The immigrant experience in Albuquerque, 1880-1920

Judith Boyce DeMark

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Accepted:

[Signature]

Dean, Graduate School
April 16, 1984
THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE IN ALBUQUERQUE, 1880-1920

BY

JUDITH BOYCE DeMARK
B.A., California State University, Hayward, 1975
M.A., California State University, Hayward, 1976

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 1984
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE IN ALBUQUERQUE, 1880-1920

BY

JUDITH BOYCE DeMARK

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
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The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 1984
This study focuses on the experiences of the foreign-born residents of Albuquerque, New Mexico, from 1880 to 1920. Its primary aim is to determine how immigrants in one southwestern urban area fit into the history of American immigration. Topics considered include economic and geographic mobility, marriage and family patterns, and degree of assimilation.

The economy of Albuquerque was based on three major sources of employment: agriculture, merchandising, and the railroad. Many immigrants were employed as skilled laborers for the railroad. A significant number owned retail or wholesale dry goods enterprises. In general, immigrants experienced a high rate of upward economic mobility, being especially successful in accumulating property.

Although the rate of out-migration was high for all groups, a smaller percentage of immigrants left Albuquerque between 1900 and 1920 than did other groups. Of the foreign-born residents who remained in town, most
had moved, from one residence to another within ten or twenty years. For most immigrants, other than Chinese, the high degree of geographic mobility within the city to all neighborhoods indicated that little prejudice existed against foreign-born residents in housing.

In their marriage and family patterns, immigrants often resembled native-born Anglos rather than Hispanic groups, especially in their later age at marriage and the number of children in each household. However, immigrant women tended to have high fertility rates as did Hispanic women.

Structural assimilation of immigrants within the city was apparently easy for most groups. On the other hand, the degree of acculturation varied from group to group. Germans and Italians were the most visible groups to retain much of their ethnic heritage through religious institutions and cultural clubs.

This study of Albuquerque immigrants demonstrates that some experiences were similar to the experiences of immigrants in other parts of the United States. Yet foreign-born residents of Albuquerque appear to have been more upwardly mobile and more easily assimilated than immigrants in previous studies. These results indicate a need for further works in other southwestern cities in order to discover whether or not Albuquerque immigrants were unique.
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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this work is to study the experiences of foreign-born residents in Albuquerque, New Mexico, from 1880 to 1920 and to determine whether the economic and geographic mobility of the immigrants was similar to that of other groups in Albuquerque. It also seeks to assess whether the experience of Albuquerque immigrants was similar to that of other immigrants in southwestern urban areas and to immigrants throughout the United States.

Between 1880 and 1949, there were two cities, Old Albuquerque, founded in the eighteenth century as a Spanish outpost and New Albuquerque, brought into being by the railroad more than one hundred fifty years later. This study will focus on the experience of immigrants in both cities but because the majority of foreign-born immigrants who came to the middle Rio Grande Valley settled in New Albuquerque, it will emphasize conditions in the new town.¹

In the years that New Albuquerque was growing from a small town into a city, the greatest influx of immigrants in American history occurred. Thousands of immigrants arrived almost daily in port cities on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards. For example, between 1901 and 1910, approximately nine million persons immigrated to the United
States. Italians comprised one of the major groups from southern and eastern Europe that came to be called "New Immigrants." Prior to 1890, the largest number of immigrants from Italy in any one year was 1,757 in 1873. Between 1880 and 1924, however, a much larger percentage of immigrants was Italian. In 1910, some 215,537, or almost 20 percent of all immigrants that year, listed Italy as their country of nativity.

Northern and western Europeans came in proportionately smaller numbers after 1890 than did groups such as the Italians. The Irish, for example, immigrated in larger numbers from the early nineteenth century until the American Civil War. In 1849, out of some 297,824 immigrants who entered the United States, more than half, or 159,398, had been born in Ireland. During the period of New Immigration, fewer Irish immigrated to America. Some 29,855 Irish immigrants arrived in the United States in 1910 when they comprised approximately 3 percent of all immigrants. Likewise, although German immigrants constituted 20.3 percent of the foreign-born residents in the United States in 1849, in 1910, only 31,283 Germans, or 3 percent of all immigrants, arrived in the United States.

While the numbers of immigrants varied from group to group, immigration proved to be a tremendous force for change throughout American history. Along with the growth of cities and the burgeoning industrial output of the
post-Civil War era, immigration was a factor leading to the modernization of America. Newly arrived immigrants at the turn of the twentieth century provided additional skilled and unskilled labor for new industries and added to cultural diversity throughout America. Some of the rapidly growing industries that made use of immigrant labor included railroads, meat-packing plants, and textile factories. Since the better jobs were more readily available in port towns and larger cities, most immigrants were attracted to urban areas.

Another economic factor caused most immigrants to settle in port towns and along transportation routes. Many persons traveled from their native lands in steerage, carrying nothing more than a few personal possessions. Once in New York City, Boston, or Philadelphia, they could not afford further travel, no matter how low the cost. Those persons with sufficient funds to travel naturally followed established routes to cities such as Rochester, Chicago, or St. Louis. In 1900, for example, more than one million foreign-born persons lived in New York City, comprising almost 40 percent of the city's population. Census statistics showed Chicago having an immigrant population of more than 500,000, or 35 percent of its total residents.5

If one compares the percentage of immigrants in various cities throughout the United States in 1900, port
and major industrial cities clearly were the most important areas of immigrant settlement. Places such as New York City, Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco had large percentages of foreign-born residents, while interior cities of the West and South often had small numbers of immigrants. For example, Table 1 contrasts the population of thirty representative cities at the beginning of the twentieth century. Some of the cities in the table were large port towns, and others were industrial centers along major transportation routes. Albuquerque was included, as were other southwestern cities, in order to give a perspective on how southwestern cities compared to cities in other parts of the country and how Albuquerque compared to other cities in the Southwest. Those cities having the largest percentage of foreign born, all more than 30 percent immigrant, were New York City, Boston, San Francisco, Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland, Minneapolis, and Tucson. New York City, San Francisco, and Boston were the three major ports of entry for those arriving by ship on the East or West Coasts, while Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland, and Minneapolis were all on major railroad routes.

Tucson, while a relatively small town by comparison, contained an immigrant population comprising 31 percent of its total population. Since Tucson lies less than seventy miles from the Mexican border, it was a natural
Table 1

Foreign-Born Population of Thirty American Cities, 1900

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<th>City</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Number Foreign Born</th>
<th>Percent Foreign Born</th>
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<tr>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>3,437,202</td>
<td>1,270,030</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>560,892</td>
<td>197,129</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1,698,575</td>
<td>587,112</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>342,782</td>
<td>116,885</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>285,704</td>
<td>96,503</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>381,768</td>
<td>124,631</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>285,315</td>
<td>88,991</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tucson</td>
<td>7,531</td>
<td>2,352</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>202,718</td>
<td>61,021</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newark, N.J.</td>
<td>246,070</td>
<td>71,363</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Paul, Mn.</td>
<td>163,065</td>
<td>46,819</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland, Or.</td>
<td>90,426</td>
<td>25,876</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle, Wa.</td>
<td>89,671</td>
<td>22,003</td>
<td>27.3&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pittsburgh</td>
<td>321,616</td>
<td>84,878</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt Lake City</td>
<td>53,321</td>
<td>13,741</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester, N.Y.</td>
<td>162,608</td>
<td>40,748</td>
<td>25.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Omaha, Ne.</td>
<td>102,555</td>
<td>23,552</td>
<td>22.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>1,293,697</td>
<td>295,340</td>
<td>22.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Denver</td>
<td>133,859</td>
<td>25,301</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>102,479</td>
<td>19,964</td>
<td>19.0</td>
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<td>Cincinnati, O.</td>
<td>325,902</td>
<td>57,961</td>
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<td>San Antonio, Tx.</td>
<td>53,321</td>
<td>9,348</td>
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<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>5,544</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>16.8</td>
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<td>New Albuquerque</td>
<td>6,238</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>15.3</td>
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<td>Kansas City, Ks.</td>
<td>51,418</td>
<td>6,377</td>
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<td>Cheyenne, Wy.</td>
<td>14,087</td>
<td>1,691</td>
<td>12.0</td>
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<td>Dallas, Tx.</td>
<td>42,638</td>
<td>3,381</td>
<td>7.9</td>
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<td>Memphis, Tn.</td>
<td>102,320</td>
<td>5,110</td>
<td>5.0</td>
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<td>Santa Fe, N.M.</td>
<td>5,603</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>Atlanta, Ga.</td>
<td>89,872</td>
<td>2,531</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Information compiled from Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Population, Part 1, "Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, for Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More, 1900," pp. 609-46.

<sup>b</sup>More than 10 percent of Seattle's foreign born were Japanese.
destination for many Mexican immigrants. Some of the other cities in Table 1, such as Albuquerque and Denver, were interior cities on more recently built railroad lines. They were thus more typical of southwestern cities in having smaller percentages of immigrants than did cities such as Chicago or Tucson.

Three of the cities in Table 1, Santa Fe, Memphis, and Dallas, had foreign-born populations equal to less than 10 percent of their residents. This fact is not surprising, for all were interior cities with varying factors that caused few foreign born to immigrate to those areas. Relatively few immigrants settled in southern towns because of a comparative lack of industrialization and urbanization and because stronger transportation ties existed between Europe and northern port cities. Also, former slaves and other southerners filled most skilled and unskilled jobs. On the other hand, the A.T. & S.F. Railroad bypassed Santa Fe, and the town never developed industrially. Dallas, however, received many more native-born and second-generation newcomers than it did foreign-born immigrants.

Each of the major cities in Table 1, however, became home to large numbers of immigrants. And ethnic ghettos developed in all of the larger cities. Chicago had a Slovak section, and New York City had its "Little Italy." San Francisco's "Chinatown" was, and still is,
the second-largest Asian community in the United States. While movement in and out of ethnic neighborhoods was constant, the population of ethnic ghettos grew larger each year. Expansion of these ethnic sections often led to crowded and unsanitary conditions, a problem that became a major issue for progressive reformers. For many residents, the hope of a better life never materialized as the cost of day-to-day life took every bit of a workingman's pay.

Yet conditions in crowded midwestern and eastern cities led many of those who could afford the cost to pack their belongings and push on westward with the same dreams that caused them to leave their native countries. Railroad companies and western state or territorial bureaus of immigration began to attract foreign-born immigrants through massive advertising campaigns. For example, in one twelve-month period, from March 1910 to March 1911, the New Mexico Bureau of Immigration reported printing 183,000 pieces of literature, most of the material going out of the territory. The Homeseeker's Guide, one of several New Mexico Bureau of Immigration publications, had a printing of 30,000 during that same period.  

While just over 8 percent of the United States was foreign born in 1900, a significant proportion was attracted to the West between 1880 and 1924. In a recent study of the twenty-four largest western cities of 1880, Lawrence Larsen notes that, "no community was under 12 percent immigrant."
In New Albuquerque, the percentage of immigrants rose from 10 percent in 1880 to more than 15 in 1900.10

There are numerous books and articles about the experience of immigrants in America. Contemporary works, by reformers such as Jacob Riis and historians such as Peter Roberts, generally described the terrible conditions in which many immigrants lived and often called for a decrease in the flow of foreign immigration.11 To answer books that decried the heavy flow of immigration and ensuing problems, many writers, including A. B. Faust and Carl Wittke, recounted the triumphs and progress of specific immigrant groups in America.12

In order to strike a balance between the negativism of writers such as Roberts and the works of historians such as Faust and Wittke, later historians began to consider how immigration fit into the framework of American history. Marcus Lee Hansen, in a pioneering work, presented an overview of the immigrants in America describing reasons for leaving the homeland and detailing experiences in the United States.13 General studies that followed Hansen included works by well-known immigrant historians such as Oscar Handlin and Maldwyn Jones.14

As manuscript census records of the New Immigration period became available, interest in urban history was developing. Historians, a number of them former students of Handlin, combined new sources with more
traditional ones to produce an outpouring of occupational and social mobility studies. Many of the new immigrant histories compared mobility patterns of one or more foreign-born groups with native-born residents and thus were able to place the history of immigrant groups within a comparative framework. And often these newer studies stressed the persistence of old values and behavior patterns within the new environment.

All of the foregoing works agreed, however, on a major theme: immigration from foreign countries into various cities and states was significant and provided an important part of the history of most all areas of the United States. Because immigration is so important to the history of the United States, historians have explored many aspects of the immigrant experience. Questions that have been asked involve social, political and economic issues, and these historians added significantly to the study of immigration. Yet their works often reflected the geographical bias present in American history. For years, historians concentrated on eastern midwestern, or western cities when pursuing comprehensive studies of immigrant groups and then made generalizations that purported to speak for all areas of the United States.

In recent years, however, historians have begun to focus more on western and southwestern urban areas. Some of these historians live in the West or Southwest and
realize the importance of these sections of the country.\textsuperscript{17} No longer can one ignore the impact of the West and Southwest on American history.

Many historians have explored the experiences of immigrants in the West. More than fifteen years ago, in a call for more studies of ethnic groups in the West, Moses Rischin pointed to the paucity of material on these groups.\textsuperscript{18} Since Rischin's article, many books and articles have appeared on immigrant groups in the West and Southwest. Several works focus on specific immigrant groups, in particular the Italians, Germans, and Chinese.\textsuperscript{19} Some more recent works detail the experiences of Mexican-born immigrants to western or southwestern cities.\textsuperscript{20} Thus historians have begun to incorporate western immigration history into the history of American immigration.

While the number of western and southwestern ethnic studies has increased, much work remains. In fact, most studies of immigrants to the Southwest are general overviews or concentrate on one group.\textsuperscript{21} A recent bibliographic essay by Frederick Luebke calls for more interpretive studies set in a comparative framework.\textsuperscript{22} Despite the existence of overviews and specific group studies, more local studies are needed, especially works detailing several foreign-born groups in one urban area. A study like this focusing on a major southwestern city, Albuquerque, and comparing an entire population, will broaden the geographic
perspective of immigration historiography and make possible more accurate conclusions regarding the experience of immigrants settling in all parts of the United States.

In this study of Albuquerque, the year 1880 was chosen as a starting point, for in that year New Albuquerque, or New Town, was created as part of the railroad building process throughout the Southwest. In addition, federal manuscript census lists provide the major source for data. (See Appendix A for methodology.) The study ends at 1920 because that is the last year of available census information prior to legislation that ended the years of massive foreign-born immigration to the country.

This dissertation explores the experience of all foreign-born immigrants who were listed in federal and territorial census lists for 1880, 1885, 1880, and 1910. Unlike many other studies, no sampling techniques are employed. Instead, quantified material consists of all data found on each person in a particular group. Persons were divided into seven racial-nativity groups according to place of birth or ethnic group. The seven include native-born Anglo, non-Hispanic foreign born, Hispanic foreign born, native-born Hispanic, second-generation Americans, Blacks, and Indians. "Anglo," while a nebulous term, refers to non-Hispanic white persons and is generally used by historians in comparing Non-Hispanics to Hispanics. While the census did not separate Hispanic from other white groups,
the large number of Hispanics in Albuquerque in the study period necessitated some division between the two groups. For purposes of this dissertation, persons with Spanish surnames born in one of the states or territories bordering Mexico, or those who did not speak English, were considered native-born Hispanics.

In addition to published and unpublished census materials, information on Albuquerque residents was obtained from such sources as tax rolls, business directories, and cemetery records to follow residents in the years for which no manuscript census data was available. Thus, this study examines the lifestyles, marital patterns, and economic and geographic mobility of foreign born who resided in Albuquerque between 1880 and 1920.

In order to address these topics, I have chosen to focus on several questions. How did the presence of immigrants in New Town affect the development of the town? Did immigrants live in certain areas of the city, and if so, what kinds of neighborhoods were these? Were the foreign-born residents more mobile than native-born Anglos? And what of immigrants as a group? Where there differences between the numerous ethnic groups? For example, were the experiences of the Germans different from those of the Irish or the Italians?

Another important area of study involves children of immigrants, children of the immigrants in Albuquerque,
and second-generation Americans whose parents may or may not have lived in Albuquerque. Did they tend to follow the occupational patterns of foreign born? If so, how far up or down the occupational ladder did they go, as compared to their parents and other foreign born?

In addition to comparing economic and geographic mobility patterns, this study will examine the family structure of the Albuquerque immigrants. Did immigrants tend to marry at earlier ages than native-born whites or Hispanics? Did they have larger families than other racial-nativity groups? And in what kinds of families did foreign born residents live? Where there more nuclear or extended households?

By analyzing these questions and addressing other related issues, this study will survey the social and economic experiences of the foreign born in Albuquerque at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. When the conclusions of this work are combined with the findings of other studies of the Southwest, a clearer picture of the various aspects of the immigrant experiences should emerge.
Notes

Introduction

Hereafter "Albuquerque" will refer to New Albuquerque and "Old Albuquerque" will refer to Old Town.


Ibid.


For example, in 1910, 79 percent of Tucson's foreign born came from Mexico.

New Mexico Bureau of Immigration, Annual Report, April 11, 1911 (Santa Fe: New Mexico State Archives), Microfilm Roll 96, frame 251, 2.

Census Compendium, 1900, 573-608.

Lawrence Larsen, The Urban West at the End of the Frontier (Lawrence: The Regents Press of the University of Kansas, 1978), 25.
10 Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Census of
the Territory of New Mexico, 1880, Microfilm Reel 1,
Bernalillo County (Albuquerque: Special Collections,
Univ. of New Mexico Library); and Bureau of the Census,
Twelfth Census of the Population, 1900, Microfilm,
Reel 1, Vol. 1, Bernalillo County (Albuquerque: Special
Collections, Univ. of New Mexico Library). Hereafter
referred to as Census of 1880, Albuquerque; and Census
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11 See, for example, Jacob Riis, How the Other
Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York
(1890; reprint, New York: Hill and Wang, 1957); and
Peter Roberts, The New Immigration: A Study of the
Industrial and Social Life of Southeastern Europeans in

12 See, for example, A. B. Faust, The German
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to Its Political, Moral, Social, and Education Influence
(New York: The Steuben Society of America, 1927); and
Carl Frederick Wittke, We Who Built America: the Saga of

13 Marcus Lee Hansen, The Immigrant in American

14 See Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, 2nd ed.
(Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973); and Maldwyn Allen
Jones, American Immigration (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago

15 See Merle Curti, The Making of a Frontier
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1978).


Chapter 1

ALBUQUERQUE, 1706-1920

From the early eighteenth century until the present, several outside factors have influenced the growth of Albuquerque. Transportation, the national government, and the immigration of various groups into the middle Rio Grande Valley proved to be significant in the town-building process. Each major development throughout the history of Albuquerque can in some way be traced to at least one of these three factors.

Located on the banks of the Rio Grande, Albuquerque was founded in the first decade of the eighteenth century. In 1706, Francisco Cuervo y Valdez, governor of New Mexico, informed the Spanish government that he had established the villa of Alburquerque. While historians had for years considered the founding date of the town to be 1706, a recent account suggests that Governor Cuervo exaggerated the size and structure of the town in order to assist his political future. The villa, at least in its early years, was "no more than a collection of farms." Due to the influence of the Spanish government and the growth of trade, Albuquerque gradually expanded to a villa
complete with town government, a military outpost, and a central plaza. The use of Spanish soldiers to ward off Indian attacks began during this era.

Situated near the river, the small village had an advantage, and soon became a stopover point on the trade route, the Camino Real, that ran between Mexico City and Santa Fe. The need for wagon repairs, fresh horses, and locally grown foodstuffs for the trading caravans brought permanent settlers from New Spain or Mexico into the river valley.

When Mexico achieved independence in 1821, the Santa Fe Trail between the United States and New Mexico was inaugurated. While Albuquerque did not change drastically at this time, an increased availability of manufactured goods created the opportunity for economic improvement.

The economic improvement of the town actually began with the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846. When a contingent of the United States Army, under the leadership of General Stephen Watts Kearny, reached the Albuquerque plaza, it found a village that was centrally located between midwestern trade centers and Mexico with plentiful agricultural produce and direct access to major north-south trade routes. The quartermaster's department established a supply depot to the west of the plaza, at what is now the northwest corner of Central Avenue and Rio Grande
The military purchased, leased, or constructed several buildings that were used for a variety of services, including shops, warehouses, barracks, and a small hospital.

With the arrival of the American Army, Albuquerque grew into a small but important trade and service center. In 1860, more than five hundred U.S. Army soldiers were stationed at the depot. These soldiers comprised approximately one-third of the Albuquerque population in 1860, and the unit contained many enlistees who had emigrated from Europe, particularly from Ireland or Germany. While most Albuquerque families could trace their history to late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Mexican immigrants, these Europeans provided the first major group of foreign-born settlers to arrive in Albuquerque in more than a hundred years.

After the arrival of the American Army and its many European-born soldiers, a cash economy supplanted the barter and credit systems often used by early settlers and traders. The government paid local citizens for such items as agricultural produce, building leases, and construction materials. Army troops added to the local economy by purchasing foodstuffs, personal items, and entertainment. Then, in 1867, the U.S. government withdrew its troops and closed the post. This closure created a virtual depression, which lasted until at least 1879.
It was, therefore, the inception of railroad service to a point near Albuquerque that constituted the most significant change for the small village. After the Civil War, railroad companies devoted considerable energy to uniting the United States from coast to coast and from North to South. The advent of the railroad into the middle Rio Grande Valley brought changes that affected the history of Albuquerque in all phases of its growth. As one historian has noted, "no city in the territory was affected to quite the extent by the coming of the Santa Fe as was Albuquerque."8

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad had intended to build a roundhouse and shops in the small town of Bernalillo, but a series of circumstances led to the construction of railroad shops closer to Albuquerque. Francisco Perea, a wealthy Bernalillo landowner, reportedly asked an exorbitant price for his property and the A.T. & S.F. refused the price.9 In looking for a suitable location, the railroad company surveyed the Albuquerque environs. Building near the plaza would have necessitated extra costs including greater man-hours and two bridges, for the community lay in a bend in the Rio Grande. Also, small landowners worried about a railroad right-of-way through Albuquerque. They thought they might lose most of their land to wealthy landowners.10 For example, Franz Huning, a German merchant, had bought up about 700 acres near the plaza in anticipation of the railroad's arrival.11
Eventually, the railroad company began to build the line at a point two miles east of the center of town where the company had purchased a right-of-way. A subsidiary of the A.T. & S.F., the New Mexico Town Company, also purchased considerable land adjacent to the right-of-way for a terminal, repair shops, and a new town through its local agents, Franz Huning, Elias Stover, and William Hazeldine. The New Mexico Town Company then began to sell lots for an average price of $300. The town of New Albuquerque was on its way to becoming a reality.

New residents purchased land and added to the growth of the area around the railroad shops. In addition to settlers from all over the United States, many newcomers were immigrants, some of whom came directly to Albuquerque from their native land. These immigrants, together with native-born Americans, Hispanic and Anglo, helped the population of Albuquerque grow to almost three thousand residents by 1885.

In 1885, and for several years after, Albuquerque contained many elements associated with frontier life. As historians such as Richard Wade and Roger Lotchin have shown, many kinds of frontier communities existed in American history. Wade called western towns "the spearheads of the frontier." Unlike Wade's Cincinnati or St. Louis, New Albuquerque was built as settlers arrived in the area. On the other hand, New Town did not develop
overnight as did the rapidly-built community of San Francisco that Lotchin described.\textsuperscript{15}

Albuquerque, rather, was a frontier community with many of the problems most newly-built towns experienced. The town enjoyed periods of rapid growth, in small bursts, and yet had problems that included some unsavory aspects such as prostitution, several hastily-constructed and unruly taverns, and also political and economic troubles. Editorials in the daily papers often decried the deplorable conditions of New Albuquerque. One front page editorial, for example, charged that:

Not only is the principal street of Albuquerque occupied by houses past which no virtuous woman can walk without a blush, but taking advantage of the censurable leniency of the law officers here, these houses have begun to advertise themselves in a most shameful way.\textsuperscript{16}

In his memoirs, an early resident remembered that "Albuquerque in 1900 was a genuine Wild West town, supporting numerous saloons and many gambling houses. . . ."\textsuperscript{17}

The writer may have been romanticizing; however, in the years between 1880 and 1920, a section of Albuquerque provided fuel for editorials on gunfights, opium-smoking, and prostitution.

