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From south of the border: Latino experiences in urban America

Badillo, David A., Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1988

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FROM SOUTH OF THE BORDER: LATINO EXPERIENCES IN URBAN AMERICA

by

DAVID A. BADILLO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of
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1988

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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PREFACE

This dissertation compares Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, in key cities where their presence has had significant impact, in order to illuminate differences among the three largest components of the Latin American origin population of the United States. The cities in this study, San Antonio, New York and Miami, in my view, distill the Latino urban experience, providing a firm foundation for further study of contemporary problems of cities and immigrants. The diverse backgrounds of all three cities and groups uniquely affected urbanization. Both marked similarities and many shades of contrast appear in this study of three types of Latino experiences, which draws upon United States, Latin American, and urban history.

I have used data gleaned from documents which reflect public policy on the federal, state and municipal levels as well as sources pertaining to the private sector and voluntary organizations. Census materials reveal broad demographic trends and patterns of settlement, measure the direction of growth and illuminate tensions between inner city and suburban development, although, particularly in the case of Latinos, the figures are likely to underestimate urban populations. Designations for the Spanish-speaking, as the Bureau of the Census has repeatedly demonstrated in its use of racial, linguistic, birthplace definitions, have also historically lacked precision. I have adopted the term Latino (rather than the Hispanic, which has traditionally implied a connection with Spain) for the entire heterogeneous group;

both Mexican American and Chicano for those of Mexican origin (with the latter identifying those born in the United States); Puerto Rican for both islander and mainlander, and Cuban (rather than Cuban-American) for both the exiles themselves and their offspring.

The geographic closeness of the United States to Mexico and the Caribbean has favored movements of people in both directions, thus departing from the customary waves of immigration which have received so much scholarly attention. Few studies directly treat Latino urbanization in the post-World War II period; those that do rarely adopt a historical perspective. The present analysis of the many facets of Latino urbanization--including but not limited to the institutional dimension--offers a comparative framework as a way of illuminating an important and misunderstood phenomenon. The first chapter describes the origins of Latino settlement in cities; then the focus shifts to housing, work, education, and politics. The epilogue examines the current tendency of lumping all Latinos together as if they constituted a monolithic group.

Many persons have contributed to the completion of this work. My adviser, Professor Richard C. Wade, first encouraged me to study Latinos from an urban perspective. He has helped me immeasurably with his wise counsel and experience as an urban historian. The other members of my dissertation committee, Professors Frank Bonilla, Thomas Kessner, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., each had valuable comments at my formal defense. The library of the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York assisted me in acquiring needed research materials. The Russell Sage Foundation, along with the Graduate Center, funded travel and research at crucial junctures; the former also

provided me with financial assistance for completing the writing.

Thoughtful relatives offered encouragement throughout and helped me surmount countless obstacles, for which I remain grateful. I also benefited greatly from lively political discussions with my father. Several friends assisted me in numerous ways in the places where I worked--New York, Miami, San Antonio, and San Juan. My wife Milagros has been a source of inspiration during my years of graduate school and has supported me wholeheartedly. I gladly dedicate this work to her.

d.b.
New York, N.Y.

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CHAPTER 1

LATINO ROOTS OF SAN ANTONIO, NEW YORK, AND MIAMI

Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans have migrated to their respective "capital cities," whose Spanish-speaking populations reach back to the years of Spanish imperial rule, at various times, and for vastly different reasons. San Antonio emerged as a missionary center and presidio outpost in Spanish Texas, briefly passing under Mexican rule from 1821 to 1836. It became part of the Texas Republic and was finally annexed to the United States in 1845. Latino settlement in New York City dates to the 1860s, when individuals fleeing Spanish repression banded together and agitated for the independence of Spain's remaining American colonies, Puerto Rico and Cuba. The present Latino community in Miami has its origins in the 1930s, when exiles fled to the growing "tourist metropolis" to plan the overthrow of an unresponsive dictator; yet the Cuban presence in Florida existed long before then.

United States historians, concerned either with the westward movement of the frontier or the saga of immigration from Europe, have tended to overlook their neighbors south of the border. Similarly, Latin Americanists have only occasionally departed from their own interests to study the inter-related history of the inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere. San Antonio, New York and Miami, historical centers of Latino settlement, are crucial in understanding the American metropolis since its beginnings. Patterns of adventure, intrigue,

imperial rivalries, and explosions of nativism involving Latinos emerge in each case. But there are also profound and persistent historical differences among these diverse urban populations, and between them and the non-Latino immigrants. Moreover, their story foreshadows events of the urban crisis in the years following World War II and helps clarify contemporary problems.

Central to the story of Chicanos, or Americans of Mexican ancestry, is the legacy of Spanish urbanism. The Spanish city was important in the conquest and colonization of the indigenous peoples. First in the Caribbean, then in Mexico and Peru, and lastly on the frontier, cities became the strongholds of European culture, with the countryside remaining overwhelmingly Indian. In the case of northern Mexico, and later in what is now the American Southwest, presidios--fortified garrisons--along with missions run by Spanish priests, served as centers for conversion of the Indians and, perhaps most important, they provided buffer regions to protect profitable Spanish mining and agricultural areas from foreign intrusion. These borderland areas generally lacked the heavily urbanized indigenous populations that existed in the Valley of Mexico before its conquest by Hernan Cortes. There was, as a consequence, more rapid race mixture between non-whites and Europeans. Fewer transatlantic immigrants came to replenish the white population and reproduce European culture.¹

At the end of the seventeenth century, after finally putting down the Pueblo Revolt in Santa Fe, Spanish authorities sought to prevent future Indian uprisings and to thwart the penetration of European rivals on the northern frontier of New Spain from the semi-arid region by

incorporating the present-day American Southwest into northern Mexico. They sought a strong military presence, which would also form the nucleus of civilian settlements. In this endeavor Church and State cooperated, under the watchful eye of the Viceroy in Mexico City. At the outset of the eighteenth century, Spain began positioning presidios, first around the Rio Grande and in 1718 some 150 miles north in the site where San Antonio stands, along a fertile river valley inhabited by Payaya Indians. The earlier garrison gave way to a presidio and a string of missions in East Texas, five in San Antonio alone, that were to have a profound effect on the formation of future cities in the Southwest.²

The first Spaniard to reach San Antonio with plans to settle permanently was Father Antonio de San Buenaventura Olivares, a Franciscan priest. He was soon joined by more missionaries who began catechizing the heathen on the grounds of San Antonio de Valero, the chapel of which, the Alamo, served(although on a different site) a decidedly secular function in later Texas history. Martin de Alarcon, the leader of the Spanish military expedition and newly-appointed Governor of Coahuila and Texas, arrived four days later with seventy-two persons, including seven families. They founded the nearby Presidio de San Antonio de Bejar, which became fully fortified in 1722 with the addition of more troops. By 1729 there were fifty-four officers and men. The mission, drawing on Indian labor from the surrounding countryside, and the Presidio, grew separately, yet there was considerable intermarriage between members of local tribes and soldiers. The settlement outside the mission walls, Villa San Antonio de Bejar (La Villita), institutionalized mestizaje, or race mixture; like the

city itself, it became more uniquely Texan, or Tejano, over time.³

The arrival in 1731 of sixteen families, totaling some fifty-six persons, from the Canary Islands led to the founding of another civilian settlement, the royal Villa de San Fernando, across the river from the Villa de Bejar, which enhanced the growing San Antonio complex. The Canary Islanders governed themselves under a charter and organized a cabildo, or town council. A few of the more enterprising settlers built rock houses, which offered more protection against the intermittent Indian attacks, but the majority lived in flimsy structures. By 1740 the Presidio and its satellite consisted of about forty huts. There was at that time no church, nor any government buildings due to the isolation both from the Mexican heartland, and from Santa Fe and other western frontier areas.⁴

The borderland mission was essentially a combination farm-monastery adapted to suit frontier conditions, with wide walls enclosing the entire community, the church, Indian residences, and other buildings, designed to protect against a hostile environment. In San Antonio, mission enclosures were so large that livestock could graze inside in the event of prolonged Apache attacks. Soldiers, unable to rely on irregular and overdue shipments of provisions came to rely on mission lands for reserve food supplies, although they too took to farming and ranching to survive. Missions, for a time, came to be important frontier institutions and the Franciscan priests, insofar as they could sustain and even influence imperial policy towards the settlements, became "boosters" of the borderlands.⁵

Two thousand two-hundred and forty-two Indians, representing twenty-three different nations, lived in the five missions of the San

Antonio area by 1762. Many of them resided over a hundred miles away and had to be brought to the mission in groups. Some Tlaxcalans were brought in from previously conquered areas to the south to serve as teachers and colonists. A large colony of Tlaxcalans came to Saltillo at the end of the sixteenth century, for instance, and it became a mother colony on which subsequent missionaries relied. Some of them joined the presidio settlement as soldiers. Mission Indians sometimes resisted tutelage and pacification and ran away or simply formed satellite groups of urban squatters. However, it was the mission Indians that saved San Antonio from the incursions of formidable Apache and Comanche warriors, fighting side by side with the Spaniards in defense of Texas outposts.⁶

The cession of Louisiana to Spain in 1763 brought about a complete reorganization of the northern frontier of New Spain and converted Texas into an interior province. In 1770 the provincial governor had transferred his residence from Los Adaes in East Texas to San Antonio. Spanish and mestizo settlers formed a town nucleus. Among civilians and the military there existed varying standards of affluence in housing and land-and cattle-holding and, in fact, some inactive or retired military personnel who accumulated wealth. In 1785 the two settlements of San Antonio, separated by the river, became one civil unit under an alcalde, or mayor. The mission system, however, was on the decline. After the secularization of Mission Valero in 1794 the bulk of the mission lands were redistributed to the settlers and the neophytes and the chapel became a fort. Viceregal decrees indicated a belief that maintenance of the frontier thereafter depended more on military strength than colonization of the Indians.⁷

Moreover, the upstart Anglo-Americans in the Mississippi Valley heightened the growing uneasiness of Spanish officials. While the French fur traders had very early acquired practical control over the Indian tribes and threatened Spanish territory in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, they advanced no territorial claims. The Americans, however, once having penetrated a new area in the pursuit of trade with the natives, were believed to be unsatisfied until political sovereignty was extended over the new territory. Indeed, countering the land-hungry pioneers proved to be an insurmountable challenge to Spanish official and frontier soldier alike. Texas increasingly ate up royal revenues and its sparse population reportedly failed to undertake rigorous seasonal planting, wasting agricultural opportunities. Imperial restrictions hindered trading on the North American continent; the nearest legal port open to San Antonio was Vera Cruz, hundreds of miles distant on Mexico's Caribbean coast.⁸

In 1803 San Antonio had 2,500 persons, including the troops. Its population grew slowly and unevenly under Spanish and Mexican rule yet it began demonstrating a surprising amount of institutional development in coming years. In 1809 Governor Salcedo proclaimed that the town Villa San Fernando de Bejar was to be divided into four wards, each of which was to have a commissioner and its own citizens' committee to maintain order and street sanitation. The Governor proclaimed various ordinances regulating the hitching of vehicles and horses and restricting galloping on the streets. Fines were levied and the proceeds used for street cleaning and for furnishing entertainment during holidays. He also prohibited the burning of trash, slaughtering, and open air fires within city limits. The sale of liquor became

illegal, and all foreigners--mostly French at the time, with a handful of British--had to register with municipal officials.⁹

San Antonio, typical of the northern territories, showed signs of rebellion during the tumultuous decade of 1810. The 1811 revolution of Juan Bautista Casas against Spanish rule in San Antonio was an offshoot of the much broader Spanish American independence movement. It was ruthlessly stamped out. More significant were restless adventurers who had begun rushing into Louisiana after the 1803 purchase and saw in the weakening of the Spanish empire the opportunity to help obtain autonomy for San Antonio while realizing their desire for expansion. Thus, in 1812 a group of Americans and Spanish Texans, led by Bernardo Gutierrez de Lara, along with an ex-Army officer of the United States, Augustus Magee, gained control of much of Texas, including San Antonio, and declared independence in the Green Flag Revolt. Filibusters were openly recruited in United States territory and the administration in Washington gave theirs plans tacit support.¹⁰

The Spanish Mexican population of San Antonio numbered approximately 1,500 persons in 1821. Extra-legal settlements existed around its missions and presidios. One-storied, flat-roofed stone houses, a church, a former mission, military barracks and government buildings clustered around two small plazas in the center of the provincial capital. The heterogeneous Tejano society consisted, essentially of two classes. The relatively wealthy were mainly the descendants of the original Canary Islanders of the 1730s and the officials from New Spain who had held government positions; in time, they moved to more exclusive residential areas on higher grounds which were more protected from flooding. On the edges of town resided the

poorer townspeople, families of mestizo soldiers from Coahuila, Tlaxcalans, and christianized Indian women from local missions who had intermarried. They lived in jacales, or thatch-roofed, adobe houses, and performed common labor.¹¹

After 1821, Mexicans encountered the same problems in peopling the frontier as had the Spanish. In 1823 they consolidated Coahuila and Texas, moving the capital to Saltillo. This measure further isolated the frontier. Despite encouragements of all sorts, Mexicans could not be induced northward. Anglo-Americans, however, since before the arrival of the first pioneers, needed little encouragement to enter Texas. They came first under tightly regulated empresario grants and agreed to live as Catholics. Gradually their entry became increasingly inharmonious with Mexican policies; moreover, the newcomers, along with many of the Tejanos, resisted what they believed to be the arbitrary and autocratic rule of a distant government. In 1834 an ill-advised colonization law allowed a massive influx of Americans. Where hardly 4,000 had struggled for survival in the days of Moses Austin in 1820, there were now more than a dozen flourishing colonies and a population of some 30,000 Americans. The Mexican population, only about 4,000, was mostly confined to San Antonio, Goliad and Nacogdoches.¹²

The ensuing Texas Revolution of 1835-36 began in San Antonio and the first battle went to the Texans, with the defeat of the army of Martin Perfecto de Cos on December 10, 1835. Several months later Texas declared its independence from Mexico and on March 6 the legendary Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna stormed the Alamo with some 3,000 men, defeating its approximately 187 American and Tejano defenders, and shortly after routing insurgents at Goliad. Yet the Texas Republic was

to become a reality; on April 21 the Texas forces under Sam Houston defeated Santa Anna's army at San Jacinto, capturing the General. The success of the campaign for Texas independence officially marked the beginning of Anglo dominance, as Tejanos were eased from power in their urban strongholds.¹³

San Antonio was incorporated in 1837. The town charter established an eight-seat board of aldermen, with each member elected from a separate ward. The first councilmen, supporters of Texas independence from the previous period, when they had performed similar functions, all had Spanish names. The first mayor, however, was John W. Smith, an Anglo. Within ten years only five out of a total of twenty-one candidates were of Mexican background, and Tejanos ceased to play a role in municipal affairs. By the time Texas was annexed to the United States in 1845, Anglo-Americans, French, and even newly arrived German immigrants had peaceably squeezed into power, either through intermarrying old San Antonio elite families, through sheer numbers, or through political sleight of hand. At the end of the Mexican-American War, when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo gave the United States almost half of Mexico's territory, including Texas, California, and other territories in the Southwest, San Antonio began to mature. By 1850s its total population stood at about 3,250; a decade later it climbed to 7,600, with some 600 slaves.¹⁴

During the decades of transition from Spanish to American rule Anglos founded their own towns close to military forts and commercial routes, and, hence, with the exception of the three sizable old mission settlements, had little contact with Mexicans. About 80% of the early Texas Anglos came from the Deep South, many with slaves, and they faced

severe depredations from the Indians of the frontier. Therefore, they readily transferred racial antagonisms to the Tejanos, whom they repeatedly attacked as a degenerate, unproductive, largely Indian race unable to control or improve its territories. Descendants of Indians and Spaniards (who were themselves considered inferior to other Europeans) became non-persons. Hostility was intensified by the fact that many Tejanos were just as contemptuous of the foreigners and proud of their history, considering themselves equals to the masses of Anglos as well as to newer arrivals from distant Mexico.¹⁵

On the eve of the Civil War, San Antonio remained the largest city in Texas. The population included several thousand European immigrants among its eight thousand people but Tejanos and Mexicans made up the largest ethnic group. After the Southern Pacific Railroad arrived from the east in 1875, rapid changes and even greater growth followed. People from throughout the country visited San Antonio and many of them made the town their home. The Iron Horse disrupted traditional trade patterns as it continued westward, bringing ruin to a whole class of Mexican cart freighters who had carried on a business with Mexico and border cities from the marketplace of the old Military Plaza. However, new jobs became available laying track, as well as building the infrastructure of cities such as San Antonio, which sprouted schools, public buildings, street railways, and other improvements. Ties with Mexico remained weak, but the underpinnings of future immigration began falling into place.¹⁶

The development of northern Mexico accelerated the interdependency of Mexico and the United States during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Mexican railway system and its northern

connections allowed for the growth of an export trade in luxury food items which increased the value of land held by villagers. In the North, where population density was always much lower, haciendas, or large estates, became more dominant at the expense of communal lands. Rural inhabitants, consequently, were forced by the millions to reside on new haciendas or to join the migrant streams which supplied Mexican landowners with extra help at planting and harvesting times. Offshoots of this stream soon found their way north in the last years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the 1900s. Further, the Mexican Revolution provided a motive for mass immigration to border cities and from there to Laredo, El Paso, and San Antonio, resulting in the first explosive wave of immigration to the United States since the European influx declined at the outset of the First World War.¹⁷

Early indications of subsequent events appeared as early as 1904, with the arrival of Mexican Liberals, exiled by Porfirio Diaz. At that time Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon and others fled to Texas. They settled first in San Antonio, where they began publishing a newspaper criticizing Diaz as the cause of Mexico's ills and calling for his overthrow. Harassment by Mexican agents north of the border forced them to move first to St. Louis, then to Canada, and later on to El Paso. The northern frontier continued to play a prominent role in the Mexican Revolution when Francisco Madero in 1911, after release from prison following a losing presidential bid, fled to San Antonio. Here he plotted with other Mexicans to invade Mexico and sought American arms and money. Madero's overthrow of Diaz was stunning yet indecisive, and counter revolts sent further thousands of refugees into San Antonio, which by 1914 was the unofficial capital for revolutionists; former and

future Mexican presidents often used the city as the home of their revolutionary juntas.¹⁸

Revolutionary violence and its aftermath, from 1910-1930, caused profound dislocations which freed thousands of rural and urban inhabitants from their lives of endless poverty and persistent indebtedness. Large numbers of people streamed north, settling in those areas with existing Mexican populations. Most immigrants came from the states of the central plateau--Jalisco, Guanajuato and Michoacan--and, to a lesser extent, from the states of the northern plateau; it was in these areas that traditional agriculture faced the sharpest clash with modernization. The eastern coastal region sent few immigrants, since it lacked a large surplus rural population. The vast majority of all immigrants were poor laborers. However, a sizable minority of San Antonio's refugees were backers of the pre-revolutionary government, wealthy ricos, who assumed prominent roles in San Antonio's affairs.¹⁹

The failure of land redistribution and some of the other great objectives of the Revolution led many to flee north out of disillusionment. Families decided not to return to Mexico as wage earners discovered year-round employment. Single men, on the other hand, found that they were able, on repeated trips north (some lasting for years), to save considerable quantities of money, by Mexican standards, and send remittances back home. Railroad centers served as way stations for migrant laborers who could follow the crops or pursue other seasonal work. Although conditions in Mexico brought about this influx of workers, the manpower needs of Southwestern agriculture and mobilization for World War II helped sustain it. Moreover, the proximity of the large population and the cyclical nature of their work

allowed growers to exert effective political pressure for legislative provisions exempting Mexicans (and other residents of Western Hemisphere countries) from restrictive national origins quotas.²⁰

Texas was, at the start of the present century, only 17% urbanized. Consequently, its few major cities, most notably San Antonio, became great reservoirs of cheap labor exploited by farmers of the vast agricultural raising region in the center and southern portions of the state and, increasingly, elsewhere in the United States, even in the industrial belt. Despite its prominence, San Antonio was a small city by eastern standards in the early twentieth century. Its population in 1900 was 53,000 and it was not until 1940 that it reached the quarter million mark, with 254,000 persons. It ranked as the largest city in Texas until oil booms lifted Dallas and Houston ahead of it by 1930.²¹

The peak of immigration occurred shortly before and during World War I. San Antonio's population increased from 14,000 in 1900 to 20,000 in 1910, to 50,000 in 1920, and 82,000 in 1930. It retained its traditional role as Mexican capital through the mid-1920s, when new transportation routes within Mexico made California the primary destination of Mexicans and Los Angeles the metropolis with the largest Mexican population. The decision of the federal government to build military bases on the periphery of the city, including one of the country's first military airfields, boosted urban growth in San Antonio. Moreover, the city's ready access to oil and gas and the availability of cheap unskilled laborers assisted in the construction and maintenance of military facilities during World War I. Fort Sam Houston became the largest army post in the country. The federal payroll has continued to

serve as a fundamental prop of the region's economy.²²

The flood tide of Mexican immigration ceased with the depression of 1929, and the ebb resulted in return immigration during the 1930s; colonization schemes put forth by their government attracted some, others simply went back to their villages, or sought better opportunities in other Mexican states closer to the border. San Antonio took in many migrants from rural Texas; indeed, its Mexican population increased from 82,000 to 103,000 during the depression decade, while the city's total population increased only from 232,000 to 254,000. Tejano culture gave way to new customs and institutions, as well as a different relationship with the Anglo majority. Yet it survived in modified form and in turn influenced the shape of San Antonio's future.²³

The history of Puerto Ricans in New York is indirectly yet unmistakably linked to the island's commercial and maritime ties with the great metropolis. Since Spain was unable to maintain its monopoly on American trade with its Puerto Rican colony during periods of international wars beginning in the late 1700s, trade in wheat, flour, and certain other American products introduced during this period took hold and persisted into the nineteenth century. The prominence of North American imports was summed up by an Irish army officer in the service of Spain, George Dawson Flinter, who in the 1830s noted that "the imports from America are not in luxuries, but in the necessities of life--such as salt, fish, flour, butter, lard, grain, lumber . . . and articles of furniture. . . . The articles with which this island supplies America are sugar, rum, molasses, and coffee. . . . The United

States, besides affording an inexhaustible and cheap supply, is also the best and surest market for the disposal of the planter's products, for which there is not a sufficient sale either in the peninsula or in the rest of Europe."²⁴ Indeed, in 1830 27% of the imports to and 49% of the exports from Puerto Rico were from the United States.

New York, at first a rival of Philadelphia, Boston, and Salem, came to be the chief port for inter-American commerce, and its early growth was based on a lead in foreign trade in general. From 1800 to 1830 the value of New York Port's foreign trade grew fourfold, and its proportion of the nation's foreign trade rose from 9% to 37%. As a port for goods collecting and distributing, New York's road and canal system and its harbor facilities stood unmatched. Trade with the two remaining Spanish islands exceeded that of any other countries in the Americas. Puerto Rican vessels by the score came from its various ports, San Juan, Guayama, and Ponce, with sugar and molasses. Muscovado and cigars were also sent from Havana, which traded on a larger scale. New York handled nearly two-thirds of Cuba's sugar input in 1860 and 62% of the United States foreign trade business.²⁵

This trade brought Spanish, Cuban, and Puerto Rican merchants, as well as countless other nationalities to the city. The few Hispanic peoples however, were too scattered in the 1820s to form distinct communities, but in the 1830s they gravitated to the West Side, many living in rooming houses. By mid-century they were sprinkled throughout Manhattan, and their numbers included clerical workers employed by companies involved in the Caribbean trade. A fledgling yet diverse Spanish language press developed, serving merchants and the increasing number of political exiles, past and future, who sought refuge in the

growing metropolis, as did a Spanish Benevolent Society, supported by Cuban and Puerto Rican merchants to help indigent countrymen.²⁶

By the mid-1840s New York had also become a haven for Cuban exiles planning filibustering expeditions, usually financed in part by wealthy merchants who favored annexation of their island to the United States. A New York Junta became during the 1840s the most active of all exile groups (others were in New Orleans and the ports of Florida) in promoting the cause. However, the Civil War years ended the possibility of any collaboration with Americans for extending slavery. Moreover, abolitionism fostered sentiments for Antillean independence (after the failed attempts at liberalization of autocratic Spanish social and economic policies during the 1870s) among a new generation of exiles.²⁷

In the decade after the Civil War an exile society in New York, the Republican Society of Cuba and Puerto Rico, backed by North American abolitionists, demanded racial equality. Puerto Ricans Dr. Francisco Basora, Ramon Emeterio Betances and Segundo Ruiz Belvis formed the core of the Puerto Rican exile subculture in the city in 1867. They collaborated in a revolutionary newspaper promoting independence of the Spanish Antilles, La Voz de America, and subsequently founded an organization devoted primarily to Puerto Rican independence, the Comite Revolucionario, with the ultimate end of an Antillean Confederation, in early 1868. But the Puerto Rican invasion, known as the "Grito de Lares," was put down by the Spanish military in the fall of 1868. On October 31, 1869 Eugenio Maria de Hostos landed in New York, joining the exile community. The Ten Years' War in Cuba, 1868-1878, excited nationalist fervor, and it was during this era that coalitions were formed between Cubans and Puerto Ricans in exile.²⁸ Pan

Caribbean unity was symbolized by Lola Rodriguez de Tio, a member of a prominent Puerto Rican family, who visited New York. Her ode, "To Cuba" contains an appeal for solidarity, part of which says,

Cuba and Puerto Rico are
the two wings of one bird,
They receive the flowers and bullets
in the same heart.²⁹

After their defeat in the previous decade, Cuban and Puerto Rican revolutionaries regrouped in the 1880s in Santo Domingo and elsewhere to fight for free Cuba, or "Cuba Libre"(a concept which would come to mean different things to different people well into the twentieth century). In 1890 Jose Marti took his first organizational step for Cuban independence when he founded La Liga de Instruccion as a kind of training school for insurrection. He wrote abundantly of conditions in the Americas and lectured Cuban exiles on independence, in New York and later in Tampa and Key West. His talks convinced thousands, rich and poor, black and white, to reject any solution for Cuba other than outright independence. Marti reorganized his followers in the Cuban Revolutionary Party in January 1892 (which was the forerunner of the War of Independence, which began in 1895), and he founded a newspaper, Patria, in New York, edited by a Puerto Rican, Sotero Figueroa.³⁰ The Party platform's first point declared that "the Cuban Revolutionary Party has been formed in order to achieve through the united efforts of men of good will, complete independence of the island of Cuba and to aid and further the cause of Puerto Rican Independence."³¹

With the death of Marti in battle at the outbreak of the Second Cuban War of Independence, upper-class Puerto Ricans began to play a visible role in the struggle against Spain. On August 8, 1895, the

Puerto Rican Section of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, led by Dr. Jose Julio Henna in New York, became the focal point for separatist sentiment in the United States. The cigar makers, politically conscious skilled artisans in both Florida and New York, were at the forefront, but their views were too radical for the Cuban Revolutionary Party. The latter group, moreover, repeatedly sought to sway American opinion towards the cause. After Tomas Estrada Palma took the reins in 1895, the Party, through its Information Bureau, provided gory details of events on the battlefield to a sensationalist New York press, hoping to exert political and diplomatic influence and hasten military victory. Henna, the Puerto Rican delegate, openly proclaimed his ambition to see Puerto Rico annexed to the United States, although he was later to regret collaborating in the planning of the military takeover of the island in 1898 after the United States entrance in the war.³²

All New York political groups collapsed after the respective military occupations of the islands. During this period both Cuban American and Puerto Rican American relations, as ever, lacked clear legal and moral purpose. Cuba emerged as an American protectorate, while Puerto Rico merely exchanged Spanish for United States sovereignty. Exiles had no followers and a North American empire took root. New York always has been, and still is, a city intimately linked to the liberal and national liberation movements of the nations of Latin America--among them Puerto Rico. It has remained a center for exile movements in the Americas in the twentieth century.

