed "households" as the unit of measurement for the 1939 block statistics, both in order to save space on the maps and to parallel the 1925 block statistics, which used the term "household" in the same way that the Land Use Survey used "household" and "occupied dwelling unit" (i.e., each occupied dwelling unit was defined as having one and only one "household").[12]

In using the manuscript sources from the Land Use Survey, it is important to first understand how the "other" race statistics from the Survey actually provide statistics on Mexicans (at least in South Chicago and South Deering). The 1939 Chicago Land Use Survey enumerated the "race of household[s]" according to three categories – "White," "Negro," and "Other." As noted in Appendix F and in Chapter 6, while the published "Block Data" maps from the Survey only listed the percentage of households in each block that were "of a race other than white"[13] (including *both* "Negro" and "Other" households in this category), the original manuscript data from the Survey broke down the number of households according to all three categories, including "Other." By looking at the racial statistics from Chicago's special 1934 census five years earlier, it is clear that virtually all racial "others" in South Chicago and South Deering were Mexicans. The number of racial "others" that were *not* Mexicans was minuscule – a grand total of four persons for South Chicago and *no* persons for South Deering in the 1934 census.[14] For this reason it is possible to treat the Land Use Survey's manuscript data on racial "Others" as an enumeration of Mexicans in South Chicago and South Deering.

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[12] The 1925 housing survey used "household" to refer to any "family group" or "non-family group" that occupied a dwelling unit, and the 1925 survey listed only one household / group for each dwelling unit. Thus, the term "household" was equivalent to the Land Use Survey's interchangeable use of "household" and "occupied dwelling unit."

[13] The Survey's "Block Data" maps were published in *Land Use in Chicago* (Chicago, c.1943), vol. 2 of *Report of the Chicago Land Use Survey*, directed by the Chicago Plan Commission and conducted by the Works Progress Administration.

[14] See the footnote to the Land Use Survey discussion preceding Table 6.1 in Chapter 6.

The "Census Tract Recapitulation" and "Block Tabulation" sheets that provide the data for Tables 6.1 & 6.2 and Maps 6.1 & 6.2 were both organized by the same sections and categories, so the statistics on Mexicans (i.e., "Others") at the tract or block level are found in the same sections of the tract and block sheets. The number of Mexican-occupied dwelling units in each tract or block is taken from the number of "Other" race households listed under the "Race of Household" section (Section R) of the sheets. The total number of occupied dwelling units in each tract or block is listed in the row above Section K ("Number and Age of All Persons...") on the sheets.[15] I calculated the "percentage Mexican" tract-level figures in Tables 6.1 & 6.2 by simply taking the number of "other" race "households" (i.e., dwelling units) and dividing it by the total number of occupied dwelling units for the entire tract.[16]

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[15] The number of occupied dwelling units can also be verified by subtracting the number of "vacant" units from the "total" number of dwelling units, as listed in the row above Section H.

[16] For all of the South Chicago and South Deering census tracts, the "Total Reports on Race" in Section R was also equal to the total number of occupied dwelling units, so one could calculate the percent Mexican figures strictly from Section R.