Located along the three hundred block of Copper and in the first few blocks of Third and Fourth Streets, the cluster of houses of prostitution and saloons known as "hell's half-acre" existed from the early 1880s until
a clean-up campaign was instituted by a Progressive mayor, David Boatwright, in 1915. According to the 1885 census there were at least twenty-eight women who listed their occupation as "wineroom hostess," a term that prostitutes commonly used. Girls working in the profession were generally referred to in the newspapers of the era in such terms of "soiled doves" or "fallen women." Gunfights and brawls were common to the area, and newspapers were full of accounts such as the following:

Two Mexican girls got into a fight last night at a dance hall, but the only damage done was to clothes. One, after the struggle, appeared as Lady Godiva, the other could have passed as Mother Eve, but the fig leaf was lacking.

Although some sections of Albuquerque were clearly disorderly, the other areas of the town were beginning to take on the appearance of a settled community. Old Albuquerque was the county seat of Bernalillo County and remained the political center for some time, but New Albuquerque continued to grow in size and population. On June 4, 1885, residents voted for incorporation on a town. Henry Jaffa, a German-Jewish immigrant and local merchant, was elected the first mayor on June 30 (see Figure 1). In 1891, Albuquerque was designated a "city." At that time, the city had two political precincts. Precinct 12 covered an area north of Railroad (later Central) Avenue from Sixteenth Street to High Street and
Figure 1. Henry Jaffa. First Mayor of New Albuquerque.

Courtesy of Albuquerque Museum
south of what is now Mountain Road. Precinct 26 spanned the sections south of Railroad Avenue to Southern Avenue and in an east-west direction from Barelas Road (now the north extension of Edith) to High Street. By 1900, Albuquerque had grown to a city with more than six thousand residents and had become a major trade and wool processing center on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe line.25

The wool trade was the oldest economic resource, other than farming, for the middle Rio Grande Valley. Beginning in the Mexican period, Hispanic ranchers developed sheepherding as an industry. Sheep were used locally for food and for wool. Many thousands were driven south to Mexico as a cheap supply item for miners. New Mexicans also often used sheep as a medium of exchange. The Americans then introduced wool-bearing Merino, and ranchers began a gradual improvement of the livestock. After the Civil War, fewer sheep were driven out of the territory, for there was an increased demand for wool products. One study of this industry in New Mexico concluded that, "by 1850 New Mexico had the largest number of sheep in the West."26 Between 1850 and 1900, New Mexico was a leader in sheep production, and new markets, improved transportation, and better quality livestock influenced the industry.27

As a junction point for the A.T. & S.F. railroad, Albuquerque became the preparation and shipping center for
the New Mexico wool trade. In 1878, the Louis Ilfeld Company, the first wool company in Albuquerque, was established. The Ilfeld Company, and other wool dealers, purchased approximately 13,000 pounds of wool for shipment to eastern markets in 1880 and 1881. The Albuquerque Wool Scouring Mill, owned by the Ilfeld family, was one of the largest employers in town, second only to the railroad in the early years of the town. 28

It was the railroad, however, that provided the major source of employment in Albuquerque. During the first thirty years of its growth in Albuquerque, the railroad company grew at a steady pace. In 1885, the A.T. & S.F. employed at least one hundred men in Albuquerque. This figure was almost double the 62 railroad workers listed in the manuscript census of 1880. 29 More than 200 make residents were railroad employees by 1900. 30 In 1910, more than 700 A.T. & S.F. workers were living in the town. 31

As the major force in the economic growth of Albuquerque, the railroad also made possible other occupations. Railroad shops and employees created a need for additional providers of services, such as porters, hotel owners, maids, restaurant workers, and laundrymen. The increase in railroad and service-connected industries meant additional opportunities for those seeking employment. Among the occupations represented in the census
lists of 1900 were builders, contractors, house painters, furniture makers, plumbers, electricians, cabinet makers, lumber mill owners, and adobe makers.\textsuperscript{32}

With urban growth came problems common to most late nineteenth-century cities. For example, the town was poorly run during the early years. From 1883 to 1917, an elected mayor and eight aldermen governed the city. The aldermen represented four wards, and much bickering occurred between the mayor and aldermen concerning their powers. As a result, many problems existed in the day-to-day operation of the New Albuquerque government. Moreover, no legal method had been enacted to enforce tax collection.\textsuperscript{33} Few streets were paved, and rains often turned the dirt streets to mud, making them impassable. Flood control was another persistent problem. In 1903, the Rio Grande overflowed as far as the railroad yards at First Street and created the most destructive flood in the history of the town.\textsuperscript{34} With no means to enforce street assessments, the flooding of Albuquerque streets continued to be a problem for years, and residents of Albuquerque did not resolve the issue until 1925 when citizens organized the Rio Grande Conservancy District.\textsuperscript{35}

Although residents of Albuquerque took their time in controlling street and sewer problems, they did effect change in the form of the adoption of the commission-manager plan in 1917. The first city manager,
A. B. Hebenstreit, was hired in 1919, making Albuquerque the sixty-eighth city in the United States to adopt the commission-manager plan.  

Albuquerque residents attempted to reform more than the political life of the town. As one writer has noted, the city in its early years was "struggling to become a cradle of respectability." Community leaders began to push for churches, schools, and parks in order to make good their claim that Albuquerque was truly a "modern city." One area that community leaders worked to improve was education. By 1891, a city school system was established and $60,000 of new ward school houses constructed. In addition, Bernard Rodey, an Irish immigrant and lawyer who had settled in Albuquerque in the 1880s, led the effort to locate the university near New Town.

With the addition of the territorial university, the town contained what would become a source of employment and revenue for the community. At the same time another important industry began to develop. The temperate climate, dry air, and high altitude of the city brought thousands of tubercular patients to Albuquerque between 1890 and 1940. In an effort to create new business and thus economic growth, the Albuquerque Civic Council, forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce, published a semi-annual magazine from 1890 to at least 1921 that extolled the virtues of Albuquerque's climate and bragged of the modern conveniences available in the city.
The journals, and related pamphlets with such names as "Why Albuquerque, New Mexico will Make You Well," promised a beautiful climate and bountiful health care.41

The advertisements of the Civic Council were a bit premature. Early tuberculosis sufferers who arrived in Albuquerque found a small town with several doctors, but no formal hospitals or sanitoriums to which they could be admitted. The first hospital, other than the Santa Fe Hospital that cared for railroad workers, was not built in Albuquerque until after the turn of the century. Saint Joseph's, built by the Sisters of Charity in 1902, admitted consumptives, but it was primarily a general hospital (see Figure 2).42 Presbyterian Sanitorium, erected in 1908, became the first hospital to cater chiefly to tubercular patients.43 In the early years, and even after hospitals were built, many consumptives roomed at one of the many boarding houses or homes that advertised open-air sleeping porches for rent.44

While local businessmen and civic leaders welcomed healthseekers and hoped the newcomers would regain their health and become contributing members of the community, some contemporary observers were less enthusiastic. John P. Clark, former professor at the University of New Mexico, recalled that:

The rooming houses of the city were filled with tuberculars who would come out from the East. They were locally known as "lungers" and
Figure 2. Saint Joseph Sanitorium. Ca. 1902.
Courtesy of Albuquerque Museum.
they were really a menace to health. They would sit around on Central Avenue and expectorate in the gutter.45

Although health facilities were inadequate in the early years, many of the people who came to the city to find a cure did so. Several healthseekers found the climate and the city a pleasant experience and stayed on in Albuquerque. Some, like Clinton Anderson, former newspaperman and later a New Mexico senator, were healthseekers who became well known in the history of New Mexico.

The contribution of healthseekers to the town-building process cannot be overstated. Without the arrival of large numbers of tuberculosis sufferers, the health care industry would never have developed as rapidly and profitably as it did. From 1908 until 1940, there were eight major sanitoriums and several small-scale tubercular care centers.46 The healthseekers affected the economy through their expenditures for medical attention, room and board, and other matters related to the time they spent recuperating. In 1916, one writer estimated that healthseekers spent two and a half million dollars annually in Albuquerque.47

Important improvements in transportation occurred during the era of healthseekers, partially as a result of the influx of so many newcomers to the city. The Street Railway Company had incorporated in 1880 and ran mule-drawn cars from Old Town plaza to New Albuquerque and to Barelas.
In 1904, the Albuquerque Traction Company began running electric streetcars on the same—but improved—line as the old railway company. The lines rapidly expanded thus serving most outlying communities and bringing workers and shoppers into New Town.48

At the same time that New Town was expanding and modernizing, Old Albuquerque remained a small town. As one historian has noted,

New Albuquerque spurted ahead, leaving its aging sister lolling in the doldrums over by the river. Old Town became like a barnacle clining to the hull of the fast-moving central city, going nowhere on its own and glad for a free ride on the swelling tide of progress. The street railway, and later bicycles and motor cars, gave its citizens easy access to jobs and shopping facilities in New Albuquerque.49

Activity in Old Town centered around the plaza and the adjoining church, San Felipe de Neri. Streets were not paved and only a few close to the plaza had even been named. Although some merchants operated stores around the plaza and some residents worked for the railroad, most males were farmers, were employed in agriculture as day laborers, or worked at one of the businesses in New Town.50

Meanwhile, New Albuquerque continued to expand in area and population. The 1910 census indicated more than 10,000 residents,51 and by 1920, more than 15,000 persons lived in the city (see Figure 3).52 New Albuquerque
Figure 3. New Albuquerque. Railroad Avenue and First Street. Ca. 1885.

Courtesy of Albuquerque Museum.
had spread several blocks in all directions and the number of residential areas grew as the city slowly built eastward toward the university.

By 1920, Albuquerque was a small, but growing, "modern" community (see Figure 4). Signs of progress were evident in many areas. For example, department stores replaced some of the family businesses and banks along Central Avenue. Many churches had expanded or grown in number. The University of New Mexico was also slowly expanding. The number of public schools had increased. There were well-equipped fire and police departments. Occupations in New Albuquerque in 1920 were much more diverse and numerous than the occupations listed in the census of 1880. Not only could one find salesmen, merchants, and railroad laborers, but theater owners, typists, and educators as well.\textsuperscript{53}

By 1920, Albuquerque could boast that it was a modern center of the tubercular health care industry since over twenty establishments served hundreds of healthseekers. More than fifty physicians were listed in the city directory.\textsuperscript{54} In addition to tuberculosis care, the city offered a modern general hospital in Saint Joseph's Hospital. Summer rest camps, such as the Well County Camp in Tijeras Canyon, run by the Methodist Church, also brought ever-growing numbers of healthseekers to Albuquerque and its environs.
Figure 4. New Albuquerque. Central Avenue Looking West. Ca. 1920.

Courtesy of Albuquerque Museum
Increasing numbers of newcomers significantly affected New Albuquerque throughout the early decades of the town. As a result of improved transportation, military and other government influence, and its attractive climate, by the 1950s Albuquerque would become one of the fastest-growing cities in the United States.\textsuperscript{55}

While historians have emphasized the physical, cultural, and economic growth of Albuquerque, little attention has been paid to the contributions and experiences of a most important aspect of the history of the town--its immigrants.\textsuperscript{56} The following pages will discuss the impact of the foreign-born residents on Albuquerque.
Notes

Chapter 1

1 The original spelling of the town contained an extra "r."


4 Simmons, Albuquerque, 87.

5 Census of 1880, Albuquerque.

6 Among the European-born soldiers in Albuquerque in 1860 who stayed in the town after their time in the military was William McGuinness, an Irish-born newspaperman.


8 Jim F. Heath, "A Study of the Influence of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad upon the Economy of New Mexico, 1878-1900" (M.A. thesis, Univ. of New Mexico, 1955), 64.

9 Simmons, Albuquerque, 215. The story of Perea's financial opportunism was reported by a friend of Perea and there is no documentation as to what actually occurred.

11 Simmons, Albuquerque, 218.


13 National Microfilm Publication, National Archives, New Mexico Territorial Census of 1885, Bernalillo County (Washington, D.C., 1971, Microfilm Copy 846, Roll Number 1). Hereafter referred to as Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885.


16 Albuquerque Evening Review, March 24, 1882, 1.


18 Johnson interview.

19 Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885.


23 Ibid., 176.


27. Ibid.

28. Simmons, Albuquerque, 332.

29. Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque; and Census of 1880, Albuquerque.


32. Census of 1900, Albuquerque.


35. Simmons, Albuquerque, 302.


37. Simmons, Albuquerque, 294.

38. Ibid., 303.
39 Dorothy Hughes, Pueblo on the Mesa; the First Fifty Years of the University of New Mexico (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1939), 11.


41 See, for example, Albuquerque Civic Council, "Why Albuquerque, New Mexico Will Make You Well" (Albuquerque: Civic Council, 1914).

42 DeMark, "Chasing the Cure," 52.

43 Marion Woodham, A History of Presbyterian Hospital, 1908 to 1976 (Albuquerque: Presbyterian Hospital Center, 1976), 3.

44 DeMark, "Chasing the Cure," 52.

45 John D. Clark, "Memoirs" (Special Collections, Univ. of New Mexico).

46 DeMark, "Chasing the Cure," 53-6.


48 Simmons, Albuquerque, 333.

49 Ibid., 337.

50 Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precinct 13; and Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Albuquerque, Old Albuquerque, 1898 (Located in Map Room, Univ. of New Mexico Library).


54Ibid.


Chapter 2

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF ALBUQUERQUE,
1880-1920

Between 1880 and 1920, there were dramatic population trends in the United States. As in earlier periods of American history, the movement westward continued, and large numbers of migrants had created more "instant cities" such as Denver, Colorado, and San Francisco, California.¹ Many Western towns grew rapidly in this period, so that the Western states had a greater share of the total population than in previous years. For example, in 1860, the area containing California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada and the New Mexico Territory had a population equal to a little over one and a half percent of the total population of the United States. The Census of 1900, however, showed that the same Western states and territories contained more than 4 percent of the total population.² A tremendous increase in foreign immigration, especially of groups from Southern and Eastern Europe, changed the ethnic composition of many American cities, including western communities such as Albuquerque.³

A study of the characteristics of Albuquerque's population from 1880 to 1920 demonstrates how this
southwestern city fits into the history of population growth and immigration in the United States. The growth of Albuquerque was, indeed, relatively rapid. The ethnic groups that were numerically significant in Albuquerque were, in most cases, the largest immigrant groups in the United States as a whole. A study of the movement or arrival of immigrant groups into Albuquerque will show how the growth of the town compared to other American cities.

In order to compare Albuquerque to other American cities, several questions need to be asked. When did the foreign born in Albuquerque in this forty-year period emigrate? Were they "new" immigrants, or were they part of an earlier migration? Which immigrant groups were the largest in Albuquerque? How did the growth of Albuquerque compare to the growth of other cities in the United States?

New Albuquerque grew steadily in the years between 1880 and 1920. In 1885, a census of New Town, the first official count of New Albuquerque, showed the population as 2,999. By 1980, the number of residents had increased to 3,785. Ten years later, in 1900, the census list indicated a population of 6,181. Between 1900 and 1910, the population nearly doubled to 11,020. By 1920, New Albuquerque residents totaled 15,157, demonstrating a 405 percent increase from 1885. Figure 5 follows the growth of New Albuquerque from 1885 to 1920 and proves that the new western community grew steadily.
Figure 5. Growth of New Albuquerque, 1885-1920.
Table 2 compares the growth of New Albuquerque from 1880 to 1920 to nineteen other American cities representing different geographic sections. Although Albuquerque had a rather uneven growth rate, its population increased steadily. Except from 1900 to 1910, Albuquerque was one of the seven fastest growing cities in the sample. For example, from 1890 to 1920, this southwestern community grew three times its population in 1890. The six cities that grew more rapidly than Albuquerque were Los Angeles, Phoenix, El Paso, Seattle, Portland, and Dallas, all western or southwestern cities, thus demonstrating the rapid growth of the western part of the United States. On the other hand, eastern cities were the slowest growing cities in the sample.

One reason for the growth of Albuquerque and other western communities was the influx of foreign-born immigrants into the West. While well-known immigrants have been the focus of local histories, there were many immigrants who resided in Albuquerque between 1880 and 1920 but left few records. Little is known about most of these people, yet their importance to the town should not be overlooked. Even though they left little evidence of their years in Albuquerque, information such as occupation, family size, place of residence, and country of birth can be located from many sources. For most statistical data, however, including population growth and percentages of various
Table 2
Comparison of New Albuquerque Growth Rate to Nineteen American Cities, 1880 to 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>1880-1890 Rate</th>
<th>1890-1900 Rate</th>
<th>1900-1910 Rate</th>
<th>1910-1920 Rate</th>
<th>1890-1920 Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albuquerque</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>3.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas City</td>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Paso</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>6.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>10.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>2.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newark</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaha</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>8.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>4.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reno</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
<td>11.10</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>6.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tucson</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>2.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Median Rate: 1.75 .36 .68 .27 2.25

\(^a\) Information compiled from 1880, 1885, 1900, 1920 Census Compendiums.

\(^b\) 1880 New Albuquerque population estimated at 1,000 persons.
foreign-born groups, the major research tool is the
decennial census.

From quantitative sources and materials such as
ewspapers and personal memoirs, much can be learned about
the early history of immigrants and the town-building
process. Newspapers of the era reported that the population
growth of New Albuquerque continued to be remarkable. In
the December 31, 1892 *Evening Citizen*, for example, the
editor pointed to the large amount of capital being invested
in new building. He noted that $294,275 was spent in 1890,
and that in 1892 the amount of money expended for new build-
ings in New Town was $494,380. He added,

> When it is remembered that last spring's
> assessment, a total assessable valuation of
> but $2,886,497 was found, and that since the
> first day of last January nearly half a million
> dollars have been expended by our citizens in
> permanent buildings and improvements, our growth
> may be appreciated.9

By the early part of the twentieth century, Albu-
querque was well on its way to becoming more than a small
town, and part of the reason for the rapid growth was the
small, though increasing, number of foreign-born immigrants
that continued to arrive in the city.

After 1900, the percentage of foreign born lessened
but was still important compared to national figures. Table 3
indicates the number and percentage of foreign born as
listed in federal census data from 1880 to 1920. In 1880,
approximately 10 percent of the population was foreign born.
Table 3
Comparison of Foreign Born to Native Born, Albuquerque, 1880 to 1920a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Number Native Born</th>
<th>Percent of Population</th>
<th>Number Foreign Born</th>
<th>Percent of Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>2,350</td>
<td>2,104</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>4,733</td>
<td>4,110</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>7,368</td>
<td>6,313</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1,055</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>12,364</td>
<td>10,971</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>1,393</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>15,157b</td>
<td>13,956</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>1,401c</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aStatistics compiled from Census of 1880 Compendium; Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; Census of 1920 Compendium, Table 7, page 667, and Table 12, page 672.


Includes only foreign-born whites. No date available on others. Five Chinese lived in Bernalillo County in 1920. The largest concentration of Chinese in New Mexico in 1920 was 39 in Grant County.
By 1885, the percentage of foreign born had grown to 13 percent, an amount close to the percentage of foreign born throughout the United States. In 1900, the percentage of immigrants had risen slightly with 14 percent of the residents in Albuquerque born outside the United States.

The percentage of foreign-born residents had decreased somewhat by 1910, although the percentages of 1910 and 1920 are comparable to the figures for foreign born throughout the United States. For example, 11 percent of the 1910 Albuquerque population was born outside the United States, while 14.5 percent of the total U.S. population in 1910 was foreign born. In 1920, Albuquerque's foreign-born population comprised 8 percent of the total residents, as compared to 13 percent of U.S. residents who were foreign born.

The percentage of foreign-born persons in Albuquerque was representative of the middle ranges of immigrants in cities throughout the United States. For example, in 1910, Chicago was one of the most important cities of European settlement, with more than 35 percent of its population being foreign-born white. By contrast, less than 3 percent of the population of Atlanta, Georgia, in the same year was foreign-born white. As a southern city, Atlanta was representative of its region, which had the smallest percentage of foreign-born persons in the country. Dallas, Texas, a southwestern city, contained less than
6 percent foreign born. At a little over 11 percent, the foreign-born whites of Albuquerque were much closer to the national average in 1910 than was true of many other cities.¹⁴

The distribution of foreign-born ethnic groups in Albuquerque throughout the 1880 to 1920 census years more nearly represented a national average than did the distribution of foreign-born groups in large urban areas or specific geographic areas. Table 4 compares the percentage of the nine largest foreign-born groups in Albuquerque in 1880 with the same groups residing throughout the United States in 1880. The largest foreign-born group in Albuquerque and in the United States was Irish. One major difference was the percentage of Mexican immigrants. Because of the proximity of New Mexico to Mexico, Albuquerque had a much larger percentage of Mexican immigrants than did the United States as a whole. And while German-born immigrants comprised the second largest group in Albuquerque and the United States, the percentage of Germans in the United States was almost 30 percent as compared to 21 in Albuquerque. The larger percentage of Mexican-born accounts for this major difference. What is apparent in this comparison is that the Irish and Germans, both from "old" immigrant stock, constituted more than half of the foreign-born in Albuquerque and in the United States. These figures demonstrate that the distribution of Albuquerque immigrants, at least in the
Table 4
Comparison of Albuquerque Foreign Born to All U.S. Foreign Born, 1880a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>Number in Albuquerque in 1880</th>
<th>Percent of All 1880 Foreign Born</th>
<th>Number in United States in 1880</th>
<th>Percent of All 1880 U.S. Foreign Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>1,854,571</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>1,966,742</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>68,399</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>555,046</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>44,230</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>717,157</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>170,136</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>194,337</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>106,971</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>1,002,354b</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>246</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,679,943</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


bTotal number of persons born in Lithuania, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Austria and China were larger than some of the groups listed separately above; however, no group was larger than those from Canada, England, Germany, or Ireland.
first year that New Town existed, was similar to the distribution of immigrants in the United States.

Several of the immigrants from Germany present in Albuquerque in 1880 had lived in the middle Rio Grande Valley for many years, and some became well-known figures in the history of the town. The Grunsfeld family was one of many German-Jewish immigrant families who were attracted to Albuquerque by the prospect of merchandising. Albert Grunsfeld, an Albuquerque merchant born in Hanover, Germany, in 1837, had married a native or Prussia in the early 1860s, where he had fathered five children between 1862 and 1872. Sometime after 1872, he and his family emigrated to New Mexico, for the youngest Grunsfeld listed in the census of 1880 had been born in New Mexico in 1876. The Grunsfeld store was located in the central business district of Albuquerque from 1880 through the 1920s (see Figure 6). In 1880, the oldest of the Grunsfeld children, Alfred, was an eighteen-year-old clerk in his father's store. Albert had died by 1900, and Alfred was head of Grunsfeld Brothers, a dry goods store. Hilda, the widow of Albert, lived with her son Ivan in 1900. The census shows that Ivan and Alfred were prosperous, for both families employed household servants and lived in homes along West Copper Avenue, where many of the wealthiest citizens of Albuquerque lived. Both sons had married second-generation German-Jewish women, and by 1910 the two sons had built the store
Figure 6. Albert Grunsfeld. Albuquerque Merchant. Ca. 1890.

Courtesy of Albuquerque Museum
Another German immigrant who lived in Albuquerque from the early 1880s was Jacob Korber. Korber emigrated to America at the age of twenty-one in 1882, and three years later he had married and established himself as a blacksmith in New Albuquerque. The Census of 1900 lists Korber as a carriage manufacturer. He had gone into business with Christopher Lamparter in the late nineteenth century but by 1910 he headed J. Korber and Sons, a carriage and auto repair shop in the two hundred block of North Second Street.

In the same year, the business directory also indicated that he was vice president of the State National Bank, becoming, as did many immigrants, one of the city's major business leaders. Later, the Korber business expanded into a car dealership and large auto repair business, which lasted well into the 1950s.