In a development not directly related to the sovereignty question, an important transitional period occurred following the final emancipation of the slaves in Puerto Rico in 1873. Increasing

displacement of workers swelled the population of the larger Puerto Rican towns with surplus labor, skilled and unskilled. Day laborers and peasants began to leave the island in the last third of the nineteenth century. Santo Domingo, Cuba, Panama, and Venezuela received these workers. Ships chartered by farmers' associations in the Antilles picked up the immigrants on the southern coast.³³

After the American takeover labor recruiters began to penetrate the rural districts in search of workers for the newly acquired cane fields of Hawaii. Migration of farm workers under contract from Puerto Rico to Honolulu occurred from 1900 to 1902 and to Ecuador in 1901, then Mexico(1903), and Colombia(1904). These migrations were relatively small, usually involving only hundreds of workers. The First Annual Report of Charles Allen, the American Governor of Puerto Rico in 1901 indicated that "out of a population of nearly a million not more than 5,000 or 6,000 have migrated. But particularly since the San Ciriaco Hurricane[1899], some of the poorer classes of labor had found it difficult to procure the means of a livelihood."³⁴ A report of the Labor Bureau to the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico in 1914 stated that the problem of immigration from Puerto Rico had not been seriously considered since the Hawaiian immigration of 1902, but that it was the cause of some concern at the time.

Structural changes would be felt for decades thereafter. The origins of the Puerto Rican migration to New York are found in an examination of the island's three largest crops: sugar, tobacco, and coffee, and their effects on island population movements. Coffee, which required less labor and capital investment, was replaced by sugar as the chief export for revenue soon after 1898, largely due to foreign--

primarily United States--investment in land and machinery. Between 1899 and 1940 the traditional coffee producing central western mountain region experienced a relative decline and the northeast non-coffee producing mountain region an increase in population. Cane-growing municipalities on the coast grew along with the San Juan area.³⁵

Massive internal migration was evidence of the expansion of the relative overpopulation in the rural areas, partly as a result of the United States-dominated sugar interests. Sugar companies controlled the policies of the island legislature and the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and prohibited land reform. The phenomenal growth of the sugar industry since 1899 provided few benefits for the Puerto Ricans. The dispossessed farmers, without access to plots for subsistence farming, became agrarian wage workers. Thousands of Puerto Ricans were left not only poor and unemployed but landless as well. The vast domains accumulated by the sugar companies drove out other crops until Puerto Rico had to import the food products it once produced in abundance--rice, beans, potatoes, and corn--and most imports came aboard United States ships.³⁶

American investment in the tobacco industry, negligible in the nineteenth century, became a virtual monopoly by 1920, dominating the growing, manufacturing, and marketing aspects of the industry. Giant increases in the labor force in towns at the turn of the century provided the basis for large-scale cigar factories employing skilled native labor displaced from other industries--due in part to competition from United States manufactured goods. The increasing concentration of ownership accompanied the growth of the industry: in 1910 74% of all cigar makers worked in factories of over 100 employees, in 1920 82% were

employed in factories of over 500 workers. Mechanization increased during the 1920s, and by 1930 about 75% of the cigars were machine made, lessening the need for factory workers and adding to the already large number of urban unemployed in the cities. The introduction of cigarettes into the American market heightened the urban crisis, as did the decline of tobacco cultivation in the countryside.³⁷

Prior to 1917, migration under contract took place intermittently, on a small scale, to cord factories in St. Louis in 1905 and Brooklyn in 1920 as well as Arizona and other officially unrecorded locations. This was more a function of effective recruiting than an exodus of a reserve labor force. However, after 1917 a large voluntary movement of workers went to the United States, mostly to New York; the numbers increased towards the end of the 1920s, abruptly dropping off before 1930. New York's population climbed from 7,400 to 45,000 during the decade. Those who left found their options limited on the island by the increasing capitalization of agriculture. Unlike their predecessors in a traditional economy, who could move to other sectors during the "dead season," few other agrarian opportunities remained. To make matters worse, the cities lacked industry to take up the slack. Women had become dominant in the island needle trades, but mainly as a rural cottage industry. Most Puerto Rican employment was in declining sectors.³⁸

In 1904 the Supreme Court sanctioned the free movement of Puerto Ricans to the United States. Chief Justice Melville Weston Fuller argued that citizens of Puerto Rico, since they could not be classed as aliens after the establishment of civil government in 1900, were entitled to enter the United States without obstruction, even though the

Court ruled in the "Insular Cases" in 1901 that Puerto Ricans were not to be considered American citizens so far as laws were concerned. In a move to liberalize the structure of local government in Puerto Rico, granting it more autonomy than existed under the Foraker Act, Congress voted to naturalize Puerto Ricans collectively in 1917. Their citizenship, however, was incomplete, indeed second class; they were not entitled to Congressional representation, nor could they vote for president, although they faced military conscription. Thus, citizenship merely perpetuated the colonial status of Puerto Rico, in some ways rewarding their faithful acquiescence in American rule, and allowed for easy movement to the mainland, giving the United States a readily accessible labor supply. It also allowed a desired constitutional ambiguity that persists today.³⁹

The combination of a large idle population, the granting of citizenship, and labor shortages made voluntary seaborne migration a welcome safety valve. This migration relied on commercial ships to convey passengers from San Juan to the Brooklyn piers. To facilitate movement to New York the Puerto Rican Bureau of Labor called for improvements in passenger transportation. In 1929 a Department of Labor memorandum suggested that better facilities for voluntary emigration be provided aboard military vessels, adding that "many people were actually prohibited in spite of their desire to emigrate, by the high costs and scarcity of transport."⁴⁰ It suggested use of excess cabin space on regular lines to bring over skilled workers as needed. Other officials noted that New York was the most attractive and hospitable city for the Puerto Ricans, causing many to remain. Some 30% of the emigrants were either skilled in trades, merchants, investors, or tourists, while 70%

were estimated to be unskilled. A report the following year, 1930, said that the voluntary emigration of men and women increased greatly from April to September (the dead season in sugar agriculture) and fluctuated between five and six thousand total emigrants that year, enlarging and strengthening the "industrial beehive" existing in the metropolis.

The Puerto Rican population in New York was only 554 in 1910. In the pre-World War I years, the American cigar industry was prospering, and by 1917 cigar makers and their families made up more than sixty percent of the Puerto Rican population of New York. However, economic depression hit hard in 1920, demand for hand-rolled cigars decreased, and the tabaqueros were laid off, dispersing to unskilled jobs. Meanwhile, huge numbers of newcomers arrived. The migrant wave of the 1920s in part filled a vacuum caused by restrictive immigration legislation. It included more males, more whites, more townspeople and skilled workers, particularly in factories, than the island average. Yet the Puerto Rican community in New York was overwhelmingly working class. The newcomers went to the bottom of the urban job and housing ladder.⁴¹

Puerto Ricans established fledgling communities in Brooklyn and Manhattan during the 1920s and filled an important niche in the labor market. The coming of the depression imperiled their foothold, forcing them into the even more menial jobs. Most remained on the mainland, no doubt because of the worse poverty on the island. In fact the number of New York Puerto Ricans increased during the 1930s from 45,000 to 61,500. After 1935, however, sugar production declined on the island, and the needle trades began to face extinction, as had coffee and tobacco before. By 1940 the collapse of all major sectors of the economy and the relative

overpopulation problem became more acute than ever. The unrelenting accumulation of people was evident in the towns and the plantation areas. World War II offered little improvement; it merely made passenger traffic to the mainland more difficult. Thus at the end of the war, conditions were set for the exodus to New York.

The history of Spanish exploitation and settlement in the Southeast antedates not only Dutch settlement in New York but the populating of the southwestern frontier. The first permanent settlement within the limits of the present United States(not counting San Juan, which was settled a half century earlier) was established at St. Augustine in 1565. Florida served as a base of operations against the French settlement in the Carolinas, and consisted of two military outposts on either side of the peninsula. Missionaries worked among the Indians, but, unlike northern New Spain, no strictly civilian settlements existed. The Floridas served to protect the strategic Bahama Channel, where gold shipments made their way to Seville from the New World in treasure fleets. The founding of Charleston as a British colony in 1670 menaced settlement in East and West Florida--hostilities flourished during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Meanwhile, Spaniards, including people from the Hispanic Caribbean arrived continually, mostly military and Crown officials; some took part in the contraband trade between Florida and Cuba. With the Peace of Paris ending the Great War for Empire in 1763, Spain ceded Florida to the British in return for Cuba, which had been captured in 1762. Florida, a pawn in international rivalries, reverted to Spain in 1784, remaining Spanish until the United States finally took possession of it in 1821.⁴²

Florida had ceased to be a province of Cuba, but informal ties continued during the American period. Indeed, Americans, particularly slave holders, harbored dreams of a Caribbean empire, and Cuba, with Florida secured, seemed a likely place for expansion, despite its status as a Spanish colonial possession. Several American presidents even tried to purchase Cuba. Merchants supplied illegal arms and ships to American and Cuban filibusters, and Cuban Juntas served to coordinate and lobby for this assistance. They were intermittently active during the Ten Years War. Only months after the settlement of Zanjón in 1878, leaders completed plans for a new war. In early 1879 General Calixto García organized expatriate separatists in New York and prepared for a new uprising. Irreconcilable Cuba emigres abroad and committees of revolution within pledged themselves to the idea of "Cuba Libre."⁴³

The Ten Years' War also propelled many Cubans, including owners of tobacco factories, into the Americas and Europe. Havana had long boasted a thriving cigar industry; in 1859 it included hundreds of factories and smaller shops claiming 150,000 workers. Key West emerged a vibrant community in 1869. In addition to the Cuban exiles, a group of Cuban cigar workers set up there in the early 1830s with imported Cuban tobacco leaves. In 1886 a major cigar manufacturer, Vicente Ybor, moved to Tampa, on Florida's West Coast after a disastrous fire in Key West; suddenly Ybor City, the new settlement attracted displaced cigar workers.⁴⁴

Cuban immigration during the late nineteenth century reflected the social stratification and racial composition of the island's society. New York emigrants included members of the Cuban upper class, middle-class professionals and black and mulatto workers employed

primarily in the cigar trades. The Florida community became similarly polarized. As the Spanish-American War approached, contention arose between nationalists and those focusing on class and racial questions (about 20% of the cigar workers in Florida were black) dividing the Florida communities, and making for a mobile population.⁴⁵

The physical proximity of Cuba, ninety miles from Key West, the ease of travel by ship, and the interchangeability of work skills joined both sides of the Florida Straits across national boundaries. Cubans often returned home during slack periods of employment and during holidays. Some even belonged to social clubs with branches in Tampa and Havana. The volume of traffic to and from Cuba fluctuated according to the political situation and labor relations (strikes were frequent and disruptive in the tobacco industry). Cigar making, allowed Cubans to ply their trade between Tampa, Key West, Havana, and New York. Largely as a result of this industry there was a steady increase of Cuban-born persons living in the United States from 5,300 in 1870 to some 15,000 in 1910; the figure remained stable until 1920. The rates began increasing in Miami after 1930 in connection with United States involvement in Cuban affairs.⁴⁶

The Cuban revolution against Spain, beginning in 1895, led to the Spanish American War. It was, in effect, an unfinished revolution. The Cuban Revolutionary Committee, the Assembly, and the liberation army disappeared within months of the intervention of the United States. Cubans quickly perceived that cooperation with the United States would promote their access to political power as well as their economic success. The absence of organized resistance to the American occupation of 1898-1902 and 1906-1909 characterized twentieth century Cuba.

Moreover, it became not only impractical but unpatriotic to oppose the United States. Americans had until 1902 implemented the same type of Americanization program that the civil government imposed on Puerto Rico. Cuban subservience was juridically defined by the Platt Amendment, whereby the United States asserted the right to interfere in the domestic affairs, particularly concerning national elections, in Cuba. Even after the abrogation of the Amendment in 1934, the North American presence continued in all aspects of political, economic and cultural life. The repression of separatist ideals, significantly, later became a rallying cry for revolution.⁴⁷

Cuba in the Spanish empire had been the main maritime base for both naval and mercantile fleets. Cuban merchants and planters were very innovative in the nineteenth century. The planter elite accumulated large capital derived from trade and ship building, later investing in tobacco, coffee and sugar. Although a colonial possession, Cuba outpaced all Latin American republics in technological development. By the 1880s the island was selling virtually all of its sugar to the United States, primarily dealing with the American Sugar Refining Company. It became tied early to one major crop with one major market.⁴⁸

In the twentieth century American capital flowed to Cuba in abundance. United States interests began buying land and consolidating smaller plantations into larger units. By 1928 U.S. investors controlled perhaps 75% of the sugar crop as well as sizable amounts in tobacco, ranching, mining, and public utilities. Defending these investments became the cornerstone of United States and Cuban policy. The depression abruptly slowed the influx of foreign investment in Cuba,

resulting in predictable chaos and economic misery. Many Cubans blamed the United States government for supporting the repressive regime of President Gerardo Machado, which in addition to stifling opposition, pursued, with the help of the sugar interests, economic policies disastrous for Cuba.⁴⁹

Political instability sent many Cubans, including former President Mario Menocal, to the growing city of Miami during these years. By 1933 more than 1,000 exiles reportedly lived there, including representatives of several different parties joined for the most part by nothing stronger than a common hatred of Machado. They formed a revolutionary junta and held continuous secret sessions in New York to plan a joint program of action in order to avert a spontaneous popular uprising. Cubans, according to an American observer, firmly believed that Machado's retention of power was largely due to U.S. Ambassador Henry Guggenheim, the State Department, and the banks, "contrary to the knowledge of the American people." Cubans in Miami developed the pattern of junta formation that first occurred in the nineteenth century, and in the early years of the Republic--as Tomas Estrada Palma, head of the Cuban Revolutionary Committee in New York became the first elected president--whereby exiles of different persuasions attempted to influence United States policy. According to Ambassador Guggenheim himself, "This precedent for rewarding the junta has induced many less worldly Cubans at various times . . . to believe in the value of Junta activities. . . . There has never been a political controversy of importance in Cuba which was not accompanied by the traditional method of organizing a junta to involve the United States in the controversy." There were, he further observed,

three points of concentration of the Junta, one in New York, where financial aid is solicited and filibustering expeditions are organized, one in Washington where political aid is sought, and one in Miami where the rank and file of emigres and followers of the junta concentrate, since they can live more easily in Florida's sunshine. . . . These Cuban opposition groups usually start with the advantage that in Cuban politics those out of office gain the sympathy of the American people because of the abuses of the officeholder.⁵⁰

In the 1950s a new period of expansion of North American capital began. Investment went to utilities, communication, oil, refining, and tourism; sugar had, during the depression shifted into Cuban hands. Foreign capital's dominance over the economy meant that domestic Cuban capital moved early on into real estate and investments abroad. In 1955 Cuban citizens had already invested an estimated \$150 million in Florida real estate alone. The future of a large segment of the upper class linked it inextricably to the mainland business community. Although after 1934 the United States pursued a non-intervention policy towards Cuba, it was strongly believed that Fulgencio Batista, who presided over much of the period from 1944 to 1958, could not have perpetuated himself without the continuing approval and assistance of the United States government.⁵¹

The Cuban economy became a virtual appendage to the United States. This connection was reinforced by American cultural influences. Cubans copied mainland lifestyles at home and surrounded themselves with luxury goods and sending their children to mainland schools. Yet the status quo had grown intolerable by 1958, Cuban per capita yearly income averaged \$500, one-fifth as much in the United States. Few families had all the male adults steadily employed. Conditions in the countryside were very poor, and a substantial fraction of the town population was also impoverished.⁵²

Yet Batista, returning to power in a bloodless coup in 1952, did little to tackle economic stagnation, lack of diversification and underutilization of resources. Corruption grew, political gangsterism ran rampant, and the disillusion and cynicism increased. As Machado and others before him, he used power for personal aggrandizement and social brutalization. He bottled up the demand for change, yet political opposition mounted. Both legal barriers and lack of education prohibited the surplus population from migrating to the United States on a large scale as it had in Puerto Rico, despite the island's close ties and physical proximity.⁵³

On the eve of the 1959 revolution the majority of an estimated 40,000 Cubans lived outside of Miami. Older colonies were Key West, Tampa, and New York City (some 10,000 in 1950). Miami traces its origins as a city to the 1890s; it was still a tiny village of two hundred people when Henry Flagler's railroad arrived in 1896. By 1913 it had become a thriving town of 1,000 permanent residents and 125,000 annual tourists. The city began its ascension to the center of Cuban American life in the 1930s, when exiles banded together to depose Machado, and, after 1933, others fled the effects of the revolt against him. For many years after World War II, Cubans came to Miami Beach during the summer, when hotel and restaurant rates, as well as prices in general, were much lower than in the winter tourist season. This familiarity with streets, shops, and the general area of Miami Beach, as well as its proximity, contributed to the choice of this city for settlement after the Castro takeover.⁵⁴

A spurt in the growth of Miami occurred from 1953 to 1959 as potential revolutionaries fled Batista's regime. In 1957, as in the

1870s, 1890s, and 1930s, Cuban exiles exhibited resourcefulness in collecting money and lobbying. From mid-1957 an agent of Castro's 26 of July Movement operated in the Cuban embassy in Washington, and an economist, Ernesto Betancourt (later head of President Ronald Reagan's Radio Marti), was a registered agent of the movement there. An attempt at uniting the opposition to Batista occurred in the fall of 1957, when the principal forces were represented at a meeting held in Miami. A Council of Liberation was formed and a manifesto agreed upon, but it was later repudiated by Castro, who, having borne almost all the burden of active fighting, bitterly resented the lack of support he had received from other opposition forces, in particular from President Dr. Prío Socorro's Autenticos. Castro's taking of Havana in 1959 set in motion the largest exile movement to the United States ever--within twenty-five years about one million Cubans fled to the United States--with the majority settling in the Miami-Dade County area. The Cubans, due to their reception as "political" immigrants, faced circumstances in the American metropolis different from those of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans.⁵⁵

The early history of Latino communities shaped later events, as it did with blacks and European immigrants, but unique events also colored perceptions concerning Latinos. Rivalries between England and Spain, for instance, date to Elizabethan times, when national prejudices arose based on the "Black Legend" of Iberian brutality in the New World, and, more fundamentally, on intense military rivalries. These, prejudices, according to a prominent Latin American historian, were inherited by British colonists in America and intensified by territorial

conflicts in North America. The years after 1815 saw a rise of hemispheric exchange. As the United States expanded its contacts to the south, the popular, unscientific conviction grew that Latin Americans were incapable of self-government. Anti-Hispanic misconceptions affected governmental policy and political cooperation. Most Americans linked supposed Spanish cruelty with current notions of Latin American political incapability. Public opinion saw a conglomeration of Indians, illiteracy, ignorance and bigotry.⁵⁶

In the borderland areas of Florida and Texas, the United States took advantage of Spain's declining world position to seize coveted territories. By the mid-nineteenth century, moreover, the idea that Americans, by virtue of their Anglo-Saxon background, were not only uniquely capable of self-government but had an imperial responsibility to uplift backward areas through commercial penetration and investment became almost conventional wisdom. This American Anglo-Saxonism of the last half of the century used the "rhetoric of redemption" in its expansionism, but it was quite pernicious, as it assumed that it would lead and flourish as other races died out.⁵⁷

The early decades of the twentieth century saw the resurgence of nativism and the persistence of Anglo-Saxonism. Robert Foerster, a prominent restrictionist, argued for the inclusion of Western Hemisphere residents in the quotas set in the early 1924. Writing in The Racial Problems Involved in Immigration from Latin America and the West Indies to the United States(1925), he warned, "A country not in desperate need of population--a country, in other words, able to contemplate an increasing population from its own loins--can properly require of its immigrants that they at least equal if they do not excel, the average of

its own citizens in fitness of government, including self-government, and industry. No good ground exists for supposing that the immigrants of the countries to the south of the United States would meet the requirements of this criterion."⁵⁸ These attitudes were not lost on the immigrants themselves. One Puerto Rican in the early migration reflected that "the sons of Puerto Rico were held by the Anglo Saxon population of New York in lowly opinion. For the majority of Yankees, Puerto Ricans were an expendable species--an ignorant, juvenile and uncultured people."⁵⁹

The immigrants reacted differently, according to their city and region, as well their group's history. Puerto Ricans, after 1917, were citizens, and had free movement between their island the mainland, although transportation limitations were not overcome until after World War II. Mexicans, unlike other immigrants, although they might be second or third generation American citizens, nevertheless remained segregated socially. The census of 1910 reported 102,000 Mexicans in the United States, of whom 11,000 had been naturalized; in 1920, 23,000 out of 477,000 had been naturalized. According to prominent scholars, naturalization did not make adequate changes in the lives of Mexicans. Citizenship was a disappointment to them, for they were still treated as Mexicans and foreigners. Americans, moreover, did not distinguish between naturalized and foreign Mexicans. Unlike European immigrants, the Mexican in the Southwest faced a heritage of racial conflict.⁶⁰

NOTES

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³⁵History Task Force, Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos, Labor Migration Under Capitalism: The Puerto Rican Experience (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), 96-98; History Task Force, Sources, 2-5.

³⁶History Task Force, Labor Migration, 96-98.

³⁷History Task Force, Labor Migration, 99-102; Lewis, 90-95; Angel G. Quintero Rivera, "Background to the Emergence of Imperial Capitalism in Puerto Rico," in The Puerto Ricans: Their History, Culture, and Society, ed. Adalberto Lopez (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Books, Inc., 1980), 116-120.

³⁸"Octavo Informe Anual del Negociado del Trabajo de Puerto Rico," [1921] in History Task Force, Sources, 144, 149; History Task Force, Labor Migration, 145-148.

³⁹"Porto Ricans Not Aliens," New York Times, January 5, 1904, in History Task Force, Sources, 68-69; One legal scholar claims that "nothing in the annals of Congress would suggest that the collective naturalization of the Puerto Ricans was a matter connected in any way with military concerns." Rather, it was a case of the "legislature embodying an idea that had been under active and serious consideration since 1900." Jose A. Cabranes, Citizenship and the American Empire: Notes on the Legislative History of the United States Citizenship of Puerto Rico (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 17.

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⁴¹Cesar Andreu Iglesias, ed., Memoirs of Bernardo Vega: A Contribution to the History of the Puerto Rican Community in New York, trans. Juan Flores (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984), 22; Virginia Sanchez Korrol, From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1917-1948 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983), 34-40; Ira Rosenwaike, Population History of New York City (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1972), 121.

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⁴⁶Mormino and Pozzetta, 145-152, 195.

⁴⁷Perez, 14, 174, 212.

⁴⁸Manuel Moreno Fraginals, "Plantation Economies and Societies in the Spanish Caribbean: 1860-1930," in The Cambridge History of Latin America, ed. Leslie Bethell, 4 Vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978-1986), vol. 4 (1986): c. 1870 to 1930, 211; Bailey W. Diffie and Justine W. Diffie, Porto Rico: A Broken Pledge (New York: Vanguard Press, 1931), 39-42.

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⁵⁰Guggenheim, 56.

⁵¹Dudley Seers, "Economic and Social Problems of Twentieth Century Cuba," in Cuba: The Economic and Social Revolution, ed. Dudley Seers (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 16-23, 44; Nita R. Manitzas, "The Setting of the Cuban Revolution," in Cuba: The Logic of the Revolution, eds. David P. Barkin and Nita R. Manitzas (Andover, Mass.: Warner Modular Publications, 1973), 29; Howard I. Blutstein, et al, Area Handbook for Cuba (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), 36, 37, 434; Royal Institute of International Affairs, Information Report, Cuba: A Brief Political and Economic Survey (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 6, 15, 17.

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⁵⁶Charles C. Griffin, The United States and the Dissolution of the Spanish Empire 1810-1822: A Study of the Relations of the United States with Spain and with the Rebel Spanish Colonies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), 15-17, 228; Harry Bernstein, Origins of Inter-American Interest 1700-1812 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 46, 83, 90, 94.

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⁵⁸Robert F. Foerster, The Racial Problems Involved in Immigration from Latin America and the West Indies to the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925), 61.

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CHAPTER 2

BARRIOS AND THE METROPOLIS

Housing, broadly defined, includes residential patterns, planning, government intervention, neighborhood formation, and even architecture. The years since the Great Depression mark the beginning of a transfer of power away from cities to Washington and the intervention of government in housing. Latinos, like blacks, arrived and settled in an era when federal policy extended to public housing, urban renewal, and the funding of "model cities," in marked contrast to earlier times when the private sector made the rules. Redevelopment of the cities had to confront squarely the problem of racial segregation and the persistence of ghettos, as well as reconcile immediate priorities with long-term goals, and federal politics with popular participation. San Antonio, New York, and Miami received Latinos differently, each according to its distinct pattern of urban growth. Moreover, each group's individual history and characteristics affected its urbanization.