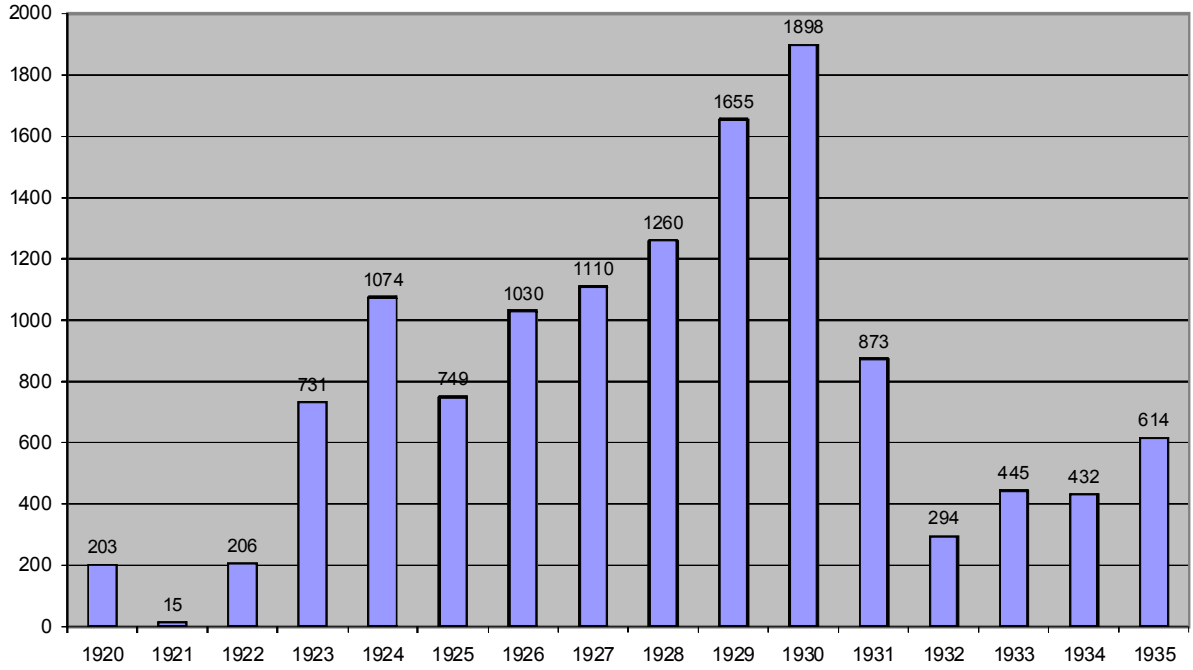
APPENDIX H

Declining Mexican Employment in Steel-Related Industries during the 1930's

This appendix supplements Chapter 6's discussion of Mexicans' declining employment in steel-related industries during the 1930's. Figure H.1 shows Mexicans' employment at Illinois Steel's "South Works" in South Chicago from 1920 to 1935, and vividly depicts the drastic drop in Mexican employment between 1930 and 1932.

Figure H.1:[1]

Number of Mexicans Employed at Illinois Steel, South Chicago, 1920-1935



Other steel and steel-related industries in the region experienced similarly drastic drops in Mexican employment in the early 1930's, as is briefly noted in Chapter 6. The following cases provide further details on this sharp decline.

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[1] This chart is based on Edward Jackson Baur, "Delinquency Among Mexican Boys in South Chicago," Master's Thesis, Sociology (University of Chicago, 1938) Appendix Table 32, p.291.

At U.S. Steel in Gary and Inland Steel in East Chicago (the primary employers of Mexicans in both of those places), Mexican employment in 1934 dropped to a third or less of its 1928 levels, and less overall than any previous year since 1922 (see Figure H.2 on the following page). Moreover, just as at Illinois Steel in South Chicago, Mexicans were laid off at a far greater rate than employees in the company as a whole (see Chapter 6 on this point for Illinois Steel). As a percentage of total employees, Mexicans employed at Inland Steel dropped from nearly 35% in 1926 to only 9% in early 1934. At U.S. Steel's Gary works, Mexicans dropped from 7.8% of the company's employees in 1925 (and 6.4% in 1928) to only 2.3% of the plant's workers in 1934.[2]

The decreasing proportion of Mexicans doing maintenance-of-way work on the U.S. Steel-owned Elgin, Joliet, and Eastern (EJ&E) Railroad in the Chicago region was even more striking. Mexicans made up 59.2% of the railroad's maintenance of way workers in 1923. Reflecting the departure of Mexicans for other forms of industrial work during the 1920's, the percentage of Mexicans had already dropped to 38.7% in 1928. But by 1934, only *3.5%* of the EJ&E's maintenance of way workers were Mexican – less than a *tenth* of the proportion six years earlier.[3] Moreover, all of these figures on steel-related employment in East Chicago and Gary measured Mexicans' decreasing employment between *1928* and 1934. The decrease between *1930* (for which no figures are available) and 1934 was likely even more severe.