Foreign-born families such as the Korbers and Grunsfelds had begun to be significant in Albuquerque as early as the time of the Census of 1885. While some groups remained numerically significant, other groups comprised smaller proportions of the immigrant population. In Table 5, the foreign born are divided into ethnic groups for 1885 and contrasted. As in 1880, the two largest groups were Irish and German. Mexican and other Hispanic immigrants no longer constituted as large a percentage of the
Table 5

Foreign-Born in Albuquerque by Major Countries of Birth, 1885\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent of Foreign Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born Hispanic</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Foreign Born(^b)</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>625</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Compiled from Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

\(^b\) No other foreign-born group had more than seven persons in Albuquerque in 1885.
foreign-born population as they had in 1880. One reason for the small percentage of foreign-born Hispanics was that there were large numbers of other "new" immigrants, especially those from Italy. Whereas in 1880, fewer than 1 percent of Albuquerque's foreign-born residents were Italian, in 1885 the percentage had grown to more than 8.5. The surge in the number of Italians indicated the beginnings of a trend that would eventually make the Italians the second largest group of immigrants in Albuquerque.

During the railroad-building era, another group began to increase in number. The Chinese, mostly men who had followed the railroad crews offering such services as laundries and restaurants, had increased from less than 1 percent of Albuquerque foreign born in 1880 to a little over 5 percent in 1885. All Chinese immigrants in the city in 1885 were males.

There were in fact more males than females in all immigrant groups in 1885. Of the adults in major ethnic groups, only the German, Irish, and English were more than 30 percent women. Together, women and children made up only 30 percent of the total number of immigrants in 1885. The adult-male dominated composition of immigrants was not much different from that of the other racial-nativity groups in the town. Of all adults in Albuquerque in 1885, an average of 78 percent were men, and 22 percent were women. These
figures show that Albuquerque in 1885 was, in the ratio of men to women, a "new town" in its developmental stage.\textsuperscript{26}

A comparison of the percentage of married males in Old and New Albuquerque in 1885 demonstrates the relative stages of growth in each town. In 1885, more than 63 percent of the men in Old Town were married, as compared to 50 percent in New Albuquerque.\textsuperscript{27} By 1885, the parallel growth of Old and New Albuquerque was much different. New Town was only five years old but had begun to change dramatically. During its rapid growth, in what might be called the period of town building, New Town was male-dominated because many workers had come into town for the purpose of erecting the railroad shops. These workers usually had left families in other cities.\textsuperscript{28} As the town continued to grow and develop, it became less a frontier town and took on new aspects, such as larger numbers of families.\textsuperscript{29} In 1885, Old Albuquerque had existed for almost two hundred years, and the town remained much as it had been in the middle of the nineteenth century with life centering around the plaza and a majority of native-born Hispanic residents (see Figure 7).\textsuperscript{30}

By 1900, New Albuquerque had grown to more than six thousand persons, up from a population of 2,999 in 1885, while the Old Albuquerque population remained at less than twelve hundred.\textsuperscript{31} A major reason for this growth in New Albuquerque was the railroad, which created jobs and brought potential settlers--both native and foreign-born immigrants--directly to the center of the new town.
Figure 7. Old Albuquerque. James Street Looking East. Ca. 1883.

Courtesy of Albuquerque Museum
Many more residents in New Town than in Old Town were employed as skilled laborers and in the manufacturing and commercial categories; the majority of Old Town workers were employed as day laborers or in agriculture. Fifty-six percent of those who lived in Old Albuquerque worked as some sort of unskilled laborer, ranging from hod carrier to day laborer or delivery wagon driver. Another 34 percent were almost equally divided between skilled laborers and agricultural workers. By contrast, very few New Town males were employed in agriculture, and the majority of workers were skilled laborers, most of whom worked for the A.T. & S.F. Railroad or the Albuquerque Foundry. 32

Table 6 indicates the number and percentage of each racial-nativity group in both Old and New Albuquerque in 1900. More than 38 percent of the total population was native-born Anglo whose parents were born in the United States. The majority of these persons lived in New Albuquerque. This percentage indicates that a much different group dominated New Town within fifteen years after its founding than the native-born Hispanics who dominated Old Town. The percentage of foreign-born residents was significant because while only 12 percent of the population of 1885 of both towns was immigrant, more than 16 percent of the New Town population in 1900 had been born outside the United States.
Table 6
Albuquerque Population by Racial-Nativity Groups, 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Nativity Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent of Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native-born Anglo</td>
<td>2,836</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-born Hispanic</td>
<td>1,787</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>1,461</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born Hispanic</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>&lt; .1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>&lt; .1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7,368</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aCompiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.*
Nine hundred and twelve of Albuquerque's residents in 1900 had been born outside the United States in non-Spanish speaking countries. There were similarities between the most numerically significant immigrant groups in the city in 1885 and 1900. Persons from the "old immigrant" groups continued to dominate the percentages as the largest groups in 1900 were the Germans, Irish, and English. Canadians in 1900 comprised about 9 percent of the foreign born, while in 1885 they had been the fourth largest group at 11 percent.

Table 7 compares the major foreign-born groups in Albuquerque in 1885 with those of 1900. Some significant changes occurred within the Hispanic and Italian groups. In 1885, Italian-born persons numbered fifty-four or about 8.5 percent of Albuquerque immigrants. The percentage of Italians in Albuquerque fifteen years later had increased to 9.3 percent of Albuquerque foreign born. Foreign-born Hispanics had been the eighth largest group in 1885, but by 1900 their percentage had increased to more than 13 percent, and they comprised the second-largest immigrant group.

Approximately 70 percent of Albuquerque's foreign-born Hispanics had been born in Mexico. Mexicans migrated to the United States because of job possibilities and also as a result of turmoil within Mexico. While the number of Mexicans that came to Albuquerque was not as large as
Table 7
Comparison of Percentage of Foreign-Born Residents in Albuquerque, 1885 and 1900\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>1885</th>
<th>1885 Rank</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1900 Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Rank in</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Foreign</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>born</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,055</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Statistics compiled from Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885; and Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

\(^b\) In 1885, less than 1 percent of foreign-born residents were born in this country, and these persons are combined in "Other" category.
the number that settled in border towns such as El Paso or San Diego, the percentage of Mexican-born immigrants in Old and New Albuquerque provided an ethnic mix much different from that in eastern and midwestern urban areas.

The number of new immigrants such as Italians and Mexicans did increase between 1885 and 1900; nevertheless, one group of old immigrants grew in size by 1900. Fewer than 1 percent of Albuquerque's foreign born were Swedish immigrants in 1885; in 1900, however, Swedes formed more than 4 percent of all foreign born in the city. The number of Swedish-born immigrants in New Mexico, as well as the Germans and other northern and western Europeans, represented a nationwide trend that occurred in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Historians speak of the immigration of southern and eastern Europeans as creating tremendous change in the history of immigration. While it is true that the number of southern Italians, Poles, and Greeks who emigrated to the United States rose dramatically toward the turn of the century, their numbers were largest in Eastern urban areas, in major midwest cities, such as Chicago and Cincinnati. When one looks at the percentage of various foreign-born groups in the United States from 1900 to 1920, northern and western Europeans clearly continues to dominate.

This continued dominance of the Old Immigrant groups is evident in the city of Albuquerque, but there are
significant differences. In 1900, German-born immigrants were the most numerous group. Yet the proximity to Mexico and the distance from eastern seaboard cities meant that the ethnic distribution of Albuquerque immigrants was in some cases quite different from the rest of the nation.

Table 8 demonstrates that persons born in Germany Canada, England, and Ireland comprised four of the largest groups in both the U.S. and Albuquerque in 1900. Important differences existed, however, in the distribution of Albuquerque foreign born. Italians formed 9.3 percent of the city's foreign born, yet only 4.7 percent of all foreign born in the United States. In Albuquerque, the group that comprised the second largest immigrant group was Hispanic and formed more than 13 percent of all Albuquerque immigrants, whereas Mexican-born immigrants throughout the United States comprised only 1 percent of total foreign born.34

The Chinese in Albuquerque, while not a large group in 1900, comprised a much larger percentage of Albuquerque foreign-born residents than did the Chinese in all of the United States. Albuquerque Chinese made up almost 4 percent of foreign born in 1900, while only .2 percent of all U.S. immigrants had been born in China.35 One reason for this significant difference is that the Chinese had formed a large part of the work force used in western railroad building. After the building process was completed, Chinese laborers followed major railroad lines and set up
Table 8

Comparison of Albuquerque Foreign Born to All U.S. Foreign Born by Country of Birth, 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>1900 Albuquerque Number</th>
<th>Foreign Born Percent</th>
<th>1900 U.S. Number</th>
<th>Foreign Born Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>2,633,418</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>103,393</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>1,615,459</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>840,513</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>484,027</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>1,179,922</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>24,788</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>582,014</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>2,847,742b</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aStatistics compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; and Historical Statistics of the United States, p. 66.

*bCountries with more representation throughout the U.S. than Mexico but less than Italy included Scotland, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, France, Poland, Austria, Hungary, and Russia.
service-related businesses, such as laundries and restaurants, or found work in already-established businesses. The Chinese were more of a factor in the West than in the East. In San Francisco in 1910, for example, the Chinese comprised about 1.5 percent of all adults and 7 percent of the foreign-born residents.

Most of the foreign-born residents of Albuquerque in 1900 had immigrated prior to 1891 and therefore had been in the United States for some time prior to the Census of 1900. Table 9 compares the percentage of each major immigrant group in New Albuquerque by year of immigration. Of the 912 immigrants listed in the New Town census of 1900, 861 gave information about their year of immigration. The New Immigrant groups from Italy and Mexico tended to have more persons who had emigrated after 1890 than did other groups. For example, 44 percent of the Italians and 35 percent of the Mexicans had emigrated after 1890. By contrast, only 12 percent of the Irish and 8 percent of the English emigrated after 1890. Likewise, German immigrants had only 16 percent of their group who were relative newcomers.

Only one Old Immigrant group had a large percentage of recent immigrants. Twenty-six percent of the thirty-eight French residents of New Town had arrived in the United States after 1890. One reason for this relatively high percentage was the number of family members the Girards
Table 9
Year of Immigration of Foreign-Born Residents of New Albuquerque, 1900a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>Immigrants in U.S. Prior to 1891</th>
<th>Immigrants Who Arrived in U.S. after 1890</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born Hispanic</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

had brought to Albuquerque. The Girards, headed by August Girard, had been in Albuquerque since the Census of 1880 and several cousins emigrated from France in the 1890s. The addition of these French, and the thirty-three Germans, who came to Albuquerque after 1890 aided in the continuing dominance of Old Immigrant groups in New Town.

Western and northern European immigrants continued to be dominant in the distribution of the foreign-born residents of Albuquerque and the United States in 1910. Table 10 shows the ethnic composition of Albuquerque immigrants and, as in all census years between 1880 and 1910, the Germans were the largest ethnic group, with a little more than 20 percent of all foreign born. Germans also formed the largest percentage of any foreign-born group, more than 16 percent, in the total immigrant population of the United States.38 English, Swedish, Canadians, and Irish also had significant percentages in Albuquerque, as they did throughout the country.

While some of the older immigrant groups continued to be numerically significant, there were important aspects of New Immigration apparent in the distribution of the Albuquerque foreign-born population. For example, Italians, and other groups from southern and eastern Europe and western Asia, such as Poles and Syrians, comprised almost 20 percent of all foreign-born residents. In 1910, as earlier, foreign-born Hispanics were still significant, with
Table 10
Foreign Born by Age, Sex and Country of Birth, 1910a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>Adult Males</th>
<th></th>
<th>Adult Females</th>
<th></th>
<th>Children</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of Adult</td>
<td>of Adults</td>
<td>of Adult</td>
<td>of Females</td>
<td>of Children</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.E. Europe</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,393</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aStatistics compiles from Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.
almost 16 percent of all foreign born coming from Spanish-speaking countries. With these foreign-born residents, Albuquerque had begun to reflect the new phase of immigration history.

Nonetheless, immigrants in Albuquerque as throughout the United States remained overwhelmingly northern and western European in origin. While cities like Chicago absorbed large numbers of Italians, Poles, and Slovaks, the dominant foreign-born groups in Albuquerque (and the United States) were Germans, English, and Canadians.

Table 11 compares the seven largest foreign-born groups in Albuquerque in 1910 with the totals for the same groups in the United States. Twenty percent of Albuquerque's immigrants were German-born and constituted the largest group. More than 16 percent of the foreign born throughout the United States were German and they, too, were the largest ethnic group. Four of the remaining six groups in Albuquerque were from northern or western European countries and with the Germans comprised more than 53 percent of all foreign born in Albuquerque. The same five groups formed less than 50 percent of the foreign born in the United States in 1910, but still demonstrate that throughout the study period the older immigrant groups were the most numerically significant.

Albuquerque's experience reflected the major trends in United States immigration history. Most of the immigrants
Table 11
Comparison of Major Albuquerque Foreign Born to All U.S.
Foreign Born by Country of Birth, 1910a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>Foreign Born in Albuquerque in 1910</th>
<th>Foreign Born in U.S. in 1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic b</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland c</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,123</td>
<td>82.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aStatistics compiled from Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; and Historical Statistics of the U.S., 66.

bIncludes ten Hispanic foreign born not from Mexico.

cFigures for Ireland are probably too high. A look at the manuscript lists shows that many of the persons born in Ireland were of English, Scottish, German, or other stock. Therefore, the figure for Albuquerque is much lower than for the Irish-born throughout the United States.
were part of an older movement of northern and western Europeans into the United States. Still, ever-increasing numbers of southern and eastern Europeans also migrated to the middle Rio Grande Valley. For southwestern cities like Albuquerque, another significant immigrant group was composed of Mexican-born persons. When Albuquerque is compared, however, to other western or southwestern cities, such as Denver, the ongoing influence of Old Immigrants throughout the West is apparent. 39

Therefore, some modifications about the era of New Immigration must be made. Certainly the tremendous number of southern and eastern Europeans who came to the United States after 1800 changed the course of immigrant history. The continued dominance of Old Immigrant groups, however, in the Southwest and throughout the United States, may have well created an immigrant pattern more like that in Albuquerque than New York City or Chicago.
Notes

Chapter 2


2Census Compendium, 1900, 573-608.

3Ibid,

4There were two census reports of New Mexico in 1885. The first, taken in April, was a locally run count and reported about 1,500 residents. In June, the federal government took an accounting of the territory for statehood purposes and showed a population of nearly 3,000 in New Town. The June census is referred to throughout this dissertation.


8Census Compendium, 1920, 667 and 672.

9Albuquerque Evening Citizen, 32 December 1892, 1.

10Census of 1880, Albuquerque; and Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885.

11Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.
12 Census of 1910, Albuquerque; and Census Compendium, 1910.

13 Census Compendium, 1920, 697.

14 Census Compendium, 1910, Table 40, 184.

15 Albert Grunsfeld, Census of 1880, Albuquerque.

16 Alfred Grunsfeld, Census of 1900, Precinct 12, p. 109, line 34.


19 Jacob Korber, Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885, Precinct 26, p. 13, line 48.

20 Jacob Korber, Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precinct 26, p. 4, line 39.

21 Jacob Korber, Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precinct 26, p. 1, line 35.


24 For a discussion of Chinese in the West, see Magnaghi, "Virginia City's Chinese Community."

25 Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885.

According to the Census of 1880, fifty-two men were married but not living with their spouses.

Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885, Precincts 12 and 26.

Census of 1900, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; and Census Compendium, 1900.

Ibid., Precincts 12 and 26.

Census Compendium, 1910.

Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13, and 26; and Census Compendium, 1900.

Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885, Precinct 13.


Ibid.

See, for example, Michael Brian Gelfand, "Chutzpah in El Dorado: Social Mobility of Jews in Los Angeles, 1900-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Carnegie-Mellon Univ., 1981); and Stephen Leonard, Denver's Foreign-Born Immigrants, 1859-1900 (Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1971), University Microfilms.
Chapter 3

THE ASSIMILATION OF IMMIGRANT GROUPS
INTO ALBUQUERQUE

In 1900, New Albuquerque was twenty years old, and during the time the city had grown, so had its immigrant population. Foreign-born residents who chose to settle in the town found ways to fit into the community, to make a new life for themselves, and, in some cases, to maintain ties with their native culture. Some experiences were positive, and some were not.

Assimilation is the process whereby persons of a different background than the host society enter into the various facets of a community. A group may participate in the economic and political phases of city life and still maintain ties to its ethnic heritage. The final degree of assimilation comes when a group changes its values and norms to those of the host society, commonly referred to as "cultural assimilation."¹

In order to determine the degree of assimilation of immigrants in Albuquerque, several topics must be considered. Aspects of assimilation to be studied in this chapter are residential patterns (including geographic mobility and existence, or lack of existence, of ethnic
enclaves), strength of intergroup ties and maintenance of cultural identity, and the reactions of the host society, or societies as in the case of Old and New Albuquerque, toward various immigrant groups.

As a recent bibliographic essay has shown, "the enormous variations possible within each group, as well as among different groups, must . . . be recognized." For this reason, the immigrants in Albuquerque cannot be treated as a single group. Changes, differentiations and a varied cultural heritage meant that assimilative experiences might well be different from group to group or individual to individual.

By the early part of the twentieth century, there were many different languages spoken on the streets of Albuquerque. In addition to Spanish, which had been spoken in New Mexico since the entry of the Spanish conquistadors into the territory in the sixteenth century, one might have heard a conversation in such diverse languages as Arabic or Chinese or French. A resident could walk down one of the more wealthy sections of town, along West Copper Avenue past Sixth Street, and hear German or Yiddish. Around the railroad shops, most workers had learned at least enough English to "get by." But one would still have heard many other languages including Japanese, for there
were a few Japanese railroad workers in Albuquerque in 1900.  

Albuquerque contained several diverse ethnic groups between 1880 and 1920, yet its size precluded any large ethnic "ghettos," and, in fact, Albuquerque appeared to be more a cohesive unit than a series of separate communities. There were, however, specific ethnic neighborhoods within Old and New Albuquerque. The most visible was the Hispanic community. Although Hispanics lived in all areas of the new city, there was one major place of settlement. In 1900, over half the Hispanics in New Albuquerque were clustered around Bernalillo Road (on what is present-day Edith Boulevard south of Mountain Road) in small farms and an occasional apartment or other multiple dwelling. The largest concentration of Hispanics was, of course, in Old Albuquerque.

Old and New Albuquerque were quite different architecturally. By 1898, New Albuquerque had been in existence for some seventeen years. Fire insurance maps of that year indicate that New Town buildings were primarily of brick, stone, tile or frame construction. With the exception of five buildings, all construction in Old Albuquerque at the time of the Sanborn maps was adobe. The buildings which were not adobe included the county jail, county courthouse, the post office, and two business structures.
New Albuquerque was by 1898 a small, but steadily-expanding, city. Figure 8 is a map showing the layout of New Town in 1898 and indicates a city extending some twenty blocks from north to south and almost fifteen blocks from east to west. An early plan to construct a park at every intersection on Railroad Avenue past the business did not materialize; however, in the early years, Robinson Park, at the intersection of Eighth Street and Copper and Railroad Avenues was in the midst of one of the more "posh" areas in which to live.

One of the most impressive structures further West from Robinson Park on Railroad Avenue was Castle Huning (see Figure 9). Built by Franz Huning, the palatial residence of Italianate design was completed in December of 1883 at a cost of over two million dollars. The castle must have served as a hope for many immigrants that they, too, might one day be able to have their own estate.

Foreign-born residents, for the most part, tended to live in all areas of Precinct 12. However, there were some small areas of particularly dense immigrant settlement. More foreign-born individuals were clustered along West Railroad Avenue and West Copper than in other areas. These clusters represent the German-Jewish merchants in the first four blocks of West Railroad Avenue and the residences of the wealthier German-Jews along West Copper from Sixth to Eighth Streets. Figure 10 shows the distribution of
Figure 9. Castle Huning. Ca. 1900.

Courtesy of Albuquerque Museum
Figure 10. Portion of New Albuquerque, 1900.
population by heads of households in some of the major racial-nativity groups in a portion of Precinct 12 in 1900. At least eighteen Black families or individuals lived in the downtown area or near the major business district.

Figure 11 contrasts the population distribution of the same section of Precinct 12 in 1910. Although the population was still relatively evenly disbursed throughout the city, important changes had occurred. The first few blocks of West Central were filled with stores and other businesses, and fewer foreign born resided behind or above their businesses. Rather, more foreign born, especially German-Jews, lived in one of the best residential sections along West Copper. Another significant change was in the distribution of Black households. Instead of being concentrated in the northern part of Precinct 12, Blacks lived in all parts of the city but the southeast by 1910.

Residence patterns changed for more than just Black households. In Figure 12, the residences of Italian, Hispanic foreign-born, Black, and Chinese heads of households in 1900 are indicated by color codes. Italian male heads of households owned or rented residences in the northern part of Albuquerque, especially along Washington and Broadway and Third Street. Chinese lived in the northern part of Precinct 12, and they were concentrated in the Two Hundred block of West Silver. Only eight
Figure 11. Portion of New Albuquerque, 1910.
Figure 12. New Albuquerque, 1900.
foreign-born Hispanic heads of households lived in the mapped area of New Albuquerque. Some ten foreign-born Hispanic families lived on Bernalillo Road and East Street, both sections of town not shown in Figure 12. More than 42 percent of the foreign-born Hispanics lived in Precinct 13 in or around Old Town plaza. By contrast, no Chinese heads of households lived in Old Town, and only two Blacks were listed in Precinct 13. Approximately 13.5 percent of Italian heads of households lived in Old Albuquerque in 1900. By 1910, there were few Chinese in Albuquerque, and the four heads of households lived within a six-block radius of each other. Only seven foreign-born Hispanic heads of households lived in the mapped area of New Town in 1910, and the number and concentration of Blacks and Italians had changed considerably. Twenty-five Black heads of households were listed in the manuscript census of 1910, and they lived in all but the southeast section of the city. The number of Italians had grown from twenty-seven to more than forty heads of households by 1910. The Italians were still concentrated around copper, Tijeras, and Second Street; however, several families had moved to South Second, and less than 8 percent of all Italian heads of households lived in Old Town in 1910 (see Figure 13).

Few immigrants lived in specific ethnic neighborhoods, and, in fact, some immigrants moved frequently within the city. The changes shown in the maps indicate a high
Figure 13. New Albuquerque, 1910.
degree of geographic mobility for some groups between 1900 and 1910. Many persons moved within the town to a variety of residences over the years. A study of the geographic mobility of various racial-nativity groups between 1900 and 1920 points to a significant trend. The non-Hispanic foreign born were certainly mobile, yet this group was more stable than all but native-born Anglos.

Table 12 compares the geographic mobility within Albuquerque from 1900 to 1910 of those who remained in the city. While over half of the male immigrant heads of households had left New Town between 1900 and 1910, those that remained showed a relatively stable residence pattern as compared to all but the native-born Anglos. Less than a third of the 177 heads of households who were foreign born had moved within the city between 1900 and 1910, yet Hispanics and Blacks had persistence rates of from only 17 to 20 percent. Native-born Anglos were the most stable group with a persistence rate of just over 35 percent. Only 23 percent of second-generation males did not move during the decade, but the low persistence rate may have been a factor of age. Second-generation heads of households were younger than the foreign or native born in 1900 and had perhaps not yet purchased a permanent home. The Bernalillo County Tax Rolls for 1900 showed that only fifteen of the second generation males owned property in 1900.
Table 12

Geographic Mobility within Albuquerque, 1900-1910, Male Heads of Households
By Racial-Nativity Groups^a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Number in Albuquerque 1900 - 1910</th>
<th>Number at Same Address</th>
<th>Persistence Rate</th>
<th>Number Who Moved at Least Once</th>
<th>Percent Who Moved</th>
<th>Number Unknown</th>
<th>Percent Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Anglo</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Hispanic</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>69.3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a Statistics compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26; Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; and Albuquerque Business Directory, 1910.
Of the foreign born who had changed residences between 1900 and 1910, over two-thirds, or thirty-nine men, had moved to a house within the same ward. Eight of these men moved to a house on the same street, thus indicating a trend toward staying within the same neighborhood. Likewise, native-born Anglos who moved tended to stay within the same neighborhood.