Spanish town planning regulations determined the geography of early San Antonio. More than any other European power in the New World Spain relied on a system of urban development based on formal, written rules and regulations, which served as a guide to individual conquistadores and settlers. These Laws of the Indies, "America's first planning legislation," specified the design and location of plazas and

the principal streets of civil settlements. However, in practice the distinction between pueblos, presidios, and missions often disappeared, and schemes of precisely controlling growth fell through. San Antonio exemplified the problems of planning in the Spanish empire; cities lacked sufficient funding and manpower to sustain soldier, priest, and civilian indefinitely. Although the empire dissolved, and San Antonio fell, the legacy of the gridiron lived on.¹

San Fernando de Bejar, the Canary Islanders' community, stood next to the old presidio, separated by the parish church. Across the river stood the Mission San Antonio, and downstream a few miles lay four additional mission communities. The American plan of the town in 1836 showed few changes under Mexican administration. A wave of German immigrants in the 1840s introduced new architectural styles, but for the most part one story adobe houses remained and the traditional rectangular layout controlled activities in the town center. The original streets of San Antonio were merely trails following the course of the river and its tributaries, or main roads connecting distant cities to the south. Isolation ended gradually yet decisively as immigrants and frontiersmen arrived in mid-century, changing San Antonio's profile.²

Frederick Law Olmstead's description illuminates the role of housing as an artifact of immigration, as seen in 1856 when approaching from the southeast:

For five minutes the houses were evidently German, of fresh square-cut blocks of creamy white limestone, mostly of a single story and humble proportions, but neat, and thoroughly roofed and finished. A third plaza had developed around the Alamo. This is all Mexican with windowless cabins of stakes, plastered with mud and roofed with river grass.³

Another part of the town's "singular composite character" appeared on Commerce Street where Olmstead found American houses, set back from the street with picket fences against the walks, or "in some cases, rising in three story brick to respectable city fronts." Many of the old Mexican buildings around the plazas were "put to all sorts of new uses," and "stored with dry goods and groceries, which overflow . . . the doors." Existing simultaneously in the plaza stood "American hotels, and new glass-fronted stores, alternating with sturdy battlemented Spanish walls," adjacent to the stone cathedral.⁴

The poorest Mexicans lived in huts with dirt floors, plastered with mud, which could stand the hot Texas sun and, to a lesser extent, the torrential rains and chilly winter weather. The Mexican elite, whose ancestors built San Antonio de Bejar in a period when timber was scarce(using stone from local quarries), lived along the plazas in large multi-room stone or adobe houses, flat-roofed and covered with shingles. These included some impressive estates. Americans and European immigrants lived in newer wood and stone houses modeled either on continental or eastern United States styles; those with less means built frontier style wood frame houses. By 1875 the north side of the city had become American turf. The Mexican colony then lay west of the San Antonio River and centered on the San Pedro Creek.⁵

After the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1875 the choice lots around the plazas slipped out of the hands of the older Spanish stock. New businesses sprang up with new commercial methods, and banks appeared. Anglos gradually appropriated the best sites for shops and farms from the old Canary Island "grandees." Not only had the general Spanish ambience of the town changed, so had its institutions.



1. View of San Antonio, Texas: 1873

The modern grocery store took away much of the American trade from the Military Plaza, which was moved several blocks west. This marketplace had previously held a "whole caravan of vendors." "In the morning from 2 a.m., the plaza would begin to put on new life, and rumbling into the plots came hundreds of carts and wagons seeking advantageous position. Form early morning to nearly noon, the plaza was a lively scene. Almost everyone spoke Spanish and most of the business was conducted in this common language."⁶

Developers of the new subdivisions at the urban fringe broke with the tradition of grid design, incorporating curved streets and irregular blocks. By 1890 more modern and conventional structures replaced many of the older Mexican and German buildings in the center, and expansion in all directions occurred far beyond the river bend. Taller structures appeared in the older part of town, replacing the low adobes. The twin plazas remained, with more and more offices and hotels constructed around them. Alamo and Military plazas, the original nuclei of the city, merged into one urban core.⁷

After 1880 San Antonio began to expand its infrastructure. Many improvements, such as schools and public buildings shot up. By 1900 San Antonio was known as the cleanest, best paved, largest, and most advanced city in Texas. The street railway system began in 1875, when the West Commerce and Pecos Street was laid, allowing for expansion westward. No overall plan guided San Antonio's growth; however, topographical advantages in the northern part of the city reinforced ethnic divisions. Toward the Gulf of Mexico were poor farming counties with large numbers of Mexicans. To the North and northwest lay the limestone hills settled by German immigrants. The edge of the Edwards

Plateau attracted Anglos and the development of street car suburbs and early automobile suburbs between 1880 and 1940, allowed upper-status residents access to higher land and protection from floods in the north of the city. Low land around the central business district was reserved for blacks to the east and Mexicans to the west.⁸

Newcomers had infused their own types of architecture and customs into San Antonio in the late nineteenth century. During the "frontier days" of 1870 to 1890, San Antonio was a "wide open town" along the cattle trails to northern markets. In the '90s social events flourished on the "good side of town." La Villita, an area of humble dwellings south of the Big Bend of the river survived into the twentieth century, but its Mexican population gradually moved westward toward Apache creek into the agricultural hinterland and to points north. Around the turn of the century housing changed from jacales, built and thatched with scrap tin from oil cans, to more modern three to five room cottages with land containing wooden shacks for rental to transients. Families either bought the lots on which they squatted or moved out to some other areas on which they built dwellings. By the 1890s, Mexican residents of San Antonio had begun picking cotton seasonally in the outlying areas. The more successful Texas Mexicans, of course, remained throughout the year.⁹

About one-tenth of the population of Mexico entered the United States between 1900 and 1920. By 1920 the Southwest, especially Texas, had become a vast reservoir for cheap unskilled workers. San Antonio was the gateway for migrants traveling by rail or highway. After World War I, Mexican field laborers, set adrift by returning soldiers after demobilization, increasingly headed for cities. These workers, along

with more recent immigrants, found in San Antonio an urban oasis. Farm agents from as far north as the Great Lakes States found it a profitable place to recruit Mexicans wintering there.¹⁰

Incoming Mexicans settled in areas of San Antonio already established by the Texas Mexicans. In the "Latin Quarter" one could feel at home with fellow immigrants and familiar customs, where "they even sell tamales in the park as they do in Mexico."¹¹ It was often a convenient first stop for newcomers who saw it as a comfortable haven in an alien city, in contrast to Los Angeles, which during the 1920s took first place in Mexican American population, and which indeed appeared foreign. One account describes the difference: "In order to live in a house as good as the one which I had in San Antonio, I had to live at a distance of several miles from my work and would have to spend a lot on street cars. Besides in San Antonio, I had all kinds of friends. I know many families. Everything here is different from what it is in San Antonio. To live in that city seems to me like living in Saltillo with little difference. . . . In San Antonio Spanish is spoken everywhere."¹² Yet, despite this attraction, many Mexicans found themselves constantly on the move in search of a living wage and in response to the demands of seasonal employment and business cycles. Youngsters, too, worked the fields alongside their parents, picking cotton and helping to cultivate other crops.

Many unaccompanied men shifted from agricultural to industrial employment in the course of a few years. One such adventurer related his experiences:

In 1917 because of the Carranza and Villa revolution, paper money, and poor business here, and robberies and fights, and also to see the country, I went to the United States. I entered at



2. Mexico and the Southwest

Laredo, and went to Fort Worth, where I had a friend, and worked in a roundhouse for six years. In 1923 I went to Arandas[Mexico] for two years, and married. In 1925 I was sent to California, and worked for a year on the tracks at Corcoran where our first baby was born. Then I went to Redlands, where I worked in citrus fruits for two years. In July 1928 I went to Chicago to work at Illinois Steel Company, where my brother in law was working. I stayed there until July 1931, when I returned to Arandas because there was no work.¹³

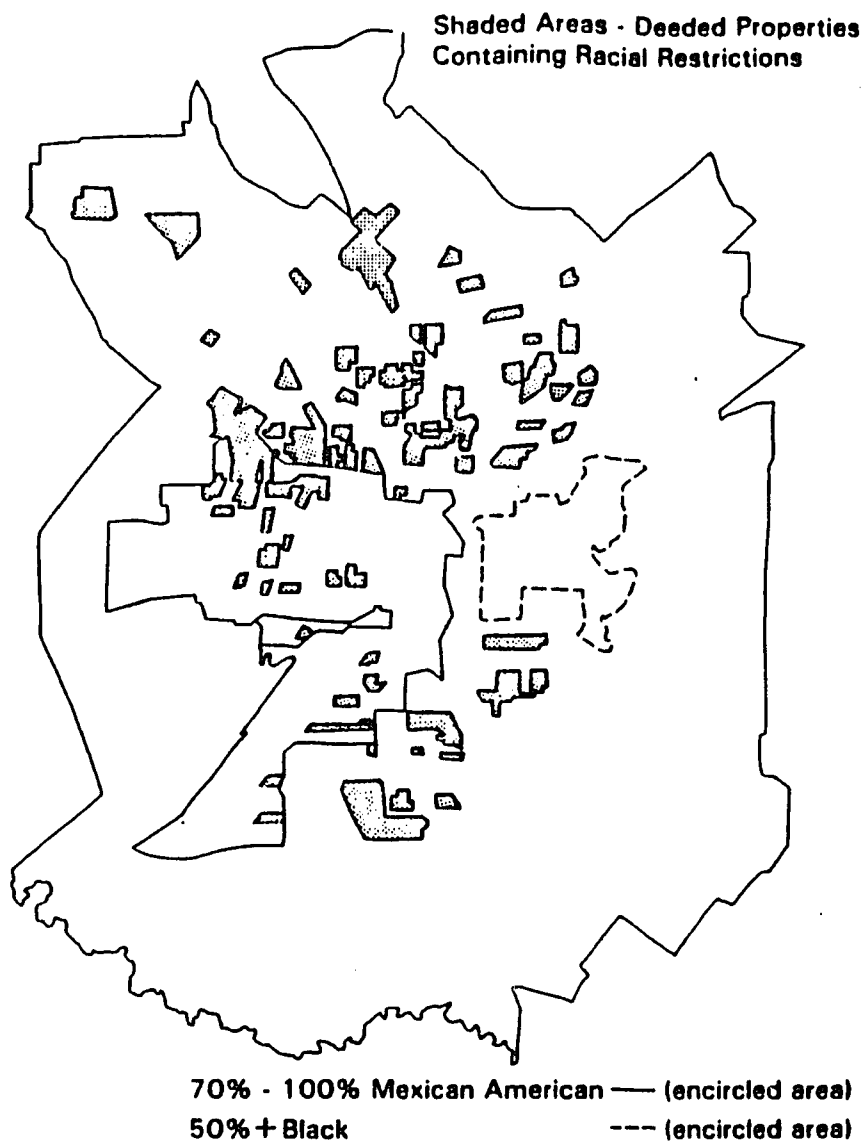
Another Mexican immigrant, the son of the proprietor of large ranch, left his small village in 1923 for the United States. He arrived at his first stop, San Antonio, penniless. A friend helped him get a job at Bethlehem Steel in Pennsylvania, where he worked for two years before returning home. The remittances he sent helped his father buy some land. Generally, however, savings lasted for only a short time and migrants returned for increasingly longer stays in the north.¹⁴

The selection of housing, which usually began with a firm commitment of work, constituted one of the first ordeals faced by the Mexican family. In the 1920s, San Antonio's residential construction lagged behind population growth. Mexicans often found housing units on the West Side that had been converted from single family dwellings, multiple apartments, or boarding houses, and new one-room shacks were thrown up to accommodate the newcomers. Migrant workers found it convenient to buy such dwellings for a small sum, live there during the winter, board them up at the start of the harvest, and return at the end of the season.

During the years 1927 to 1929, when building construction experienced exceptional growth, especially in commercial structures, manufacturing establishments impinged on long-time residential neighborhoods, further overcrowding them. Despite the fact that two-thirds of the nation's urban population lived in zoned communities

by 1931, San Antonio had yet to give much consideration to planning. Thus market forces created informally segregated ethnic communities that restrictive residential covenants enforced. Conventional wisdom then dictated that keeping the Mexican masses on less desirable land would preserve the "homogeneity" of exclusive north side neighborhoods. Harland Bartholomew & Associates, practitioners of modern land-use zoning, reported in 1934 that in San Antonio's North Side, strictly enforced private deed restrictions "maintained the character" of the neighborhood. This was accomplished, of course, at the expense of the large number of Mexicans (and the much smaller black population) within city limits.¹⁵

Bartholomew believed that "education" and the implementation of zoning ordinances ("for the purpose of promoting . . . health, safety, morals and general welfare"), as well as judicious use of land, would benefit those in congested sections. However, despite adequate transit to all built up sections of the city by bus lines, and communication with communities located throughout the state by rail and interurbans, San Antonio lacked the space to house its Mexican poor. In 1930 the city had only 584 apartment buildings, indeed only 3% of its population lived in multi-family residences (or at least those built for that purpose), according to municipal records. Moreover, the middle class was increasingly moving outside the city limits. The Mexican barrio, by the depression, emerged as an intractable urban problem, its boundaries delimiting a four-square-mile region of formidable congestion, "thickly settled" on the West Side's rolling land, south of Culebra Street and east of Main Avenue. Overbuilt lots, most less than twenty-five feet wide, predominated, and crowding meant greater urban problems, including



3. Effects of Restrictive Residential Covenants: 1950, 1970
(San Antonio)

increased death and disease rates.¹⁶

Conditions in the Mexican Quarter became increasingly difficult to rectify, especially during the Great Depression. Although more Mexicans left the United States than entered during the 1930s, this did not stop the arrival of Mexicans to San Antonio since agricultural acreage-reduction laws and poor economic conditions drove laborers from their rural communities to the cities. In Texas alone, the depression swelled the force of migrant Mexicans to as much as 400,000, as many of the central Texas cotton pickers took to the road. They flocked to the cities, which no longer dispersed them, and there they settled. From 1930 to 1940 Bexar County (incorporating the Mission City) recorded an increase in its ratio urbanized, from 82% to 95%, with a net loss of 35,000 rural residents. The city itself grew by about 22,000. The tendency from 1930 to 1940 among the white middle class, however, was towards the suburbs. Within its corporate limits, according to a local booster, San Antonio gave "the feel of being individual suburbs surrounding one large business center."¹⁷

During the depression San Antonio was one of America's poorest cities and Mexicans occupied the bottom rung of the economic ladder. The city did not dispense general relief and relied largely on federal public works programs. In the late 1930s about two-thirds of the Mexican population lived on the West Side. The colony encompassed the vice district, located close to "colorful" Santa Rosa Street and Produce Row, "for the convenience of the army boys [and] over the continuous protest of the Mexican families who have to live there," in the words of one reformer.¹⁸ It also had the highest tuberculosis rate infant mortality rates in the nation, due mostly to poor housing conditions.

Not all Mexicans suffered in dire poverty in San Antonio, however. Upper middle-class professionals, industrialists, former political figures, educators, military leaders and the like had fled the homeland for religious and social, as well as purely economic reasons. There was a group which could more easily rise in the hard times. Many reestablished themselves as businessmen on the West Side and lived in mixed communities adjacent to the barrio. One such district was Prospect Hill. Shortly after World War I, West Commerce Street, the main thoroughfare, became a booming business artery. Westward, towards the top of The Hill, sprouted many shops. Shortly thereafter, as the older pioneer families of Belgian and German stock left for subdivisions developing in other areas of the city, many members of the Mexican middle class sought refuge there, gradually buying into its higher slopes. Some of the poorer immigrants settled on its southeast and outer reaches, near jobs in the stockyards, the railroads and the Belgian farms. The neighborhood has come to symbolize San Antonio's assimilated Chicano middle class. A smaller number of Mexicans, both Tejanos and wealthy ricos who fled the Revolution, scattered themselves among American residential sections. The latter maintained their allegiance to Mexico and, in their attitudes, "always faced South."¹⁹

In 1935 prominent San Antonians created a Slum Clearance Committee. The following year housing conditions on the West Side made the news as the city declared war on "dilapidated, unsanitary shanties." These "corrals," or vecindades, were U-shaped rows of wooden shacks with dirt floors around crowded courts, lacking indoor plumbing and overflowing with families which rented for as low as fifty cents to a dollar a week. The

private sector largely ignored building in the area. Surveys revealed that 52% of San Antonio families lived in substandard housing conditions, particularly in the rapidly growing tenant population. Mexicans made up more than half of this number.²⁰

In 1937, Texas passed a slum clearance bill allowing the creation of local agencies to administer the 1934 Housing Act. The San Antonio Housing Authority consisted of five men, including Father Carmelo Tranchese, a life-long devotee to the problems of barrio life whose ties to the administration in Washington proved helpful in obtaining public housing. By the early 1940s, four federally financed projects stood in San Antonio, replacing about 2,500 slum dwellings, over the objections of West Side slumlords, who had enjoyed good revenues from their properties before clearance. The largest of all the projects was the Alazan-Apache Courts, where 5,000 persons, mostly Mexicans, lived in 1,200 units. Of the other projects, two served blacks on the East Side and another whites. Units contained five rooms, in low density buildings housing two to four families, each with backyard space. The demolition required for construction, however, had the unfortunate side effects of displacing families; many chose to move outside of city limits where building codes and other municipal regulations did not apply. Their new and often substandard residences offered only temporary easing of hardships.²¹

Racially restrictive covenants segregated Mexican Americans and other minorities in San Antonio. On the West Side most developments with such deeds arose between 1921 and 1935 to counter the settlement of immigrants. In the 1940s their use on North Side homes applied also to the second generation, forbidding sale, resale, or rental to persons of Mexican, "Negro," and sometimes "Mediterranean" ancestry, thereby

reinforcing existing patterns of residence and maintaining educational, economic and political isolation. Legally, however, Mexicans in Texas and other southern states were considered white and hence allowed unchallenged access to public conveyances, hotels and places of amusement. It was not until 1948, in Shelley v. Kraemer, that the Supreme Court ruled enforcement of race restrictive covenants unconstitutional.²²

Covenants clearly discriminated against all persons not representing themselves as Anglo. One week after Carlos Tovar and his wife, both native-born American citizens, moved into the house he built in a new addition in 1946, a realtor filed suit against them. Other Anglos joined him in his petition, contending that although they could own the property, deed restrictions prohibited them from living in it. The couple was forced to leave after 90 days. Similarly, the Guaranty Title Company denied David Garcia, an American citizen and World War II veteran, title to a property he purchased in July, 1947, even though he was eligible for financing.²³

Even renters faced harassment. Walter A. Gilprich and his wife of Mexican descent lived in a San Antonio apartment complex. The landlord told him that the neighbors complained because of her ancestry and felt that it was "to the best interest of all concerned" for them to leave. Alonzo Perales, a prominent lawyer and leader of the Mexican American community, blamed real estate developers for denying Mexicans equality of opportunity by their insistence upon exclusion in general but particularly against veterans, "the very men who made it possible for them to continue to exist." He chastised them for their "mercenary" motives and for "fostering racial strife and undermining the very

foundations of our republic," while generally freeing from blame the Anglo veteran who, he said, would not object to the presence of the "Mexican American buddy in his midst."²⁴

Real estate agents called to testify during a court challenge to the covenants in San Antonio echoed the prevailing sentiments of the private sector favoring policies maintaining racially homogeneous neighborhoods, which had been embodied in the policies of the Federal Housing Administration in its Underwriting Manual, in 1938. One witness described the process in detail:

We find in our appraisal work and mortgage risk work that real estate has the best values, the most stable value, in those neighborhoods where the people are happy, compatible people in the same social and income group, where their children can enjoy the same advantages, where they belong to the same churches, the same organizations, where they have a lot in common, and the homes mean a lot to them, and for that reason we try to provide restrictions that will insure that kind of a neighborhood. After we lose control of the land, after we have sold it, we know the purchaser will in turn have to sell it to the type of buyer we originally contemplated.²⁵

He was obviously not concerned with the justice of such practices, or whether they constituted discrimination against Mexicans, pointing out that "when prospective buyers go into a neighborhood, they want to know what the restrictions are, and if you do not have restrictions against Mexicans, they will buy in a neighborhood where they do have them."²⁶

Shortly before this case was heard in court, the Supreme Court issued its ruling in Shelley V. Kraemer, declaring racially restrictive covenants unenforceable in civil courts. The local judge followed this ruling in making his decision in Clifton v. Puente. Nonetheless, voluntary, nonenforceable agreements remained in force, and residence patterns formed during the peak years of Mexican immigration and settlement persisted. Mexicans generally expanded into unrestricted

areas, especially in the western side of town, where income and market forces determined housing choices to a greater extent. Residential succession spurred the formation of mixed neighborhoods. Moreover, segments of the Mexican American population could be found in all quadrants, even east San Antonio, in areas of "second settlement."²⁷

The further north one went from the center of the city the more expensive and elaborate became the homes, and the more spacious and well kept their physical environment. In the northeastern section of the metropolis lay the suburban communities of Alamo Heights, a prosperous area, and Olmos Park, where oil tycoons and retired cattle ranchers lived. The South Side housed San Antonio's Anglo working classes. The location of the newer Mexican areas reflected de facto segregation, and Mexicans continued to live together whether they wanted to or not. Most inter-ethnic contact occurred in the performance of occupational roles. In those situations where contact was voluntary, such as residence, education, recreation, and religious worship, the characteristic feature was separation rather than common participation, occurring in commercial and professional services, which both groups kept to a minimum. Proximity to Mexico also facilitated access to Mexican culture in the form of movies, newspapers and magazines, music, and popular literature, as well as through voluntary organizations and politics.²⁸

Moreover, a pecking order in the Latino social structure emerged after the Revolution as new immigrants joined Tejanos and confronted the unique Texas Mexican culture. Tejanos already partook of some of the advantages of material culture and noticed sharp differences in the immigrants. Status-conscious Tejanos viewed the influx of the "foreign"

Mexican as a threat to their social as well as economic progress, making for a cleavage which persisted through the late 1940s. Thereafter, a new wave of braceros, contract laborers, and mojados, the so-called wetbacks, commenced. Nevertheless, the proportion of foreign born in the Latino population in San Antonio has decreased since World War II.²⁹

During the 1940s the city annexed much of the land outside its original 36 square-mile corporate limits in an effort to control development. The boom years of World War II, with increased job opportunities and high wages and a sharp increase in the Mexican population and Anglo newcomers, saw the "unhampered spread of slums." Due to exploitation by developers, lack of sewer and water facilities and streets, many Mexicans found that themselves moving from one slum over to another just as bad; many of the homes were "substandard when they were first sold." The 1951 Comprehensive Master Plan for San Antonio noted that south of Commerce, east of Flores, south of Culebra and generally west of Zarzamora streets lay vast slum and blighted areas. It recommended help in slum clearance under Title I of the 1949 Housing Act in order to alleviate conditions "where underprivileged Latin American families lived in filth and squalor" and included not only housing but transportation: "Except for major thoroughfares, paved streets practically were nonexistent, a little gravel topping the extent of the hard surfacing."³⁰

Much of the Edgewood District, in the southwestern part of the city, had long been vacant land and needed replatting. Its rapid growth after World War II led to the creation of a new, separate school district, which soon became overcrowded. Formerly, this area had been one of irrigated farms--in fact some remained. The plan recommended

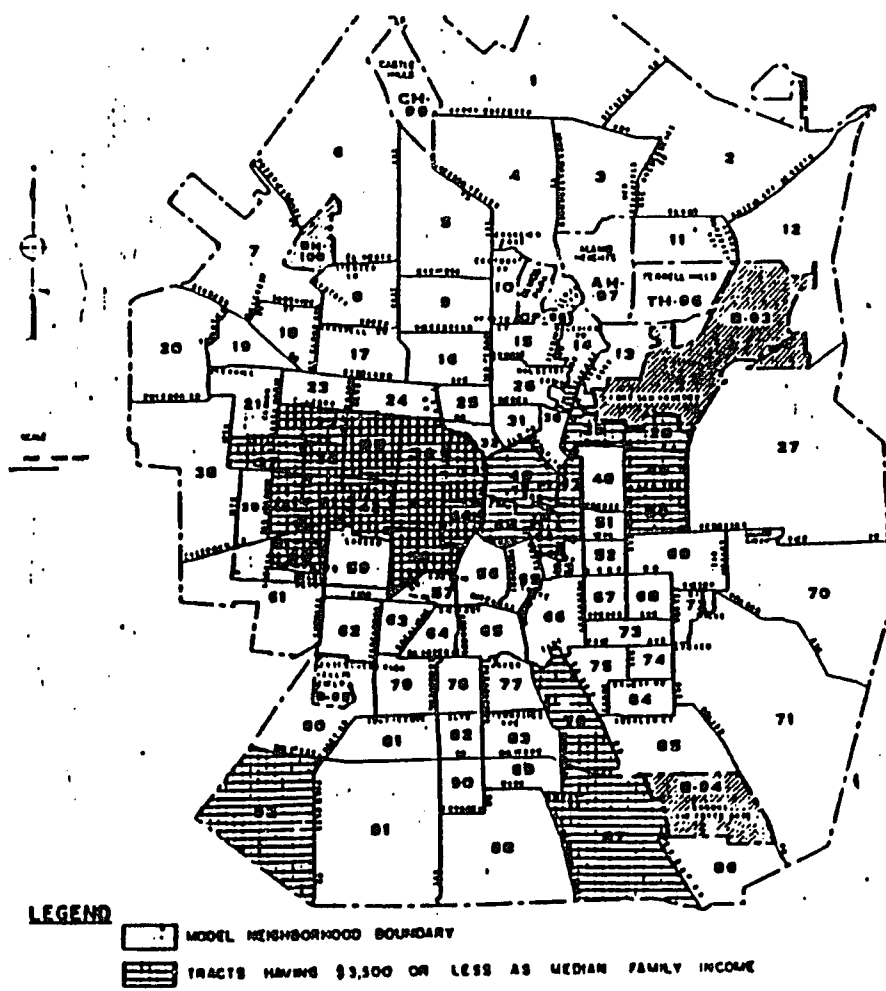
clearance, noting that "the concerted action of the city School Board, the real estate developer and the public at large will be needed in the execution of a concept of redevelopment."³¹ It suggested city enactment and enforcement of a health ordinance, setting up minimum health standards as well as subdivision control regulations and zoning. Although unheeded by city fathers at the time, the ambitious master plan accurately described the growing polarization between booming metropolis and barrio destitution.