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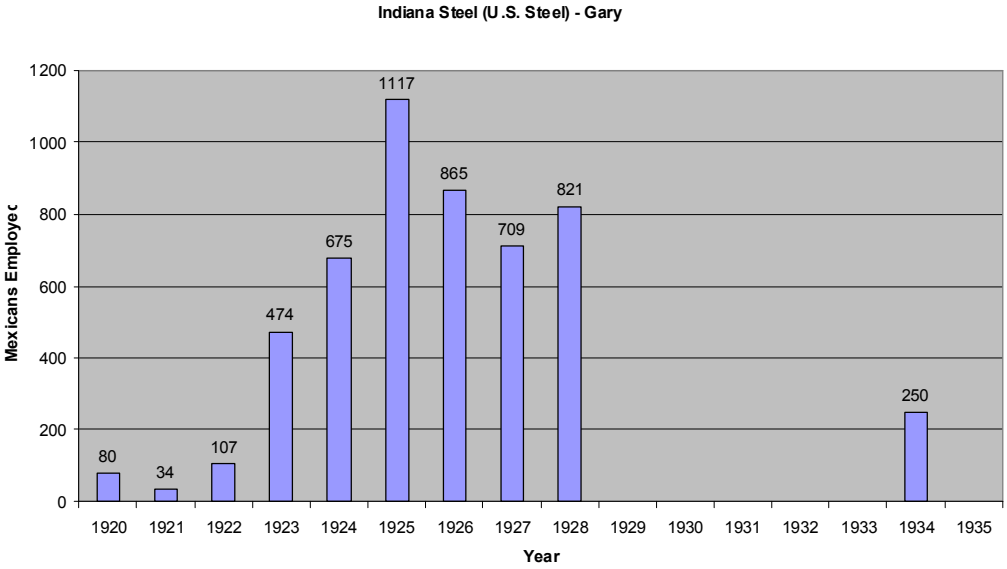
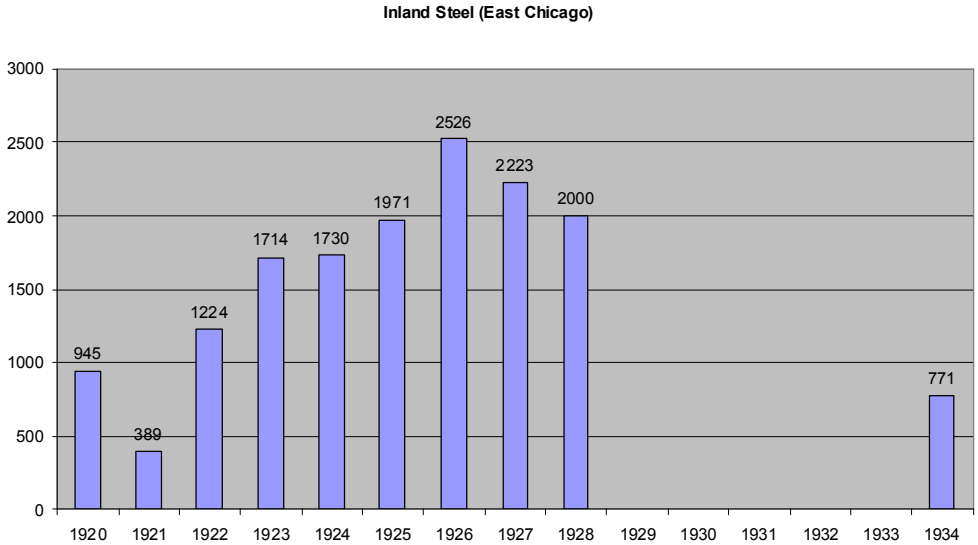
[2] Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States, Vol II, Part 2: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 7, No.2 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1932), 36 (1920's figures). For the proportion of Mexican employees in 1934, see the source cited in Figure H.2 below.

[3] Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 31 (1920's figures). For the proportion of Mexican employees in 1934, see the source cited in Figure H.2 below.

Figure H.2:[4]

Mexican Employment at Other Chicago-Calumet Steel Plants, 1920-1934 *[no data for 1928-1933]*





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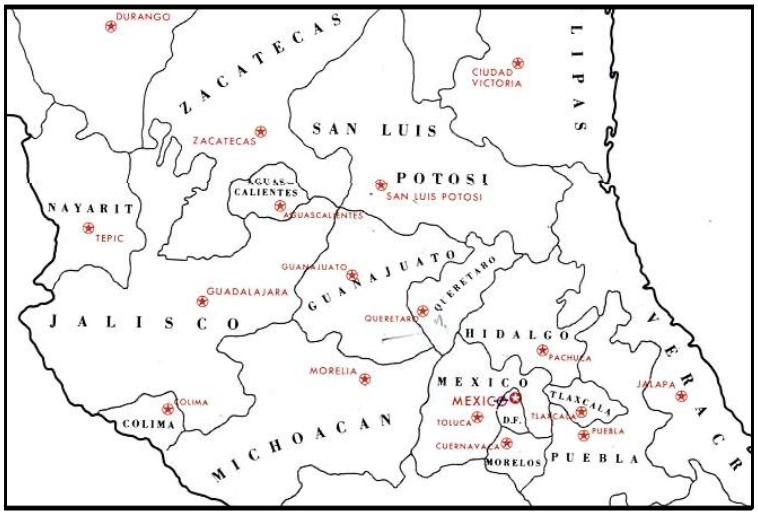
[4] Pre-1929 employment figures in this chart are taken from Taylor, *Mexican Labor.. Chicago and the Calumet Region*, 36. The 1934 employment figures are taken from an INS survey of Mexican employment in the East Chicago - Gary (Calumet) region in March of 1934. The survey was undertaken in response to allegations made in Congress and reported in the *New York Times* that Mexicans were taking "American" jobs in Gary. The INS field inspector making the survey refuted all of the allegations and included the employment figures provided here to show the small proportion of Mexicans employed. E.P. Reynolds, INS Inspector in Charge (Gary, Indiana) to INS District Director in Chicago, March 15, 1934; File 55855/658 ("MEX employed in U.S.A."); Entry 33: "Subject and Policy Files, 1906-1957" (originally included in Accession 58A734, Box 508); Record Group 85 (Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service); National Archives, Washington, DC (aka "Archives I").