Ethnicity among immigrant groups did not affect mobility, for those who moved from place to place came from several countries. The most geographically mobile group were the Italians. Twenty-one of the 117 foreign-born persons who moved were from Italy. Carlo Tartaglia, for example, lived further out of town when he moved from 414 Nicolas to 1121 North First Street. But there were others than Italians who changed their residence. William Jenks, a mining engineer from England, who lived at 410 West Lead in 1900, had moved to 609 West Fruit by 1910. Another Englishman, William Johnson, had moved from 512 West Marquette to a house about four blocks away at 802 West Tijeras. Leon Bordenave, a Cuban immigrant who worked at Kirster Brothers Cigar Factory, moved from 1006 North Fourth Street to 1505 Marble Avenue.

In a comparison of geographic mobility among racial-nativity groups who remained in Albuquerque from 1900 to 1920, Table 13 demonstrates that some changes in mobility rates had taken place. Yet native-born Hispanics
Table 13
Geographic Mobility within Albuquerque, 1900-1920, Male Heads of Households
Racial-Nativity Group\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Number in Study</th>
<th>Persons Who Moved at Least Once</th>
<th>Persons Who Moved at Least Twice</th>
<th>Persons in Same Place 1900 - 1920</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Statistics compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26; Business Directories of 1919 and 1920.
continued to be overwhelmingly mobile. Over 89 percent of this group had moved from one residence to another in the twenty-year period, and over 57 percent had at least three different addresses between 1900 and 1920. Native and foreign-born Anglos were still the most persistent groups; however, a majority of persons in both groups moved at least once or twice within the city in the same period.

Both the foreign and native-born groups had relatively similar residence patterns. A comparison of these two groups is more valid than a contrast of any other two groups because the numbers of native and foreign-born who were in Albuquerque from 1900 to 1920 was roughly comparable. About half of the foreign born had moved at least once as compared to about 60 percent of the native-born Anglos. However, about a third of the foreign born had changed residences at least twice, while less than one-fourth of the native-born Anglos made the same number of moves.

The foreign-born residents of Albuquerque proved to be as mobile as immigrants in other studies. The geographic mobility within Albuquerque of this group was not unusual when compared to migration within many American cities. For example, a study of Italian immigrants indicates that this group tended to be migratory even after settling in one city. The study shows that,

Well into the 1920s the populations of all the Italian communities continued to be transient. While movement was generally from
one working-class neighborhood to another. It was typically from slums to more pleasant and less congested areas, especially after 1900 when improved and expanded cheap mass public transportation made it possible to live beyond walking distance from work.20

Albuquerque residential patterns reveal a constant movement of the Albuquerque population. Of the 488 heads of households in Albuquerque from 1900 to 1910, more than two-thirds moved at least once in the ten-year period. Native-born Anglo, non-Hispanic foreign born and second-generation Americans had the highest persistence rates, and yet their degree of persistence averaged between just 23 and 30 percent. Lower status groups had a high degree of mobility with between 80 and 83 percent of these groups moving at least once in ten years.21 A comparison of three of the largest groups from 1900 to 1910 in a twenty-year period showed an even higher degree of mobility. No more than 10.7 percent of native-born Hispanics remained at the same residence between 1900 and 1920, and less than 16 percent of native-born Anglos had the same address in 1920 that they had had in 1900. Non-Hispanic foreign born had a persistence rate of 12.1 percent in the twenty-year period.22

The population of Albuquerque moved at consistently high rates for several reasons. As persons improved their economic status, they were able to purchase or rent a home in one of the better neighborhoods along West Copper past
Immaculate Conception church or in one of the newer developments to the east of town. For those who did not achieve economic success, a move might have been made from a house rental to a cheaper boarding house or apartment. The next chapter will focus on economic mobility as it relates to persistence and will show how the higher status groups compared to non-whites and Hispanics in upward occupational mobility.

II

While Albuquerque was growing and changing, native-born groups and immigrants were adapting to life in the community. For many of the newcomers, especially immigrants, religion was a major force in their cultural experiences. From the first Catholic church to Temple Albert, immigrant groups brought new beliefs and practices into the Albuquerque environs.

Catholicism was the first European faith brought into the middle Rio Grande Valley. Spanish missionaries had introduced Catholicism to New Mexico as early as the sixteenth century. After 1850, Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy labored to revitalize New Mexico Catholicism for the American Catholic hierarchy. One means to do so entailed using Italian Jesuit priests ousted from Naples in 1860 by Garibaldi for their political activities. Lamy assisted in the emigration of the Italian Jesuits to the
New Mexico territory. Led by Father Donato M. Gasparri, the Italian Jesuits settled in Bernalillo until they could take charge of the Albuquerque church. In 1868, Lamy sent the contingent to Albuquerque, and the Jesuit fathers comprised the first major group of Italian immigrants to arrive in the city. Not only did the Jesuits initiate many changes in the Albuquerque church; they also won the confidence of the local populace thus easing the way for future Italian Catholics. Father Gasparri and his fellow priests made extensive renovations to the main church building. They also began a winery, a boys' school, and large vegetable gardens. In the early years of their arrival, they operated a printing press where Revista Católica began its first publication. The Jesuits also sponsored a novitiate that lasted for more than nine years. The changes brought new jobs to Albuquerque thus aiding the local economy and thereby making a positive impact on the native Hispanic view of Italian Catholics.

As New Albuquerque began to develop, the Jesuits built a second church in 1882. Located at the corner of Copper Avenue and Sixth Street, Immaculate Conception served the needs of Anglo Catholics and most of the Italian immigrants. In fact, once Immaculate Conception was established, few native-born Anglos or European immigrants attended the old church. Baptism records indicate that between 1883 and 1904, over 75 percent of the 1105 children baptized at
Immaculate Conception were of non-Hispanic families, of whom sixty-one children were Italian American. In one year, 1890, at San Felipe Neri, 94 percent of the baptisms were for Hispanic children. Of the 445 children baptized at San Felipe in that year, only five were of Italian parentage, and a total of only twenty-eight children were not Hispanic.

Two other churches in New Albuquerque began as a direct result, or at least in large part, to the influence of foreign-born residents. The first Lutheran church and the first Jewish synagogue were built after enough members had arrived in New Town to warrant establishing a congregation.

The first Lutheran church, St. Paul's Lutheran, was organized in 1891 and was often referred to as the German Lutheran Church. St. Paul's was organized under the pastorate of a territorial missionary, William Rosentengel, and was the first Lutheran congregation in the Southwest. Among the first members were German immigrants such as Herman Bluher and August Kraemer. In the early years, Sunday evening services were conducted in German.

German immigrants were also important in the establishment of another religious organization in Albuquerque. Of the first presidents of Temple Albert, between 1897 and 1920, eight, or two-thirds, were born in Germany or were the Albuquerque-born sons of German
Although not as large as the Catholic or Protestant churches in terms of membership, Judaism was very important in serving as part of the process of maintaining ethnic heritage for many of Albuquerque's European immigrants.

The first known German-Jewish settler in New Mexico was Jacob Solomon Spiegelberg, who arrived in Santa Fe in 1846 as a sutler to Kearny's column. By 1876, Spiegelberg Company had grown into a large dry goods operation headquartered in Las Vegas, New Mexico. Branches of Spiegelberg Company were located in several cities of the territory.

In 1876, Spiegelbergs transferred a salesman from Las Vegas to Albuquerque to take over as branch manager. That salesman, Albert Grunsfeld, eventually bought out Spiegelberg. As a German Jew and community leader, Grunsfeld was instrumental in establishing the first temple in Albuquerque.

In 1883, enough Jews lived in Albuquerque to establish a formal organization, a lodge of B'nai B'rith. Religious services were held in private homes and then, eventually, in a hall in the Knights of Pythias Building in the one hundred block of West Gold. Until the founding of a congregation took place in 1897 after years of planning by the Jewish community, marriages were performed by traveling rabbis.
When the congregation had been formally established, an auction was held for the privilege of naming the new congregation. The Grunsfeld family won with a bid of $250, and the family offered the name "Albert" in honor of their patriarch who had died in November, 1893.\textsuperscript{38} Rabbi Greenberg arrived in 1898, and on September 3, 1899, the cornerstone of Temple Albert was laid at the northeast corner of Seventh and Gold Avenues (see Figure 14). The temple was later remodeled, and the first wedding at the remodeled building took place in June of 1917 when Louis Ilfeld's two daughters were married in a double ceremony.\textsuperscript{39}

Houses of worship were not alone in bringing persons of similar beliefs together. Ethnic clubs were organized to maintain ties to the old country and to help make friendships in the new community. One such group was the Christopher Columbus Society that Italian immigrants formed. Well-known Italian-American families such as the Bachechis and the Gradis were leaders of the local club which met once a month beginning in 1892.\textsuperscript{40} The Columbo Society, as it was popularly called, provided a means for Italians in Albuquerque to maintain their cultural identity. During Italian holidays, the meeting hall was filled with native costumes and traditional dances. Festivities included monthly dances which were an important part of the social life of younger Italian Americans. Through these ties, marriage between Italian families assured the continuation
Other ethnic groups formed clubs that also promoted maintenance of cultural heritage in Albuquerque. The Club Germania, begun sometime in the early 1880s, was formed in order to promote immigration to Albuquerque as well as to establish a bond for German-American women. Already in New Mexico, the German ladies’ Aid Society was formed as early as 1877. Their German background united both Jewish and German immigrants. The purpose of the Einheit Lodge was to ensure that the German American community continued to celebrate their culture. Albuquerque remained a non-Hispanic foreign-born city with a small percentage of political offices, at least in the early years of New Town. For example, out of twenty-three city officials in 1887, only two were foreign-born and more than 50 percent were native-born Anglos or second-generation Americans.45

Figure 14. Temple Albert. Ca. 1899.

Courtesy of Albuquerque Museum
of an awareness of the immigrant past of Albuquerque Italians. 41

Other ethnic groups formed clubs that also promoted maintenance of cultural diversity in Albuquerque. The Club Germania, begun sometime in the early 1880s, was formed in order to promote German immigration to Albuquerque as well as to serve as a bond for German Americans already in New Mexico. 42 A German Ladies' Aid Society was started as early as 1897 for women of German background, both Jewish and gentile. 43 By 1908, another German club, the Einigkeit Lodge, had been organized. The purpose of Einigkeit was for members to get together and speak German thus ensuring that future generations would not forget their native language. 44

In addition to some groups' low degree of acculturation, Albuquerque immigrants as a group appear to have remained outside the political sphere in both Old Town and New Town. Hispanics such as Solomon Luna and Manuel Armijo dominated the politics of the predominately Hispanic Old Albuquerque, and native-born Anglos ran New Town. Non-Hispanic foreign born held a small percentage of political offices, at least in the early years of New Town. For example, out of twenty-three city officials in 1896, only two were foreign-born residents and two were Hispanic. Thus more than 80 percent of the city officials in 1896 were native-born Anglos or second-generation Americans. 45
Although not as politically visible as the native-born and second-generation Americans, some immigrants were influential members of the Albuquerque community and served as leading forces in the economic development of the city. From the Grunsfelds to the Rodeys, some immigrants held political office within the community and sometimes at the state or territorial level. For instance, Alfred Grunsfeld served several years as an elected city commissioner. Among the early mayors of New Town were two other German Jews. In 1885, Henry Jaffa became the first mayor of New Town. As a candidate, Jaffa had run on the People's Party ticket, a local political party comprised of members of all ethnic groups. Michael Mandell became the sixth mayor of New Albuquerque in 1890. Members of other foreign-born groups were active in the politics of the community. Bernard Rodey, an Irish immigrant and local attorney, served in the territorial legislature and was the major force in bringing the territorial university to Albuquerque.

Although he never held a political office, Oresti Bachechi was a significant figure in the history of the economic development of the city. Born in Bagni di Lucca, Tuscany in 1860, Bachechi arrived in Albuquerque in 1885 and opened a tent saloon. He married Maria Franceschi, a recently-arrived immigrant, in 1889. Bachechi took out citizenship papers in 1892 and in the same year helped found the Columbo Society. He served as president of the Columbo Society for fifteen years.
As one of the earliest Italian immigrants to New Town, his liquor and other business interests provided jobs for many Italians. Bachechi and his family were instrumental in bringing many residents of Lucca, Italy, to Albuquerque in the most well-known example of chain migration to the city. Indeed, Bachechi has been called the "Father of the Albuquerque Colony." Most of the Italians who came to New Town in the early years found employment at one of the businesses owned by Bachechi or his wife.

Another important Italian pioneer in Albuquerque was Girolamo Giomi who was also born in Lucca. In 1888, he and his new bride came to New Mexico. According to Giomi, they were encouraged to come to Albuquerque at the urging of Angelina Giomi's sister, Isola Bambi, who wrote of high wages and said that "one could earn a dollar by merely sewing on a button." Bachechi invited the Giomis to stay at his home, and Giomi later went into a wholesale liquor business with Bachechi called Consolidated Liquors Company.

While some opportunity for political and social leadership existed in Albuquerque, an underlying prejudice existed against those who were "different," especially for those who were not white. In a newspaper article published in 1883, a reporter described, with more than a tinge of prejudice, the use of weapons on the Albuquerque streets:

The Negro's favorite weapon, as you know, is the razor. Yet not so many carry razors...
and knives as of old. Barbers sell old razors which are no good for anything but "cutting" purposes, and I suppose they are used for that.

The Italian uses the dagger, the Spaniard the stiletto, the German the knife, the negro the razor, but everyone who can will become the possessor of a revolver--and then he is pleased and happy. The American uses the revolver most.54

A serious problem occurred for Albuquerque's Chinese community. While most Chinese were part of the legitimate business community, some Chinese ran opium dens in the early years of the community. Consequently, all Chinese were given such labels as "hopfiends" or "heathen."55 Early newspaper accounts openly discussed the anti-Chinese sentiment in Albuquerque. A local newspaper in 1886 indicated the fear caused by the proposed intention of some New Mexico Chinese to file for citizenship by saying:

There being some agitation just now in the public mind in reference to reports in the newspapers that Chinamen in Santa Fe, Silver City and some other places, are filing in the district courts their declaration of intention to become citizens of the United States, it may be well to silence all apprehensions on the subject by showing that Chinese cannot become citizens.56

Chinese had little recourse through legal means, for prejudice against them extended to the courts of the United States and in the territory. One notable case involved Joe Kee, a cook and errand-runner for Lizzie McGrath, a local madam. In 1867, Kee was arrested by the Bernalillo County sheriff after Miss McGrath had sworn out
a warrant against Kee for stealing her daily profits. It appears Joe Kee made regular banking runs for Lizzie two or three times a week in order to deposit her cash. On one such trip, the bank was closed and, according to a statement by Kee, he entered a Faro parlor and proceeded to gamble away thirty-five dollars belonging to Miss McGrath. Lizzie dropped the charges and offered to have Kee repay the money by working for her without pay until his debt was paid. In a letter to the governor almost two years after the incident, Joe Kee reported he was still in prison and requested a pardon from the governor. Through the efforts of another immigrant, Bernard Rodey, Joe Kee was eventually released.57 Few members of other immigrant groups would have served such a long sentence for thirty-five dollars even though other groups were occasionally involved in gambling and prostitution.

Prejudice against the Chinese in Albuquerque extended to the economic sphere. Most of the Chinese, about 75 percent in 1900, owned or worked in laundries. By 1900, newspaper ads for Hubbs Laundry stated that Hubbs was "the only white-owned laundry in town."58 It is possible that economic pressure was put on the Chinese for, while other immigrant groups increased in size, the number of Chinese had decreased so that there were only thirty Chinese in Old or New Town in 1910.59
Other immigrant groups encountered problems though not as serious as those of the Chinese. For Jewish merchants, some difficulties existed with Sunday closing laws. Jews celebrate the Sabbath from sundown on Friday to sundown on Saturday. Therefore, Jewish merchants opened their stores on Sunday. Local Protestant businessmen opposed this practice, and enacted laws which stated all businesses with the exception of farming and other necessary establishments such as hotels must close on Sundays.  

In 1882, the Law of 1876 was still on the books. The fine for non-observance of the statute was set between ten and fifty dollars for the first offense and between twenty-five and one hundred dollars and five to twenty days in jail for a second offense. 61 By 1897, the fine had dropped to a maximum of fifteen dollars or five to fifteen days in jail. 62 The change mattered little, however, since the laws do not seem to have been in force. As more Jews became active in the politics of the community and their numbers increased, these laws became less threatening and places such as Rosenwalds and Mandells continued to open for business on Sundays.

To what degree had immigrants and their children assimilated by 1920? For some, the process was almost total. Newspapers do not single out ethnicity of most groups in the era. For example, there is no mention of the Scottish, the Canadian, or the Swedish members of the community. Only
in recent years have some of these groups begun to remember their ethnic heritage with Scandinavian clubs and Scottish dance groups. Others, especially the Germans and Italians, kept close ties with their past. It was several years before the German Lutheran Church discontinued holding Sunday evening services in German. And clubs such as the Columbo Society meant that Italian Americans had a place to encourage the intermarriage of Italian youth through monthly dances. For other groups, especially the Chinese, the stigma of being different meant years would pass before some groups were accepted in the city.

The degree of assimilation, therefore, varied from group to group. Yet for most Albuquerque immigrants, the availability of jobs and lack of prejudice against most European immigrants in housing meant that a large percentage of foreign-born residents of Albuquerque adjusted to the new environment and found the city a comfortable place in which to live.
Notes

Chapter 3


3Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26.


5Sanborn Map of Old Albuquerque and New Albuquerque, 1893 (Map Room, Univ. of New Mexico Library).

6Simmons, Albuquerque, 341.

7Ibid., 279.

8Census of 1900, Precinct 13.

9Ibid.

10Ibid.

11Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

12New Mexico State Records Center, "Bernalillo County Assessment, 1900" (Reel 14, Microfilm Copy, Coronado Room, Special Collections of Univ. of New Mexico Library). Hereafter referred to as Bernalillo County Tax, 1900.
13In some cases, persons who had a different street number in 1910 than they had in 1900 had not moved. Because of an erratic and ever-changing numbering system, it was sometimes difficult to assess whether a person had moved.


15Ibid.

16Carlo Tartaglia, Census of 1900, Precinct 26, sheet 21, line 13; and Census of 1910, Precinct 12, sheet 5, line 33.

17William Jenks, Census of 1900, Precinct 26, sheet 30, line 14; and Albuquerque Directory, 1910, 169.

18William Johnson, Census of 1900, Precinct 26, sheet 23, line 512; and Albuquerque Directory, 1910, 170.

19Leon Bordenave, Census of 1900, Precinct 12, sheet 20, line 30; and Census of 1910, Precinct 12, sheet 19, line 30.

20See, for example, Humbert S. Nelli, From Immigrants to Ethnics: The Italian Americans (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983), 214.


23Simmons, Albuquerque, 9.


25Ibid., 2.
26 Bohme, "Italians in New Mexico," 26.

27 Steele, Works and Days, 75, 78 and 81.

28 Ibid., 41-2.


30 Concilli Provincialis Baltimoresis X. Concinnatum, Baptismorum Registrum, AD Mentem Patrum (Baltimore: Excudebat Joannes Murphy, 1879; Mormon Genealogical Library, Albuquerque, N. M., microfilm reel 016,651).

31 San Felipe Neri Church, Baptisms and Confirmations, 1890-1910 (Albuquerque: Mormon Genealogical Library, microfilm reel 016,638).

32 Larry A. Wright, "A History of St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Albuquerque, New Mexico," 4, Typescript copy, located at St. Paul's Church, Albuquerque, N. M.

33 Ibid., 8.


35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid., 12.

38 Ibid., 15.

39 Ibid., 26.

40 Bohme, "Italians in New Mexico," 192.

41 Mrs. Yolanda Marianetti, interview with author, 15 August 1980. Mrs. Marianetti is the daughter of Allessandro Matteucci, early Italian pioneer to Albuquerque.


45 Albuquerque Business Directory, 1897.

46 Record of the City of Albuquerque (City of Albuquerque, Records, Microfilm Copy, Roll #1, Books 1 and 2).


49 Simmons, Albuquerque, 311-12.


51 Ibid., 16.


54 Albuquerque Morning Journal, 17 August 1883, 3.

55 Johnson interview.

56 Albuquerque Morning Journal, 19 March 1886, 4.

57 Territorial Archives of New Mexico, Letter from Joe Kee to Governor Otero, Reel 12, Frames 496-99.

58 See, for example, Albuquerque Morning Journal, 10 May 1899, 2.

60. Ibid.

Chapter 4

ECONOMIC SUCCESS AND PERSISTENCE WITHIN
ALBUQUERQUE, 1880-1910

Economic mobility is the best indicator of economic success in a community. Economic success is also directly related to the stability of the population. Previous studies indicate that the relationship between economic and geographic mobility, regardless of the city, is a most important one. Don Doyle, in a study of Jacksonville, Illinois, found that "those with special skills were significantly more stable than those below them on the occupational ladder."¹ Stephan Thernstrom, in his work on Newburyport, Massachusetts, stated that one reason for upward mobility in occupational levels in Newburyport was that those who did not advance did not remain in town.² Thernstrom also found that foreign born did not improve their occupational status as often as did native-born whites.²

On the other hand, historians of other communities have discovered a different pattern than the one that Thernstrom suggested. In a well-known and pioneering study of Trempeleau County, Wisconsin, Merle Curti found
that foreign and native born competed more equally on the frontier. A study of mobility and occupational structure in nineteenth-century Denver, Colorado, concluded that "Denver offered immigrants considerable occupational opportunity."

A comparison of the economic experiences of Albuquerque foreign-born residents to those of other racial-nativity groups in the city will determine how Albuquerque fit into the foregoing patterns. How successful were Albuquerque's foreign born in terms of upward economic mobility? If they were upwardly mobile, how did their success compare to the occupational and economic mobility of other groups in Albuquerque and in other cities as well? In order to determine economic mobility, this study examined occupational ranking and property holdings. After comparing the occupational mobility of various racial-nativity groups, I considered the scope of geographic mobility in order to determine further how the Albuquerque foreign born compared to other groups within the community.

In all occupational tables, I have grouped jobs into seven major categories, Professional, Proprietor-Managerial, Clerical, Skilled, Semi-Skilled, Unskilled-Menial and a final category, domestic labor (see Appendix B). In some tables, an eighth group was used comprised of all other persons not employed, including those who were retired, invalids, unemployed, adult students, and those
for whom no information was available. The first seven groups were based on the model used by Kenneth Kusmer in his study of occupational mobility in Cleveland, Ohio. Professional persons included doctors, teachers, and clergymen, while proprietor-managerial employment covered all merchants, business managers, and other similar occupations. Carpenters, machinists, and other like occupations were grouped in the skilled category. Semi-skilled laborers included cooks, railroad firemen, and unspecified railroad laborers. Day laborers, teamsters, delivery drivers, and horse-cart peddlers were considered unskilled or menial occupations.

Table 14 summarizes the occupational distribution of male heads of households in 1880 by the six racial-nativity groups. In 1880, native-born Hispanics comprised the largest group, two hundred and forty-two persons, or 60 percent of all male heads of households. Almost 80 percent of the Hispanics were employed as unskilled laborers. Conversely, more than 40 percent of the native-born whites held a skilled job, and almost one-third were employed in the proprietor-managerial field. In the third-largest group, non-Hispanic foreign born, most workers (over 40 percent) held skilled jobs, while proprietors and managers and professionals provided almost 40 percent of foreign-born heads of households.
Table 14
Occupational Distribution of Male Heads of Households by Racial-Nativity Groups, 1880a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Proprietor/Professional</th>
<th>Managerial</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Semi-Skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Anglo</td>
<td>12 (12.3)</td>
<td>27 (27.8)</td>
<td>6 (6.2)</td>
<td>41 (42.3)</td>
<td>3 (3.1)</td>
<td>6 (6.2)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Hispanic</td>
<td>2 (.8)</td>
<td>13 (5.4)</td>
<td>2 (.8)</td>
<td>22 (9.1)</td>
<td>2 (.8)</td>
<td>193 (79.8)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign</td>
<td>3 (7.0)</td>
<td>14 (32.6)</td>
<td>4 (9.3)</td>
<td>18 (41.9)</td>
<td>1 (2.3)</td>
<td>1 (2.3)</td>
<td>2 (4.6)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>1 (8.3)</td>
<td>2 (16.7)</td>
<td>1 (8.3)</td>
<td>5 (41.7)</td>
<td>1 (8.3)</td>
<td>2 (16.7)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18 (4.4)</td>
<td>56 (13.9)</td>
<td>14 (3.5)</td>
<td>89 (22.0)</td>
<td>7 (1.7)</td>
<td>208 (51.5)</td>
<td>2 (0.5)</td>
<td>10 (2.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aStatistics compiled from Census of 1880, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.
Although the exact number is unknown, the largest employment category was railroad laborer, skilled and semi-skilled workers. Albuquerque was the location of a major repair and storage facility for the railroad and thus the A.T. & S.F. was the largest employer. The A.T. & S.F. tracks had been laid to Albuquerque just prior to the census count, and much work was being done in June 1880 on the building of adjacent structures, such as the roundhouse and the terminal.