Despite municipal ordinances prohibiting residences from covering more than 40% of the lot area much overbuilding occurred. "This is particularly true in the Latin American section of the city where in some instances shacks have been erected for rent or for use of other members of the families covering almost the entire backyard. In many cases they have little or no sanitary facilities and are of the crudest type of habitation."³² Often no building permits were taken out and this construction was usually done by members of the family or else by friends, consequently the building inspector had no record of the work. Housing codes had never been seriously enforced and the city turned a blind eye to all sorts of violations. Alleys often became streets, and backyards as such ceased to exist. In 1948 the City Health Department announced a crackdown on unsanitary conditions in many of the corrals, of which some 150 existed on the West Side. Two years later the San Antonio Housing Committee urged enforcement of all health ordinances relating to residence with emphasis on the elimination of the Red Light District.

The San Antonio industrial area, too close to downtown and, with the trend of residential development in the suburbs too far away from

sources of labor supply to be economical, was ill-suited even for light manufacturing. Additional areas had to be set aside before residential development became too costly. Redevelopment of partially built up areas not yet of slum character would afford standard housing through federal loans and grants under a Title I provision for "predominantly vacant lands," and redevelopment of more denser, blighted areas, with relocation, might, according to the Plan, allow for a relatively inexpensive clearance program, the benefits of which would accrue to the "general welfare of citizens." One productive action taken on this recommendation was the construction of a handful of public housing units. By 1956 about three-fourths of San Antonio's Mexicans lived on the West Side in substandard dwellings. In many places, water vendors were the only source of usable water. The streets remained unpaved and severely rutted. However, continued filtration into exclusive areas indicated "a loosening of the bonds of Anglo supremacy." A change of attitudes had begun, and Chicanos for the first time grew up outside the old barrio in significant numbers.³³

Its reputed lack of profitability led to ignorance of and lack of interest in the demand for better low-income housing on the part of builders and lenders. The relatively few new homes built for Latinos before 1952 were not in large scale developments. In these years, a number of lumberyard builders and a few smaller developers constructed houses on lots which gave the purchase on equity in the property and served as down payment of sorts in mortgage finance. In 1952 a pioneer Anglo builder completed 750 homes for Mexican Americans on the West Side. From 1952 to 1956 a total of about 3,500 homes, most in the \$7,500 to \$9,500 price range and most under FHA or VA financing, went

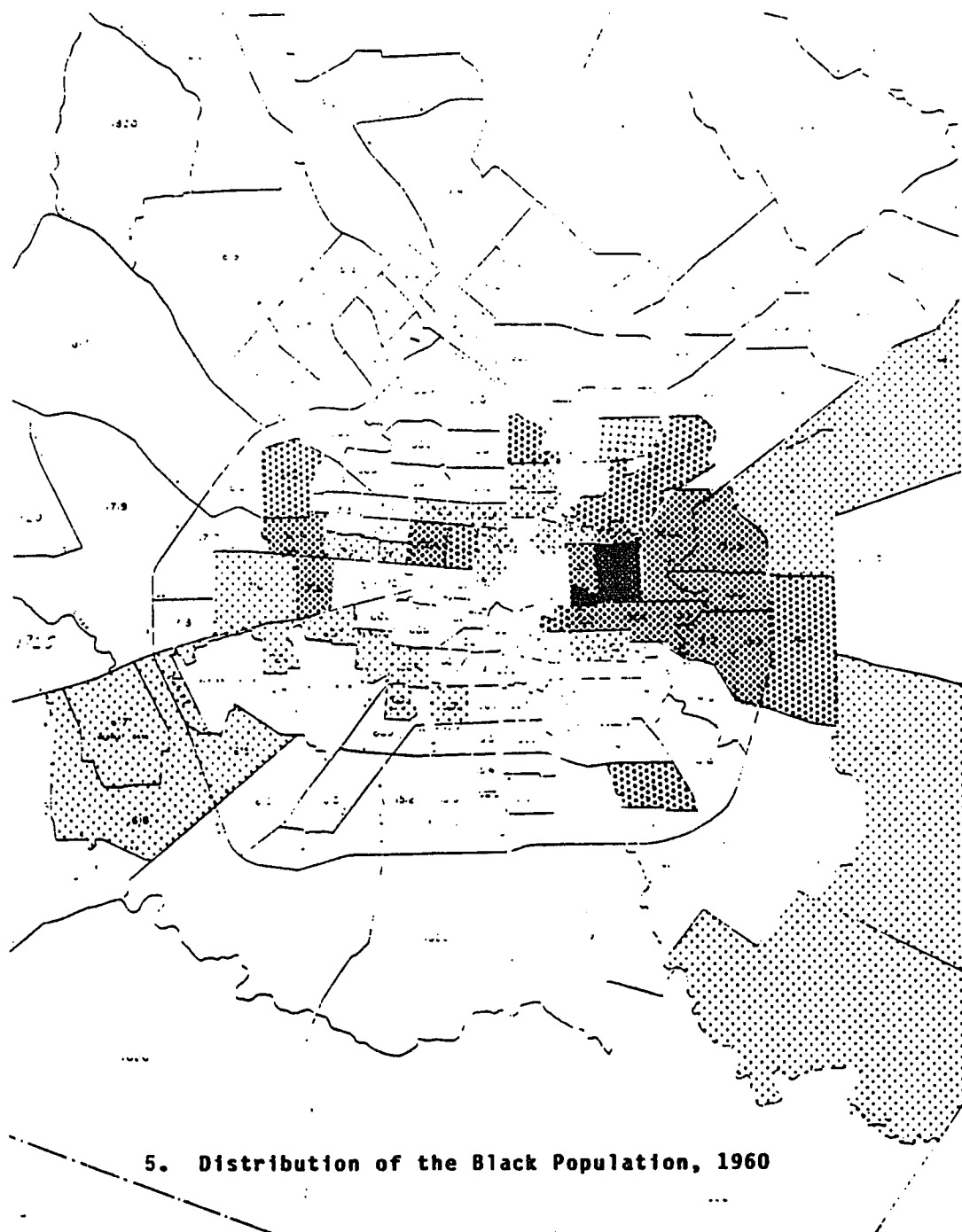


4. San Antonio Census Tracts Having \$3,500 or Less as Median Family Income, 1960

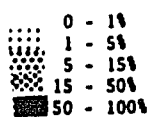
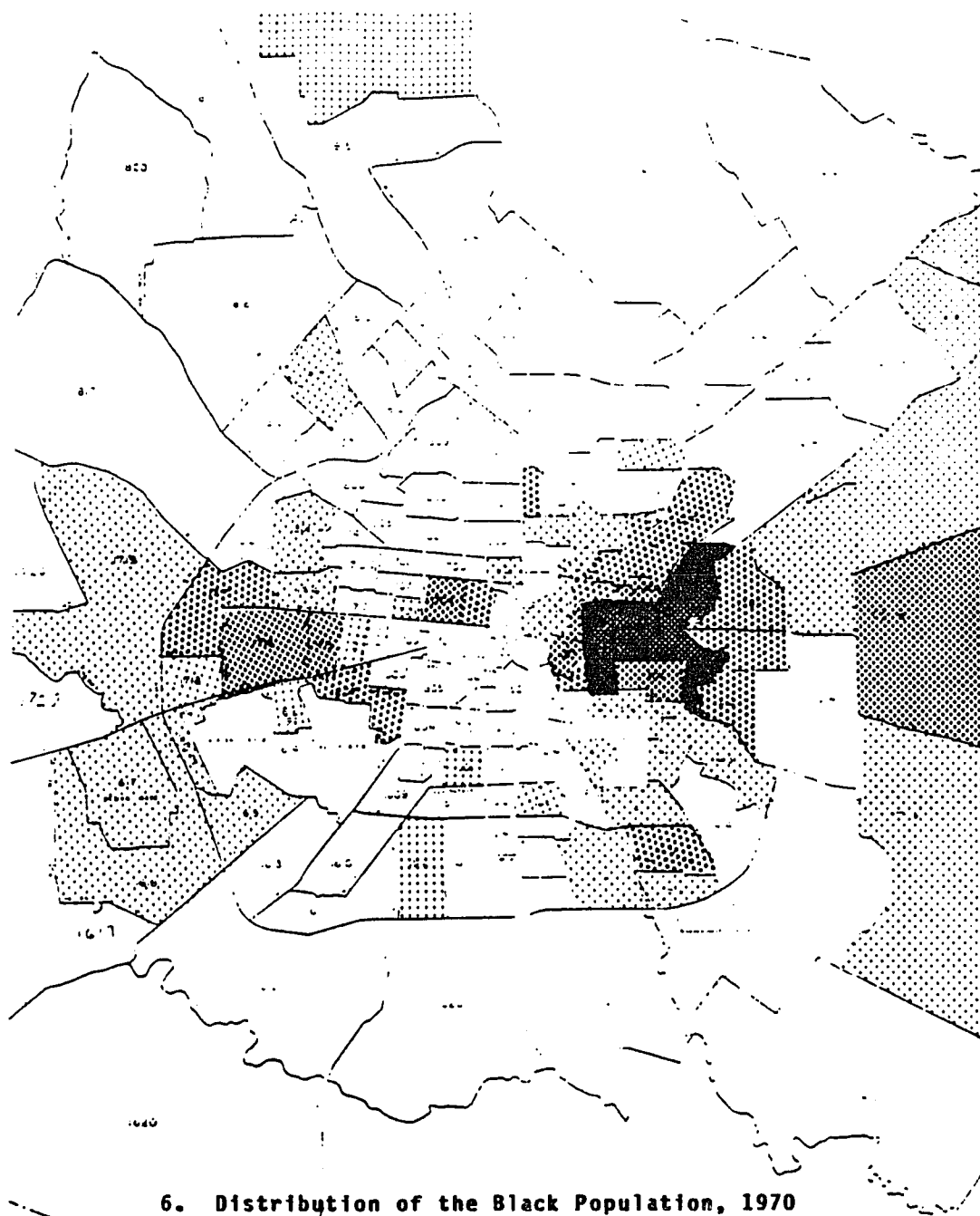
up; accessible loans sparked a concomitant trend toward rehabilitation of older units.³⁴

Despite encouraging signs, however, severe overcrowding characterized the neighborhood throughout the immediate postwar decade. Few rentals existed aside from the 2,500 low-income public housing units. A comparison of San Antonio blacks with Latinos revealed that black family income and education levels were higher despite their smaller family size. Further, housing conditions were generally better on the East Side. Blacks did not live in any one old area or in a solid ghetto. They gradually bought property on the fringe of new white residential areas. Significantly, Chicanos faced less overall and formal discrimination than the blacks. Most real estate agents, both Anglo and Chicano, refused to introduce Mexicans into any area in which they might be unwelcome, fortifying old residence patterns.³⁵

Perhaps the sharpest housing practices occurred under the now antiquated contracts-of-sale, financing arrangements between lumberyard builders and others dealing in lower priced housing whereby no formal mortgage and little or no down payment was made. The buyer had to completely pay for his home before getting legal ownership. Residents had no equity in the property and did not receive a deed until the balance reached zero; the cost of additions was added to the price of the house. Tenants therefore became subject to evictions at any point because of missed payments. Although this was an easy way to buy a house, unethical sellers on the West Side often abused the practice to the extent that it was dubbed "homebuyer's roulette." Said a city official, "I know of one case where a women had bought a \$3,200 house for a contract-of-sale. After paying on it for 15 years, she still owed



0 - 1%
 1 - 5%
 5 - 15%
 15 - 50%
 50 - 100%



\$2,800. Of her \$50 monthly payments, only about \$3 went on the principal; the other \$47 was interest."³⁶ Although this practice no longer goes on, as late as 1972 it was believed that more than 10,000 San Antonio homes were being bought under contracts-of-sale, and most of the potential owners were Chicanos.

San Antonio approved a general city program for urban renewal in December, 1957. The process was tightly controlled by the new establishment of municipal reform and local businessmen, under the banner of the Good Government League. The initial goal of their non-partisan coalition was simply to reduce administrative chaos. A second substantial aim sought to vitalize the central business district and refurbish the image of the city through downtown development. Some of its supporters saw it as a way to rid the central city of slums and replace them with enterprises that would bolster waning property values, help the city in its struggle for fiscal solvency and bring back some of its expatriate middle-class citizens. While they did not reverse suburban sprawl, redevelopment policies succeeded to some extent in creating a more modern image.³⁷

Starting in the early sixties, the Central West Project took sixty-eight acres of dilapidated Mexican housing, over 95% substandard, including the infamous multi-unit corrals and the Red Light zone located west of the courthouse and city hall, for commercial reuse. In Rosa Verde on the north, renewal involved a combination of housing rehabilitation and spot clearance for new apartments in the vicinity of major hospitals. For HemisFair, an international exposition held in 1968 which was intended to display the unique heritage of San Antonio and to mark its coming of age as a metropolis, the renewal authority

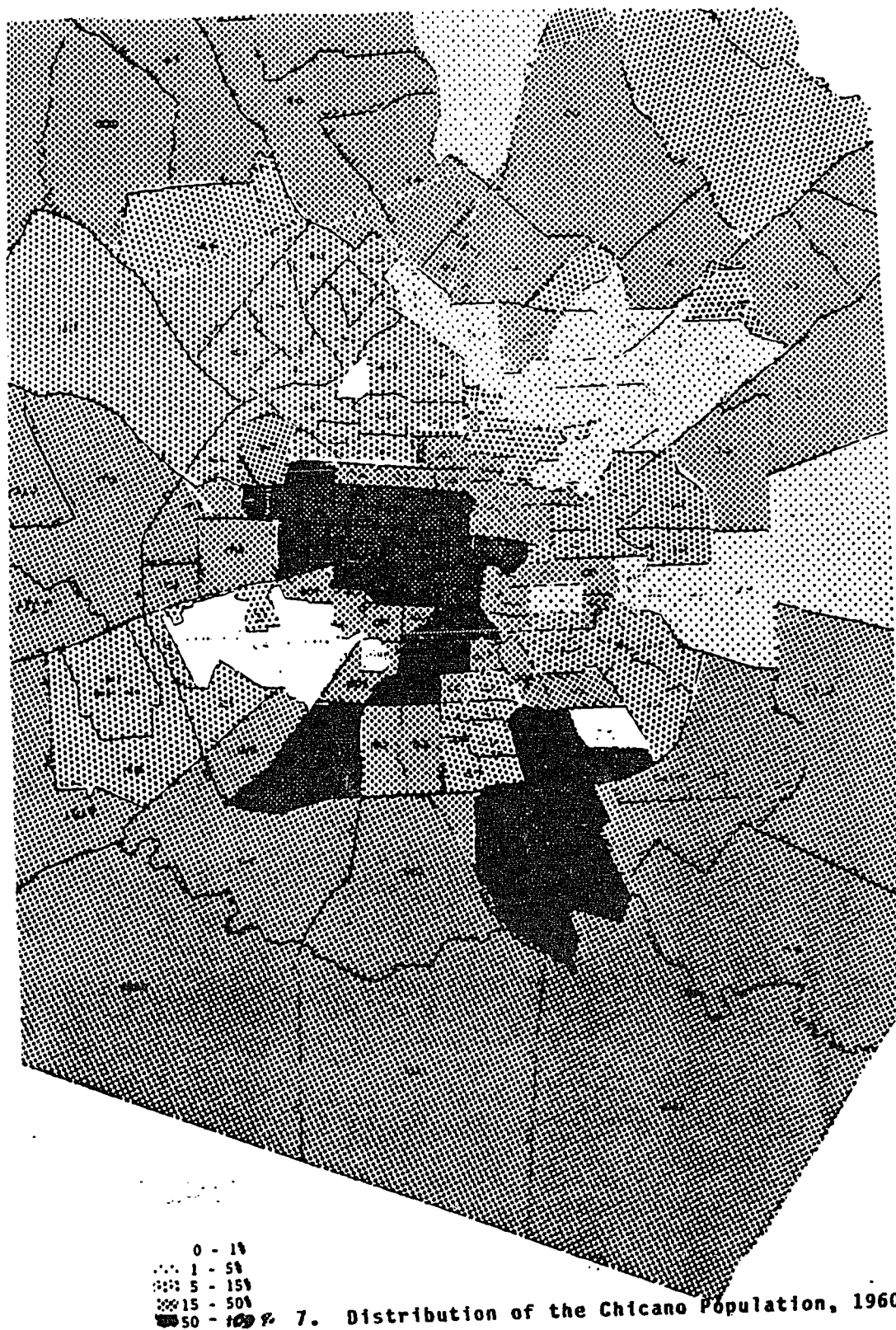
acquired some 150 acres southeast of the Alamo for \$28 million, resold it to the city for \$3 million, and evicted sixteen-hundred residents and a number of active businesses. In turn the city raised a large portion of a 1964 bond issue to finance a civic center consisting of theater, arena, and exhibition building. After the fair closed, the site remained in use for the convention center, a federal building, and tourist attractions to supplement the Alamo, such as the Institute of Texan Cultures and the Tower of the Americas. Since then, the city has joined the private sector to promote construction of additional hotels near the site to allow an expanding tourist and convention business.³⁸

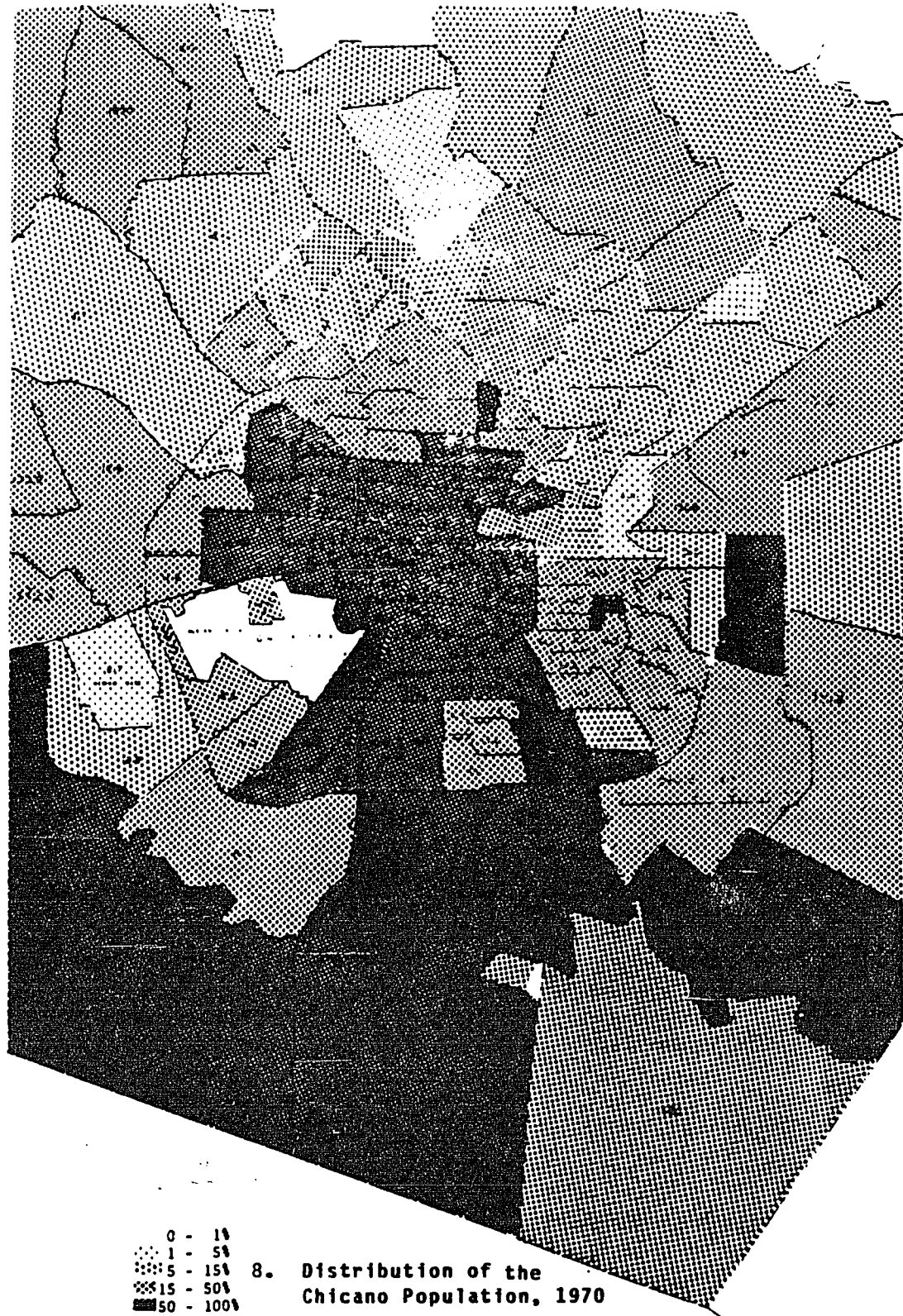
While historically the federal government has tried to design solutions for specific problems existing throughout the nation under categorical grant programs, the Model Cities process reflected the reverse to a large degree. It called upon local government to develop its own analysis of problems and to develop a comprehensive plan in the hope of ameliorating slum conditions and somehow reversing the decline of cities, or at least making them more livable. Developed in 1966, this program was launched in most metropolitan areas. In San Antonio the Model Neighborhood Area took in much of the West Side, Projects of varying scope addressed problems in employment and education and sought to improve the physical environment. San Antonio's Model Cities Program had no specific housing component, but the completion of a three-mile, concrete-lined, pilot channel in 1975(after prolonged community agitation), prevented massive flooding due to rain water runoff. Confusion often arose as displaced local residents feared being sent to low-income housing projects. The few housing units built in the 1950s(many of which housed the elderly) had a better reputation than

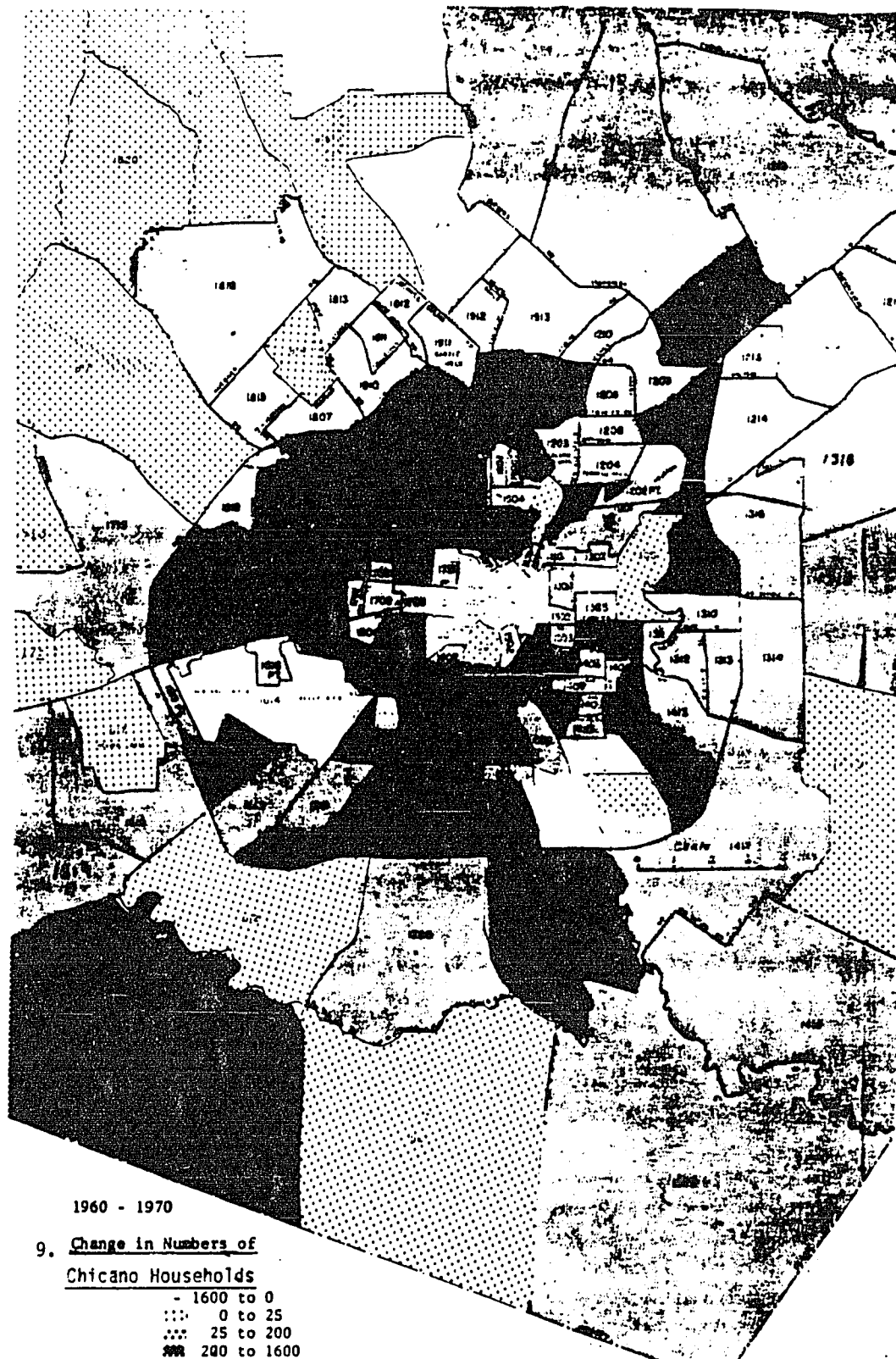
earlier ones.³⁹

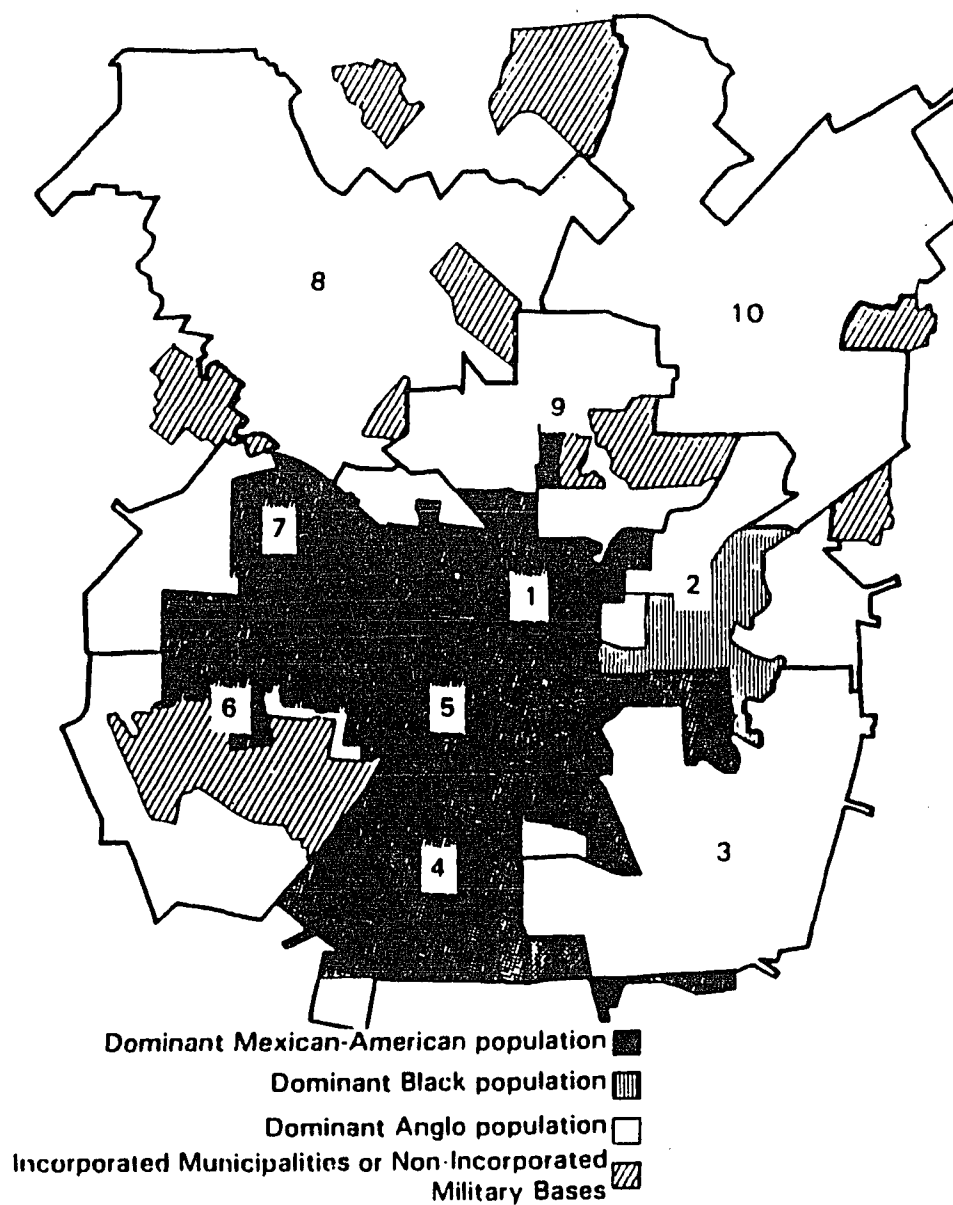
During the early 1960s, one third of San Antonio was considered a slum. Noted the Executive Director of the San Antonio Development Agency, on the lack of housing standards: "Investigators from northern cities were amazed at what they found there. They were used to buildings that had deteriorated into slums. But we had dirt-floored shacks, buildings made out of old Coca-Cola signs."⁴⁰ San Antonio's housing situation also differed in that it had a large number of low income homeowners. During the 1960s \$300 million went into rehabilitation funds, and the city began to change. Gone were the rows of shotgun slums, with five to ten families cooking over kerosene stoves with their unsanitary conditions. New building and zoning regulations gave authorities a lever to move reluctant landowners and builders. Leadership from City Hall in the 1970s put muscle behind the lever. Newly formed community action groups pressured City Hall. Pit privies and cold water taps largely vanished from the city; predictably, health conditions improved enormously.⁴¹