APPENDIX M-1

Map of Mexico, with Enlargement of West-Central States[1]



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[1] Adapted from a Mexican "States and Capitals" map available online from the Perry-Castañeda Library, University of Texas. The map originally appeared in Stanley A. Arbingast, et al, *Atlas of Mexico*, 2nd ed. (Austin: Bureau of Business Research, University of Texas at Austin, 1975). Used by permission of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

APPENDIX M-2

Maps of Mexican Residential Areas

in the Chicago-Calumet Region, 1928 (Taylor Maps)[1]

[Index map, plus five neighborhood maps]

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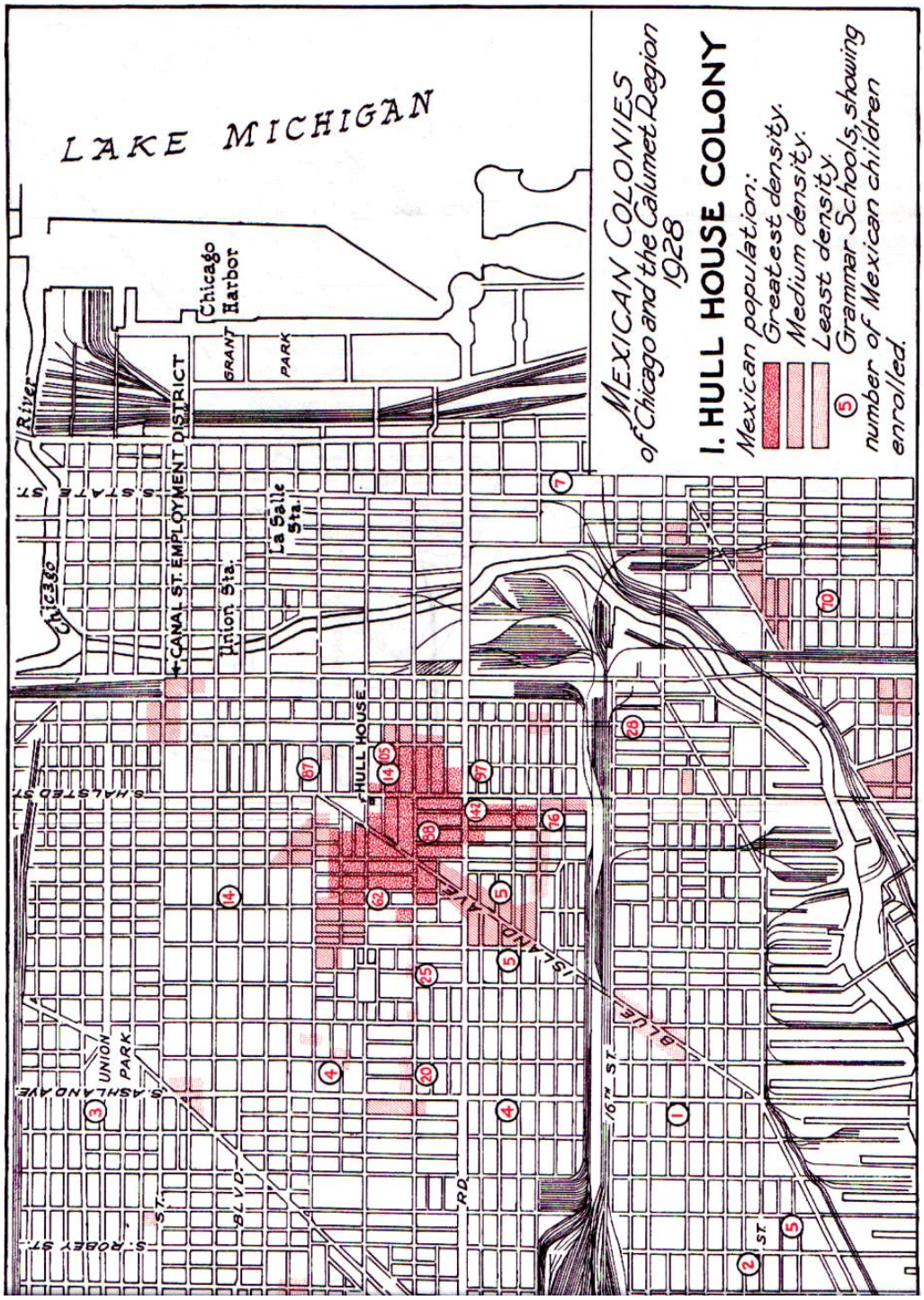
[1] The "Index Map" originally appeared on p.57 of Paul Taylor's study, while the five neighborhood maps appeared on a fold-out section between pages 56 and 57 (the fold-out section is missing from many editions of Taylor's book, as noted in Chapter 3). These maps are discussed in the analysis of Mexicans' residential segregation in Chapter 3. Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States, Vol II, Part 2: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 7, No.2 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1932) 56–57.