The railroad continued to be of major significance in Albuquerque economic history throughout the early decades of the town. The Special Census of 1885, however, showed that other kinds of employment were becoming increasingly available. For example, the number of persons in the proprietor-managerial field had increased from 60 to 258 persons. There were 218 male clerical workers in 1885 as compared to 23 in 1880. The percentage of white collar workers had grown from 4.3 percent in 1880 to more than 11 percent in 1885.

Table 15 shows the occupational distribution of all males in 1885 and is divided into racial-nativity groups. In all ethnic groups, the majority of men were employed as skilled laborers. Of those employed as skilled laborers, 36 percent were either machinists or carpenters.

By 1885, several stores and wholesale merchandising operations were located in New Town, providing employment
Table 15

Occupational Distribution of Albuquerque Males by Racial-Nativity Group, 1885a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Nativity Group</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Proprietor</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Semi-Skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Anglo</td>
<td>42 (5.1)</td>
<td>127 (15.3)</td>
<td>127 (15.3)</td>
<td>286 (34.5)</td>
<td>172 (20.7)</td>
<td>45 (5.4)</td>
<td>16 (2.0)</td>
<td>14 (1.7)</td>
<td>829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>21 (5.1)</td>
<td>98 (23.0)</td>
<td>53 (12.9)</td>
<td>118 (28.6)</td>
<td>25 (6.1)</td>
<td>56 (13.6)</td>
<td>33 (8.0)</td>
<td>8 (1.9)</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>2 (1.4)</td>
<td>21 (14.6)</td>
<td>29 (20.1)</td>
<td>50 (34.7)</td>
<td>5 (3.5)</td>
<td>26 (18.0)</td>
<td>1 (.7)</td>
<td>10 (7.0)</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Hispanic</td>
<td>8 (1.7)</td>
<td>10 (2.1)</td>
<td>9 (2.0)</td>
<td>31 (6.6)</td>
<td>9 (2.0)</td>
<td>362 (77.7)</td>
<td>7 (1.5)</td>
<td>30 (6.4)</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born Hispanic</td>
<td>1 (5.6)</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>5 (27.7)</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>11 (61.1)</td>
<td>1 (5.6)</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1 (2.3)</td>
<td>2 (4.6)</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>15 (35.0)</td>
<td>3 (7.0)</td>
<td>8 (18.6)</td>
<td>14 (32.5)</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>1 (100.0)</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75 (3.7)</td>
<td>258 (13.4)</td>
<td>218 (11.4)</td>
<td>505 (26.3)</td>
<td>214 (11.2)</td>
<td>508 (26.5)</td>
<td>73 (4.0)</td>
<td>62 (3.5)</td>
<td>1,913</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aCompiled from Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.
bIncluded invalids, unemployed, adult students and those for whom no information available.
for a significant portion of the population. At least 123 men listed their occupation as retail merchant, wholesale distributor, or shopkeeper, and they comprised almost 9 percent of all employed males. The stores and warehouses provided a variety of jobs including most clerical workers, a number of warehousemen and other unskilled laborers, and several skilled and semi-skilled laborers ranging from equipment operators to delivery drivers and teamsters.\textsuperscript{13}

All racial-nativity groups were represented in the field of merchandising though to varying degrees. As the railroad expanded into the West, Eastern manufacturers found wider and more easily available markets for their products. Ronald Davis, in a study pertaining to western urbanization, stated that "cities of the American West were dumping grounds for eastern manufactured goods, as demonstrated by the relatively high proportion of the population employed in service industries."\textsuperscript{14}

Many of the successful merchants were German-Jewish immigrants. The earliest Jewish merchants in Albuquerque had been sutlers, or outfitters, for the U.S. Army in the Territory of New Mexico between 1848 and 1870.\textsuperscript{15} Often a merchant began his early career as a peddler. Then he might set up one store, and, after some success, would being a few relatives out West. He would then set up other stores, with the use of Eastern capital, and place perhaps an uncle
or a brother as manager of the second store. Oftentimes a successful merchant moved into warehousing or wholesaling. Many of the early New Town merchants, including such well-known families as the Rosenwalds and Ilfelds, followed this pattern. While there were several non-Jewish merchants, at least half of the most successful merchants in Albuquerque and throughout the territory were Jews.

As the Albuquerque merchant community grew and expanded, so did the need for banking services. The development of banking in New Albuquerque paralleled the changes in population in the Middle Rio Grande Valley. The First National Bank, chartered in December of 1881, was headed by two Hispanics, Mariano S. Otero and N. T. Armijo, both from old New Mexico families. When the Central Bank and First National Bank merged in 1884, the first president was Jefferson Raynolds, a former Ohio resident. In April of 1884, the Albuquerque National Bank was organized, and Louis Huning, member of a prominent German immigrant family, became its first officer.

Mining was another early industry in New Mexico. In the sixteenth century, the first non-Indian settlers and explorers came into what eventually became New Mexico in hopes of finding the same rich gold and silver deposits as had been discovered in Mexico. Several companies and individuals mined throughout Bernalillo County with some
small successes near Golden. In 1880, 137 mining claims had been filed in the city of Albuquerque. No one ever became wealthy from the Bernalillo County mines in those years, yet people continued to hope. When the large Colorado deposits were discovered in the latter part of the nineteenth century, interest heightened in exploring the Sandia and Manzano mountains. The New Mexico Bureau of Immigration probably brought many to Albuquerque by claiming among other things that, "the recent developments in Taos and Santa Fe counties, and in the Cochiti district of Northern Bernalillo county, are found to be a duplication if not a continuation of the Cripple Creek wonder."  

Whether it was mining, merchandising, or other fields, the availability of work in Albuquerque brought ever-increasing numbers of laborers to the town. A comparison of the occupational structure of employed males in Albuquerque in 1885 and 1900 indicates that few changes occurred in the distribution of the work force in fifteen years with the exception of an increase in employed persons. Table 16 compares these two census years and shows an increase in employed males from 1,851 in 1885 to 2,367 in 1900. While the percentage of skilled laborers increased slightly from about 27 percent to more than 31 percent, the percentage of semi-skilled and unskilled laborers dropped slightly.
Table 16

Occupational Structure of Employed Males in 1885 and 1900
By Major Job Category\textsuperscript{a}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Job Category</th>
<th>1885</th>
<th>1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent of 1885 Work Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,851</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}Statistics compiled from 1885 Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque; Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26.
Although there were few changes in the percentages among the various occupational categories from 1885 to 1900, significant differences occurred among the racial-nativity groups by 1900. For example, a disproportionate number of Blacks and Hispanics were unskilled laborers. Table 17 contrasts the major job categories of each of the six largest racial-nativity groups and demonstrates that most Blacks held domestic or other unskilled positions and almost two-thirds of native-born Hispanics were unskilled laborers. Approximately 15 percent of the non-Hispanic foreign born, on the other hand, were employed in the unskilled and domestic categories, whereas over 22 percent of this group were proprietors or managers and over 40 percent worked as skilled laborers.23

The largest percentage of U.S.-born Anglos, non-Hispanic foreign born and second-generation males were employed as skilled laborers. Between 31 and 41 percent of each of these groups held positions as carpenters, blacksmiths, and other skilled workers. The next largest percentage of native-born Anglo workers was in the unskilled field; the second-largest non-Hispanic foreign-born category included those persons who worked in the proprietor-managerial field.24

Undoubtedly, native-born Anglos, non-Hispanic foreign born and second-generation Americans in Albuquerque
Table 17

Occupational Distribution of Albuquerque Males by Racial-Nativity Group, 1900<sup>a</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Proprietor</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Semi-Skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-born Anglo</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-born Hispanic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born Hispanic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Statistics compiled from the Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.
in 1900 were much more well-off economically than the other three racial-nativity groups. In fact, when looking at the percentage of males employed in the top three categories, one sees that the immigrants fared best of all with more than 37 percent of their group working as professionals, proprietor-managers, or clerical works. By contrast, less than 10 percent of native-born Hispanics and Blacks were employed in those three occupational groups, and just over 13 percent of foreign-born Hispanic males had a job in one of the top three categories.  

Non-Hispanic immigrants were, as a group, occupationally mobile throughout the study period. Table 18 traces the occupational distribution of employed non-Hispanic foreign born males from 1885 to 1910. In all census years, immigrants were clustered in either the skilled or proprietor categories with more than 20 to 40 percent of this group holding some sort of proprietor or skilled occupation. The third-largest category in 1885 and 1900 was unskilled labor.

Foreign-born professionals comprised similar percentages of the total work force in 1885 and 1900. Of the twenty-four men in this category in 1900, five men were architects, six were clergymen, and five were physicians. Included as other professionals were lawyers, professors, teachers, and mining or mechanical engineers. At the other end of the occupational scale, sixty-seven unskilled or
Table 18
Occupational Distribution of non-Hispanic Foreign-Born Males, 1885 to 1910 by Major Job Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Job Category</th>
<th>1885</th>
<th>1885</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent of Foreign-Born</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent of Foreign-Born</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent of Foreign-Born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Statistics compiled from Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque; Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26; Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.
menial laborers were listed including day laborers, peddlers, servants, dishwashers, and stable stewards.\textsuperscript{26} Although the persons employed in agriculture remained relatively constant, more immigrants in 1900 were involved in the more economically advantageous agricultural occupations than in 1885. Of those six foreign born in agriculture in 1885, all were self-employed; however, five were farmers, ranchers or gardeners. With no tax records available prior to 1900, it was difficult to assess their economic standing.\textsuperscript{27} In the census of 1900, seven of the ten immigrants in agriculture were wool dealers or sheep producers and were ostensibly more well-off than farmers in 1885 who may or may not have been self-sufficient.\textsuperscript{28}

Important differences occurred, however, within the foreign-born group. Table 19 shows the occupational distribution of non-Hispanic foreign-born males in 1885 by the five largest nativity groups. While the proprietor and skilled occupations were the most dominant for immigrants as a group, the Irish and English had large percentages of unskilled workers. Several Irish were day laborers for the railroad and many English immigrants served as teamsters or delivery drivers. More than one-third of the Italian immigrants were part of the professional class, most being Jesuit priests at San Felipi Neri.\textsuperscript{29} For Germans, Canadians, and Italians, the largest occupational category was either proprietor or skilled laborer.
Table 19

Occupational Distribution of Non-Hispanic Foreign-Born Males
by Country of Birth, 1885a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Proprietor</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Semi-Skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1 ( .8)</td>
<td>39 (29.3)</td>
<td>21 (15.5)</td>
<td>51 (38.3)</td>
<td>6 ( 4.5)</td>
<td>10 (7.5)</td>
<td>1 ( .8)</td>
<td>4 (3.0)</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>3 ( 5.3)</td>
<td>8 (14.0)</td>
<td>6 (10.5)</td>
<td>20 (35.1)</td>
<td>5 ( 8.8)</td>
<td>12 (21.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.8)</td>
<td>2 (3.5)</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2 ( 3.6)</td>
<td>16 (29.1)</td>
<td>13 (23.6)</td>
<td>12 (21.5)</td>
<td>5 ( 9.2)</td>
<td>6 (10.9)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (4.8)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>1 ( 2.3)</td>
<td>4 ( 9.3)</td>
<td>7 (16.3)</td>
<td>15 (34.9)</td>
<td>5 (11.6)</td>
<td>10 (23.3)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (2.3)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>12 (34.3)</td>
<td>13 (32.1)</td>
<td>0 ( 0.0)</td>
<td>5 (14.3)</td>
<td>1 ( 2.9)</td>
<td>4 (11.4)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19 ( 5.9)</td>
<td>80 (24.8)</td>
<td>47 (14.5)</td>
<td>103 (31.9)</td>
<td>22 ( 6.8)</td>
<td>42 (13.0)</td>
<td>2 ( 0.6)</td>
<td>8 (2.5)</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aCompiled from Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.
It is not surprising that skilled and proprietor-managerial occupations were the most numerous, for the growing community of New Albuquerque needed men to build its ever-increasing number of warehouses, shops, and homes and to serve as shopkeepers, hotel managers and city officials. Apparently, non-Hispanic foreign born would be an important part of this growth process.

While New Town was growing rapidly, Old Albuquerque remained a predominantly agricultural community, with a few shops and small business activities. A comparison of the occupational structure of the two communities shows this to be the case. In Table 20, the contrast between the two communities is most evident in the preponderance of unskilled workers in Old Albuquerque. More than two-thirds of employed males in Old Town were unskilled laborers. These men were day laborers, gardeners, and most significantly, farm laborers or subsistence farmers. In New Albuquerque, less than 20 percent of the work force was comprised of unskilled labor. By contrast, one-third of its laborers held skilled occupations while less than 20 percent of the employed males in Old Town were skilled laborers.

Further evidence of the differences in the two communities is indicated by the much greater percentage of proprietors and clerical workers in New Town. The larger number of warehousing and other proprietor-related businesses required clerical employees such as salesmen, stenographers,
Table 20

Occupational Distribution of Old and New Albuquerque, 1900, By Major Job Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Job Categories</th>
<th>Old Albuquerque Percent of 1900</th>
<th>New Albuquerque Percent of 1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Old Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>67.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aStatistics compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.
and managerial assistants. In New Town, approximately 14 percent of the male work force was part of the clerical category as opposed to less than 3 percent in Old Albuquerque. Likewise, only 6 percent of Old Town workers were proprietors or managers whereas more than 15 percent of the New Town work force owned or managed businesses.  

In New Town, many women were also employed in the proprietor/managerial class. Of the 247 women in the work force in 1900, thirty-one or 13 percent, owned or managed some kind of business. Twenty-two ran boarding houses, four owned houses of prostitution, and five owned stores. Of the thirty-one women, twenty-one were either native-born Anglo or daughters of native-born Anglos. No Hispanic women worked in the proprietor field, and only five non-Hispanic foreign-born women and one Black woman owned a business.  

A survey of female heads of households living in New Albuquerque in 1900 indicated that more than 71 percent held no job, and that only sixty women worked. Of those in the work force, twenty-six, or 12 percent, were employed in a skilled or unskilled job. Less than 4 percent of all female heads of households held jobs as domestics, and more than 10 percent were proprietors or managers. Yet, so few women worked (only 60 heads of households and 152 single women or wives) that the impact of working women on the economy of Albuquerque was not significant until well after the census of 1910.
By the time of the census of 1910, the Albuquerque area had grown considerably. Almost four thousand men were part of the work force, and nearly half the employed males were skilled or unskilled laborers. Table 21 contrasts the occupational distribution of the two towns in 1910 and shows the dominance of skilled laborers in New Albuquerque. The unskilled labor force in Old Town was by far the largest employment category at over two-thirds of all employed males, while in New Albuquerque less than 20 percent of adult males worked in an unskilled labor job. One major change occurred in the proprietor-managerial field, as Old Town business owners and managers had increased from 6 percent in 1900 to almost 17 percent by 1910, and it was the second-largest occupational category in Old Town in 1910. The percentage of New Town employees in the same group was slightly less than fifteen. The preponderance of unskilled laborers, over 56 percent, in Old Albuquerque indicated that most of those who lived in Old Town were unable to get a better job due either to lack of training or due to prejudice against Hispanics.

The distribution of the non-Hispanic foreign-born work force between 1885 and 1910 reveals that the percentages did not change greatly in twenty-five years. Just as the proprietor, skilled, and clerical fields were the largest for New Town in 1910, so these same categories were the most numerically significant among the various nativity
Table 21

Occupational Distribution of Old and New Albuquerque, 1910,
By Major Job Categories\(^a\)

| Major Job Categories | Old Albuquerque | | | New Albuquerque | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                       | Number | Percent of 1910 | Old Town | Number | Percent of 1910 | New Town |
| Professional          | 30     | 5.2             |         | 175    | 5.3             |         |
| Proprietor            | 97     | 16.7            |         | 482    | 14.6            |         |
| Clerical              | 38     | 6.5             |         | 641    | 19.4            |         |
| Skilled               | 60     | 10.4            |         | 982    | 29.8            |         |
| Semi-Skilled          | 25     | 4.3             |         | 255    | 7.7             |         |
| Unskilled             | 329    | 56.6            |         | 676    | 20.5            |         |
| Domestic              | 2      | .3              |         | 88     | 2.7             |         |
| Total                 | 581    | 100.0           |         | 3,299  | 100.0           |         |

\(^a\)Statistics compiled from Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.
groups. In comparing the occupational categories of non-Hispanic foreign born in 1910, Table 22 shows that, as in earlier years, the largest group was German and the German immigrants continued to be significant contributors to the skilled and proprietor-managerial fields. Because of the growing number of Italians who moved into the middle Rio Grande Valley between 1900 and 1910, Italians comprised the second-largest number of foreign-born males. About 36 percent of those men were proprietors or managers, including ten who owned grocery stories, and seven who were merchant tailors. More than two-thirds of employed Italian immigrants were part of the upper levels of occupational distribution and worked in proprietor, clerical, or skilled fields. In 1885, a little more than one-half of the same group was employed in the same job categories. Therefore, as a group Italians, like many of the other foreign-born groups, had improved their occupational status.

A comparison of foreign born to other racial-nativity groups in 1910 confirms that as a group immigrants did, indeed, fare well economically. Table 23 contrasts the occupational distribution of the seven racial-nativity groups in 1910 and shows that non-Hispanic foreign-born males held the greatest percentage of upper-level occupations. Seventy-six percent of this group was part of the professional, proprietor-managerial, clerical, or skilled
### Table 22

Occupational Distribution of Non-Hispanic Foreign-Born Males
by Country of Birth, 1910<sup>a</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>Professional Manager #</th>
<th>Professional Manager %</th>
<th>Proprietor Manager #</th>
<th>Proprietor Manager %</th>
<th>Clerical #</th>
<th>Clerical %</th>
<th>Skilled #</th>
<th>Skilled %</th>
<th>Semi-Skilled #</th>
<th>Semi-Skilled %</th>
<th>Unskilled #</th>
<th>Unskilled %</th>
<th>Domestic #</th>
<th>Domestic %</th>
<th>Other&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; #</th>
<th>Other&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; %</th>
<th>Total #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>5 (3.2)</td>
<td>47 (29.9)</td>
<td>22 (14.0)</td>
<td>58 (36.9)</td>
<td>4 (2.6)</td>
<td>10 (6.4)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>11 (7.0)</td>
<td>157</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>9 (8.3)</td>
<td>39 (36.1)</td>
<td>8 (7.4)</td>
<td>20 (18.5)</td>
<td>3 (2.8)</td>
<td>21 (19.5)</td>
<td>1 (.9)</td>
<td>7 (6.5)</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>3 (2.8)</td>
<td>28 (26.4)</td>
<td>15 (14.2)</td>
<td>42 (39.6)</td>
<td>3 (2.8)</td>
<td>4 (3.8)</td>
<td>1 (.9)</td>
<td>10 (9.5)</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>5 (5.7)</td>
<td>18 (20.7)</td>
<td>11 (12.6)</td>
<td>36 (41.4)</td>
<td>4 (4.7)</td>
<td>6 (6.9)</td>
<td>2 (2.3)</td>
<td>5 (5.7)</td>
<td>87</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>10 (47.6)</td>
<td>3 (14.3)</td>
<td>2 (9.5)</td>
<td>2 (9.5)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>4 (19.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>3 (14.3)</td>
<td>1 (4.8)</td>
<td>12 (57.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>3 (14.3)</td>
<td>1 (4.8)</td>
<td>1 (4.8)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (6.7)</td>
<td>5 (33.3)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>5 (33.3)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>4 (26.7)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>7 (63.6)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>4 (36.4)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>31 (34.8)</td>
<td>5 (5.6)</td>
<td>22 (24.7)</td>
<td>12 (13.5)</td>
<td>12 (13.5)</td>
<td>2 (2.3)</td>
<td>5 (5.6)</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>22 (3.6)</td>
<td>183 (29.8)</td>
<td>63 (10.3)</td>
<td>198 (32.3)</td>
<td>28 (4.6)</td>
<td>63 (10.3)</td>
<td>11 (1.8)</td>
<td>45 (7.3)</td>
<td>613</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Statistics compiled from Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

<sup>b</sup>Includes invalids, those unemployed, and those for whom no information was available.

<sup>c</sup>No other ethnic group contained more than ten persons.
Table 23

Occupational Distribution of Albuquerque Males
by Racial-Nativity Group, 1910a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Nativity Group</th>
<th>Professional Manager #</th>
<th>Professional Manager %</th>
<th>Proprietor Manager #</th>
<th>Proprietor Manager %</th>
<th>Clerical #</th>
<th>Clerical %</th>
<th>Skilled #</th>
<th>Skilled %</th>
<th>Semi-Skilled #</th>
<th>Semi-Skilled %</th>
<th>Unskilled #</th>
<th>Unskilled %</th>
<th>Domestic #</th>
<th>Domestic %</th>
<th>Other #</th>
<th>Other %</th>
<th>Total #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native Anglo</td>
<td>126 (7.5)</td>
<td></td>
<td>174 (10.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>434 (25.5)</td>
<td></td>
<td>488 (28.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td>127 ( &amp;.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>191 (11.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>21 ( 1.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>141 ( 8.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>22 (3.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>183 (29.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td>63 (10.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>198 (32.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>28 ( 4.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>63 (10.3)</td>
<td>11 ( 1.8)</td>
<td>45 ( 7.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>613</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>33 (5.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>108 (16.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>130 (19.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>208 (31.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>53 ( 8.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>61 ( 9.2)</td>
<td>12 ( 1.8)</td>
<td>59 ( 8.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td>664</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Native Born</td>
<td>13 (1.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>101 (9.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>54 (5.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>130 (12.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>45 ( 4.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>610 (57.8)</td>
<td>19 ( 1.8)</td>
<td>84 ( 7.9)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1056</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>8 (8.1)</td>
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<td>1 (1.0)</td>
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<td>3 (3.0)</td>
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<td>10 (10.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>16 (16.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>49 (48.5)</td>
<td>1 ( 1.0)</td>
<td>11 (11.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>3 (3.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 (8.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (2.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (10.5)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 ( 7.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>32 (33.7)</td>
<td>25 (26.3)</td>
<td>8 ( 8.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (16.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (33.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (16.7)</td>
<td>3 (25.0)</td>
<td>1 ( 8.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>207 (4.9)</td>
<td>575 (13.5)</td>
<td>686 (16.2)</td>
<td>1046 (24.6)</td>
<td>280 (6.6)</td>
<td>1008 (23.8)</td>
<td>92 (2.2)</td>
<td>349 (8.2)</td>
<td>4343</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

class as compared to 72 percent native-born Anglos and second-generation males. These three groups far outnumbered the other four groups, for less than 30 percent of Hispanics, foreign and native born, and Blacks held jobs in one of the four highest level occupational groups. In fact, Blacks fared a little better than did foreign-born Hispanics, and no Indian males were in the top three groups.36

Significant differences occurred in the occupations that recent immigrants held in Albuquerque, and these differences in part account for the economic success of the non-Hispanic foreign born. Of the 560 males immigrants in Albuquerque in 1900, seventy-eight, or 14 percent, had immigrated to the United States after 1890 and can thus be considered relative newcomers to America.37 Table 24 compares the occupational categories of Albuquerque's immigrants by time in the United States and shows that while the majority of both groups was skilled laborers, other categories were different for each group of immigrants. For example, almost 70 percent of the immigrants who had been in the United States for several years were employed in one of three categories, proprietor-managerial, clerical, or skilled, whereas almost 70 percent of recent arrivals were clustered in one of the three labor classes. The higher status of earlier arrivals meant that for even that time in America had some bearing on economic success,
Table 24

Occupational Categories of Male Immigrants in New Albuquerque in 1900 by Year of Immigration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Job Category</th>
<th>Foreign Born in U.S. Since 1890</th>
<th></th>
<th>Foreign Born in U.S. Before 1890</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>78</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>482</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a^\)Compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26.
but that the possibility for advancement existed for all immigrants.