Metropolitan growth since World War II accentuated the city's geographical split. The Chicano population grew from 177,000 in 1950 to 460,000 in 1975, filling in empty land to the west and south, much of it flat, ill-drained, and close to air bases, sewer facilities and steam plants. The postwar period marked the end of the coexistence of low-rise slums with crops and grazing land as well as the decline of the city's historical role as refuge and reservoir for farm workers. In the 1950s, Chicanos made significant advances, although they did not generally move to the North Side. Their residential movement within the city tended to be for short distances. While Anglos moved further out









**10. Ethnic Residency Patterns in San Antonio,
1980**

to the circumferential expressway and found their housing in new subdivision and apartment complexes around the northern quadrant of Interstate Loop 410, higher income Latinos moved into neighborhoods in the near northwest.⁴²

Between 1960 and 1970 the proportion of Mexican Americans in the city grew from 42% to 52% of the population. The Anglo proportion declined from 52% to 29%. Annexation in the 1970s added areas containing Anglo majorities. By 1980 the San Antonio SMSA was tenth in the nation in population and its Chicano population surpassed all United States cities except Los Angeles. The Latino population, of course, was heaviest in the older sections of the metropolis, despite outward movement in the 1960s as expansion occurred in the previously blue-collar Anglo neighborhoods in the Southeast into newer low-rent housing on the southern edge of the city, and into middle class housing in the Northwest.⁴³

In census tracts on the north side of the city the Chicano population increased from 8% in 1960 to 14% in 1970. As low-income Latinos residents expanded to the west and southwest income levels compared with the metropolitan area as a whole declined. Yet, residential segregation persisted. By 1970, twenty-seven percent of the entire city's population lived in the 35 contiguous census tracts in the West Side barrio, all of which were at least seventy percent Spanish-surnamed. Meanwhile, 26% of the city's Latino population lived in twenty-five census tracts located on the Anglo northside.⁴⁴

New York's size, the number of its jobs, the magnitude of its output, the variety of its industry, the population density of its

central city, and many other measures make it unusual. Its heterogeneous population derives from a staggering number of ethnic groups and races (blacks first arrived with the Dutch in the early seventeenth century). In 1900 three-fourths of its population was recorded as "foreign stock," predominantly German, Irish, East European Jews, and Italian. The last forty years of the nineteenth century saw the building up of most of the city's oldest section, increasing population densities in some places to over three-hundred thousand persons per square mile. New waves of varying intensity have arrived throughout the twentieth century. Not surprisingly, congestion has long plagued the nation's principal immigrant city.⁴⁵

Before the era of modern mass transit, horse car travel restricted settlement to lower Manhattan; only the wealthy could live in rural New Jersey and Long Island. The late nineteenth century development of the trolley, the elevated, and the subway (in the 1905) hastened the migration outward from Manhattan. By the time of the creation of Greater New York in 1898, Manhattan had become the focal point of a vast metropolitan area tied together by mass transit. The modern region, for practical purposes, includes the five boroughs, most of Long Island, some upstate counties, as well as parts of New Jersey and Connecticut. It radiates much further, perhaps fifty miles from its epicenter at the Empire State Building. Nor is the end of expansion in sight.⁴⁶

By 1910, Manhattan had reached its greatest domination of the metropolis; after that year the outer boroughs increased their share of the city's population. Brooklyn originally consisted of a number of scattered villages, including the early "bedroom suburb" of Brooklyn

Heights. The ferry and, after 1883, the Brooklyn Bridge accelerated expansion. Detached settlements in the Bronx coalesced later, between 1903 and 1934 to form a solid urban wedge. The pattern of apartment building in those portions of the Bronx and Brooklyn that are directly adjacent to Manhattan made multiple unit apartments the almost exclusive type of residential structure, with the tallest buildings raised along new subway routes. In this manner, two-family areas were located just beyond the multi-family areas, and single family areas stood still further from the business center of the city. Queens, along with Staten Island, marked the frontiers of settlement within city limits, where construction came later.⁴⁷

New York's housing naturally reflects diversity. Few American cities have had as great a proportion of its population living in multiple dwellings. In most cities the lot and block layouts, accessibility of the central business district from the outskirts, lower land values, and less intensive immigration allowed the construction of either detached single-family or row houses. New York faced a housing problem earlier than other American cities, and has thus developed a longer history of legislative attempts at reform. It had no tenement problem before the 1840s, although housing and health conditions among the poor always appeared dire to observers.

In 1838 the first tenement went up on Cherry Street, in lower Manhattan. This new device was intended as a step forward, to provide small independent quarters, one apartment per family, rather than crowd several families into a dwelling designed for one. Before long, however, large numbers of immigrants converged on the limited space. Early tenements resembled barracks. Water supply privies were in the yards,

and dark, poorly ventilated rooms abounded. Stores, warehouses, and other buildings also served as residences. Lower Manhattan long retained the bulk of the tenement houses; yet in 1920 three-fourths of the entire city lived in them.⁴⁸

The Lower East Side was fully built up by 1900. Its street pattern and congested tenements developed earlier, when proximity to employment centers in Manhattan made the area an important residential quarter. It also served as the entrepot for European immigrants. The efforts of reformers such as Jacob Riis led to the construction of a substantial number of new-law tenements after 1901, replacing unsafe and dingy buildings. The neighborhood since 1900 has seen dramatic population losses, locational shifts in employment centers, and massive clearance and public housing programs to enhance the physical structure of the area, which had seemed to be largely fixed under nineteenth century conditions. Today it serves only a marginal role in the city's reception of immigrants.⁴⁹

The earliest immigrants from Puerto Rico were tabaqueros working for European and Caribbean cigar shops on this Lower East Side. Characteristically footloose when they arrived in the late 1890s, they also lived in rooming houses throughout Lower Manhattan, following the northward movement of the tobacco industry. More recent newcomers went to West 14th Street, and the Chelsea section developed a large population as Puerto Ricans could find easy employment in factories and on the docks. Some compatriots have been traced uptown as early as 1893 to the area around 100th Street and Third Avenue.⁵⁰

Families arrived as early as 1898 in the now exclusive Park Slope section of Brooklyn, on Jefferson, Johnson, and Adams streets. Since

the early 1910s many Puerto Rican lived in the Borough Hall section near the East River. For twenty years three American steamship companies operated passenger and cargo ships between New York and Puerto Rico. Piers located in the Erie Basin parallel to Columbia Street marked the first point of entry for Puerto Ricans who had completed the five day trip. This settlement began to grow in earnest about 1920 as increasing migration from the island swelled existing colonies. The Red Hook section in South Brooklyn offered low rents and served(along with East Harlem) as one of the two emerging loci of settlement, allowing limited expansion to the north and eventually overflowing into the Navy Yard and Williamsburg. Until almost 1950 Puerto Ricans represented merely one of the myriad groups of strangers from foreign lands, although the roots of their great post-World War II migration and residential patterns date to 1917.⁵¹

Harlem during the twenties overtook Brooklyn as the center of Puerto Rican settlement. Few neighborhoods in the entire city had as disproportionate a number of native Americans or Old Immigrants as Harlem at the turn of the century. Many late nineteenth century Harlemites born downtown or immigrating before 1850 had moved north after 1873, when Harlem was annexed to New York. As it grew, distinct neighborhoods formed in the western and eastern sections with Fifth Avenue(and later Park Avenue) the dividing line. Fashionable dwellings existed in both areas since 1850; elegant brownstones made Fifth Avenue and 125th Street an exclusive intersection. To the east emerged mixed housing. Irish and German immigrants escaping already overcrowded Lower East Side built shacks in undeveloped lots out of old crates and refuse from factories and shanty homes lined the landscape. When the economic

depression lifted in 1879 speculators unloaded this suddenly valuable land, and tenements arose on empty lots.⁵²

A few Italian laborers migrated into East Harlem in the 1870s. More followed in the after 1880, when the Second Avenue elevated opened from the Lower East Side north to the Harlem River. Newcomers fled Mulberry Bend, the "Little Italy" in lower Manhattan, following the Irish and Germans uptown to work in the construction industry. In the 1890s the poverty of Harlem's Little Italy and other shantytowns contrasted sharply with the "respectable" middle class housing or the finer homes. The first New Immigrants who came to Harlem represented a source of embarrassment and displeasure to the "cream of our citizenship." Railroad flats and dumbbell tenements, with small and dangerously constructed apartments, predominated. New Law tenements, although safer, had better ventilated rooms and provided nicer surroundings.⁵³

The southern portion of West Harlem and part of East Harlem, particularly in the area from East 99th to 125th Streets, Park to Eighth Avenue, housed a large and growing community of Eastern European Jews, many of whom had lived previously in the Lower East Side. The uptown district remained far less congested than downtown, but the tenements themselves offered little inducement to migrate. As late as 1903, the New York City Tenement House Department reported that East Harlem was still predominantly Irish and German. By 1915 Old Immigrant groups had largely departed. In 1916, the city's first zoning law permitted almost unrestricted construction of small factories and shops in East Harlem, blighting what remained of its residential potential. Tenement degradation accelerated as housing construction lapsed during World

War I. In 1919 the construction of the Lexington Avenue subway drove out the last of the elite.⁵⁴

Although smaller than the Tenderloin and San Juan Hill, Harlem's black population increased at the turn of the century; though only negligible residential turnover occurred before the World War I migration. Blacks previously residing in Lower Manhattan displaced by the destruction of the old Pennsylvania Station in the first decade of the twentieth century joined the ever increasing new migration from the South. The core of Harlem, the section around 135th Street and Seventh Avenue, an area with many luxury apartment houses, became predominantly black by 1920. Throughout the following decade it was recognized as the "Negro Mecca" and the scene of Harlem's great "renaissance."⁵⁵

Beginning east of black Harlem, around 101st and 102nd Streets and Third Avenue, Puerto Ricans moved about over a large area, covering the northeast boundary of Central Park, as greater numbers continued to come from the Island. Prior to the settlement of the first Puerto Ricans other Latinos, particularly Cubans, had lived there, renting apartments from Sephardic Jews, who owned buildings in the vicinity of 110 Street and Fifth Avenue. Together, they extended the settlement northward to meet a highly congested area, almost entirely black, at about 125th Street. By 1916, a second major concentration had been established around East 116th Street, between Third and Fifth Avenues. During World War I, East Harlem's Puerto Rican population grew rapidly, and thereafter a considerable colony came to the border of the black belt. The islanders unwittingly aided the blacks in their expansion below 116th Street. According to Harlem observers, complexions became progressively darker when Puerto Ricans moved into an apartment house,

thus opening the door for black New Yorkers.⁵⁶

The rapidly growing Jewish community replaced the Germans and Irish east of Third Avenue, eventually peaking in 1919 at about 100,000 people. To the west was a second Jewish community in Central Harlem, which in 1919 housed 50,000 people. In both neighborhoods Jewish out-migration began in 1919, before the black and Latino invasion, and was due to a desire to improve social status by moving to new dwellings recently built in the Bronx. The Jews on the whole were better able financially to move to newer areas than blue collar Italian residents. By 1920 the out-migration of Jews (from both Central and East Harlem) was proceeding at a rapid pace, squeezed out in part by the blacks. Within a few years the Jewish population declined precipitously: from 122,000 in 1923, to 52,000 in 1927, to 15,000 in 1932, to 4,000 in 1937. The invasion of blacks and Puerto Ricans and the expansion of the Italian area in East Harlem turned a small out-migration of Jews into a stampede. Here the Puerto Ricans found, as a result, much better apartments, but also higher rents, leading them to take in lodgers. Landlords, faced with the out-migration of wealthier residents, allowed the buildings to fall into disrepair.⁵⁷

The Puerto Ricans concentrated their energy in building a bulwark of small businesses. In replacing the former residents and businesses they encountered strenuous opposition and great difficulty in renting shops. Jews feared the competition of Spanish stores and merchants, particularly in the section between 110th and 126th streets. Youths reportedly organized melees to intimidate the intruders. At the end of July 1926, an intense week of street fights and arguments between the two groups led to the creation of a defense league of Latinos designed

to prevent assaults and protect the welfare of the Spanish speaking. Continued violence merely quickened the pace of out-migration, giving Jews a strong disposition to leave the slum. Through the 1940s, however, they continued to own many of East Harlem's houses and shops, and also represented a significant proportion of its professionals.⁵⁸

In the other part of East Harlem a different out-migration pattern emerged. Italians dominated large sections of the community by 1910, with 69,000 persons, with a nucleus along Second Avenue from 102nd to 116th Streets. In the post World War I years they became pressured by Puerto Ricans from the south and west. Both competed for the newly vacated apartments. The disintegration of the Italian community proceeded extremely slowly. East Harlem housed during the 1920s the largest Italian immigrant community in the United States; by 1930 it reached 80,000.⁵⁹

By 1930, all ethnic groups there except Italo-Americans and Puerto Ricans were on the decline. East Harlem's population dropped from 255,000 in 1930 to 211,000 in 1940, but, in response to the postwar housing shortage and the massive influx of Puerto Ricans, it rose again to 246,000 in 1950. Its ethnic composition was dominated by two contiguous and self-contained communities, Italian Harlem and El Barrio--or Spanish Harlem--the largest Puerto Rican community in the continental United States, situated west of Third Avenue and South of 120th Street. It grew from 13,000 in 1930 to 20,000 in 1940, to 63,000 in 1950. The colony in Brooklyn was not nearly as densely populated. Although unmistakably Puerto Rican, El Barrio never became as ethnically homogeneous as Italian Harlem, yet a very large percentage of the non-Puerto Rican population consisted of other Latinos. Little English

could be heard and residents resisted acculturation, partly due to the absence of a middle class, and perhaps more importantly, because many of the migrants intended to return to the island. Professionals located businesses catering to the workers along 116th Street. The relatively large percentage of Puerto Ricans of mixed racial background in El Barrio also contributed much to the persistence of its isolation.⁶⁰

The invasion into the main Italian area was stopped for a time in the 1930s. The Depression temporarily halted Puerto Rican immigration to the United States and actually forced many to return to their homeland. Almost 10,000 between 1930 and 1934, which was equivalent to 20% of the Puerto Rican population in the United States at the time, left New York. East Harlem, therefore, remained substantially Italian for many more years. Neighborhood patterns froze, since few families had the money to move elsewhere and almost no housing was constructed in Italian Harlem between World War I and 1950.⁶¹

Although housing conditions remained difficult in El Barrio and elsewhere in New York, they generally remained a step above those in Puerto Rico. Most of the migrants in the pre-1945 migration had lived in cities on the island before coming to New York, where an antiquated land rent system prevailed. Since the nineteenth century the laboring class had not earned sufficient wages to buy land and, moreover, landowners generally allowed free use of small plots for huts. In the early years of the twentieth century, however, the value of the land greatly increased and landowners implemented the rent system, finding it more profitable to sell entire tracts after holding them off the market for a few years rather than selling small parcels to individual laborers. Many landlords thus speculated at the expense of workers. Moreover, in

the big cities of Puerto Rico the landlord owned all the vacant land in or near the towns; some proprietors also subleased houses in major cities.⁶²

The laboring class lived in ranchones, row houses of one- or two-story tenements surrounding unsanitary courtyards, without kitchens, and ill-drained. Congestion, although bad, was not nearly as dense as in the United States, since the cities were much smaller and dwellings rarely exceeded two stories; most of towns outside of San Juan had ample room for expansion. The capital, "a solid compact mass of masonry," lacked vacant land. Many of the houses in the worst areas originally served as private residences or mercantile establishments.⁶³

In 1910 the rural population, those living in places of less than 2,500, represented about 80% of the total as island life took on the form of scattered farms. Only in the more inaccessible sections inland did the laborers who built their homes actually own them or the land on which they stood. Due to the scarcity of wood and other building materials landlords customarily allowed their laborers to take the necessary amount of grass, sticks, or wood from the property to build the huts. If the laborer migrated the dwelling reverted to the owner, who then passed it on to new workers. Poor rural laborers suffered acutely from the lack of cheap and durable building material. The migratory lifestyle of the cane and coffee worker, and his lack of landed property, made him totally dependent on his employer for even the cheapest kind of temporary structures.⁶⁴

By 1940 70% of the Puerto Rican population was rural, 30% urban. The concentration in cities increased to 41% in 1950 and to 67% in 1980. Significantly, an increasing percentage of rural dwellers migrated to

New York during the years 1945-1960. Large jibaro families, averaging over five members, had low incomes and little formal education. By far the large majority of Puerto Rican families lived in houses rather than in apartments. Nearly two-thirds of them owned their houses, though more than one fourth did not own the lots on which they resided. Primitive cooking equipment--fogones and anafres--burned wood, sticks or charcoal, depending on which was available. Most rural dwellers lived somewhat removed from major cities, on inaccessible roads with few municipal amenities. Overcrowding of too many persons in small rooms occurred in all parts of the island. Construction of public housing proceeded slowly, although a Puerto Rican housing authority had existed since 1938, one of several New Deal offshoots to reach the island.⁶⁵

In the immediate post-World War II decade more than 400,000 Puerto Ricans migrated to the mainland, pulled by the resumption of transportation and better economic opportunities, and pushed by the island's failing agricultural sector. The "Marine Tigers," named after the ship which held over 1,000 passengers per boat, arrived first, followed by airplane charters and finally regularly scheduled commercial flights, with low cost airfares from San Juan to New York, boomed. Many Puerto Ricans left without clear plans of settling on the mainland, but soon discovered that they could earn more than double their wages in Puerto Rico. Yet very few had any work promised when they migrated, most relying upon friends or relatives for guidance in finding housing and employment.⁶⁶

In New York, the postwar wave enlarged El Barrio and upper Manhattan in general, as well as creating new settlements in the outer boroughs. Most lived in slums running through West Harlem, from Eighth

Avenue to Broadway, and in the side streets running from 135th to 155th. The living conditions here, though crowded, appeared less dilapidated than those of East Harlem. West Side settlement stretched from 14th Street to Washington Heights, with varying densities. Well-to-do Puerto Ricans remained on the island, though a few professionals and others from the pre-war migrations lived on Central Park West, Riverside Drive, or in Washington Heights. Before 1950 the population movement between Puerto Rico and the United States was primarily in one direction; later, the flow ran both ways, although the overwhelming balance was toward the mainland.⁶⁷

Puerto Ricans faced dismal housing prospects. As New York's population increased by almost half a million from 1940 to 1948 the city's vacancy rate dropped from about 7% to 1%. This desperate scarcity affected all inhabitants, but particularly increased the difficulties of the Puerto Ricans. The press reaction to the migration greatly exaggerated its numbers, especially in Spanish Harlem. A series of articles published in the New York World Telegram between October 21 and 23, 1947 ran the sensational headlines: "City's Disease Rate Raised by Migrant Tide," "Tide of Migrants Pushing Relief Load Through Roof," and "Crime Festers in Bulging Tenements."⁶⁸ The New York Times and the Daily Mirror overestimated population in 1947, claiming over 350,000 when the upper limit actually lay at 230,000. Exaggeration owed in part to the spectacular air-borne migration, and in part to the concentration in East Harlem, where the customs and appearance of aliens in a declining neighborhood put them in the spotlight.⁶⁹

Moreover, many New Yorkers feared that El Barrio's residents, due to the miserable conditions under which they lived, were highly

susceptible to radicalism. The Daily Mirror leveled slanderous accusations against Congressman Vito Marcantonio and villified the newcomers. It charged the radical Congressman with "importing Puerto Ricans with gold promises" to maintain his political power. Typically, the Real Estate News in March, 1949, erroneously claimed that close to 500,000 islanders had already settled in New York City, and predicted that by 1960 an additional 750,000 Puerto Ricans would arrive. It claimed that "Some of the finest houses in East Harlem, which once housed the families of the elite, have been turned into a shambles."⁷⁰ Overcrowding, it was pointed out, hurt not only tenants but the landlords: "Property owners complain that this influx of Puerto Ricans has not only created a serious sanitary and maintenance problem, but report that the majority of these people are relief recipients from whom it is difficult to collect even the meager rent the pay for their apartments."⁷¹ Actually, the migrants came in their prime wage earning years, and during the immediate postwar period few were "destitute and ill," nor did they inevitably turn to relief, as some press accounts suggested.