- INDEX MAP -

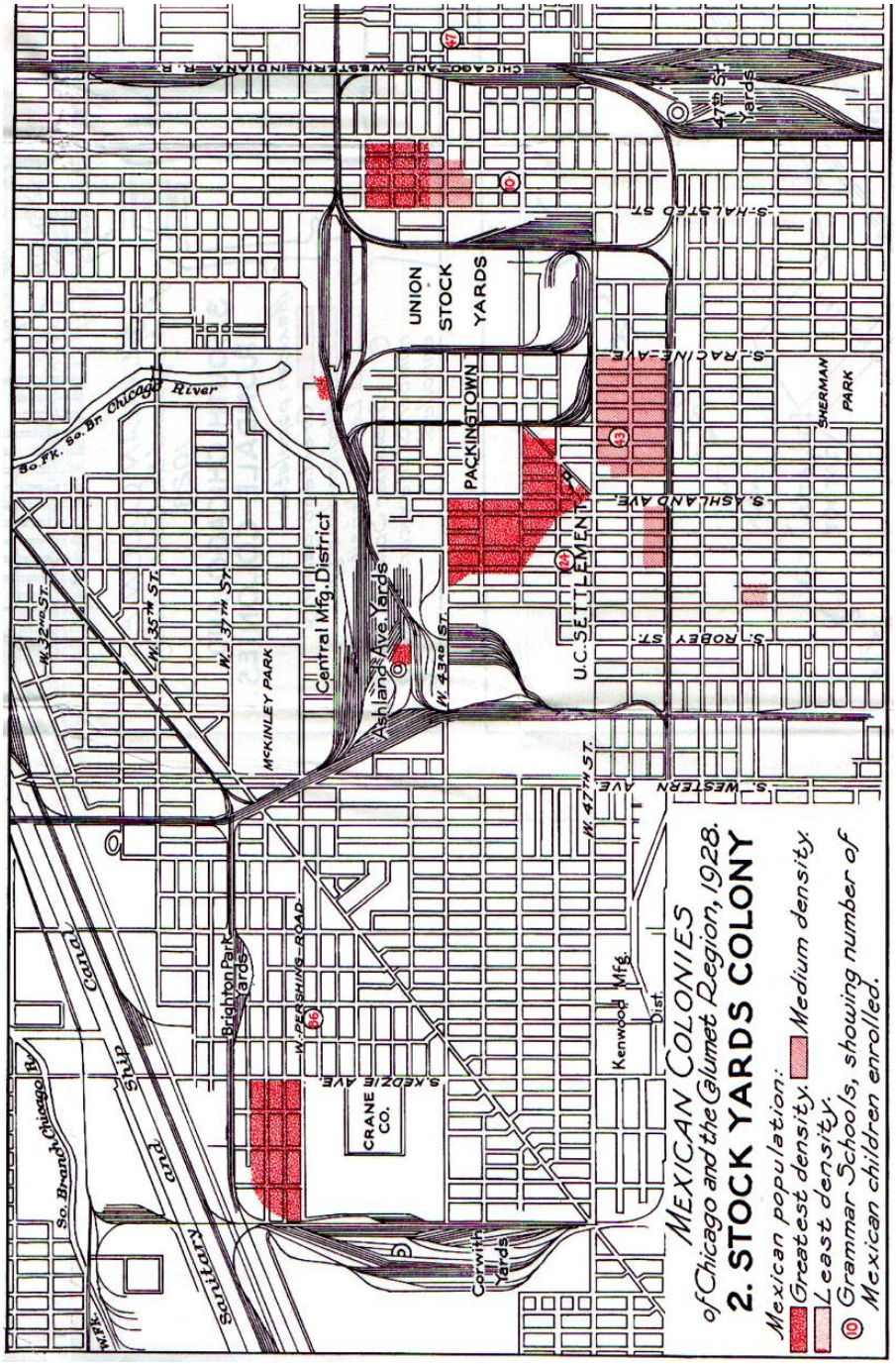

EVANSTON
INDEX MAP
MEXICAN COLONIES
of Chicago and the Calumet Region
1928.
CHICAGO
MADISON
ST.
1
HULL HOUSE COLONY
CICERO
2
STOCK YARDS COLONY
STATE ST.
3
SOUTH CHICAGO AND
IRONDALE COLONIES
Lake Calumet
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
EAST CHICAGO
(INDIANA HARBOR)
4
GARY
HAMMOND
5