Another method to determine more specifically the economic success, or lack of success of a racial-nativity group is to evaluate the persistence of individuals from year to year and then to examine their ability to move up the occupational ladder. Groups that tended to have higher rates of out-migration were those who were not able to improve their job status.  

Table 25 compares the persistence rates of male heads of households who were in the census of 1880 and who were found in the Special Census of 1885 in Albuquerque in the three largest racial-nativity groups and shows the percentage of men in each occupational category who stayed in Albuquerque for the two census years. While the number is not large, more than half the foreign-born heads of households in the proprietor and managerial field in 1880 were in New Town in 1885. The persistence of proprietor-managers indicates that New Albuquerque was probably a safer bet for economic enterprise. Most of the native-born Anglos and foreign-born heads of households who were counted in both census years were in the upper level occupations. By contrast, the nineteen Hispanics in both manuscript lists did not include any persons in the clerical or professional categories.
Table 25

Persistence Rates of Male Heads of Households, 1880<sup>d</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Occupation Groups</th>
<th>Number 1880</th>
<th>Number 1880-1885</th>
<th>Percent 1880-1885</th>
<th>Number 1880</th>
<th>Number 1880-1885</th>
<th>Percent 1880-1885</th>
<th>Number 1880</th>
<th>Number 1880-1885</th>
<th>Percent 1880-1885</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Statistics compiled from 1880 Manuscript Census of Albuquerque and 1885 Special Census of Albuquerque.

<sup>b</sup> Persistence rates are extremely low in all categories. This is because most heads of households were Hispanic and difficult to trace. Also, between the enumeration of the Census of 1880 and the Special Census of 1885, the size of Precinct 13 changed slightly and thus many heads of households may have lived in the same residence in 1885 but were enumerated in a different precinct.
Table 26 contrasts the persistence rates of male heads of households in three racial-nativity groups from 1885 to 1900 by occupational categories. In this framework, the non-Hispanic foreign born had less turnover than the other two groups. Less than 12 percent of native-born Anglo and native-born Hispanics were listed in the censuses of 1885 and 1900. More than 14 percent of non-Hispanic foreign born were in Albuquerque in both census years. For all three groups, type of occupation had some bearing on out-migration. For example, most of those who remained in town for the fifteen-year period held professional through skilled occupations. Non-Hispanic foreign-born males continued to have a higher persistence rate from 1900 to 1910. Table 27 compares rates for heads of households in all six racial-nativity groups and shows that second-generation males exhibited the second-highest persistence rate of all groups while non-Hispanic foreign born had the highest persistence rate at more than 51 percent. Foreign born and second generation in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations in 1900 had higher persistence rates from 1900 to 1910 than did native Anglo or Hispanics. Therefore, the kind of job was not as significant in determining whether those two groups remained in Albuquerque as it was for native Anglo or native-born Hispanics. Those who had skilled jobs or better had
Table 26

Persistence Rate of Male Heads of Households, Major Occupation Category
by Racial-Nativity Groups, 1885-1900a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Occupation Category</th>
<th>Native Born Anglo</th>
<th>Non-Hispanic Foreign</th>
<th>Native Born Hispanic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number in 1885</td>
<td>Number in 1900</td>
<td>Percent in 1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aStatistics compiled from Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque; Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.
Table 27
Persistence Rate of Male Heads of Households, Major Occupation Category
by Largest Racial-Nativity Groups, 1900-1910^a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Occupation Category</th>
<th>Native Anglo # in 1900</th>
<th># in 1910 Group</th>
<th>Foreign Born # in 1900</th>
<th># in 1910 Group</th>
<th>Hispanic Native Born # in 1900</th>
<th># in 1910 Group</th>
<th>Second Generation # in 1900</th>
<th># in 1910 Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other^b</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^aCompiled from Census of 1900 and Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

^bIncludes those unemployed, hospitalized or invalid, and those for whom information was unknown or unclear.
the highest percentage of all employed persons in all but Non-Hispanic foreign born. So occupational distribution was certainly significant.

From 1900 to 1920, when Albuquerque changed considerably, new groups of people added to the ethnic complexity of the town. Poles, Slovaks, and other Southern and Eastern European groups immigrated in small numbers to the middle Rio Grande Valley. Still, the older immigrant groups continued to be significant. Table 28 compares the persistence of non-Hispanic foreign-born heads of households in New Town to the mobility rate of native-born Anglos and native-born Hispanics from 1900 to 1920. Again, as in 1900 to 1910, a larger percentage of foreign-born persons remained in Albuquerque from 1900 to 1920 than did native-born Anglos and native-born Hispanics. The type of occupation had less bearing on the mobility of immigrants than for other groups. Thirty percent of all foreign-born heads of households in 1900 were listed in the business directories of 1919 or 1920 as compared to 26 percent of native-born Anglos. While approximately 29 percent of foreign-born semi-skilled and unskilled laborers appeared in a business directory twenty years after the census of 1900, less than 14 percent of the native-born Anglo heads of households and native-born Hispanics in those two job groups were still in Albuquerque.
Table 28
Persistence Rate of Male Heads of Households, Major Occupation Categories by Three Major Racial-Nativity Groups, New Albuquerque, 1900-1920a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Occupation Category</th>
<th>Native-Born Anglo Number in 1900</th>
<th>Native-Born Anglo Number 1900-1920</th>
<th>Percent Job Group</th>
<th>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born Number in 1900</th>
<th>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born Number 1900-1910 Job Group</th>
<th>Percent Job Group</th>
<th>Native-Born Hispanic Number in 1900</th>
<th>Native-Born Hispanic Number 1900-1910 Job Group</th>
<th>Percent Job Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aCompiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26; and Business Directories, 1919 and 1920.
To follow occupational mobility, change or lack of change within each racial-nativity group must be examined. As indicated in Table 29, the majority of the persons in the four largest groups tended to keep the same job between 1900 and 1910. More than half of second-generation male heads of households held the same job in 1910 that they had held in 1900. More than 40 percent of non-Hispanic foreign born, native-born Hispanic, and native-born Anglo made no change. Thirty percent of Black heads of households made not job change between 1900 and 1910.43

A more to a better occupation is one gauge of economic success,44 and most of Albuquerque's racial-nativity groups had a large percentage of their group move up to a better job between 1900 and 1910.45 More than 30 percent of native-born Hispanics improved their occupational status and thus had the best rate of upward occupational mobility. The second-most successful were non-Hispanic foreign born of which almost 23 percent had moved upward and 5 percent experienced a loss in job status.46 Blacks fared relatively well; however, the number of Blacks was so small that the percentages appeared to hold greater weight than they should in comparison to the larger racial-nativity groups. (In fact, Hispanic foreign-born and Black heads of households totalled only seventeen persons in 1900 and were not counted in this table.) These findings are similar to those in other
Table 29

Occupational Mobility of Male Heads of Households, 1900-1910, by Largest Racial-Nativity Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Change</th>
<th>Native-Born Anglo</th>
<th>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born</th>
<th>Native-Born Hispanic</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better Job</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Prestigious</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different Job-Same Category</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Job Change</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<sup>b</sup>Includes persons for whom no information was given, those who were retired, and those whose status was unknown.
occupational mobility studies. For example, Richard Hopkins, in a study of Atlanta, Georgia, found that between 1870 and 1880 21 percent of immigrants and 22 percent of native whites moved upward in their occupation. According to a study of occupational mobility in San Antonio, 19 percent of European immigrants who were manual laborers improved their job status between 1870 and 1900.

In Albuquerque, the native-born Hispanics and non-Hispanic foreign born had higher rates of upward mobility than the other two groups in the study. One reason was that in 1900 fewer of these two groups held higher-ranking jobs and thus had the opportunity to move upward as a group than did native-born Anglos and second-generation heads of households. For example, only 2.4 percent of the native-born Hispanics in Albuquerque from 1900 to 1910 were classified in the professional, proprietor, or clerical categories in 1900. Of the non-Hispanic foreign born in town from 1900 to 1910, a little over 45 percent had jobs in the top three categories. Conversely, 62 percent of the native-born Anglos and over 48 percent of second-generation heads of households who were in Albuquerque during the ten-year period worked in one of the three higher occupation categories. Thus for those who were foreign-born or native-born Hispanic, the opportunity for upward economic mobility did indeed exist in Albuquerque.
Many of those who moved upward between 1900 and 1910 moved to a job within the same field in which they had worked in 1900. Table 30 lists the forty-one non-Hispanic foreign born who had improved their job status between 1900 and 1910 by country of birth and their occupation in 1900 and in 1910. Twenty men, or 56 percent of the group, moved up the economic scale within the same type of business in which they worked in 1900. Most of these men worked as clerks of skilled laborers in 1900 and had become store owners or managers of the business between 1900 and 1910. Considering that a majority of foreign born were employed in the retail industry, this is not surprising. Of those who were skilled laborers in 1900 and had become business owners by 1910, most were of German or Italian origin. Only a few of those who improved their status were not from the largest immigrant groups. They included Alfred Cordeman, from Belgium, and George Burrus, Edward Fournelle, and John Thirion from France, and Edward Spitz from Austria.47

Table 31 compares occupational mobility from 1900 to 1910 of four ethnic groups. A larger percentage of Italians than Germans, English, or Irish improved their job status in the study period. A majority of persons in all groups remained in the same occupation for ten years. Persons from all occupational categories stayed in Albuquerque for the ten year period; however, only three had been unskilled laborers in 1900.50
### List of Immigrant Heads of Households Who Improved Their Occupational Status, 1900-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Original Occupation</th>
<th>Improved Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balling, Simon</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>Bakery Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both, Benjamin</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Saloonkeeper</td>
<td>Retail Liquors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryce, William</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Machinist</td>
<td>Foundry Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullard, Harry</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Office Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrus, George</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>R. R. Laborer</td>
<td>Bakery Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplin, William</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>Shoe Store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cochran, G. F.</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>R. R. Brakeman</td>
<td>R. R. Conductor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordeman, Alfred</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Saloonkeeper</td>
<td>Liquor Merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornett, John</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Hotelkeeper</td>
<td>Hotel Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutinola, Pascual</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td>Farm Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dieckman, Otto</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>R. E. Estate Agent</td>
<td>Brewery Co. Pres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digneo, Mike</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Stonecutter</td>
<td>Contractor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fournelle, Edward</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Contractor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grande, Caesar</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Day Laborer</td>
<td>Grocer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatch, Andrew</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>R. R. Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayden, Alfred W.</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Contractor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isherwood, E. T.</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Brass Molder</td>
<td>Traveling Salesman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isherwood, Thomas</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Brass Molder</td>
<td>Traveling Salesman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenks, William</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Mining Engineer</td>
<td>Copper Co. Pres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, William J.</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Asst. Cashier</td>
<td>Mine Broker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keppeler, Charles</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Saloonkeeper</td>
<td>Store Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraemer, August</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Machinist</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCorriston, James</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Brickmason</td>
<td>Contractor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metz, Nicolas</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Feed Co. Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metzinger, Joseph</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>Bakery Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morelli, Americo</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>Hotel Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motzenbacker, John</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Drayman</td>
<td>Saloon Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napoleon, Nicolas</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Stonemason</td>
<td>Grocer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passmore, Thomas J.</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Carriage Painter</td>
<td>Carriage Co. Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratt, F. G.</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Boilermaker</td>
<td>Grocery Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwartzman, Joseph</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>Meat Market Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sera, Clinton</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Stonemason</td>
<td>Saloon Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seth, Smith H.</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Grain Co. Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spitz, Edward</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Bookkeeper</td>
<td>Wool Buyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewart, Peter</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Machinist</td>
<td>Foundry Foreman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweeney, Richard J.</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Store Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirion, John A.</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Carriage Painter</td>
<td>Furniture Store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vann, Samuel</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>Mercantile Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Werning, Andress R.</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Salesman</td>
<td>Grocer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, James</td>
<td>Entland</td>
<td>Wool Scourer</td>
<td>Wool Mill President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With, Alexander</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>Meat Market Owner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*Information obtained from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; and Albuquerque Business Directors, 1910.*
Table 31

Occupational Mobility of Foreign-Born Heads of Households, Selected Groups, 1900-1910, by Type of Change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Type of Change</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Better Job</td>
<td>Less, Prestigious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[a\] Compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; and Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.
Non-Hispanic foreign born also improved their occupational status between 1900 and 1920. Table 32 compares the occupation of individual heads of households to native-born Anglos and indicates that more immigrants moved upward than did native whites. In this study group, 84 of the native-born Anglos in Albuquerque from 1900 to 1920 had an occupation listed in the business directory of 1919 or 1920, and eighty-two of the immigrant heads of households had indicated an occupation in one of the directories. Of those who moved upward in twenty years, more foreign-born residents started at a lower-level job, semi-skilled worker or below, than did native-born Anglos. Therefore, as from 1900 to 1910, there was more opportunity for improvement. Also, 16 percent of native-born Anglos were professionals in 1900, and only 4 percent of the immigrants had professional occupations in 1900. Thus, more native-born Anglos had already achieved economic success by 1900.

While statistics have shown that a large percentage of immigrants did, in fact, move upward, more than 9 percent of the immigrant heads of households had lost occupational ranking by 1920 as compared to only 6 percent of native-born Anglos. Of the eight immigrants who moved downward, five had owned small businesses in 1900, and in 1920 these men worked as salesmen or managers for other merchants showing that not all business ventures succeeded.
Table 32

Occupational Mobility of Native-Born Heads of Households Compared to Non-Hispanic Foreign-Born Heads of Households in New Albuquerque 1900 to 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of Change</th>
<th>Native-Born Anglo</th>
<th>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upward Mobility</td>
<td>23 27.4%</td>
<td>30 36.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downward Mobility</td>
<td>5 6.0%</td>
<td>8 9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Significant Change</td>
<td>56 66.6%</td>
<td>44 53.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84 100.0%</td>
<td>82 100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aCompiled from Census of 1900, Precincts 12 and 26; and Albuquerque Business Directories, 1919 and 1920.
In addition to charting occupational changes for heads of households and comparing occupational categories with other groups and within the immigrant groups themselves, there is another way to assess economic experiences of Albuquerque immigrants. Table 33 compares the occupations in 1910 of men who were children in the census of 1900 to the occupations of their immigrant fathers. Sons with immigrant fathers tended to hold the same kind of job in the same occupational group as their fathers. Of the sons who were listed in the census of 1900, ninety-four were located in either or both the business directories of 1910 and 1920. Fifty-six of those, comprising almost 60 percent of second-generation sons found in one of the business directories or the census of 1910 held the same type job their fathers had in 1900.

Most fathers who employed sons were merchants. The dry goods merchants were all German-Jewish immigrants, and all sons who worked with grocer fathers were second-generation Italians, reflecting the predominance of those particular kinds of businesses. Those children who followed the same occupation as their father tended to be merchants engaged in their own enterprises, or to be railroad employees. And of the eighteen who held a different occupation within the same occupational group, ten were skilled laborers, six were railroad laborers with semi-skilled jobs, and two were unskilled laborers as their fathers had been.
Table 33

Occupations of Second-Generation American Sons, 1910 and 1920\textsuperscript{a}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Compared to Father</th>
<th>Number of Immigrant Sons</th>
<th>Percent of Immigrant Sons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Works with father</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same occupation as father</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different occupation than father--move upward</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different occupation than father--move downward</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentice</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of sons located in 1910 or 1920</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}Statistics compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; Census of 1910, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; and Albuquerque Business Directory, 1910 and Albuquerque Business Directory, 1900.
Twenty-eight percent of second-generation sons held occupations that were completely different from those of their fathers. Of the twenty-six, twenty had found employment that was higher paying or with more responsibility than the job the immigrant father had held. Most had moved to white collar or commercial occupations while their fathers had been skilled or unskilled laborers. For example, two of the Napoleone brothers owned their own auto repair company. Their father, Nicholas, was an Italian immigrant who worked as a stonemason after his immigration to the United States in 1892. Of the six who held a job that was not as economically advantageous as their father's, most were young men under the age of twenty who had not yet had the opportunity to progress in the labor force.

Second-generation sons did, for the most part, advance further than did their immigrant fathers. Table 34 compares the occupational groups of second-generation Americans in 1910 and 1920 who were listed as children in 1900 with the occupation groups of their fathers in 1900. In 1910, a larger percentage of sons followed proprietor and white collar occupations than their fathers had held in 1900. For example, more than 32 percent of sons were employed in the proprietor-managerial field, as compared to a little less than 22 percent of immigrant fathers in the same category. One reason for this difference was that
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Occupational Category</th>
<th>Professional/Managerial</th>
<th>White Collar</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Semi-Skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Agric.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born in 1900</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sons of Immigrants in 1910</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sons of Immigrants in 1920</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Statistics compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; Census of 1910, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; Albuquerque Business Directory, 1910; and Albuquerque Business Directory, 1920.*
by 1910 some immigrant merchants were retired or deceased and their sons had continued the family business. Often, two or three sons shared operation of the store or business, as in the case of the Grunsfeld family, thus enlarging the percentage of merchants. Also, as Albuquerque expanded, so did the need for occupations such as salesmen, city officials and similar service-related jobs. With a growing population, the number of groceries, clothing stores, and other establishments continued to increase.

By 1920, the work force distribution of second-generation Americans was more similar to the immigrant work force than in 1910. As the reader can surmise from the results of Table 34, the percentage of professional and skilled occupations was similar to the same categories for the immigrant fathers. However, more sons were employed as white collar workers and semi-skilled laborers. And between 1910 and 1920, the sons had improved their occupational status thus indicating that the opportunity for upward mobility existed in Albuquerque for immigrant children.

In addition to the occupational patterns of children of immigrants and the occupational mobility of foreign born as it compared to other racial-nativity groups, property ownership was another significant indicator of economic success. An assessment of the amount and value of real
estate holdings of foreign born and other groups in 1900 and 1910 demonstrated that the non-Hispanic foreign born of Albuquerque fared relatively well in comparison to other property owners but that second-generation Americans did even better.58

Table 35 examines the total value of real and improved property holdings of heads of households in 1900. According to the tax rolls of 1900, second-generation Americans had the largest median value per person of real property, and non-Hispanic foreign born were the third-largest in terms of median value. (Only one foreign-born Hispanic held property in New Albuquerque in 1900 and he was not counted in Table 35.) The mode, or property value that occurred most often, also indicated that non-Hispanic immigrants were third in property holdings. While this group did not fare quite as well as native-born Anglos and second-generation heads of households, the median amount of property held per person was much higher than the native-born Hispanics and Blacks held. Just as they were more successful as a group than Blacks and Hispanics in occupational mobility, so were non-Hispanic immigrants more well-off in real property.

In 1900, New Albuquerque immigrants owned the largest amount of property, yet the median value of individual owners was $750, the third-largest median value of
Table 35

Total Value of Real Property Owned by New Albuquerque Male Heads of Households in 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Total Property Owned by Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Number Owning Property</th>
<th>Median Value Held by Each Person</th>
<th>Average Value Held by Each Person</th>
<th>Mode Value of Property</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign-Born</td>
<td>$188,650</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>$750</td>
<td>$1,626.29</td>
<td>$400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Anglo</td>
<td>$175,205</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>$900</td>
<td>$1,564.33</td>
<td>$500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>$101,405</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>$1,050</td>
<td>$1,988.33</td>
<td>$600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Hispanic</td>
<td>$68,164</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>$320</td>
<td>$3,098.36</td>
<td>$200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>$2,845</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>$400</td>
<td>$569.00</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$536,269</strong></td>
<td><strong>316</strong></td>
<td><strong>$870.</strong></td>
<td><strong>$1,697.05</strong></td>
<td><strong>$400</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Statistics compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26; and Bernalillo County Tax Rolls, "Residents of Precincts 12 and 26," 1900.

\(^b\) There is no mode value in this category because no one value occurred more than once.
the five groups in the study. There are two reasons for this disparity. A larger number of non-Hispanic foreign born owned smaller amounts of property than did native-born Anglo and second-generation heads of households. And only three foreign-born residents held property values at more than $10,000.

By examining the distribution of property values in the same tax roll, however, one is better able to compare property holdings for each racial-nativity group. In Table 36, the property values are divided into nine categories, and the number of persons holding property in each category is compared. In all racial-nativity groups, the majority of property owners each held land valued at less than $1,500. More non-Hispanic foreign born owned property in the $701 to $1,499 ranges, as did the native-born and second-generation heads of households. The majority of Hispanics held small lots valued at under $250. None of the five Blacks who owned property held land worth more than $1,500.59

Seventy percent of foreign-born property owners held property that included improvements such as a house, barn, or other structures. This compared to 64 percent improved land held by native-born Anglos. Only three foreign-born heads of households owned large blocks of property, whereas eight native-born Anglos owned several
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value of Property</th>
<th>Native-Born Anglo Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Non-Hispanic Foreign-Born Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Second Generation Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Native-Born Hispanic Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Black Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$1-250</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$251-500</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$501-700</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$701-1499</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1500-3000</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3001-5999</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$6000-9999</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10000-12999</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $13000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Information compiled from Bernalillo County Tax Rolls, "Residents of Precincts 12 and 26," 1900.
separate tracts. On the other hand, two native-born Anglos and three foreign-born property owners each had taxable land worth more than $10,000.

While individual property holdings of non-Hispanic foreign born were not large, a higher percentage of immigrants owned real property than did any other group. Table 37 compares the percentage of persons in each racial-nativity group in New Town in 1900 that held real estate and demonstrates that more than one-third of non-Hispanic foreign-born heads of households were property owners. The next-largest percentage of property owners was second-generation Americans. Less than one-fourth of the native-born Anglos held real estate. Native-born Hispanics and Blacks each had much fewer property owners than the other groups, and only one foreign-born Hispanic living in New Town in 1900 owned real estate. Thus, while they did not have the highest median amount of real estate, more Albuquerque foreign born had the opportunity to own at least one piece of land thus giving others an impetus to settle in Albuquerque.