The Protestant Welfare Council noted in the late 1940s that "It is of prime importance to the residents of New York, including the Puerto Ricans, that the flow of migrants . . . be directed elsewhere in the United States and that congestion be reduced in existing Spanish-speaking neighborhoods, particularly in Harlem, by relocating substantial numbers of the families who now live there." The problems "could not be solved locally, but only by regarding it as one of resettlement on a large scale, manageable only with the participation of all groups concerned, in the region from which migrants came, in the

favorable regions to which they might go and in the present overcrowded areas."⁷² In 1953 a spokesman for the New York City Housing Authority warned Puerto Ricans going north in search of jobs to find other, more agreeable places to work. Indeed, nothing in their experience on the island could have prepared the migrants for East Harlem tenement life. With time, however the migrants began looking elsewhere. During the 1950s a shift away from New York occurred, in terms of both migration from Puerto Rico and internal movement between states, resulting in the development of major Puerto Rican communities in other metropolitan areas--the Midwest, the Northeast, the West, and even the South.⁷³

At the end of 1956, an estimated 577,000 persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage lived in New York City. The vast majority, over 90%, had lived in privately owned housing. Many landlords subdivided apartments into smaller units for rental to the migrants and "turned" their buildings to Puerto Rican occupancy while maintaining or raising rents and often reducing maintenance and services. The Puerto Rican population paid roughly the same amount of rent even for inferior quarters as other New Yorkers. There was nowhere in the city to build new housing, thus the existing supply was forced to accommodate larger and larger numbers in the same space, mostly through illegal conversions.⁷⁴

A landlord who considered turning his building by ousting tenants could easily increase profits, as under rent control the shift of apartments from unfurnished to furnished units upon change of occupancy made possible a sizable increase in rent. A much higher proportion of Puerto Rican families lived in furnished rooms and apartments than did blacks, and it was apparently the newest immigrants who suffered most

under this practice. Eventually, as the non-Puerto Ricans in a transitional block found new housing, more and more units turned. This especially characterized the rooming houses, often located in transitional neighborhoods, where Puerto Ricans first settled.⁷⁵

The dual effects of such landlord practices created greater profits in the short run, through less maintenance and higher rents, but in the longer run destroyed the property. This occurred not only in slum areas, but on Manhattan's West Side, a neighborhood superior in quality of dwellings to the city or borough average, where over 60% of the residences on the Upper West Side in 1956 were brownstones, and 30% were old-law tenements without elevators. Almost 90% of these structures were built prior to 1901 and by 1959 one-third of their inhabitants were Puerto Ricans. The amount of living space in the area had remained virtually constant since the mid 1930s; thus the increase in population led to a subdivision of the existing dwelling units into smaller quarters, many of which were single rooms. Two-thirds of the brownstones were used as rooming houses, many owned by elderly persons whose families had moved out of the city.⁷⁶

The housing inventory of the Lower East Side, by contrast, declined—about 34% from 1909 to 1940 as the population of the area decreased from 540,000 to 205,000. From the middle twenties to the early forties there had been substantial housing abandonment. Demolitions occurred in conjunction with public works such as the construction of bridge approaches, street widenings, and housing projects, and also because of more vigorous law enforcement during the thirties. New land uses for demolition sites were spotty, small scale and not pursued ambitiously. Large numbers of vacant lots resulted from

market forces, illustrating the difficulties of redevelopment on a piece-meal, property-by-property basis. The housing shortage after the Second World War stopped cold the evacuation of low quality housing in the area.⁷⁷

During the depression federal aid had been funneled into the city through agencies set up and controlled by municipal governments. As grants to cities increased after the war, however, so did the scope of the federal bureaucracy, and New York lost control of many functions, especially to such master builders and "power brokers" as Robert Moses. As Chairman of the Mayor's Slum Clearance Committee he controlled urban renewal in New York for a decade, 1949-1959, constructing twenty-four public housing projects and eleven superhighways. During the term of Mayor Vincent Impellitieri, Moses molded the city according to his dictates, exercising absolute power and "developing" the city's last areas of open spaces. Not until 1958, in part because of the reorganization of New York City's Housing Authority, under Mayor Robert Wagner, Jr., did Moses' domination of New York City wane. By monopolizing public funds and building links to the suburbs (instead of constructing subways and other means of mass transit), however, he helped condemn subsequent generations of the poor to confinement in urban ghettos.⁷⁸

Further, as chairman of the Slum Clearance Committee during much of the 1950s, Moses laid the basis for moving existing slums and creating new ones. The City-Wide Council for Better Housing, an organization composed of tenant and neighborhood groups, pointed out in a 1957 study that although a majority of the acreage of the city's blighted areas lay in the Bronx and Brooklyn, the majority of Title I

Urban Renewal projects were slated for Manhattan, generally occupying only the most desirable sites in that borough. More dilapidated sites, not as favorably located, received public funds to build housing which only the upper 15% of the city's population could afford, falsely claiming that it was middle-income housing. Thus public policies helped spur the population exodus, particularly of families, toward the suburbs.⁷⁹

The five-million dollar Title I Manhattantown project on the Upper West Side proposed to clear the six square blocks bounded by Central Park West, Amsterdam Avenue, and 97th and 100th Streets, the heart of a major Puerto Rican neighborhood. Moses had promised to relocate all the families to decent apartments, but few were available, and none certainly at comparable rents. Thousands of such displaced families during the 1950s became "refugees," evicted from their homes through the power of eminent domain. From Manhattan, they streamed into the South Bronx, seeking shelter with friends and family, or hopefully awaiting vacancies in the projects.⁸⁰

Approximately 170,000 persons had to leave their dwellings because of urban renewal projects between January 1, 1946 and March 31, 1953; fully 37% were nonwhites and Puerto Ricans, although these groups constituted but 13% of the city's population at the time. Only about 29% of these people were relocated in public housing. The remainder had to find accommodations on their own. The problems of Puerto Ricans, exacerbated by slum clearance, redevelopment and relocation, were all closely related to the city's ineffective planning machinery and its lack of forceful leadership concerning racial situations. New York City has never had a far-sighted master plan. Housing projects, schools,

recreation facilities, transportation, zoning, and all the other aspects of community living had never been laid out with an eye toward integration. Puerto Ricans were the special casualties in this deficiency, and their assimilation had been further hampered by public indifference.⁸¹

Public housing in New York since 1936 has employed various site plans. The rise of twenty-story buildings with thousands of apartments replaced low-rises around pleasant courts. Stark towers reflected the "no frills" philosophy of federal legislation. Projects usually stood on the periphery of "cleared" ghettos, on "superblocks" closed to traffic and built in monotonous brick piles characterized by one architect as "federal Gothic." It was not until the 1960s that scattered-site projects adapted housing to the scale of the surrounding community, and turn-key rehabilitation became an economical and quick way to obtain more units for low- and moderate-income citizens.⁸²

Major postwar public housing in the Lower East Side took the form primarily of tall buildings, which still dominate the city's eastern skyline. A large number of demolitions occurred after 1948 for these housing projects. In June 1950, according to the New York City Housing Authority, approximately 20,000 persons had come there from all over the city. Simultaneously the housing shortage caused an influx of families into reopened and modernized buildings commanding more substantial rents. Puerto Ricans, the largest group of newcomers to the general area, numbered an estimated 11,000 in 1949. This trend increased in the 1950s.⁸³

The building of low-income projects in East Harlem after World War II helped push the Italians out, since most of them earned too much

money to be eligible. Jefferson Homes, a project built at 114th Street between Second and Third Avenues, in the 1950s, is illustrative. The Italians, unable to get middle- instead of lower-income housing built in the area, moved out. Previously, the area had been almost two-thirds Italian or other European; afterwards it became basically Puerto Rican and black with small enclaves of old-timers on East 116th Street from Second Avenue to the East River and along Pleasant Avenue near Thomas Jefferson Park. The young soon moved to the Bronx, Queens, and the suburbs.⁸⁴

Until 1949 there was a core of Puerto Ricans in Red Hook in Brooklyn but the dwellings there were torn down to make way for public housing, spreading the Puerto Ricans even more widely throughout the borough than before and forming new ghettos. The residential pattern in Brooklyn has shifted considerably since 1950. Estimates made in 1957 suggested a decline in the population of Williamsburg, Brooklyn Heights-Ft. Greene, South Brooklyn, and Red Hook, with an increase in Central and East Brooklyn. Many housing projects were placed in a few ghetto areas--Brownsville, Crown Heights, East New York and more recently, Coney Island.⁸⁵

As a result of the federal requirement that one slum be eliminated for every unit of public housing created, only those localities with significant numbers of inadequate dwellings received assistance. Low-income housing thus went in the heart of the cities. Brownsville exemplified the polarizing effect of slum clearance policies in the 1950s when thousands of displaced Brooklyn families moved into neighboring East New York, which at the time was a predominantly white, middle class neighborhood. The sudden influx, which included Puerto

Ricans migrating from Manhattan and Williamsburg, strained the physical and social services of the community. A mass exodus of the white population followed. While in the mid-1950s the population of East New York was 90% white ethnic and only a small minority black and Latino, a decade later the proportions had been reversed.⁸⁶

The Bronx, however, was the most rapidly changing borough of all. Its streets were wider, better kept and generally more spacious than those in Brooklyn and Manhattan. Morrisania, unlike East Harlem, which usually contained buildings of ten or more apartments, consisted largely of one and two family houses, thus spreading the population over a larger area. Such areas received migrants from crowded Central and East Harlem during World War II. When in 1945 the East Harlem community began to fill up and overflow, large numbers of Puerto Ricans moved out along the IRT subway line to the East Bronx, just as previous immigrants had done. In the late 1940s the borough's Puerto Rican population exceeded 70,000, concentrating, for the most part, in a large and fairly well defined area extending from East 149th Street northward to East 170th Street, between Third Avenue and Southern Boulevard. In the early stages of their settlement, the Puerto Ricans of the Bronx evidenced considerable "assimilation," especially when compared with the residents of El Barrio, where criminal activity of a diverse nature had customarily been recognized as a major barrier to family living.⁸⁷

As much of the Bronx neighborhoods of Melrose, Motthaven, and Claremont was leveled in the immediate postwar decade to make way for public housing projects, an influx of Puerto Ricans into East Tremont began. Earlier residents clung to their affordable housing. Moses, however, by building the Cross Bronx Expressway, destroyed this

community of second generation European immigrants, which had served as a stabilizing force in the borough, in the late 1950s, contemptuously ignoring established neighborhood patterns and driving out thousands of middle-class Jewish and Italian residents.⁸⁸

Since the 1950s the South Bronx has had the greatest number of minority residents in low-income projects in the city. Ultimately, ninety-six public housing buildings were erected in the lower Bronx with a total of over 12,000 apartments. Warren Moscow, who became New York City Housing Authority Executive Director under Mayor Wagner in the spring of 1955, remembers significant resistance to public housing even then. The only municipal officials amenable to public housing were those running Manhattan and the Bronx. Eugene Lyons, Bronx Borough President, approved several potential sites yet reportedly said, "I don't much like public housing, but it's better than what's there. It was a mistake because we ghettoized too many poor people together. You had a feeling you were building the wrong thing, but everything was in the pipeline."⁸⁹

In the 1960s the number of "whites"(excluding Latinos) leaving New York City leveled off, while those moving from the Bronx rose by 25% to 256,000. Many of the first wave of Puerto Rican families were moving out too, following their neighbors to more middle class climes, while even more of the poor entered. Most of the South Bronx was designated a federal Model Cities Neighborhood in 1967 and more than \$300 million was spent under the program. Years of meticulous planning and bureaucratic tie-ups followed, but ground was finally broken in 1973. Three months later, however, a federal moratorium halted all work, and subsidies for low- and moderate-income housing construction on

which the city had been dependent vanished. The situation worsened with the emergence of the city's fiscal crisis in 1975, which now also affected apartments in middle-income housing programs. As the crisis progressed it became increasingly difficult to appropriate capital funds for new projects from the city's budget. The collapse of the bond market compounded the disaster.⁹⁰

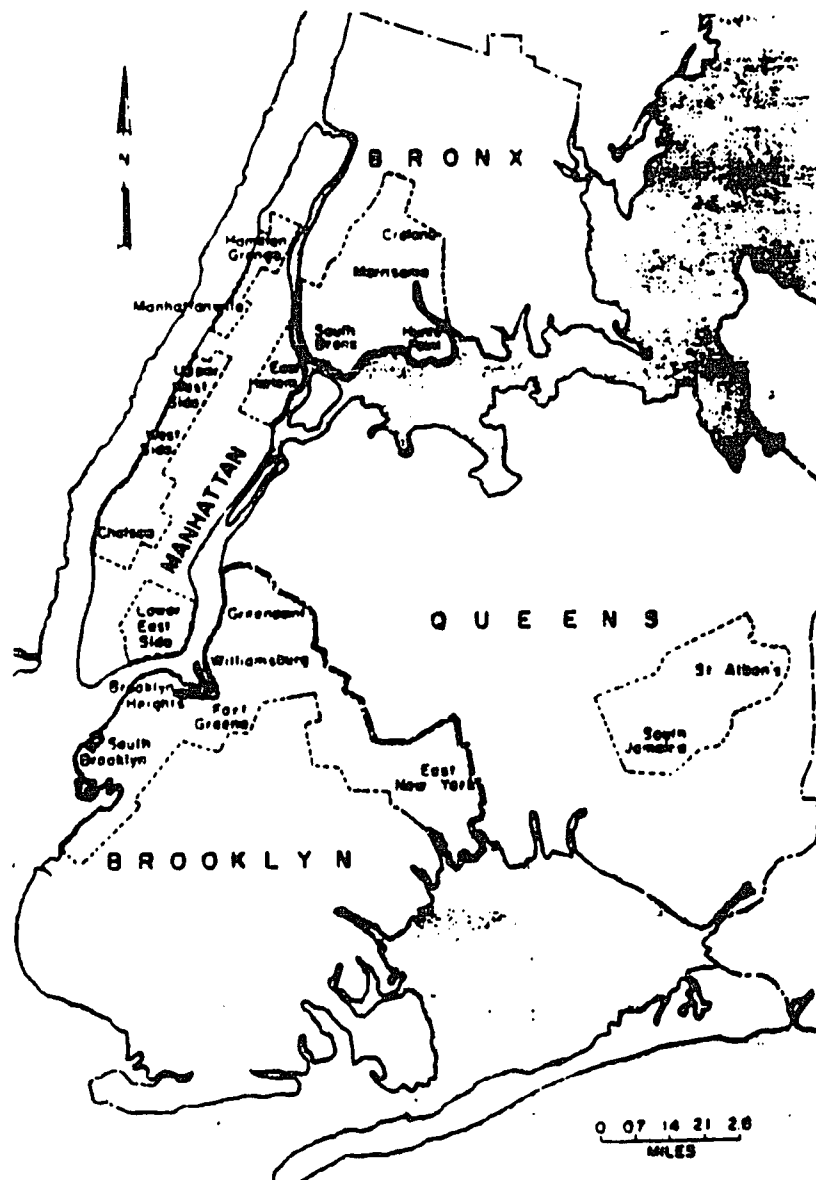
During the late 1960s and early 1970s, New York in general, and the South Bronx in particular, faced housing destruction and abandonment as a new phenomenon, the rapidly moving slum that destroyed buildings and whole neighborhoods in its path, appeared. It cost over two hundred thousand apartments while another quarter of a million went to city ownership, giving the South Bronx and parts of Brooklyn and Manhattan a "bombed out" appearance. Increasingly, building owners saw their properties as purely short-term investments and overlooked needed maintenance. New York already had a combination of various public and private housing policies, including rent control(adopted by the federal government in 1943 to protect tenants from rent gouging), found to the same extent in few other cities.⁹¹

Later came the problem of "landlord mobility," whereby owners came to look at housing exclusively as a speculative investment and helped create what one observer called the "ecology of housing destruction." Hence, there existed a combination of various public and private policies found virtually nowhere else in the same proportions. Abandoned structures invited vandalism and arson, and previously unknown "pathological behavior" emerged on the part of both landlord and tenant. The South Bronx, with its thousands of devastated Puerto Rican families, came to epitomize the collapse of urban civilization in the years

1969-1977. Destruction of housing stock subsided as the borough ran out of targets. Former residents fled as the area became uninhabitable, leaving the tenement hulks as a lasting monument to a dreadful time.⁹²

From 1950 to 1960 there was an increase of 366,000 Puerto Ricans and 360,000 blacks in New York City. By the 1960s more Puerto Ricans lived in the Bronx and Brooklyn together than in the original Manhattan settlements. In the next decade this trend accelerated. Due in large part to the dislocation of a large number of Puerto Ricans in the famous Lincoln Square and Upper West Side urban renewal programs, Manhattan's Latino population decreased from 225,000 to 185,000 in the decade. Between 1960 and 1964 there was decline of roughly 540,000 whites and an increase of 285,000 blacks and almost 100,000 Puerto Ricans in the city. The demographic breakdown changed as large numbers of whites moved to the suburbs. In 1964 roughly 35% of the whites living in the city were fifty years old or more, compared with 17% of the black population and only 13% for Puerto Ricans. During the 1960s, Brooklyn's Puerto Rican population increased from 180,000 to close to 272,000 and that of the Bronx from 187,000 to 317,000. Many of the areas to where minority groups moved, such as Washington Heights, the Upper West Side, and the Lower East Side in Manhattan; the Grand Concourse, Tremont, and Pelham Parkway communities in the Bronx; and Bay Ridge, Coney Island, and East Flatbush in Brooklyn; had a disproportionate number of the elderly.⁹³

Somewhere around 1960 the great Puerto Rican Migration ended. Moreover, the flow of migration began reversing. More than 180,000 people of Puerto Rican heritage returned to their island; a trend that has increased noticeably since 1970. These "repatriates" have established themselves throughout the Puerto Rico, but mostly in urban



**11. Areas of Concentration of New York's
Puerto Rican Population, 1970**

zones, and especially in the San Juan metropolitan area. However, the high Latino birth rate ensured that they would make up an increasing proportion of the city's population even though their population remained steady during the 1970s.⁹⁴

Many parts of north, central and southeast Brooklyn have densely populated black and Puerto Rican settlements. A large and continuous ghetto in the city exists spanning Brooklyn from Williamsburg eastward. Especially during the 1960s, private real estate interests--banks, developers, and brokers--disposed of property and engaged in blockbusting, helping to "tip" sections of the borough, some almost overnight. In Queens, local homeowners, self-styled "taxpayers" groups, and various civic groups have always exerted effective political power. By working through their local politicians, they successfully prevented the location of many housing projects in most residential areas of the borough. Mayor John V. Lindsay, who was fully committed to creating a planned integrated residential pattern of living in the city, intended to attain this end of means of selecting vacant land scattered in middle class white areas for new public housing sites in 1965. By building on vacant land, he believed, the city could pursue the twin goals of low-income public housing and racial integration. With little money available and organized opposition from residents in the outer boroughs against his crusade, the scattered site program failed.⁹⁵

Blacks had faced segregation in housing since the late nineteenth century. Racial restrictive covenants flourished in Harlem in the early 1900s. Latinos, who arrived later, were not included in the pre-World War I restrictions. In the immediate post-World War II years, however, data indicate a growing tendency to lump blacks and Latinos together as

undesirables when they sought to leave New York's core areas. A study of deeds for houses in subdivisions in Queens, Nassau, and Southern Westchester discovered that race restrictions had been widely used against blacks since the late 1930s in larger developments to guarantee the racial character of families moving in and to maintain uniform occupancy thereafter. This was especially true in larger subdivisions where new properties were numerous enough to create their own neighborhood. Covenants with racial restrictions targeted American blacks, but as Caribbean migration increased the potential for exclusion of dark-skinned Latinos could have developed, had not such laws been declared unenforceable. Nonetheless, more subtle forms of discrimination could be suspected in towns such as Fort Lee, New Jersey, minutes away from major Puerto Rican settlements in New York City. Similarly, in 1960, only 17,000 Puerto Ricans lived in Westchester, Suffolk, Nassau, and Rockland counties.⁹⁶

Varied means of containing certain racial and national groups also arose within the city. A Department of Justice complaint filed in August, 1946 against the Mortgage Conference of New York and 38 of the city's leading savings banks and trust companies charged them with agreeing to control credit and exclude minorities from certain areas. The banks allegedly agreed among themselves to bar loans in black areas and "prepared, published, kept current and distributed maps of each section of New York showing blocks on which Negroes and Spanish speaking persons resided; refrained from making mortgage loans on property in such blocks, and induced owners of real estate in certain sections of New York City to refuse to permit [them] to move into such sections."⁹⁷ The effect of this conspiracy, according to the complaint, was that

"Negroes and Spanish-speaking persons have been restricted to residence in certain sections of New York City; have been compelled to pay higher rents than those charged for comparable dwellings in other sections of the city; and owner of properties occupied by Negroes and Spanish-speaking persons have been denied the mortgage financing required to maintain real estate in habitable conditions and to operate it successfully at reasonable rental levels."⁹⁸ The defendants did not contest the suit, agreeing to the entry of a civil decree on June 16, 1948. As housing expert Charles Abrams pointed out, the government was charging the banks with doing exactly what its administrative agencies such as the FHA sanctioned and encouraged at the same time.

None of the generally accepted models of residential segregation and succession apply fully to the Puerto Ricans. Recent patterns of Puerto Rican settlement in the New York SMSA coincide neither with models of ethnic assimilation nor with models of black segregation and succession. Puerto Ricans arrived later than blacks in northern cities with lower economic status and less education, and experienced greater difficulties with the English language. Yet they remain more integrated than blacks. Housing competition between Latinos and blacks, in both the public and private sector, reveals ambiguities in Puerto Rican ethnicity, although the two groups are coupled in the public's eyes as the city's dependent and most visible "minorities."⁹⁹

While 70% of New York's blacks in 1950 lived in census tracts that were 50% black or more, only 15% of Puerto Ricans lived in tracts in which they formed a majority of the population. No census tracts in 1950 had more than three-fourths Puerto Ricans. Despite their lower densities, inner city centralization increased among Puerto Ricans. In

1960, 95% of the SMSA's Puerto Rican population resided in the Bronx, Brooklyn and Manhattan; in 1970 the proportion was 92%. Of the black population, 76% in 1960 and 74% in 1970 resided in the central boroughs. Yet there has not been the same irreversible turnover in areas with high concentrations of Puerto Ricans. Unlike the typical immigrant experience of generations past, successful Puerto Ricans, who might otherwise act like the successful middle class of other groups and "circulate" into mainstream residential areas, often return to the island.¹⁰⁰

In 1930, 22% of the Puerto Ricans in New York were classified as non-white; by 1950 only 8% fell into this category. This may well indicate an increasing proportion of lighter-skinned migrants, since in Puerto Rico in 1950 almost 80% of the population was classified as white. The 1970 census, which relied exclusively on self-identification, showed that 93% of all mainland-born Puerto Ricans considered themselves to be white. Significantly, non-racial determination of tenant selections in public housing projects (which contained no information on race) promoted black-Latino integration among the poor. In February, 1953, some 5% of the tenants in projects were Puerto Rican; three years later, the figure had increased to 14%. Moreover, in the private rental market, the Puerto Ricans have for some time provided a transition in housing between whites and blacks because of their own mixed racial ancestry.¹⁰¹

During the 1920s, Miami's population rose from 30,000 to 110,000. That same decade annexation expanded the city's territory from eight to forty-three square miles. Numerous new municipalities, including Coral

Gables, South and North Miami lined the suburban fringe. By the middle of the decade, Miami, along with its surrounding areas, were in the midst of a full-scale real estate boom. "The whole city had become one frenzied real-estate exchange," commented an observer.¹⁰² The opening of the Miami Canal made it possible to develop Hialeah, Miami Springs, and Opa Locka during the years 1924-1926. The South Florida land boom collapsed in 1926, however, as a result of speculation, over-building, land frauds, bank failures, a major hurricane, and the resultant bad publicity. Yet the patterns of tourism, real estate development and population growth continued through the 1930s, despite the Great Depression. Late in the decade, Miami Beach even underwent a surge of new hotel building as the metropolitan area entertained some two million vacationers annually.¹⁰³

Before 1940, Florida had the smallest population among the southern states, yet it was the most highly urbanized. Its residents had a high average per capita income. Gambling and horse racing dominated Miami in the immediate post-World War II years, but the metropolis began to take on economic characteristics similar to those of non-resort urban centers. Between 1945 and 1950 in-migration of new residents touched off another tremendous building program, including commercial and factory construction as well as homes. Fully 380,000 units, more than 85% of Miami's total housing in 1970, had been constructed since 1940. Unlike many of the newer "sunbelt" cities in the South and West, which had been pushing out their municipal boundaries to recapture population, Miami remained fragmented into over two dozen municipalities, with most of the newcomers filling up the suburban areas and unincorporated fringe, rather than spilling out from

the core.¹⁰⁴

Its growth spawned spreading out over vast distances and unencumbered by the fixed routes of rail or bus transportation, spawned uniformly modern automobile suburbs without transitional urban cores, allowing residential arrangements impractical in older "walking" cities or those which developed in outlying streetcar settlements. Moreover, Miami's diverse population owed not to its reception of pre-World War I European immigrants but to the migration of transplanted northerners drawn from many different sections of the United States. Nonetheless, some areas, such as Coral Gables achieved particularly high status. Its developer, George Merrick, invested millions during the 1920s in transforming an orange grove into a varied landscape of lawns and gardens around fine residences set in Moorish style.¹⁰⁵

The black population of Dade County was mostly concentrated downtown, but after 1940 it spread somewhat into unincorporated areas. The white population increased at a much higher rate than black from 1940 to 1955. Northerners and newly arrived southerners believed that black residents hurt property values, and hence brought neighborhood segregation with them. Simultaneously, the many whites from Georgia and Alabama imposed the customary southern pattern of segregation in schools, churches, and transportation. As a result, several segregated black neighborhoods arose in Dade County where blacks generally faced inadequate space and public facilities.¹⁰⁶

Curiously, the expansion of housing for blacks in the metropolis has been achieved mainly by new construction and not by the transfer of dwellings from whites to blacks. A great quantity has been supplied by private industry, beginning in 1949--both large projects of houses for

purchase, generally with Veterans Administration financing, and apartment houses, with Federal Housing Administration financing-- replacing numerous run-down shacks. Unlike New York, but like many other southern cities, the central black district was built for the purpose of cheap black housing; it was not an area of once good housing that had deteriorated. The public housing project called Liberty Square, which formed the center of Liberty City, opened in 1937. Small numbers of Bahamians scattered throughout the Coconut Grove and downtown area.¹⁰⁷

Miami has had a history of ethnic friction. In 1939 detachments of the Ku Klux Klan marched publicly and in full regalia there. White migrants from the southern states concentrated in Hialeah and the northwest sections of the county. During World War II, when Jews resided mostly in Miami Beach and southwest Miami, signs there advertised rooming houses for "Gentiles Only," and residential overflow against the adjoining resort belt generated as a mysterious wave of dynamitings in 1951. Synagogues and Negro houses were blown up, a Catholic church was attacked, and hysteria seized South Florida.¹⁰⁸

The majority of the Cuban refugees came from large cities, particularly the capital, Havana, which had a long history of contact with merchants from the eastern United States, whose trading houses there dated from 1763. It had been a major tourist resort during Prohibition, as well as a center for rum-running. The automobile suburbs--Vedado, Miramar and Mariongo--extended along the Gulf shore and inland to absorb what had previously been a scattering of villages. Under Batista, Havana's city plan anchored luxury tourist hotels in the west with working class districts zoned eastward. Port-related warehouses crowded downtown slums. Spanish Havana uneasily gave way to

a new, suburban Havana, incorporating North American influences.¹⁰⁹

In 1899 almost 30% of the Cuban people lived in cities of more than 20,000, a higher degree of urbanization than the U.S.(24%). The vast differences between city and countryside were most evident in housing. In 1953, more than four-fifths of the rural dwellings consisted of thatched-roof huts with dirt floors, bohios, and less than 10% of rural houses had electricity or plumbing. The vast majority of urban homes had electricity(95% in Havana) but even there only half had indoor sanitary facilities. Fully six per cent of Havana's population of three-quarters of a million people lived in squatter settlements. Tenants represented nearly three-fifths of households in urban areas and three-fourths of those in Havana. After 1952, condominiums were popularized to get around a rent control law in the capital.¹¹⁰

Soon after the Castro Revolution in 1959 evictions ended, as did land speculation. Cuarterias, typical inner-city slum housing with families living in one or two small rooms and sharing sanitary facilities now became property of the government. The 1960 Urban Reform Law established the concept of housing as a public service with the goal of eventually maintaining it at no cost to the residents. Revolutionary aims attempted to minimize urban-rural conflicts, yet tremendous departures from a free enterprise system in housing after 1960(as well as in most other areas of policy) alienated many Cubans who later became refugees.¹¹¹

During the struggles for independence from Spain during the second half of the nineteenth century, Cuban emigres had formed permanent communities in Tampa and Key West. No such settlements existed in Miami at the time or even during the period from 1933 to 1940 following the

revolt against President Gerardo Machado, or 1953 to 1959 during the regime of Fulgencio Batista. The great majority of exiles before 1959 returned to Cuba as soon as the political climate allowed. They maintained close contact with home and expected no large scale non-political emigration. Those who migrated prior to the Castro revolution included members of the ruling elite who were out of favor at the time or other politically alienated persons, as well as merchants--a heterogeneous and loosely grouped community. Those fleeing the Castro Revolution naturally assumed that their situation would also be temporary and Miami therefore served as a convenient place to mark time.¹¹²