- MAP 1: HULL HOUSE AND THE WEST SIDE -

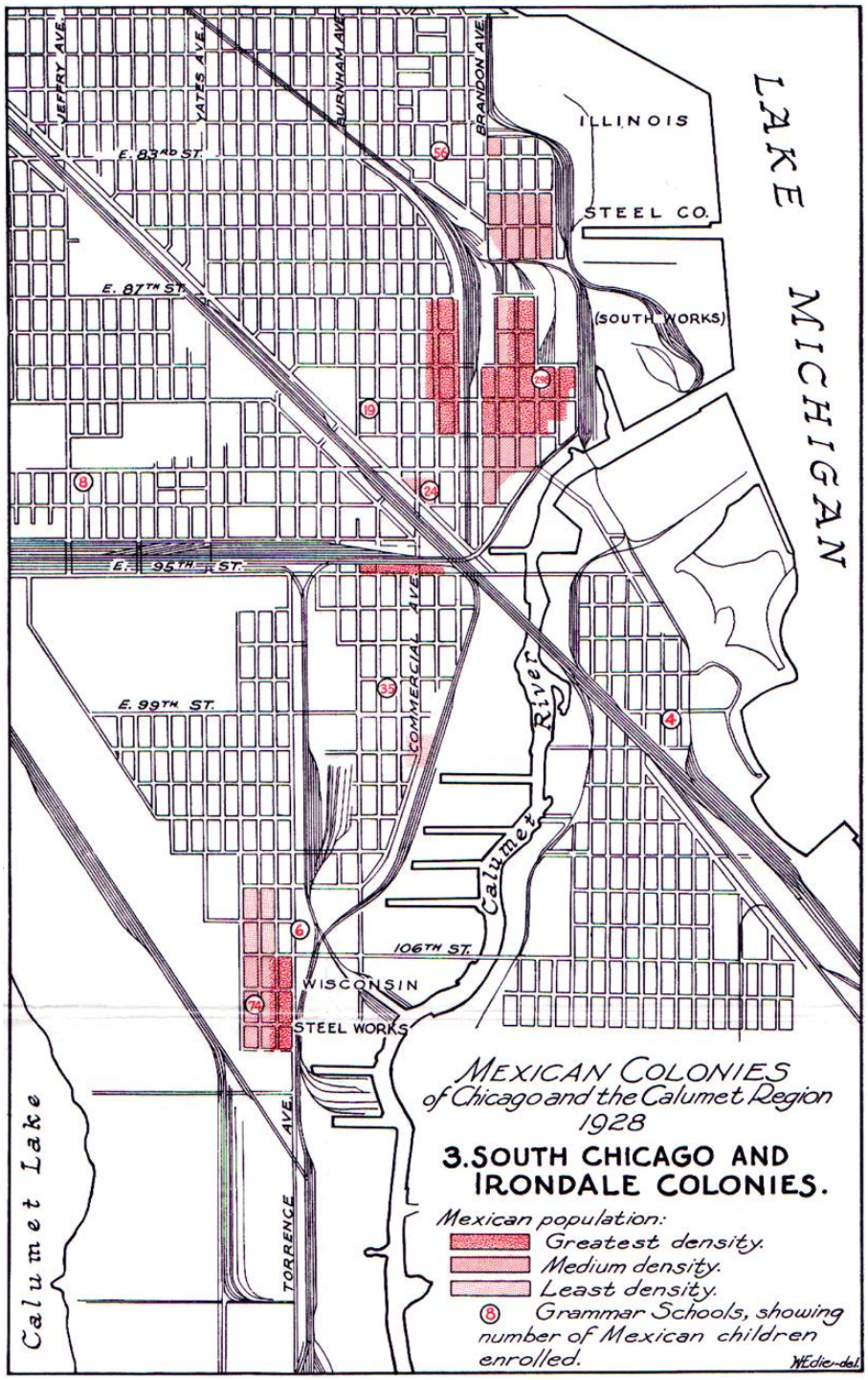


- MAP 2: STOCK YARDS -

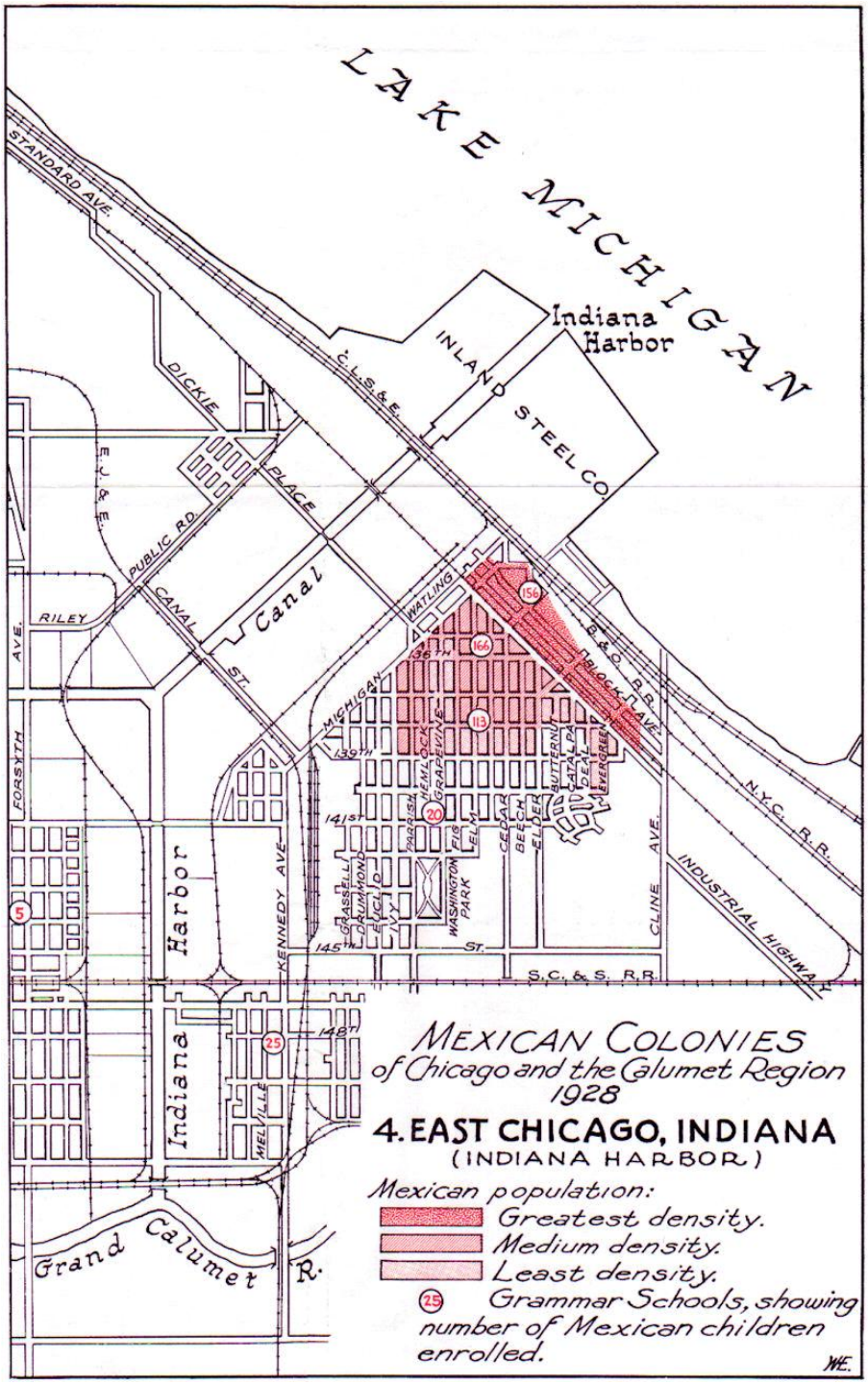
Including Mexican neighborhoods in ***Back of the Yards*** *(west of stock yards),* ***Canaryville*** *(east of the yards), and* ***Brighton Park*** *(farther west)*