As other studies have shown, great differences existed among the various nationalities, and this was true in Albuquerque as well. Table 38 compares the median and average property values of six of the largest ethnic groups in New Albuquerque in 1900. English, Irish, and
Table 37
Owners of Real Property in New Albuquerque, 1900<sup>a</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Total Number of Heads of Households</th>
<th>Number Holding Property</th>
<th>Percent of Racial-Nativity Group Holding Property</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Anglo</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Hispanic</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born Hispanic</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,227</strong></td>
<td><strong>307</strong></td>
<td><strong>25.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Statistics compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26; Bernalillo County Tax Rolls, 1900.
### Table 38

Real Property Owned by Selected Non-Hispanic Foreign-Born Groups in New Albuquerquen in 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Total Property Held by Each Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Median Value of Property Held</th>
<th>Number Holding Real Property</th>
<th>Average Value of Property Held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>$ 71,775</td>
<td>$ 750</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>$1,888.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>$ 21,600</td>
<td>$1,000</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>$1,542.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>$ 15,280</td>
<td>$ 950</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>$1,175.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>$ 7,615</td>
<td>$ 400</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>$ 692.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>$ 18,675</td>
<td># 950</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>$2,075.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>$ 7,015</td>
<td>$ 600</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>$ 779.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$141,960</td>
<td></td>
<td>94</td>
<td>$1,510.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* Statistics compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26; and Bernalillo County Tax Rolls, 1900.
Canadian immigrants held the largest median value at $1,000 per English head of household and $950 for Canadians and Irish. Of the six largest groups, the Italians held the lowest median value at $400 per person. The Italians also had the lowest average property value, $692. Although Germans owned a median value of only $750, the average amount of real estate for German heads of households was almost $2,000, second only to the Canadians. The high average can be attributed to the wholesalers and retailers such as Grunsfeld who owned high value property in the center of town.\textsuperscript{64}

As shown earlier in this chapter, the large number of immigrants employed in merchandising contributed to the higher persistence rate of non-foreign born heads of households between 1900 and 1910. Was property ownership also a factor in persistence? Table 39 compares property values of members of three racial-nativity groups remaining in Albuquerque from 1900 to 1010. While non-Hispanic foreign born owned the lowest median value in 1900, the increase from $700 in 1900 to a median value of $1,050 in 1910 represented an increase in value of 34 percent. The median value increased by only 15 percent for native-born Anglos and actually decreased for second-generation heads of households. Therefore, the economic success of Albuquerque foreign born directly contributed to the higher persistence rates of the immigrants.
Table 39
Amount of Property Owned by Male Heads of Households in New Albuquerque, 1900 to 1910
by Three Racial-Nativity Groups<sup>a</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Anglo</td>
<td>$117,975</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>$1,000</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>$1,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>$116,070</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>$ 700</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>$1,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>$ 65,290</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>$1,000</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>$ 950</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Statistics compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; Albuquerque Business Directory, 1908, 1909, 1910; and Bernalillo County Tax Rolls of Albuquerque, 1900 and 1910.
Table 40 examines the poverty values of five ethnic groups within the non-Hispanic foreign born that remained in New Albuquerque from 1900 to 1910 by comparing the median and average value of property each group held in 1910. The high median value for most groups indicates that those who stayed in town for the ten-year period were certainly able to improve their economic status. For example, in 1900, the median value of property holdings of German-born immigrants was $750.65. Of those Germans in Albuquerque from 1900 to 1910, the median value of property held in 1910 was $1925, an increase of 60 percent. At least eleven, or 38 percent, of the Germans who remained in Albuquerque from 1900 to 1910 who owned property were Jews employed in wholesale or retail sheep, wool, or clothing businesses, thus showing the significance of this group on the economic history of Albuquerque.

German Jews and other non-Hispanic foreign born did, indeed, enjoy some measure of economic success in Albuquerque. Non-Hispanic foreign born heads of households were able to obtain economic success both in terms of property holdings and upward occupational mobility. Within the various ethnic groups of foreign-born immigrants, all but the foreign-born Hispanics enjoyed relative geographic stability whether they were older, established immigrant groups or part of the New Immigration.
Table 40

Amount of Real Property Owned by Male Heads of Households Who Remained in New Albuquerque 1900 to 1910 by Selected Ethnic Groupsa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>Total Property Value Owned in 1910 by Ethnic Group, 1900–1910</th>
<th>Number Holding Property in 1910</th>
<th>Median Value of Property Held in 1910</th>
<th>Average Value of Property Held in 1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>$71,200</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>$1,925</td>
<td>$2,455.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>$22,610</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>$645</td>
<td>$1,615.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>$28,180</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>$2,100</td>
<td>$2,561.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>$12,220</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>$1,150</td>
<td>$1,357.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>$14,305</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>$1,250</td>
<td>$2,043.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aStatistics compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26; Census of 1910, Precincts 12 and 26; Albuquerque City Directory, 1909, 1910; and Bernalillo County Tax Rolls, 1900 and 1910.
Notes

Chapter 4


2 Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress.

3 Ibid.


6 These categories were used throughout most tables. In comparing Old and New Albuquerque, however, some reference is made to an additional category, agriculture.


8 Kusmer included horsecart peddlers as proprietors.

9 Census of 1880, Albuquerque.


11 Census of 1880, Albuquerque.
12 Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

13 Ibid.


16 Ibid. See also, Michael Gelfand, "Chutzpah in El Dorado."

17 The most notable example was Franz Huning. However, Jewish merchants in the dry goods field had an overwhelming monopoly.


19 N.M. Bureau of Immigration, The Mines of New Mexico (Santa Fe: Bureau of Immigration, 1896), 2.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885; and Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

23 Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885.
28 Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

29 Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885, Precinct 13.


33 For a discussion of prejudice against Hispanics seeking employment in several cities, see García, Desert Immigrants, 4-6.

34 Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

35 Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.


37 Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

38 According to Thernstrom, no matter what the racial-ethnic background, those in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations tend to have longer persistence rates than those in higher level occupations. In Albuquerque, all but foreign-born groups in lower-level positions were more likely to leave the city.

39 Census of 1880, Albuquerque; and Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque.

40 Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque; and Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

41 Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; and Albuquerque Business Directories, 1919 and 1920.
A person was considered upwardly mobile if he moved from unskilled to skilled to unskilled to semi-skilled. In addition to movement up one or more categories, a move from a skilled job to foreman in a skilled job was also evidence of occupational improvement.


Second-generation sons used in this table refer to those persons living in Albuquerque whose immigrant parents also resided in Albuquerque. In most tables, "second generation" indicates that a person's father or mother, or both, were born outside the United States and may or may not have lived in Albuquerque with the second-generation person.


56 Five of the six were apprentices who would, ostensibly, improve their job status after completing their apprenticeship.


58 Bernalillo County Tax Rolls, 1900.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid. A person was considered holding large blocks of property if he held more than five lots.

61 Bernalillo County Tax Rolls, 1900.

62 Ibid.


64 Bernalillo County Tax Rolls, 1900.

65 Ibid.
Chapter 5

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY WITHIN THE IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES, 1885-1910

During the years of New Immigration the American public read accounts of the terrible problems encountered by recently arrived foreign-born individuals. Observers such as Jacob Riis wrote about large families, overcrowded tenements, and crime associated with immigrant ghettos.¹ Historians would later point to the breakdown in family ties and the cultural shock that new immigrants experienced. Oscar Handlin, in Children of the Uprooted (1966), claimed that life in America, away from old village ties, led to a breakdown of traditional family relationships and Old World ideas. He said, "As the children of the immigrants grew up, they felt increasingly the compulsion to choose between the one way and the other."²

Handlin, and earlier historians, had argued that the movement from Europe led to instability of immigrant families. In recent years, historians have shown that a variety of family patterns existed within immigrant households. Rudolph Vecoli, in a critique of The Uprooted, said that Italian families in Chicago survived the journey and
that at least the extended family did not disintegrate. In a study of Italians in Boston, Herbert Gans remarked that the goal of immigrants was "the survival of the nuclear family." Mario García showed the cohesion of Mexican immigrant families in his study of El Paso.

Unlike García's study of El Paso, most studies of immigrant families have focused on areas of large numbers of immigrants, such as New York or Chicago. But what of the immigrants who, in a town the size of Albuquerque, did not have large immigrant neighborhoods with political bosses or numerous ethnic clubs to provide leadership or to continue the traditions of family life in the old country? Is it possible that outside this framework of cities with large numbers of immigrants that have been the focus of much immigration study, there may be some very different patterns that emerged in the life of the immigrants in American history?

To study whether the immigrants in Albuquerque repeat other patterns of immigration history, there are many topics to be considered. This study focuses on five major elements of family structure, percentage of married versus single males, choice of spouse, type of family (extended, nuclear or augmented), size of family, and fertility patterns of women. If family structure of Albuquerque immigrants is similar to patterns in studies
of large urban areas, then the history of the foreign-born residents of Albuquerque is not much different from patterns already described. But if, in the assimilation process, marriage and family patterns for Albuquerque immigrants took a different course, then it is going to be necessary for more studies of these specific issues to be pursued in other Western cities in order that there might be a refining or redefining of the study of American immigration.

A study of marriage and family patterns of Albuquerque immigrants can shed some light on the marital experiences of all immigrants because the foreign-born residents of Albuquerque may reflect American immigration history in microcosm. As we have already seen, there were both "old" and "new" immigrants in Albuquerque between 1880 and 1920. Most foreign born represented the older period of immigration through place of birth. Others, like most of the Italians in Albuquerque, typified new immigration because they were newly arrived and came from southern or eastern Europe. Therefore, the marital patterns and other social statistics may well represent trends that occurred not only in Albuquerque but also throughout the United States as well.

Table 41 compares the marital status of male heads of households from 1880 to 1900. In 1880, 80 percent of heads of households were married. Five years later, the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>364</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>834</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1,070</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1,275</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1,529</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aCompiled from Census of Albuquerque, 1880, 1885, and 1900.*
percentage of married heads of households was 78.7. By 1900, the percentage of married male heads of households had increased to 83 percent. This uneven growth rate of number of married men can be attributed to the "instant city" that was New Town in its early years.

When one studies the marital statistics of New Town, rather than the combined numbers of Old and New Albuquerque, a young, single, male-dominated society is evident in New Town in its early years. For example, the ratio of adult men to women in New Town was more than four to one in 1885. Table 42 indicates the sex ratio of single adults in New Town in 1885 by age. In the youngest age group, 13 to 19, the ratio is closer than all other ages at approximately one and a half men for each woman. But in the years that most marriages were likely to occur, 20 to 40, the overwhelmingly large ratio of men to women indicates the extent to which New Albuquerque was a male-dominated society.

As New Town grew and became a family-oriented town, the ratio of men to women narrowed. For example, in 1900 the ratio of single adult men to single adult women was 150 to 100. By 1920, the ratio of men over nineteen years to women in the same age group was one to one.

A comparison of the marital status of all Albuquerque adult males in three census years showed that,
Table 42
Single Adult Population of New Albuquerque in 1885 by Sex and Agea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Number of Single Men</th>
<th>Number of Single Women</th>
<th>Ratio of Single Men to Single Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13 - 19</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>150/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>424/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>688/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 - 59</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>379/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 and over</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>196/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>358/100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aStatistics compiled from Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque.
although there were fewer married males on the average than when one considers just heads of households, the percentage of married men gradually increased as New Albuquerque matured and settled. Table 43 demonstrates this gradual maturing of the town and includes the marital statistics of all adult males in Old and New Town from 1885 to 1910. In 1885, a little more than 53 percent of the adult males in both towns were married. More than 56 percent were married in 1900. And in 1910, more than 58 percent of all adult males in the census lists were married.

The most marked differences in marital statistics occurred among various groups. Table 44 contrasts the marital status of males in Albuquerque in 1885 by racial-nativity groups. Of the seven groups, Hispanic native foreign-born males had the highest percentage of married men while the non-Hispanic foreign-born and native-born Anglos each had less than 50 percent married males. As part of the culture of an older, established ethnic community, Hispanic men tended to marry younger. Non-Hispanic foreign-born and native-born Anglos had the least percentage of married males and thereby more nearly typified the single, male-dominated society of early New Town. Many of the foreign-born and native-born Anglo males in Albuquerque in 1885 were young, newly arrived residents of New Town who came to Albuquerque to work for the railroad line.
Table 43

Marital Status of Albuquerque Males,
1885 to 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Married Number</th>
<th>Married Percent</th>
<th>Single Number</th>
<th>Single Percent</th>
<th>Unknown Number</th>
<th>Unknown Percent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>1,873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1,313</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>1,059</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>2,461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,106</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>1,327</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3,586</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Compiled from Census of 1885, Albuquerque; Census of 1900, Albuquerque; and Census of 1910, Albuquerque.
Table 44
Marital Status of New Albuquerque Adult Males
by Racial-Nativity Groups, 1885\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Widower</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Anglo</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign-Born</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Native-Born</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Foreign-Born</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>87.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Compiled from Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26.
By 1900, some major differences existed in the marital status of various racial-nativity groups. The groups with the lowest percentage of married men were native-born Anglo and Blacks. As in all census years, the group with the greatest number of married males was native-born Hispanic, and foreign-born Hispanics were among those with the largest percentage of married males; thus in this one category they were more nearly like the other Hispanics in Albuquerque. One reason for the larger number of married Hispanics was the availability of single Hispanic women in Albuquerque and the surrounding areas who provided a marriage pool for both native and foreign-born Hispanics. Table 45 shows that non-Hispanic foreign born had become the second-largest married group as the number of those married had risen from 46 percent in 1885 to 63 percent in 1900. Within this fifteen-year period, almost all the foreign-born ethnic groups had larger percentages of married men.

To demonstrate the ever-growing percentage of married men among foreign-born residents, Table 46 compares the marital status of eight foreign-born groups in 1885 and 1910. The percentage of married men in all but the foreign-born Hispanics and Irish increased in twenty-five years, and for some groups, the amount of increase was dramatic. For example, the percentage of married German
Table 45
Marital Status of Adult Males in New Albuquerque
by Racial-Nativity Groups, 1900a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Widower</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Anglo</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign-Born</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Hispanic</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born Hispanic</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,393</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aCompiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26.
Table 46
Marital Status of Foreign Born Adult Males by Country of Birth, 1885 and 1910a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>Married 1885</th>
<th>Single 1885</th>
<th>Married 1910</th>
<th>Single 1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aStatistics compiled from Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque; Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13, and 26.
males in 1885 was 39 percent, as compared to 77 percent in 1910. By 1910, Albuquerque had become a settled community with more families than in earlier years, and the immigrants were a part of this established community.

As Tables 44 and 45 indicate, Albuquerque immigrants were still closer to Hispanic native and foreign born in that all three groups had percentages of married males equal to 62 to 67.5 whereas all other groups had smaller percentages of married men. Second-generation and Indian males had lower percentages of married males. Approximately 56 percent of native-born Anglos and Blacks were married. Divorce rates were quite low for all groups, but surprisingly, the predominantly Catholic Hispanic native-born males had the highest rate of divorce at 1.3 percent.

Table 47 shows that the foreign-born residents of Albuquerque had a similar percentage of married males to immigrants in other cities. For example, Chicago, which had one of the largest settlements of immigrants, and Denver, another southwestern city like Albuquerque, had about 64 percent married foreign-born whites in 1910. Seventy-one percent of the same group in Albuquerque was married. On the other hand, San Francisco was still a male-dominated town in 1910, and only 45 percent of San Francisco's foreign-born whites were married. Unfortunately, Albuquerque cannot be compared to other southwestern cities with similar population statistics, for there are no census
Table 47

Marital Status of Foreign-Born White Albuquerque Males Compared to Foreign-Born White Males in Three Selected Cities, 1910a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Number Foreign-Born White Males Fifteen Years and Older</th>
<th>Number Married</th>
<th>Percent Married</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albuquerque</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>71.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>406,297</td>
<td>260,460</td>
<td>64.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver</td>
<td>20,024</td>
<td>12,832</td>
<td>64.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>78,873</td>
<td>35,844</td>
<td>45.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

compendium figures on marriage for cities in 1910 with under 25,000 persons. Until other studies such as this one are undertaken, it can only be surmised that smaller cities like Albuquerque would tend to have fewer single males than cities such as San Francisco.

In comparing all of the foreign-born residents in New Town in 1910 with other racial-nativity groups, the immigrants still had the largest percentage of married men in 1910 with other racial-nativity groups, the non-Hispanic foreign born still had the largest percentage of married men and one of the lowest divorce rates. Even figuring those who had been married at one time, those widowed or divorced, the non-Hispanic foreign born had the highest percentage of married men in all groups. Table 48 shows that almost 66 percent of this group was married at the time of the census count. By contrast, second-generation males in New Town had the fewest married men, not because the children of immigrants were so different from foreign-born residents but because of the presence of more younger men who had not yet married.

One way to judge how much different second-generation Americans were from the first generation is to look further into marital patterns. Choice of a spouse, especially in his or her ethnic background, is a determinant in assessing how assimilated into a culture a group has become.
Table 48  
Marital Status of New Albuquerque Adult Males, 1910a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Widower</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Anglo</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>65.9</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Native Born</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,106</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 49 compares the ethnicity of spouses of four racial-nativity groups in 1900 and demonstrates that the choice of a spouse was very different for second-generation Americans than for foreign born. Only 13.9 percent of the second generation group married women with the same ethnic background whereas over half of the foreign born had married within their own group. Hispanic native-born males continued to be the most endogamous as 96 percent of heads of households married other native-born Hispanics. Almost 89 percent of native-born Anglos married women who were native-born Anglos.19

Availability of women in a man's racial-nativity group can be a factor in the decision to marry within or outside his ethnic group. Table 50 demonstrates the ratio of men to women in New Town by racial-nativity group, and the pool of marriageable women in 1900 differed widely from group to group. Because almost twice as many single Hispanic women lived in New Town as did single Hispanic males, it would have been much easier for Hispanic men to find a wife similar in ethnicity. Conversely, there were more than twice as many non-Hispanic foreign-born men as there were women and therefore it is not surprising that fewer foreign born married within their ethnic group.

In order to determine how many foreign-born and second-generation women of similar background were available to men of like ethnicity, Table 51 examines the ratio of men
Table 49

Ethnicity of Wives of Heads of Households, New Albuquerque, 1900a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Number Who Married Within Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Percent Married Within Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Number Who Married Outside Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Percent Married Outside Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native-born Anglo</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-born Hispanic</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>66.9</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>1,020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 50

Comparison of Single Adult Males under 50 to Single Adult Females in New Albuquerque, 1900, by Racial-Nativity Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Number of Males</th>
<th>Number of Females</th>
<th>Ratio of Men to Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native-born Anglo</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>190/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>230/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>150/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born Hispanic</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>140/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Hispanic</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>60/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>816</strong></td>
<td><strong>533</strong></td>
<td><strong>150/100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aStatistics compiles from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12 and 26.*
Table 51

Comparison of Single Adult Foreign-Born and Second-Generation Males under 50 to Single Adult Females in Same Ethnic Group in New Albuquerque, 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Number of Males</th>
<th>Number of Females</th>
<th>Ratio of Men to Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>190/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>90/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>140/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>140/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>350/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

to women in six of the largest foreign-born groups. While there were more Canadian-born women than men, more than three times as many single Italian men lived in New Town as did single women of Italian birth or heritage. Single German males outnumbered single German women by almost two to one. Therefore, the availability of women of the same ethnic background in 1900 varied from one group to another. Many second-generation males in 1900 had married outside their ethnic group, and yet the ratio of men to women in this group was only one and a half. Thus, ethnicity was less a factor for the children of immigrants than for the foreign born, showing how the assimilation process was at work for some groups.

By 1910, a larger percentage of non-Hispanic foreign born and second generation were marrying within their ethnic group and this indicated that availability still had some bearing on choice of a spouse. Table 52 contrasts birthplace of spouse by racial-nativity group in 1910 and indicates that about 68 percent of the non-Hispanic foreign born had married women from the same ethnic background. In 1900, less than 14 percent of second-generation males had married within their own ethnic group and in 1910 the percentage had risen to 32. One reason for this increase in intermarriage might have been an increase in the number of immigrant women, giving men a better opportunity for marrying within their group. Also, in some cases, immigrants
Table 52

Place of Birth of Wives of New Albuquerque Adult Males
by Racial-Nativity Group, 1910a
(by Percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Wife Born Same Country</th>
<th>Wife Born Different Country</th>
<th>Wife Native-Born Anglo</th>
<th>Wife Second Generation Same Ethnicity</th>
<th>Wife Second Generation Different Ethnicity</th>
<th>Wife Native Born Hispanic</th>
<th>Wife Black or Indian</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Anglo (897)b</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born Non-Hispanic (384)</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Native-Born (417)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>96.7</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Foreign-Born (36)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation (319)</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black (48)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian (5)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aCompiles from Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.
bIndicates number in study.
sought mates from the old country by paying for passage or returning to the homeland themselves.20

One factor that did not noticeably affect marrying within one's ethnic group was length of time in the United States. A majority of recent and long-time immigrants married immigrant or second-generation women of the same ethnic background. For example, Henry Loebs, a German immigrant, came to the United States as a sixteen-year-old in 1880. His wife, Katie, whom he married in 1886, was also born in Germany.21 Seymour J. Lewinson had immigrated to the United States in 1854 at the age of seventeen. He married in 1871, and chose a German-born wife.22 Nor was marrying within the same ethnic group restricted to Germans. Ezra McCallum was born in Canada of English ancestry. He came to the United States in 1887, and in 1893 he married an English-Canadian.23

Second-generation Americans, including those of German and Canadian parentage, did not follow the lead of the foreign born in the choice of their spouse. Only 32 percent married within their ethnic group, a figure less than half that of the foreign-born heads of households. Of the 17 percent who married other children of immigrants not of the same ethnicity, about half were Irish-Americans who married girls of Scottish and English descent; these could be considered of similar racial-nativity. A majority,
however, married native-born women whose parents were also native born. Therefore, the assimilation process was at work with the second-generation males of Albuquerque just as it was elsewhere. When a man chose a wife who had a culturally different background from his, he might absorb at least some of the traditions and values of his spouse. The break with the past was not, however, as dramatic as historians such as Handlin thought. In Albuquerque, at least, second-generation sons tended to share work experiences with their fathers and it is assumed that some of the same ethnic traditions of the family would be carried down. For example, Frank Strong, son of a Canadian immigrant, married a woman who was the daughter of native-born Americans. Strong worked in his father's furniture and undertaking business and thus kept in close contact with his father through the years. Charles Kozlowsky, son of a Russian Pole, married a native-born Hispanic. Whether their religion was Catholicism or Judaism, that Charles's widower father lived with the young couple ensured that reminiscences of the old country would be discussed and become part of the Kozlowskys' remembered heritage. These are but two examples. More often than not, Hispanics married other Hispanics, and as we have seen, second-generation sons tended to marry outside their ethnic group.

Why, though, did Albuquerque Hispanics and foreign born marry more often within their groups? Geography and
religion may have been two of the major reasons. Almost all the Hispanics married women born in New Mexico. The parents perhaps chose the spouse and she probably would be a woman whom the families had known most of their lives. Most Hispanics were raised Catholic, and few of the early Anglo residents were also Catholic.\textsuperscript{28} In the case of German immigrants, many were Jewish and generally married Jewish women. The importance placed on marrying within the Jewish faith was evidenced by the fact that until the building of Temple Albert marriages were arranged according to a date when a visiting rabbi would be available, and thus indicated the importance placed on marrying within the Jewish faith.\textsuperscript{29} Marriages within all foreign-born ethnic groups including Germans, varied according to group. In Table 53, the place of birth of spouses of five ethnic groups in 1910 is compared. Only 45 percent of Canadian-born males married women of Canadian extraction, and less than 60 percent of those born in England married English women. Italian and Eastern European males tended to marry within their ethnic group at a much higher rate than did the other groups. More than 90 percent of men from Eastern Europe married women born in the same country while 80 percent of the Italians married other Italians. Most of the Eastern Europeans had immigrated between 1900 and 1910 and had been married in their native country.\textsuperscript{30} Many of the Italians
Table 53
Place of Birth of Spouses of Selected Ethnic Groups, 1910<sup>a</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>Wife Foreign Born Same Country</th>
<th>Wife Second Generation Same Ethnicity</th>
<th>Wife Different Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Total Number in Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>69.1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>90.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Statistics compiled from Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

<sup>b</sup>Includes persons born in Poland, Hungary, and Slavic nations.
had married prior to emigration, and several of those who were single when they arrived in the United States returned to Italy to marry. 31

The type of family was also significant in a comparison of lifestyles of various racial-nativity groups. Table 54 compares the kind of family in which the five major racial-nativity groups lived in 1900. In this table, figures represent all married males, heads of detached residences, and those living in hotels or boarding houses. Households were divided into four categories, nuclear, extended, augmented (those with boarders or lodgers), and families with only one parent present. Nuclear families were those with a husband, wife, and any children born to either spouse or adopted. Extended households included family units containing related members such as grandparents, brothers and sisters, or nieces and nephews residing under the same roof. Nuclear and extended households that housed boarders, excepting those who ran hotels, boarding or lodging houses, were counted under "augmented."

Most families, regardless of racial-nativity group, were nuclear; however, Hispanic native born and non-Hispanic foreign born had the largest percentages of nuclear families. Because they were frequently some distance from parents and other relatives, foreign born, Hispanic and non-Hispanic, had fewer extended families. On the other hand, fewer
Table 54

Type of Family, 1900, Male Heads of Households by Racial-Nativity Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Groups</th>
<th>Nuclear Family</th>
<th></th>
<th>Single Parent</th>
<th></th>
<th>Extended</th>
<th></th>
<th>Augmented</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total Number in Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Anglo</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>69.3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born Non-Hispanic</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>79.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Native-Born</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Foreign-Born</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>1,118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Compiled from Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.*
Hispanic families tended to house boarders, while at least 10 percent of other groups were augmented with boarders or lodgers. Almost one-fourth of all Black families were augmented whereas less than 5 percent of Hispanic male heads of households rented rooms to persons outside the family.