The movement of refugees from Cuba to Miami took place in distinct phases, according, largely, to the dictates of the Castro government and accords reached with the United States. The first wave, during which most of the wealthiest "Golden Exiles" left, began shortly after Castro's accession to power in January, 1959 and terminated with the suspension of commercial flights to the United States at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis on October, 1962. The Bay of Pigs resulted in cancellation of all travel between the two countries and marked the beginning of migration by way of third countries. Additionally, dramatic escapes in small, sometimes unseaworthy, crafts crossing the treacherous Florida Straits indicated the desperation felt by many. By 1963 an estimated 200,000 Cuban refugees lived in the United States; about half remained in the Miami area.¹¹³

The vast majority of the Golden Exiles settled in Little Havana, an area roughly four square miles, situated about two miles southwest of the central business district. A largely middle-class Anglo

neighborhood had developed there just after World War I. By the mid-1950s the area was losing population. Many of the wood-frame, single-family houses and small apartment buildings of four to eighteen units were rapidly deteriorating. For the newly arriving Cubans this area offered available housing, single- and multi-family units and low rents. Vacant shops and the commercial structures along Flagler and S.W. Eighth Street afforded opportunities for the establishment of businesses. This was a central location served by public transportation. Between 1950 and 1960 zoning restrictions regulated the conversion of homes to multiple unit dwellings as well as the construction of new apartment houses, preventing a precipitous rise in the density of population.¹¹⁴

Initially, Cubans found it difficult to find jobs; hence many members of the First Wave were forced to start their own businesses. For some time the City of Miami issued no business licenses north of Eighth Street to people who did not speak English, and it has been suggested that this is why Little Havana developed just south and west of there. For most Cubans life in the United States involved unemployment, underemployment and failure in business. They received a generally good, but certainly not unmixed reception, which included allegations that Dade County was tolerating overcrowding and closing its eyes to its own ordinances. Robert King High, the Mayor of Miami in 1961, noted that many of the refugees arrived in Miami without money and, lacking income, "often times it has been necessary for them to have multi-family occupancy in single family accommodations." This created concentrations exceeding the city's Minimum Housing Code, with "confusion and misunderstanding . . . the natural result." Shortages

required families to pool whatever money they had in order to have a place to live. Mayor High believed that "if money was available, housing would take care of itself."¹¹⁵

A member of the Dade County Commission was more concerned. Arthur Patten, Jr., in 1961 noted that the unique tourist economy Miami saw "most of the motels and rental apartment units actually take their entire profit for the five or six month winter season and simply keep their doors open during the summer time and the rest of the year to pay expenses." Thus the Cubans could not afford peak season rents, as high as \$150 to \$250 a month, and much higher in Miami Beach despite a slumping economy. "The rental properties in Dade County were never designed nor built, and cannot be financially maintained upon year-round occupancy," Patten warned.¹¹⁶

The President of the Miami Urban League noted the housing segregation of black owners and renters, who faced limited shelter supply because of overcrowding, caused in part by the Cuban influx. Others, too, voiced concern that the needs of blacks had been completely ignored. Luther Brooks, founder and proprietor of a rental agency which managed more than 10,000 units, all occupied by black tenants, noted that blacks resented the fact that dark Cubans were allowed to eat in white restaurants. He viewed racial tensions as resulting from social more than economic inequalities, through no fault of the exiles. In fact he claimed that Cuban occupancy allowed landlords of rundown buildings to continue to pay their taxes. Moreover, they had to make many improvements on their properties to keep them filled. Blacks, traditionally segregated, received better accommodations for their money than the refugees.¹¹⁷

The Executive Director of the Greater Miami chapter of the American Jewish Committee noted cultural differences accompanying higher rental areas of Dade County. The "native stereotype" of Cubans resulted in neighborhood groups protesting their presence "in such matters as excessive noise and overcrowding in one-family hotels." Most observers believed that refugees should be taken in, but that Miami should not be forced to bear the burden alone. Indeed, the Superintendent of Schools of Dade County claimed that a study made in May, 1961, showed that Cuban refugees tended to settle over most of the county but with a concentration in Little Havana, "severely affecting" the elementary schools. A reporter for the Miami Herald, moreover, called attention to growing resentment concerning the Cuban refugees.¹¹⁸

Miami Congressman Dante Fascell claimed that "the problem is a national problem and must be treated in that fashion."¹¹⁹ Dade County's nine-member Board of County Commissioners supported resettlement "to relieve the economic burden which Dade County disproportionately shares with other sections of the country."¹²⁰ Others acknowledged the disadvantages of the Cuban presence, but believed them to be temporary. Also, evidences of their rapid economic progress and ardent patriotism helped their cause. Indeed, due to a complex variety circumstances (such as zoning resolutions, which helped prevent high densities in Little Havana) the Cubans quickly (if not inconspicuously) spread through the older middle class residential areas of the city.

In the last days of the Eisenhower administration, the U.S. took over the task of caring for the refugees in Miami. In December 1960 the departing executive made federal funds available to study the problem

and provide emergency assistance. Increasing, federal officials and local politicians began to pressure them to move to other parts of the country, in a joint arrangement between voluntary agencies and the Federal government in 1961. Exiles perceived the debate as a symptom of indefinite postponement of the Cuban question and de facto coexistence with Castro's communist regime. The Cuban news media in Miami soon became vocally anti-resettlement as well as virulently anti-Communist. The reluctance of refugees to compromise on this issue reportedly sparked officials in the Eisenhower Administration to challenge them to "resettle or get a tin cup."¹²¹ Congressional hearings beginning in 1961 gingerly circled this question, as the sympathy of the American people toward the Cuban exiles called for a delicate political balancing act.

Some saw the Cuban Refugee Program as foreign aid, which would become a great force for democracy after the liberation of Cuba. President Kennedy, soon after taking office in January 1961, allocated \$5 million to cover costs of operating during the year. The Cuban Refugee Program began operating officially the following month. Welfare stipends aided refugees, supposedly as an emergency measure. However, the Cubans could not claim benefits outside of Miami. In November 1961, the Cuban Refugee Program staff created a policy to terminate public assistance to any refugee who refused, for inadequate reasons, an offer of resettlement to other parts of the United States.¹²²

During 1962, the program was carried out with \$39 million made available under authority contained in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. In June, 1962, the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 was enacted, providing legislation for assistance to Cubans and to the

refugees from nations of the Western Hemisphere and authorized appropriations for such assistance. Funds for 1963 amounted to \$70 million. After the Missile Crisis of 1962, some 300,000 Cubans with visa waivers from the State Department remained in Cuba, along with "political prisoners," sparking continued interest in family reunification. The mixture of economic realities and Cold War ideology led some people to hope that the use of voluntary agencies for resettlement throughout the fifty states would help "send the Cubans back to their homeland when their time comes with a very fine picture of open-heartedness and generosity and wisdom of the American people" and would enable Cubans "to enjoy the benefits of a free society."¹²³ By 1963 some 69,000 Cubans had been received in more than 1,500 communities across the country. Large contributions were made by religious and other voluntary agencies, with government as a partner. The Johnson Administration justified resettlement as a means of easing social and economic problems in Miami and preserving the area's human resources.

In September 28, 1965 Castro permitted unrestricted departure of all dissatisfied Cubans whose relatives came to pick them up by sea from the port of Camarioca. By early November, 450 boats providing transportation for 10,000 refugees waited for passengers off Cuban shores. Once initial United States opposition dissipated in the face of massive defiance, the Coast Guard began escorting the boats and securing those that would not have made it without assistance. Soon the Cuban and U.S. governments reached an agreement for the establishment of two daily "Freedom Flights" to Miami. The U.S.-Cuban Memorandum of Understanding provided for the exit of relatives of Cubans then in the United States, with the exception of males of draft age.¹²⁴

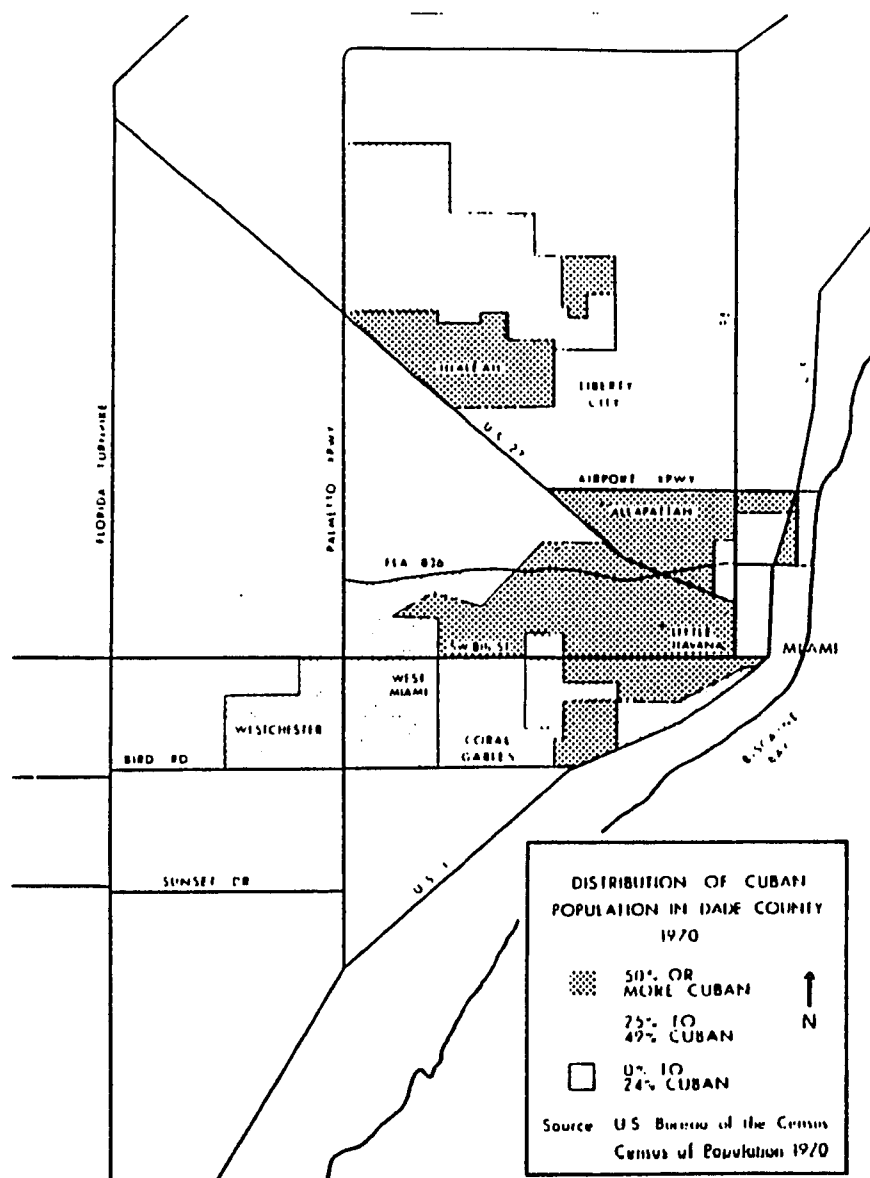
By December 1965, almost 4,000 people a month left on organized flights from Varadero to Miami. This airlift continued for seven years until the end of 1972, when Castro unilaterally ended it, during which time 297,000 persons arrived in the United States, about half of whom stayed in Miami. Between January 1961 and December 1972 about 300,000 Cubans were settled away from Miami, but many returned. The resettlement program undoubtedly hastened the economic independence of the refugees of those who left and eased the housing and employment conditions of those remaining in Miami.¹²⁵

By the time the first land-use plan had been passed in 1965, the population of the county exceeded the million mark and vast amounts of land had already been developed. The unrestricted growth had a negative environmental impact, and, moreover, problems centered on industrial rather than on residential slums, since jobs continued to move out to the suburban fringe. In the early 1960s, expressway construction downtown had displaced the residents of the Overtown ghetto, forcing them north and thereby accelerating the deterioration of conditions in Liberty City. Very little other public housing was available for blacks. Indeed, the private sector generally increased in importance and Downtown Miami slowly acquired a central focus in the 1970s.¹²⁶

In Little Havana with its large concentration of multi-family and some single-family residents, renters outnumbered owners five to one. This older central area tended to retain the poor, the elderly, and the most recent arrivals. A refugee who sold real estate in Little Havana during the early 1960s, said that "This has been the Cuban part of town since Machado was overthrown in 1933. . . . The exiles at that time bought some property, mainly small apartment houses between

S.W. 8th Street and Flagler Street. Later, Cubans who have wanted to deal with Cubans came here to this area."¹²⁷ There were some 10,000 Cubans in the area before Fidel Castro took control in Cuba, noted another long-time resident, but they did not constitute as extensive Latin Quarter as the Little Havana that arose in the 1960s. Cubans took advantage of low rents available when local residents moved to the suburbs and the American-owned businesses followed their clientele into the suburbs, leaving Little Havana in worse economic shape. Many observers conceded that the neighborhood had started to deteriorate before the influx began, and most of the cinder-block stucco homes built twenty years earlier needed repairs. As older Anglo, Jewish and other families moved to Southwest Dade to raise their families, however, "the Cubans saved the area from becoming rundown."¹²⁸

When Cuban refugees began to arrive in large numbers, vacancy rates in apartment buildings and rental dwellings in the area ranged from 20 to 30 percent. The recession that plagued the region from 1959 through 1961 led to the abandonment of a substantial number of new FHA-financed single-family homes. The short-term effect of the Cuban influx altered radically the occupancy of apartments and dwellings and stemmed the declining real estate values as well as alleviating the business stagnation in the area. Over the long term, considerable renovation of both housing and commercial property resulted in enhancement of real estate values, and new business and commercial enterprises were established at an increased rate. Cubans took advantage of the mobile population. It was estimated that twenty percent of the FHA-insured homes purchased in the Miami area in 1965 (and thirty percent of resales after mortgages foreclosed in that year)



12. Distribution of the Cuban Population in Dade County, 1970

involved Cubans--1,400 and 850 respectively.¹²⁹ Cubans eventually moved to elite sections, such as The Roads, prompting one long-time resident to remark, "I feel like a foreigner in the town I was born in."¹³⁰

Although considerable crowding occurred as Cuban families took in new arrivals temporarily, no serious shortage of housing caused prolonged hardships to other groups in the community. In general, the first refugees lived in neighborhoods appropriate to their financial means and as close as feasible to their standard of living in Cuba. As the Castro regime curtailed the export of assets, the refugee migration included increasingly larger numbers of impoverished emigres. Noted a local economist, "the process of overcrowding was limited to very few areas in which the residential status had already been blighted. As the refugee economic situation improved--the consequence of private and public assistance and self-help--and families became self-supporting, the tendency to move to better neighborhoods and larger quarters grew."¹³¹

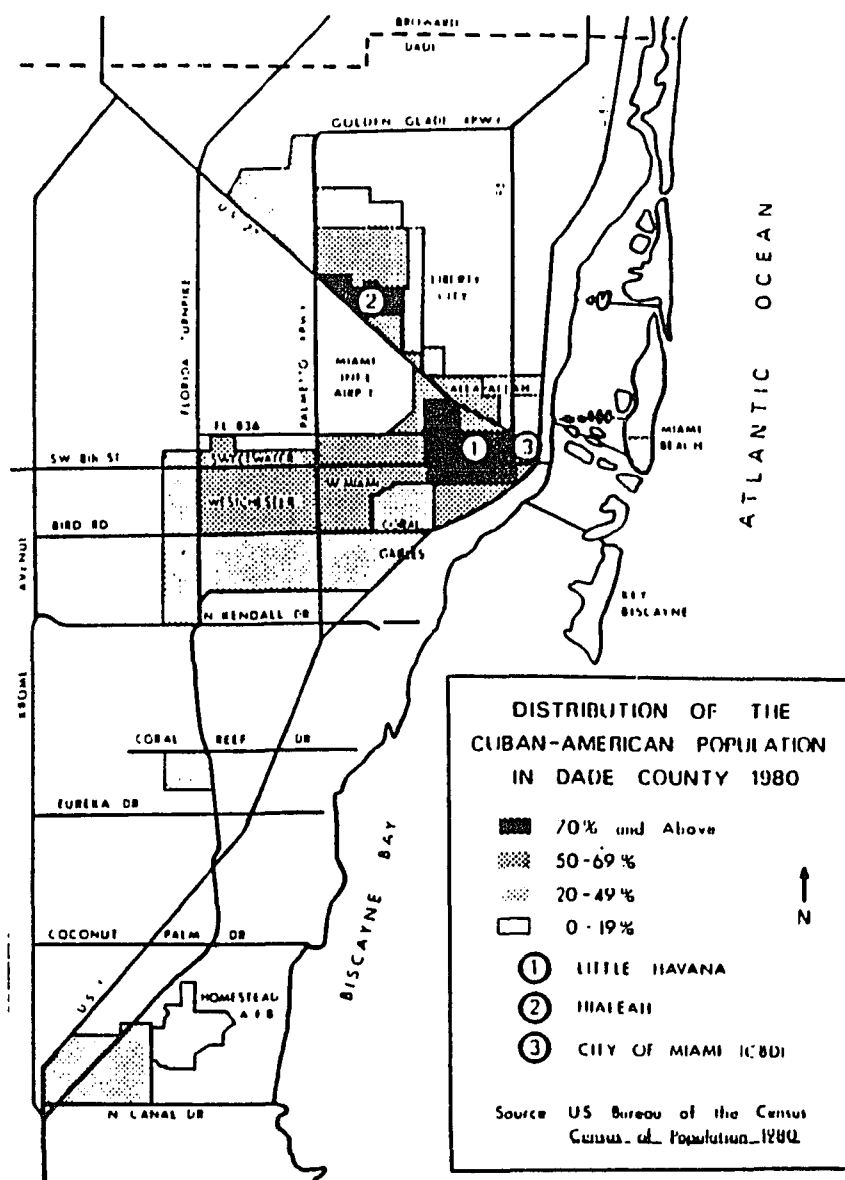
Various physical and economic barriers directed settlement to the western reaches of Miami. Little Havana borders Liberty City on the north and land values in the exclusive community of Coral Gables, just south, precluded movement in that direction, except for the most affluent Cubans. The one major exception to this pattern of expansion was the significant stream of movement into the city of Hialeah, located northwest of Little Havana. Hialeah, a suburb with many blue collar residents, saw its Cuban population rise from 4% in 1960 to 45% by 1970 as new plants and jobs in the garment industry shifted there.¹³²

Although most of the area of Little Havana is essentially middle

class, there are sections which are greatly overcrowded and where housing is near or at substandard levels. The poorest neighborhood is East Little Havana, on the edge of downtown Miami, the home of many Marielitos. Forty-one percent of Little Havana's population was fifty-five years and older in 1970; the corresponding percent for the total Cuban population in the county was 19%. It is the original Cuban enclave in the central city, the area where more than 100,000 Cubans resided during the early 1960s, and where Cubans accounted for 65% of the total population of Little Havana and 86% of the Spanish-speaking residents in 1970. By 1980, the population of the the 800-block area centered on Southwest Eighth Street (La Saguesera, in local parlance), surpassed 200,000. Yet, the region's relatively late period of urban expansion, contemporaneous with the "democratization" of automobile usage, has given it a suburban feel, hardly resembling a slum.¹³³

Of the total Dade County growth in the 1960s, about three-quarters owed to net migration and the remainder to natural increase. About 70% of the in-migrants were refugees, many of whom had been resettled, developed skills, and saved money for a return to Miami, where the climate, proximity of friends and relatives, and the Cuban ambience proved attractive. With the growth of Cuban businesses, along with the expansion of the budding megalopolis along southeastern Florida, Miami was in a better position to absorb the resettled exiles than during the 1960s. During the next decade the Latino population of Dade County nearly doubled, increasing from 300,000 to 581,000, and accounting for about 78% of the total county growth. Before the end of the 1970s Latinos resided in nearly all sections of Dade County.¹³⁴

Small municipalities in Dade County, such as Sweetwater,



13. Distribution of the Cuban Population in Dade County, 1980

witnessed rapid changes in their ethnic composition. After World War II the city began a slow rebirth with veterans and their families moving into the area. The city has become predominantly Latino. In May, 1978 Jorge Valdes, who came to Sweetwater in 1971, reputedly became the first Cuban-American to be elected mayor in the United States. The town has since elected five Latinos to its seven-member commission becoming the first municipality in the state of Florida with a Latino majority. The population was only about 10,000 in 1980--75% Latino and the remainder Anglo. Cubans found Sweetwater an inexpensive place to live and, as in Little Havana, their presence helped upgrade the area.¹³⁵

Westchester has perhaps remained the most coveted suburban Cuban location. Similarly, its first residents were Korean War veterans who bought homes with Veterans Administration mortgages at as little as 3%. When the Palmetto Expressway opened in the early 1960s, airport employees began to move in, followed by Cubans in the mid-1960s. It has since become a "Latin phenomenon." One city planning official says that "Westchester is considered the neighborhood to reach for the Cubans. I've heard it called Cuban heaven, and its always spoken of in positive terms."¹³⁶ It was a big step over Hialeah and Little Havana, short only of Coral Gables. As Cubans moved into Westchester, Anglos fled further west and south. It is a contemporary Latino suburb, mostly single-family homes, with both heads of household working. Although they live within the metropolitan area, about 60% of the Cuban Americans reside in suburban neighborhoods. Over 200,000 Latinos in 1980 resided outside of the city and constituted 26% of the county's unincorporated area population.¹³⁷

Cubans have avoided sharing deteriorating neighborhoods with the

small Puerto Rican population, which came in the early 1950s, working primarily in outlying agricultural regions. Most lived in Wynwood, making up about one-third of its 18,000 residents. Cubans, mostly newcomers from the 1980 Mariel exodus, have come to comprise another one-third, with the rest a mixture of blacks, Colombians, Haitians, and Dominicans (and fewer than 3% Anglo). Wynwood, one of Miami's older neighborhoods, located near the garment district, is now plagued by high crime rates and unemployment. Commercialization and "white flight" also took a toll. Here Puerto Ricans, not Cubans, live in poverty with Miami blacks.¹³⁸

In 1970, 96% of the Cuban Americans described themselves as white, 3% as black and 1% other (mainly Chinese). The smaller proportion of black Cubans among the exiles reflects the higher concentration of the upper and middle classes among them, which were predominantly white in Cuba. Later emigres have been increasingly white until the Marielitos reversed this trend, representing all social strata of the post-revolutionary social structure. From the onset, white Cubans set up a chain migration through extended family networks. Interestingly, Cuban blacks have a higher rate of naturalization than whites, pointing to their greater need for the security and benefits of citizenship. In metropolitan Miami, the Cubans are least segregated from Anglos, strongly separated from blacks and moderately segregated from the Jewish population, which includes large numbers of retirees.¹³⁹

Latino diffusion out of Little Havana revolutionized the demographic structure of the Miami SMSA in two decades. The county population in 1970 was 1,267,000. Non-Latin whites became a minority in the SMSA by 1980, as the total population climbed 28% to 1,626,000, with

36% Latino, the vast majority first-generation Cubans. In the city of Miami itself, Latinos constitute over 60% of the population. In 1980 every one of the 237 census tracts in the county had some Latinos; in 66 tracts, they exceeded half the total population. Thousands of upwardly mobile Cubans have moved to the northern Ft. Lauderdale and Palm Beach metropolitan areas. After Miami, the largest settlement of Cubans nationally is in the Union City-West New York area of New Jersey.¹⁴⁰

Mexican immigrants arriving from 1900 to 1930 increasingly settled in urban areas; by 1930, 58% of the national total lived in cities, although the majority of Mexicans in the Southwest were still engaged in agriculture. This trend increased during World War II and the early postwar years. In 1950 more than 70% of the Mexican population--first and second generation--was classified as urban. San Antonio has continued to attract newcomers from Mexico, many of whom settle in older areas of the West Side barrio, close to downtown jobs. Its Chicano population has largely overcome its heritage of isolation, yet it still lacks residential equality with Anglos.¹⁴¹

Waves of immigration continue to beset New York, with the arrival of a greater variety of Spanish-speaking groups. Until 1965, most Latinos coming into the New York City area were Puerto Rican. Since 1970, immigration from South and Central America, as well as throughout the Caribbean, accelerated, causing a drop in the Puerto Rican percentage, as almost half a million persons have come from a wide variety of Spanish-speaking countries, mostly the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Ecuador, Argentina, Peru, Honduras, and Salvador. The 1980 total of 61,000 Cubans and 23,000 Mexicans (together representing 6%

of the total) illustrates the dispersal of Latinos throughout the nation.¹⁴²

Most Puerto Ricans rent their apartments. They live in areas with negligible vacancy rates, and have little access to middle income housing. Fewer than 6% of live in the "suburbs," loosely defined. By contrast 12% of San Antonio's Chicanos reside outside the central city, as against 66% for Cubans in Miami. In the latter case, resettlement by voluntary agencies altered the historical geography of Miami, allowing for more orderly urban growth. In New York, while the city shrank, the Latino population grew from 1.2 million in 1970 to 1.4 million in 1980--Latinos now make up about 20% of the city's population. New York has more "central city" Latinos than Los Angeles, or any other city. Although the Los Angeles metropolitan population is more than four times as large as San Antonio's, its central city is less than half as big. While New York's demolition of buildings for urban renewal and public housing greatly reduced the vacancy rate in dwellings for minorities it should also be noted that private building eliminated 135,000 dwellings between 1950-1960, much of it in the low-income market.¹⁴³

The historical European immigrant experience in the slums contrasts sharply with black and Latino urbanization. Even where the older ethnic groups lived in segregated neighborhoods there was little continuity among the individuals who composed them over time. Institutions remained, but ghettos soon dispersed. The analogy of the black experience illuminates the greater problems of Latino urbanization. In 1919 even though blacks in the South comprised a much larger proportion of the total urban population, they remained less concentrated than in the North, where they could expand only by

impinging upon established white neighborhoods. In southern cities the initial pattern of residential segregation already included an adaptation to the presence of a large black population, while migration to the North escalated pre-existing patterns of segregation to immense proportions. Blacks banded together not to enjoy a common cultural tradition but because a systematic pattern of discrimination left them no alternative. Racial covenants, according to Robert Weaver, housing expert and the first Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, generally served to deter the individual family that attempted to break them, but did not work in areas adjacent to the Black Belt because "people, like water, if dammed into too little space, create pressure, and when the pressure passes a certain point, finally break out of their bonds." The "final breakthrough," in most cases, became "almost a rout."¹⁴⁴

This pattern appeared, but to a much lesser extent, in San Antonio and New York. Early patterns of urbanization in barrios disregarded services and ignored the amenities of local residents. No "walls of hostility" crippled their advance in the postwar era, although they encountered urban pathologies. A unique situation arose in Miami with the involvement of the State Department as an interested party in the reception of Cuban emigres. Generally, since the 1934 Housing Act, federal policies have contributed to the neglect of inner-city housing by encouraging suburbanization. Suburbs, meanwhile, became a key force as they increasingly took on the functions of the central city, and consequently competed with it for jobs, political power, and metropolitan hegemony.