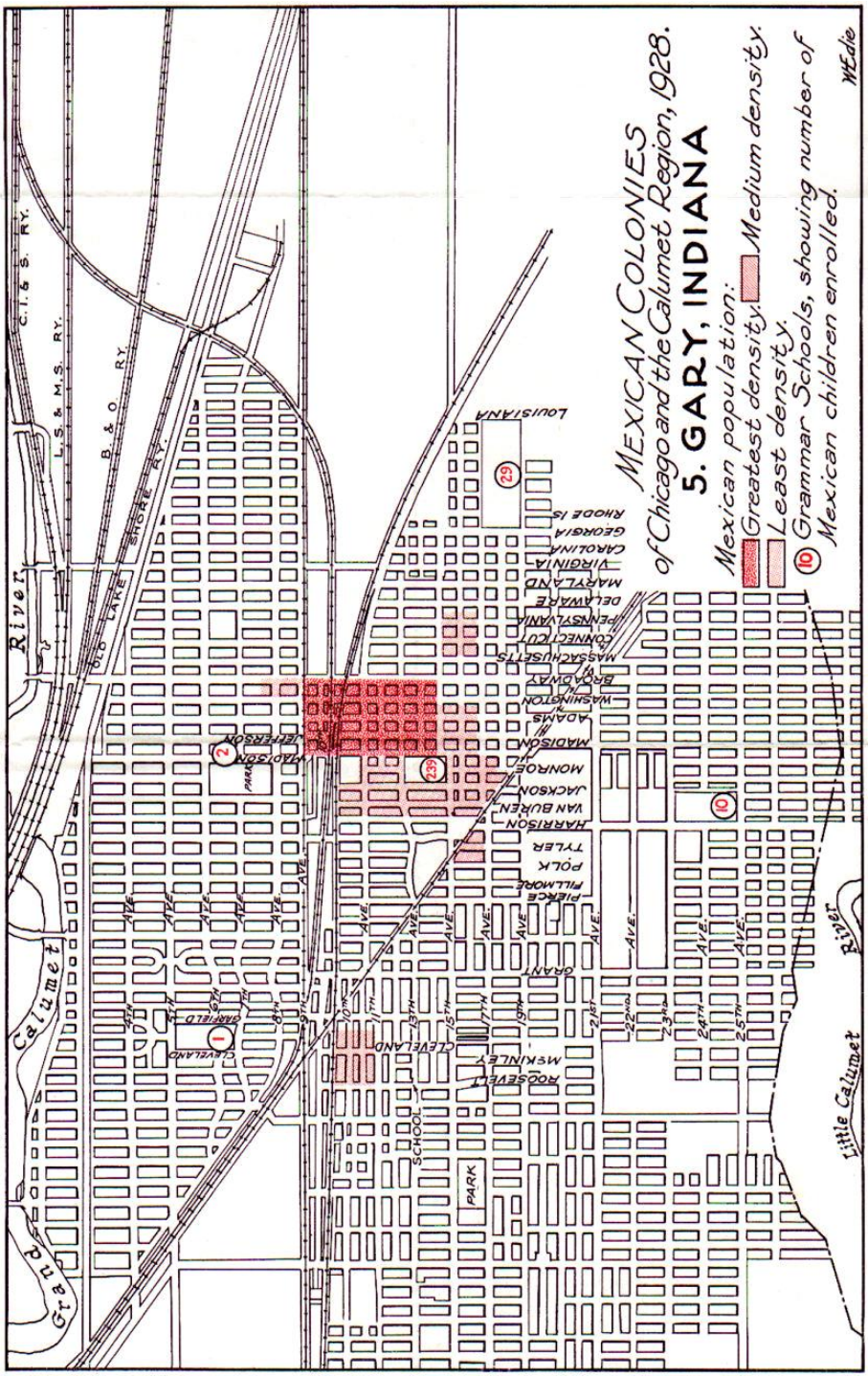
- MAP 3: SOUTH CHICAGO AND SOUTH DEERING (IRONDALE) -



- MAP 4: EAST CHICAGO (INDIANA HARBOR) -



- MAP 5: GARY -


MEXICAN COLONIES
of Chicago and the Calumet Region, 1928.
5. GARY, INDIANA
Mexican population:
Greatest density.
Medium density.
Least density.
Grammar Schools, showing number of Mexican children enrolled.
C.I.&S. RY.
L.S.&M.S. RY.
B.&O. RY.
OLD LAKE SHORE RY.
Calumet River
Little Calumet River
LOUISIANA
RHODE IS
GEORGIA
CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
PENNSYLVANIA
CONNECTICUT
MASSACHUSETTS
BROADWAY
WASHINGTON
ADAMS
MADISON
MONROE
JACKSON
VAN BUREN
HARRISON
TYLER
POLK
FILLMORE
PIERCE
GRANT
ROOSEVELT
MCKINLEY
CLEVELAND
GARFIELD
MADISON
JEFFERSON
PARK
SCHOOL
AVE.
STH.
TH.
ST.
ND.
RD.
TH.
29
2
1
10