While most foreign-born families were nuclear, some differences occurred within various ethnic groups. For example, 13 percent of German families housed boarders, and only 6 percent of Italian families were augmented. Of the largest foreign-born groups, German, English, Canadian, and Italians, all had more than 73 percent nuclear families. Twenty-one percent of Italian families were extended, a percentage more than twice that of the foreign-born group as a whole.

The low percentage of augmented Italian families in Albuquerque affirms the fact that many types of family patterns existed among immigrant groups. For example, in Pittsburgh in 1900, 38 percent of Italian families had boarders. On the other hand, Herbert Gans' study of Italian-American families suggests that most Italian immigrants consisted of nuclear families. Thus Albuquerque Italians appear to have been part of the latter trend.

Gans indicated that many Italian immigrants had been farmers in their native land, and as farmers,
especially during the famines that had prompted many persons to leave Italy, families tended to be nuclear. In describing the family structure of Italian-Americans prior to their arrival in the United States, he said,

Although there was some evidence of the existence of a clanlike extended family, the occupational role of the farm laborer made it impossible for the extended family to function as a unit. The farm laborer, who was paid in wages that barely supported even his wife and children, could exist only in a nuclear household.34

Second-generation heads of households continued to be more similar to native-born Anglos than to the Albuquerque foreign born, especially in the kinds of households in which they lived. A much larger percentage of second-generation heads of households housed boarders than did any other racial-nativity group except Blacks, since more than 20 percent of the 120 males had boarders living under their roofs.35 Approximately 12 percent of second-generation and native-born white male heads of households shared their home with other relatives. This figure was one-third larger than for non-Hispanic foreign-born residents.36

Previous studies have characterized the differences in family size among immigrant groups. In Albuquerque, foreign-born families had fewer children than did Hispanics but had a higher average number of children than did all other groups. Table 55 compares the median and average number of children of male heads of households in 1900 who
Table 55

Median and Average Number of Children of Male Heads of Households, 1900, by Racial-Nativity Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Number of Married Men with Children</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Median Number of Children</th>
<th>Average Number of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Anglo</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-born Hispanic</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born Hispanic</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>818</td>
<td>2,060</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

were married and who had at least one child. Black families had the lowest average of all groups with 1.8 children per household. One reason for the lower number of children is that the death rate of infants among Black families was considerably higher than for native-born whites and foreign born. Of Black women who had given birth to one or more children, more than half had lost at least one child, compared to an average 30 percent death rate for the other two groups. About 60 percent of Hispanic women had lost at least one child; however, the fecundity rate of foreign- and native-born Hispanic women offset the infant mortality rate and gave Hispanics the highest average number of children of all racial-nativity groups. When the median number of children per household is considered, the native-born Hispanics had a median of three compared to two for all other racial-nativity groups except Blacks. Thus non-Hispanic foreign-born families were not so much larger than the native-born Anglo and second-generation families.

There were, however, significant variations among foreign-born groups. For example, the average number of children in German families was 2.7 children, as compared to 3.5 for Irish families. The average number of children for English couples was one of the lowest at 2.4, and the number of Italian children per family was less than three.
In other words, some older immigrant groups, such as the Irish, had much larger families than many newer foreign-born groups.

Historians of family patterns have begun to use a variety of methods to compare family size. For example, Tamara Hareven and Maris Vinovskis formed a statistical model to determine a summary measure of fertility over the entire reproductive span of married women. By counting the number of children under five for women between the ages of twenty and forty-nine, one can suggest future family size for an entire group.40

Using the Hareven-Vinovskis model, I have divided the 918 women living in New Town in 1900 into six racial-nativity groups and compared number of children for ten-year increments. Table 56 indicates the results of my findings and shows that immigrant women in all age groups had a higher average number of children than any other racial-nativity group except Hispanics. In fact, non-Hispanic foreign-born women between thirty and forty had the highest average, one child per woman. The completed size of families for Hispanic and immigrant women also tended to be higher than both Anglo groups and Blacks because immigrants and Hispanics continued to have larger numbers of children under five at later ages.

A comparison of Albuquerque's foreign-born women to women in other studies shows that the trend for higher
Table 56
Average Number of Children under 5 Years of Age of Women 20 to 49 in
New Albuquerque, 1900a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Group</th>
<th>Number Women 20-29</th>
<th>Average Number Children Under 5</th>
<th>Number Women 30-39</th>
<th>Average Number Children Under 5</th>
<th>Number Women 40-49</th>
<th>Average Number Children Under 5</th>
<th>Total Number Women</th>
<th>Average Number Children Under 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Anglo</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-born Hispanic</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born Hispanic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>918</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

fertility rates was common to immigrant women. Hareven and Vinovskis found that immigrant women in three Massachusetts towns in 1880 had almost two times the fertility rate as native-born whites.41

One possible factor in determining the number of children each woman bore was age at marriage. If an ethnic group tended to marry at an earlier age than other groups, that group would have more child-bearing years. In the case of Albuquerque women, this was true for Hispanics, but not so for foreign-born women. Table 57 examines the median age of marriage of women in each racial-nativity group and indicates that the median age for Hispanic women was lower than all other groups and higher for foreign-born women. The median is the most accurate indicator because of extremely early or late age of marriage that would affect the average.42 The median age at which Hispanic women married was eighteen, as compared to twenty-three for foreign-born women. Black and second-generation females had a median close to twenty-two, while the median for native-born Anglo women was twenty-one.43 While immigrant women tended to marry at a later age than other groups, they still had one of the highest average number of children under five. Therefore, it can be assumed that foreign-born women had a high fertility rate, marrying later but having more children in a shorter time.
Table 57
Median Age at First Marriage, Married Female Non-Heads of Households by Racial-Nativity Groups, 1900a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial-Nativity Groups</th>
<th>Number of Women</th>
<th>Median Age at First Marriage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native-born Anglo</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Foreign Born</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-born Hispanic</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born Hispanic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,121</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, there were differences between some of the immigrant groups. Some groups tended to marry earlier than others. For example, the median age at which English women in Albuquerque in 1900 had married was twenty-one. Both German and Italian-born females married at the median age of twenty-three, while most English-born women had been in the United States for several years prior to marriage and tended to marry at about the same age as native-born Anglo women. Most of the Italian women and many of the German women had been in America only a short time prior to their marriage or had married before they emigrated, but most of these women had married a man from their native country and had waited for their prospective husbands to earn money to pay for the bride's passage.

Although the marriage and family patterns of Albuquerque's foreign born had much in common with those of the other racial-nativity groups, there were many differences that indicated the experiences of immigrants in Albuquerque were often unique. For example, foreign born, especially non-Hispanic, had more single men in the census of 1885, and in 1910, the immigrants had the highest percentage of married men. Immigrants had a larger average number of children per family than did most other groups, and non-Hispanic immigrants also tended to have higher birth rates than native-born whites and second-generation women. Yet because of the variety of ethnic...
groups within the immigrants, there were many differences among immigrants including age at marriage and type of family.

Obviously, the assimilative process was at work in Albuquerque on the children of immigrants. Second-generation males tended to choose a wife from a different background more often than did non-Hispanic foreign born. Availability of women of similar ethnicity affected the statistics in some cases. More second-generation families were augmented than were immigrants. Second-generation women had an average number of children under five that compared more closely to native-born women than to immigrant women. Thus, in all areas, the children of immigrants were more nearly like native-born Anglos than the foreign-born group.

The variety of family patterns that existed in Albuquerque among all racial-nativity groups suggests that there is still much to be done in western immigration history. Until more work on southwestern immigrant populations is forthcoming, we will not know if the differences in the statistics on Albuquerque immigrants indicates new patterns or if there needs to be some redefining of the generalizations regarding the marital patterns and family structure among immigrants.
Notes

Chapter 5

1 See, for example, Riis, How the Other Half Lives; and Thernstrom, in Poverty and Progress referred to the "high birth rate of the newcomers" (p. 195).

2 Oscar Handlin, Children of the Uprooted (New York: George Braziller, 1966), xiv.


5 García, Desert Immigrants, 201-3.

6 Census of 1880, Albuquerque.

7 Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque.

8 Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

9 Special Census of Albuquerque, 1885.


11 Census of 1920, 667.

12 Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque.
13 Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.


15 Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

16 For example, in 1900, 75 percent of adult women in Old Town were Hispanic.

17 Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26; and Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

18 Special Census of 1885, Albuquerque; and Census of 1910, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

19 Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.

20 One evidence of choosing women from the old country is the large number of immigrant women married shortly before or after their arrival in America.

21 Henry Loebs, Census of 1900, Precinct 12, Sheet 12, line 3.

22 Seymour J. Lewinson, Census of 1900, Precinct 26, sheet 108, line 70.

23 Ezra McCallum, Census of 1900, Precinct 26, Sheet 5, line 16.

24 See, for example, Gumina, Italians in San Francisco; and Josef Barton, Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians, and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950 (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1975.

25 See Oscar Handlin, Children of the Uprooted.

26 Frank Strong, Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precinct 12, Sheet 5, line 49.
27 Charles Koslowsky, Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precinct 26, Sheet 15, line 2.

28 Steele, Works and Days.

29 Rothenberg, Congregation Albert, 12.


31 This certainly confirms my earlier assumption about some groups seeking mates in the old country.


36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38

39 Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.


41 Ibid.
For example, at least six Hispanic women had married at the age of twelve. By contrast, four had married for the first time at over the age of forty.

Census of 1900, Albuquerque, Precincts 12, 13 and 26.
CONCLUSION

Between 1880 and 1920, thousands of immigrants settled in the middle Rio Grande Valley, especially in the community of New Albuquerque. Most of these newcomers had been born in Europe and a majority belonged to the old immigrant groups of northern and western Europe. Most had been in the United States for several years prior to coming to Albuquerque.

Because of the large number of northern and western European immigrants in Albuquerque, the numerical distribution of Albuquerque's foreign-born and native-born population was similar in many respects to that of other American cities. In other words, the large number of "old immigrant" groups such as Germans and English in Albuquerque reflected a nationwide trend. Even though southern and eastern Europeans were emigrating in massive numbers at the end of the century and well into the twentieth century, the German, Irish, and English-born immigrants (who entered the United States both prior to and after 1890) would still be numerically larger groups in comparison to the "New Immigrants."

In terms of the distribution of various ethnic groups, one important difference existed between Albuquerque
and the larger eastern and midwestern cities. Albuquerque's proximity to Mexico allowed the city to become home to a much larger proportion of Mexican-born immigrants than for cities much further away from the Mexican border. Since foreign-born Hispanics shared a linguistic, religious, and cultural background with the native-born Hispanics in both Old and New Albuquerque, the majority of foreign-born Hispanics had more in common with this group than with other foreign-born residents. This commonality was certainly true in occupational and family structure. Foreign-born Hispanics, for example, just as native-born Hispanics, tended to have much larger families and to marry earlier than other groups. In addition, most of the employed males in both groups held jobs in the unskilled category, the only two non-Black groups for whom this was true.

Normally, a history that compares groups of people such as the foreign born in Albuquerque would include three major aspects: the economic, social, and political experiences of the groups studied. In the case of immigrants in Albuquerque, many facets of their economic and social history have been explored. However, it is obvious that a void exists in this particular study: There is little examination of the political experiences of Albuquerque foreign born. More clearly needs to be done in this area, but it would seem that foreign born in Albuquerque, especially non-Hispanic groups, did not have experiences
much different from other racial-nativity groups. True, Hispanics controlled Old Town and native-born Anglos and second-generation residents held the political power in New Albuquerque. But other than Sunday closing laws and ordinances against opium dens, there were no laws passed against particular immigrant groups. The major difference between the immigrants and other racial-nativity groups was the amount of prejudice that existed against all persons who were "different." In this case, the Chinese suffered the most.

Two major reasons exist for the apparent ease with which most foreign-born groups adjusted to life in the middle Rio Grande Valley. Most foreign born were of old immigrant stock and so not much different from the native-born groups in appearance. Therefore, they were not perceived as being different. More importantly, Albuquerque in 1880 was truly a "new town," so the native-born Americans who came to the town between 1880 and 1920 were as new to Albuquerque as were the most recent of immigrants to the United States. That is not to say that Albuquerque exemplified the frontier hypothesis of Frederick Jackson Turner, for equality was not evident among all groups. For example, the Hispanics of New Albuquerque did not fare as well economically as did most other groups.

Because they were able to assimilate, foreign-born residents tended to remain in the community. In fact,
non-Hispanic foreign-born males had the lowest rate of out-migration from 1885 to 1920. Yet their stability was confined to out-migration, for the non-Hispanic foreign born were much more mobile in their movement within the city from one census year to the next than were the native-born Anglos. Fewer of the native-born Anglos moved from one address to another between 1900 and 1910 and between 1900 and 1920 than did other racial-nativity groups.

Foreign-born immigrants in Albuquerque worked at all types of occupations as did the males in other racial-nativity groups. Most notably, however, larger numbers of immigrants worked in merchandising and related jobs throughout the study years. Just as most native-born and second-generation Anglos worked as skilled laborers, so, too, were there large numbers of foreign born employed as carpenters, machinists, and other similar occupations.

The same forces that drew other groups to the middle Rio Grande Valley also lured the foreign born. The number of jobs in a rapidly-developing community was a reason that many came to Albuquerque, especially those who obtained work in some capacity for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. Because Albuquerque was on the A.T. and S.F. line, the town, after 1880, was relatively accessible from all areas of the United States. And with the advertisements of the New Mexico Bureau of Immigration and the special
railroad fares that were offered, a town that was at the stage of development of Albuquerque was an attractive place in which to live.

Many of those who traveled to Albuquerque had been in the United States for a short time; however, most had been in the country for a number of years. The amount of time that a man had been in the United States had little bearing on the kind of occupation he held. A majority of both long-settled and recent European immigrants were employed as skilled laborers. A larger percentage of recent immigrants were semi-skilled and unskilled laborers than were those who came earlier; however, a larger percentage of recent immigrants were professionally-employed.

Although place of birth was not necessarily an indicator of type of occupation, the kind of occupation one held was directly related to out-migration from the community. A comparison of persistence rates of United States born, foreign-born and second-generation Americans from 1900 to 1910 demonstrated that those with higher level jobs were more likely to remain in Albuquerque than were those at lower levels. At the same time, however, non-Hispanic foreign-born males were the most stable and persons from all occupational levels remained in Albuquerque from 1900 to 1910 and from 1900 to 1920.

A comparison of jobs held by sons of immigrants in 1910 and 1920 with the occupations in 1900 of their fathers
indicated that most sons tended to work with their father or to hold a better job. Most of the family businesses were commercial enterprises such as dry goods establishments or grocery stores. While most foreign born in 1900 were skilled laborers, a majority of their sons were employed as proprietors or managers of businesses in 1910. No sons of immigrants in this study were employed in unskilled or menial positions in either 1910 or 1920. Thus the children of Albuquerque foreign born as a whole improved on the occupational status of their fathers.

The economic experience of the non-Hispanic foreign born as a group was a most positive one. As with native-born Anglos, immigrants and children of immigrants in the study found economic success in Albuquerque, while foreign and native-born Hispanics and Blacks tended to hold lower-paying jobs and to own less real or improved property.

Albuquerque's foreign born were comparable to other racial-nativity groups in some aspects of family structure. More than 80 percent of the foreign-born heads of households were married, a figure comparable to but slightly less than that of native-born Anglos and both Hispanic groups. Almost 60 percent of all foreign-born males were married, whereas less than half of the other non-Hispanic groups, except Blacks, had married. The foreign born had similar family living arrangements to Hispanics, however.
More foreign-born and Hispanic households were nuclear than were the other racial-nativity groups in 1900. Fewer immigrants had outside family members living in the home than did all other groups, and fewer foreign-born families took in boarders than did other Anglo groups. Within the foreign-born groups, some variations occurred. For example, Italians had more extended families than did most other foreign-born groups.

Foreign-born families were also similar to other groups with regard to the number of children and birth rates. There was a median number of two children per family for all households in Albuquerque in 1900. Only Blacks had a smaller median, one, and native-born Hispanics were the only heads of households to have a larger median, three. Thus, foreign-born families were not so different in size from native-born families. While Hispanic women in Albuquerque in 1900 had given birth to an average of 5.3 children, foreign-born women gave birth to an average of 3.7 children, and native-born white women bore an average of 3 children for each woman under forty-one years of age. The average birth rate for all women in Albuquerque in 1900 was 3.4; therefore, the foreign-born women had an average number of births only slightly larger than the average for all women.

While the average birth rate for foreign-born women was similar to the birth rate of women in other groups,
the average number of children under five years of age for immigrant women twenty to forty years old was higher than most other groups. Yet foreign-born women tended to marry much later than other women in Albuquerque. Therefore, the fertility rate for immigrant women was actually much higher than for native-born and second-generation women.

Most significantly, this dissertation has shown that the foreign-born residents of Albuquerque fared well in occupational mobility and in the ease with which most groups assimilated into the everyday life of the city. Because the distribution of foreign born in Albuquerque, with the exception of Hispanic foreign born, was similar to many other cities of the same and larger sizes in the percentage of old versus new immigrants, information about foreign-born groups can be considered somewhat representative of what was occurring throughout the United States. The foreign-born residents of Albuquerque moved into the community in the early years of New Town and made lasting contributions to the cultural history of the town. They brought new religions and a wider ethnic heritage to the city. The ease with which most newcomers fit into the community proved to be the most significant aspect of the history of immigration to Albuquerque.

If more studies were undertaken in other southwestern communities and information were gathered about
more than a sampling of persons in a city, a reappraisal of immigrant history might be necessary. The Southwest was an area newly opened to migration from the eastern part of the United States in the nineteenth century. Without studying all parts of the United States, one cannot make generalizations about the history of immigration. If the foreign born who settled in Albuquerque between 1880 and 1920 had more positive experiences, economically and socially, than the foreign-born groups in large cities such as Chicago or New York City, it is possible that one must redefine the general history of immigration in America.
APPENDIX
Appendix A

Methodology

Primary research sources for this dissertation included manuscript census lists, tax rolls, business directories, newspapers, and baptism records. Most of the sources were available at the Special Collections Room of the University of New Mexico Library. Baptismal records of San Felipe Neri and Immaculate Conception Churches are held by the Mormon Genealogical Library, and the Special Census of 1885 is on file at the National Archives.

Manuscript census lists varied in quality and amount of information. For example, the Census of 1880 does not include addresses, and Old Albuquerque and New Town are not enumerated separately. The Census of 1885 was the first census to differentiate between the towns; however, some clarification needs to be made about this census that was taken in April of 1885. This was a local tally and not very accurate. In June of the same year, the federal government hired enumerators to count the residents of the territory, and this census contains more information than the April enumeration. Therefore, early census records must be used with caution.

The Census of 1900 was the first complete accounting of New and Old Albuquerque and provided the basic study
group for the dissertation. Residents in Albuquerque in 1900 were divided into seven racial-nativity groups. Native-born Anglos were persons whose parents had been born in the United States or a territory and who were not Hispanic, Black, Indian, or Asian. Second-generation Americans were those who had at least one parent born outside the United States and who were not Black, Hispanic, or Indian. Early census records did not identify Hispanics; however, the large number of Hispanics in Albuquerque necessitated a separate accounting. Criteria for identifying Hispanic residents included surname and ability to speak English. Other racial-nativity groups included non-Hispanic foreign born, Black, and Indian.

After dividing residents into racial-nativity groups, I searched other census years and business directories in order to compare occupational and geographic mobility of various ethnic groups over the forty-year period. Criteria for upward occupational mobility included a move to a higher level position within the occupational group (see Appendix B), a move from skilled laborer to foreman within the same occupational group, and a move from a white-collar position such as bank clerk to head cashier. Because residents of the cities in 1900 were the first groups to have more detailed information such as street address, I concentrated my study of geographic mobility on the 1900 to 1920 period.
Although many primary sources were utilized, the census records were the most valuable. It is anticipated that the manuscript census lists of 1920 will be released in the next few years, and then the period from 1910 to 1920 can be more thoroughly studied.
Appendix B

List of Occupations by Job Categories

I. Professional

Architect
Chemist
Civil Engineer
Clergyman
College Educator
College Professor
County School Supt.
Dentist
Electrical Engineer
Lawyer
Mechanical Engineer
Mining Engineer
Minister
Music Professor
Physician
Priest
Teacher

II. Proprietor/Managerial

Boardinghouse Keeper
Brick Manufacturer
Broker
Builder
Business Manager
Business President
Capitalist
Carriage Manufacturer
Cattle Buyer
Cattle Producer
Cigar Dealer
Commander Military Institute
Confectionery Dealer
Contractor
Contractor-Builder
Druggist
Furniture Manufacturer
Grocer
Hotel Keeper
Hotel Manager
Hotel Owner
Justice of Peace
Landlord
Livery Stable Manager
Livestock Dealer
Lodginghouse Keeper

III. White Collar

Accountant
Agent--Insurance
Agent--Railroad
Assistant Bank Cashier
Assistant Cashier
Asst. Railroad Supt.
Baggagemaster--Railroad
Bank Teller
Bank Vice President
Book Agent
Bookkeeper
Canvassing Agent
Cashier
Chief Railroad Clerk
Claims Agent
Claims Examiner
Clerk
Constable
Court Clerk
Decorator
Deputy Sheriff
Deputy U.S. Marshall
Editor
Insurance Adjustor
Journalist
Law Enforcement Officer
News Reporter
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV. Skilled</th>
<th>V. Semi-Skilled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Air Inspector--Railroad</td>
<td>Adobe Layer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assayer</td>
<td>Apprentice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auctioneer</td>
<td>Brakeman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>Carpet Cleaner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartender</td>
<td>Fireman--Railroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>Fire Inspector--Railroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boilermaker</td>
<td>Florist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass Molder</td>
<td>Foreman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewer</td>
<td>Freight Conductor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklayer</td>
<td>Gambler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brickmaker</td>
<td>General Foreman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>Iron Molder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car Builder</td>
<td>Jeweler (not merchant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car Inspector--Railroad</td>
<td>Job Printer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car Repairer</td>
<td>Lather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Linotype Operator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpet Fitter</td>
<td>Machinist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage Builder</td>
<td>Millwright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage Painter</td>
<td>Miners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarmaker</td>
<td>Musician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compositor</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conductor--Railroad</td>
<td>Optician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coppersmith</td>
<td>Painter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draughtsman</td>
<td>Paper Hanger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental Assistant</td>
<td>Pattermaker--Railroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrician</td>
<td>Photographer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Pipefitter--Railroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Plasterer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Plumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Policeman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Printer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Roadmaster--Railroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Sawyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Sheep Ranch Overseer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Stationary Engineer--R.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Stonecutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Stonemason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Switchman--Railroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Tailor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Telegraph Operator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Telephone Lineman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Tinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Tool Grinder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Upholsterer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Wagonmaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Watchmaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Wheelwright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Yardmaster--Railroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Watchman--Railroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer--Railroad</td>
<td>Wool Scourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Unskilled/Menial</td>
<td>VIII. Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith Helper</td>
<td>Invalid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boilermaker Helper</td>
<td>Medical Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewery Worker</td>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage Driver</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigar Factory Laborer</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Laborer</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delivery Driver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deliveryman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishwasher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drayman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry Goods Peddler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer (no Property owned)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour Mill Laborer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas Plant Laborer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hack Driver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hod Carrier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy Worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice Factory Worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janitor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jockey</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer--Unspecified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinist Helper</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurseryman</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peddler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planing Mill Laborer</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant Worker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saddler</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sheepherder</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable Steward</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teamster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trackman--Railroad</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vegetable Peddler</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood Chopper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yard Steward</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle Driver</td>
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<tr>
<td>VII. Domestic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coachman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Housecleaner</td>
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<tr>
<td>Laundryman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liveryman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Porter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Porter-Railroad</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Servant</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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