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CHAPTER 3

THE JOURNEY TO WORK

One of the most important social changes of the twentieth century has been the disappearance of the farmer and the rise and decline of industrial work. As late as 1940, agriculture and mining made up over one-quarter of the labor force; by 1970 these sectors had decreased to only 5%. Within the blue-collar force a steady and distinct shift to non-production jobs occurred as more and more work places became automated. The international expansion of American firms accompanied a great shift of manufacturing to the suburbs, which became most evident in the industrializing "sunbelt." Simultaneously, "service industry" employment has risen dramatically. In 1960 blue-collar employment slipped to just under 40%, putting it behind the white-collar category(i.e, professional, management, clerical, and sales) for the first time. Essentially, the entire occupational structure has been reconstituted in the post World War II world, with an "information revolution" limiting the value of unskilled, raw muscle power. Amidst this continuing transformation, Latino workers have found decreasing opportunities for mobility. This chapter discusses the effects of economic and social trends upon Latino migration patterns, the impact of organized labor, and the historic development of local economies and immigrant communities within the three metropolises.¹

After the inauguration of San Antonio's presidio and mission

system in 1718, civilians planted crops. Indians soon thereafter began work on irrigation ditches to ensure good yearly yields. According to a report of the Spanish governor in 1803, however, the land along the fertile banks of the river had not been sufficiently cultivated. Most of the city's 2,500 inhabitants had "restricted their work to the raising of corn, not as much as they are capable of as experience has demonstrated."² They never learned to manufacture textiles or raise cotton or wheat and the shortage of cattle left many residents to subsist on chili and beans. Some wealthy citizens, however, such as the retired army officer Don Antonio Baca, possessed ample land and water to raise sugar cane and small harvests of other crops for sale.³

In the course of the nineteenth century San Antonio developed into the center of a vast agricultural hinterland, as Tejanos made concessions to Anglo invaders as well as to the frontier. In 1857 the "Cart War" broke out in South Texas, and Anglo intimidation and violence succeeded in breaking the old Mexican cart trade between San Antonio and the Gulf of Mexico. The years after the Civil War saw San Antonio serve temporarily as a stopover for herds of cattle destined for midwestern markets. Yet, according to the San Antonio Weekly Express, by 1873 "there were very few cattle within the radius of a hundred miles of San Antonio; the pasture had been greatly injured by being constantly trodden, and that which remains is being devoured by grasshoppers. . . . This region of the country is in a transition state: the abundance of nature is fast giving way to the exigencies of civilization. The past mode of raising cattle is impossible with any hope of future profit."⁴

Mexican immigrant labor fueled the expansion of the Texas economy as early as 1870, when one railroad opened a labor office in San Antonio

to recruit workers for a line being constructed from Austin to Brenham. After 1880, as cotton expanded from its base in East Texas into the area south of San Antonio, Mexicans helped clear the land. Harvesting also attracted Mexican labor and in 1892 residents of San Antonio's growing barrio left their homes to pick in outlying areas. By the beginning of the twentieth century cotton production had replaced the range cattle industry as the leading economic activity over much of South Texas. Many Mexicans in counties near San Antonio and Austin worked as tenant farmers in large, landed estates. Others became part of the year-round "plantation" system of labor which involved sharecropping and share-renting agreements. Increasingly, however, Anglos hired migrants as casual day laborers and the post-World War I wave of Mexicans gradually dominated the labor supply throughout South and Central Texas. Generally, expansion of this "cotton culture" across the state closely paralleled the permanent settlement of Mexicans. By 1930, the Mexican population had concentrated in counties adjacent to the Mexican border, in the large region of South Texas devoted to the production of cotton, and in the urban areas of the state(which saw increases in permanent residents).⁵

By 1910 Mexicans traveled as family groups by train and horse-drawn vehicles and covered large cotton growing expanses in their seasonal migrations. This labor stream greatly widened around the 1920s, as the automobile came into general use, requiring improved roads. An article in the New York Times in 1920, observed:

When virtually every other corner of the United States is cutting down on farm production because there aren't enough farm hands to go around Texas is increasing her agricultural acreage. Texas, once esteemed as a joke agriculturally, was enabled last year to

surpass every other state in the Union, even Iowa, in the value of farm products, being the only state whose crops totaled more than one billion dollars in value. . . . San Antonio is the mecca of all those Mexican invaders who cross the Rio Grande, and it is from San Antonio that they are parceled out by labor agencies to the Texas farmers and the beet growers of the North.⁶

In San Antonio in 1924 a sign on one such operation, the Alamo City Employment Agency, read(in translation), "Mexican Labor Contractors' Office. Distribution to all parts of the United States." The proprietor in this case was an Anglo, W.J. Lewis. The illegality under which most Mexicans immigrated to Texas(frequently involving avoidance of payment of the head tax and literacy test) subjected them to exploitation by often unscrupulous labor contractors and recruiting agents, who paid them meager wages and, according to the Farm Placement Division of the Texas State Employment Agency, treated them "almost as slaves."⁷

Much of the San Antonio's commerce revolved around Military Plaza. Vegetables, cotton, fruits and other goods were brought in from outlying areas to this mercado and traded or sold, wholesale and retail, to the city's residents. In the late nineteenth century chili stands became the most celebrated Mexican food attraction in the plaza. The vendors, or "chili queens," enjoyed enormous success with tourists and residents alike as they replaced the square's daytime marketing function every evening. The stands moved to Haymarket Square when the new City Hall was built in the 1890s. The main business center of the West Side during the nineteenth century, encircled by jacales, centered on the San Fernando Cemetery in the Mexican Quarter, where tienditas(small stores) served the Latino population almost exclusively. Although by 1900 the Mission City's 10,000 Mexican Americans represented a group of greatly

diminished importance in the growing regional capital of 96,000, as the West Side grew, many Latinos, especially refugee merchants who came during the Mexican Revolution, began to go into business. By the 1920s, they carried on much of the sale of meats, groceries, and clothing in the district.⁸

Although the nineteenth century saw Tejano policemen, public servants, and artisans, who served both Anglo and Latino communities, Mexicans have historically monopolized common labor in San Antonio. Their pay changed from "the near peon state of being fed from the back door to wages in money, that increased upon the arrival of the railroad in 1875 and 1883, from fifty to seventy-five cents and to a dollar a day by the nineties."⁹ In 1908 San Antonio's street laborers, mostly Mexicans or Tejanos, received wages of \$1.25 to \$1.50 a day. Thousands of Mexicans cleared the brush to make way for the army barracks that ringed the northwestern part of the city during the World War I years. Local farmers, when short-handed, welcomed these workmen as well.¹⁰

In 1917 the United States Department of Labor, facing war conditions, suspended the head tax, literacy test, and provisions against contract labor. It authorized farm operators to bring Mexicans into the United States to fill the places of those who left to fight, providing that they engaged exclusively in agricultural labor. After World War I, the mines of Pennsylvania, the factories around the Great Lakes, and the beet farms west of Chicago sent for San Antonio's migrants. Five trainloads of workers arrived in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in April and May of 1923, totaling 912 Mexican men, 29 women, and 7 children, direct from San Antonio. Employment agencies in Texas, in cooperation with the Mexican Consul-General in San Antonio,

negotiated for the steel company. A contract protected them and assured their return to San Antonio if they became public charges. Single men comprised the vast majority of those who went north.¹¹

A survey conducted of 1,500 Mexican families in San Antonio in the late 1920s revealed that sixty percent of the men worked as laborers, 25% as skilled workers, with 2% as clerks; about 5% owned little stores. Many lacked regular employment, but the native-born had twice as many permanent jobs as the foreigners (and better pay). Their knowledge of English boosted their weekly earnings by about \$5 a week. Moreover, Tejanas worked less frequently, especially after marriage. A large majority of the Mexican laborer belonged to what one observer called the "nomadic skilled type," and showed few signs of moving toward more stable jobs. Few of the craft workers belonged to regular unions, instead forming a "floating helper" group which took small repair jobs or worked for independent contractors.¹²

Organized labor had achieved a surprising degree of strength in Texas by the end of the nineteenth century. The Knights of Labor, at the peak of its power in San Antonio as elsewhere during the 1880s, had six assemblies in the city, including one for blacks. As it faded in the late 1880s, skilled artisans turned to craft unions in an attempt to control their jobs. Painters, carpenters, bricklayers, masons, tanners, and blacksmiths all organized themselves, as had the printers and railroad workers during the two preceding decades. In 1891 the San Antonio Trades Council became the first central labor organization in the state. Under its aegis union membership rose sharply during the years 1895-1900.¹³

After 1900, under the county-wide leadership of the National

Association of Manufacturers, employers organized to counter labor's resurgence. Various trade associations adopted open shop programs and refused to deal with unions. Moreover, during the period 1909-1919, the number of firms increased by more than 60%, and San Antonio experienced its greatest industrial growth. Total manufacturing employment more than doubled and payrolls tripled. During World War I, the military economy expanded, and an official governmental attitude of cooperation temporarily strengthened the union movement in the city. The first post-war open shop association in Texas appeared in 1919 in San Antonio, due in part to the city's abundance of cheap labor.¹⁴

The San Antonio Open Shop Association billed the city as a place of industrial harmony, offering a "stable labor market" with "ideal labor conditions of small intimate work places." A few exaggerated stories warned of foreign agitators and communists, but this approach more accurately described depression-era attacks on the CIO. Businessmen generally believed that heavy manufacturing would bring widespread unionization, thereby boosting wages, and they fought hard to keep it out. Another of their platforms emphasized the need to "protect" American institutions, and asserted the worker's right to employment without the coercion of potentially dictatorial unions. One prominent local manufacturer, appealing to Texas chauvinism, declared in 1921:

It is fitting and appropriate that the city of San Antonio, Texas, should take the initiative in establishing an Open Shop Association in the Southwest. The historical Alamo located at San Antonio where the immortal heroes, Travis, Bowie, and Crockett resisted Santa Anna. These heroes did not die in vain.¹⁵

The Association undercut labor's power with its anti-union drive of the early 1920s and by 1925 more than one quarter of all unions in San

Antonio had vanished and virtually none of the workers outside of the building and printing trades and the railroads remained organized.

Traditionally, craft unions adopted a hostile attitude toward minority groups in San Antonio, and the achievements of "workmanship standards" served to exclude them from membership. Only the Common Laborers, Hodcarriers Local 93, which consisted entirely of Chicanos and blacks and existed outside of the American Federation of Labor, served the city's Latinos. As outcasts, some skilled Mexican American workers banded together in "indigenous" labor organizations. Between 1918 and 1925 several labor mutualistas, inspired by Mexican mutual societies, formed along craft lines, among them bakers(1915), graphic artists (1918), masons(1921) and tailors(1924). Many ricos, loyal to the old regime of Porfirio Diaz, had developed their skills while in Mexico. Some Latinos worked for large businesses, others peddled their services in the barrio. Despite limited treasuries and memberships(never more than few hundred members total in the early 1920s), craft mutualistas, like other colonia mutual benefit organizations, served as informal burial societies and also offered more general types of "neighborhood insurance" which often proved crucial in emergencies. Of the six groups, only Sociedad Morelos Mutua de Panaderos survived for more than five years, perhaps because of its emphasis on labor issues. In 1923, however, the bakers successfully gained higher wages after staging a walkout against a large company.¹⁶

The Mexican Consul's office and the conservative Spanish-language press opposed any manifestation of working class discontent. One of the earliest and most prominent exiles, Ignacio E. Lozano, a native of Nuevo Leon, Mexico, arrived in San Antonio in 1908, where he worked for local

newspapers. In 1913, he founded La Prensa, which soon circulated in Mexican communities throughout the Southwest. In 1926, the demand for subscriptions from California prompted the editor to begin publishing La Opinion in Los Angeles. Both papers closely followed Lozano's political philosophy in their early years, opposing many of the reforms of the Mexican Revolution and reflecting the views of the exiled ricos (the same label came to identify wealthy, established Tejanos as well). Despite its editorial policy and its narrow partisan stance, La Prensa contained news about the homeland and thus appealed to Mexicans of other political persuasions. However, it generally sought to gloss over the dire conditions of the barrio and focus on the homeland.¹⁷

The availability of Mexican women in the 1920s, deemed ideal industrial workers because of their willingness to work for low wages (and for their reputed manual dexterity), prompted the establishment of new tobacco and clothing workshops. The presence of thousands of temporarily unemployed migrants and their families wintering in San Antonio prompted manufacturers to reverse the trend toward mechanization of the pecan shelleries, which had reached a peak in the late 1920s, by which time this industry had become the city's largest. In addition, bakeries and food processing plants employed a growing number of Latinos. Industrial decline in the next decade radically changed work patterns among San Antonio's Mexican population.¹⁸

The Mexican transient seldom applied for relief while seasonally employed. When work slowed down, as in 1921, many workers returned to Mexico. During the early depression years, similarly, migrants gathered

in San Antonio from other parts of Texas, as well as from midwestern manufacturing cities and beet fields. The plummeting economy affected them almost immediately. Cotton pickers in the mid-1930s earned an average of \$3.22 per week, compared with \$2.17 for shellers, while beet workers, the "aristocracy of farm laborers," averaged \$4.90 per person weekly. La Prensa reported agricultural wages so low that in 1931 Texas Mexicans chose to remain in San Antonio and spring vegetables and crops went unpicked. Dwindling opportunities for migrant employees in South Central Texas enlarged the importance of urban industries such as pecan shelling, despite their low wages. San Antonio offered no relief of its own citizens throughout the depression and did little to procure assistance from the federal government. Moreover, the application of previously unenforced citizenship requirements limited the employment of Mexicans on state-financed public works projects. Whereas before 1930 construction projects employed many semiskilled and unskilled Texas Mexican laborers, they thereafter denied them jobs on state highways, public buildings, and as school teachers. Texas relief agencies, poorly organized prior to the depression, collapsed as conditions worsened. In the fall of 1931 the Mexican government helped arrange the repatriation of large contingents of its nationals via San Antonio, and during the 1930s the Mexican born population of Texas declined by nearly 40%.¹⁹

Largely unskilled, geographically segregated, and greeted with prejudice, Latino workers had few job choices, and clustered in a few industries. In small plants, females could work together or under the watchful eyes of their husbands and brothers. Frequently as many as 100 pickers toiled in a single room 25 by 40 feet in pecan shelleries which, before the passage of a city health ordinance in 1936, lacked running

water and inside plumbing. Poor illumination and inadequate ventilation also made for dusty and unsanitary surroundings, especially in cold weather. Yet these plants avoided the danger of females working in a strange home or among people speaking a foreign language. Unlike most black women workers in San Antonio, Mexican American women avoided domestic service occupations. Paradoxically, despite their presumed docility, Latinas participated in organized, sometimes violent, protest. Depression-era strikes occurred primarily in San Antonio's lowest paying industries--cigar making, pecan shelling, and garment making--where Chicanas formed a large portion of the rank and file, and in many cases the leadership.²⁰

The first major strike of the 1930s in San Antonio occurred at the Finck Cigar Company in August, 1933, when an estimated 400 women, mostly Latinas, walked off their jobs as cigar rollers and tobacco strippers, marking the beginning of several years of discord in the industry. Workers had initially protested the company's announcement that cigar rollers would be penalized three good cigars for every improperly rolled one. A temporary settlement reduced the penalty to two. Early in 1934 the Finck workers struck again, with a more violent disturbance occurring in March, 1935, when the firm decided to keep the plant open and eventually broke the strike through the employment of non-union women.²¹

In the city's garment industry, some of the locally-owned manufacturers, such as the Texas Infant's Dress Company and the Randolph Kohlman Company, operated factories to support the labor of homeworkers, who produced most children's garments and handkerchiefs. A number of women in one household often worked together on piece work. Other

enterprises, such as the Juvenile Manufacturing Company, belonged to New York firms that sent bundles of cut fabric to San Antonio and other Texas cities for distribution to the workers. The farming-out of garment sewing to Texas reflected the extremely low wage levels of Mexican American workers. San Antonio had to compete also with cheap labor in Puerto Rico, where in the early 1930s weekly rates for hand workers stood at under three dollars per person.²²

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) began its campaign in San Antonio in 1933 in order to help members in the Northeast compete with the low wages of Texas companies. Rebecca Taylor, an Anglo with much experience in the Mexican community, served as educational director during her years of union activity, as well as the liaison between Latina workers and the city at large, working effectively with Chicana organizers. In 1936 workers struck the Dorothy Frocks Company, but after the strike ended management temporarily moved the plant to Dallas. This slowed the momentum of the ILGWU in San Antonio, even though the firm subsequently returned and signed a union contract. Thereafter, the ILGWU concentrated its efforts on the infant's and children's wear workers, who generally earned less than their counterparts in women's wear. Separate locals had existed since 1934. These campaigns received a continuous flow of funds from the union's International.²³

In 1937 a strike at the Shirlee Frocks factory, which manufactured children's wear, brought the ILGWU its first major victory in San Antonio, as plant workers and homeworkers united. The Mayor and the Police Commissioner supported the company's position and the latter arrested pickets as fast as they posted bond and returned to the lines.

Shirlee Frocks signed a contract providing wages of \$.20 an hour for a forty-hour week, doubling the pay of workers. ILGWU efforts to improve wages at the Texas Infant's Dress Company in 1938, involving a four-month-long strike, resulted in an agreement providing for a union shop and "opened the way for further collective advances," according to Meyer Perlstein, Regional Director of the ILGWU in the Southwest. After negotiations with workers' representatives, mostly Chicanas, who in October formed the Mexican Garment Workers' Local 347, Texas Infant's Wear agreed to a two-year contract, settling the strike. At the Juvenile Manufacturing Company, a large employer of factory laborers and home-workers, a new contract guaranteed a 20 cent minimum hourly wage and a union shop. By 1939 salaries had increased from five cents an hour for home workers in the children's and infant's wear industry in San Antonio to the minimum wage of 25 cents an hour.²⁴

In the pecan industry the contracting system, a corollary of hand-shelling, flourished on the West Side. Individuals or families received six to eight cents a day per pound of nuts shelled, either at home or in a workshop. Under this procedure large concerns bought the pecans from farmers and transferred them to middlemen, who hired crackers and pickers to process the pecans, and then returned them to the companies. These "independent" contractors actually worked for a few pecan kings who controlled the supply of nuts and set the prices for shelling.²⁵

The Pecan Shelling Workers Union of San Antonio arose under the personal domination of Magdaleno Rodriquez early in 1933 and grew rapidly later in the year, claiming 10,000 members by 1934(though less than half paid regular dues). This union soon fragmented amidst

factionalism and futile strikes against repeated wage cuts, with opponents of Rodriguez organizing rival organizations. After a strike broke out in mid-1934 in several plants which attempted to revert to the previous year's rate, the combined pressure of the union and the successful application of the labor provisions of National Recovery Administration(NRA) standards brought about a much higher piece rate. The following year, shelleries continued to cut wages in several plants, despite walkouts, and union membership dropped.²⁶

Pecan shellers gained new vitality when the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America(UCAPAWA) emerged as a union of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1937. From an international union designed primarily for farm workers the UCAPAWA became a federation of labor organizations whose main source of strength lay among the employees of processing industries closely related to farming. Donald Henderson, its new president, chartered Local 172, the Texas Pecan Shelling Workers Union, in November, 1937. It absorbed the remnants of Rodriguez' union, of the former AFL group, and of a newer left-wing faction which had risen to prominence under the leadership of an outspoken Chicana Communist, Emma Tenayuca, who belonged to San Antonio's small branch of the Workers' Alliance. A violent strike, one of the bitterest led by the CIO in the Southwest during the depression, broke out the following year.²⁷

Declining pecan prices drove some firms out of business and compelled others to cut wages. The Southern Pecan Shelling Company contractors announced on January 31, 1938 a one cent wage decrease in the 1937 piece rate for pecans, provoking a strike which spread within days to thousands of shellers in over a hundred workshops in the Mexican

Quarter. Chief of Police Owen Kilday, citing "revolutionary conditions," arrested more than 1,000 strikers on vagrancy charges and raided the Workers' Alliance headquarters. The UCAPAWA soon sanctioned the walkout, and Henderson arrived in San Antonio on February 6 to take charge of the strike, replacing Tenayuca with J. Austin Beasley, a CIO organizer(who was promptly jailed). Church and business groups, including the Mexican American Chamber of Commerce, feared any show of militancy by the CIO union and publicly opposed the strike.²⁸

The number of strikers soon increased to about 6,000, or more than half of the total employed. The CIO's support of the month-long strike by early March ended with workers agreeing to return to their tables at the reduced wage, pending a decision on a fair wage scale by an arbitration board. By December the union had won thirteen contracts, which included provisions for a closed shop, a check-off system of collecting dues, grievance representatives, and restoration of wages to the previous levels of seven and eight cents per pound(for shelled pecan pieces and halves), representing a significant victory in a declining industry and demonstrating that labor had become so abundant in San Antonio that shop-by-shop strikes could not succeed without support from national unions. Many besieged firms, existing on the edge of failure, with rising labor costs, would simply have closed.²⁹

The agreement covered plants which normally would have employed some 8,000 workers. However, the Wage and Hour Law, which came into effect in November, 1938(under the Fair Labor Standards Act) presented a problem which could not be settled by collective bargaining, as companies converted to mechanization in order to pay the 25 cent hourly minimum applied to the industry. Only some 2,000 shellers out of an

original 10,000 to 12,000 employed at the peak season under hand shelling could remain. Production per worker rose threefold over that of the hand work system and wages increased greatly, raising the standard of living of those who retained their jobs. The rest had to fend for themselves or seek relief. In addition to the distress caused by inadequate food, an increasing number of former pecan shellers and their families, evicted for nonpayment of rent, "doubled up" in the houses of friends and relatives. Church aid and private charity kept them from destitution. Some also received aid from the Guadalupe Church food depot, the CIO soup kitchen and from federal surplus commodities. An emergency allocation sufficient for the employment of 1,800 Mexicans was made by the Works Progress Administration(WPA) early in 1939. Yet by early 1939 fully half of the Mexicans in San Antonio had recently received public aid in some form.³⁰

Prior to World War II diverse factors, including the lack of qualified Anglo workers at or near the wage acceptable to Mexican Americans, ethnic prejudice among employers, supervisors, and production workers, and the language barrier, caused industrial firms to establish and maintain "Mexican jobs." A large chili powder factory, two cement plants, and several meat packing houses, among others, informally segregated Mexican laborers almost exclusively in low wage unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Similarly, prior to 1940, Anglo and Mexican common laborers usually worked in separate crews. The wartime worker shortage, however, opened employment to Mexican Americans in skilled occupations. Employers who reluctantly turned to them found that they soon mastered skilled jobs. The AFL building trades unions had always followed a Jim Crow policy in San Antonio in spite of national constitutional

provisions to the contrary but legal restrictions and social customs allowed greater equality for San Antonio's large Mexican American population long before it could be attained by blacks.³¹

During World War II Kelly Air Base became San Antonio's largest employer. The growth of civilian employment from approximately 10,000 in 1941 to 30,000 at the end of the war necessitated the hiring and training of all qualified Anglos and Chicano apprentice mechanics and mechanic's helpers. In 1940 Mexican Americans comprised about 10% of the base's civilian employees, almost all of whom worked in lower level jobs. Testimony in March, 1945, of wartime workers indicated that American citizens of Mexican descent lacked the opportunities for advancement given other workers after receiving identical instruction. Moreover, many claimed that they were given rougher work and segregated in the work place. While discrimination had never been overt policy at Kelly, authorities acknowledged that before World War II and in the early years of the war, considerable prejudice existed in employment practices. Stimulated by the Fair Employment Practices Committee, administrative policy directives in 1945 called for equality in promotions. Supervisors who had previously considered Mexican Americans inferior gradually gained new respect for their capabilities as they proved themselves able to work alongside Anglos.³²

Chicano veterans returning from military service asserted their rights assiduously and took advantage of Servicemen's Readjustment Act(G.I. Bill) programs to advance through the ranks at Kelly. By 1950 Mexican Americans there had begun to move into a wider range of skilled jobs, including high status supervisory and technical positions, illustrating the importance of the Federal government in providing a

means of economic mobility for Mexican Americans in San Antonio. By 1960 the base employed almost 9,000 Chicanos(out of a total of about 16,500 persons), most of the whom lived in neighboring West Side neighborhoods.³³ Nevertheless, twenty years later, a report of the Texas State Advisory Committee to the U.S Commission on Civil Rights stated that there remained at Kelly "broad and glaring inequities in the distribution of supervisory and higher grade positions among Mexican Americans."³⁴

Unions affiliated with the San Antonio Building and Construction Trade Council prior to World War II, which, in the mid-1940s, handled 90% of the commercial construction in San Antonio, accepted few Mexican Americans. During and after the war, however, their membership in the building trades steadily increased, proportionately as well as numerically. Records for locals affiliated with the San Antonio Building and Construction Trades Council during the period 1948 to 1963 indicated general progress in hiring Mexican journeymen and apprentices. Some non-citizens failed to qualify for membership, as did those who failed to graduate high school. As Mexican Americans of apprenticeship age(17-31) increasingly completed high school, the percentage of Latinos completing programs compared satisfactorily with that of Anglos. They could thereby enjoy the benefits of the \$3.95 hourly union scale compared to the top open shop rate of \$3.25. However, the non-union contractors had more than 90% of home construction and the three major union contractors in residential construction had less than five percent of the work in the area. Only slightly over one-fourth of construction workers belonged to unions in the San Antonio Building and Construction Trades Council in the mid-1960s.³⁵

Among carpenters, union contracts dominated commercial and industrial work. Mexican American membership rose to nearly six times the small 1940 representation, with an even higher increase in apprentices; their percentage of journeymen consequently followed this trend. More than one-third of the members of the painters' local were Mexican American by 1963, making it the second highest proportion among skilled trades in San Antonio (there were no black members). Latinos, moreover, constituted 90% of the cement masons. Whereas very few Mexican American's worked as bus drivers prior to 1940, in 1963 their numbers climbed to 32%, and the assistant superintendent of the shop and the vice-president of the union were also Chicanos. They also held all major offices in the International Union of Electrical Workers local, which represented the plant workers of San Antonio's largest manufacturing employers. Yet, by the mid-1960s the city's work force, with about 10% in unions, remained the least organized in Texas.³⁶

Before the urban renewal projects of the 1960s, a number of Latin-owned department stores catering almost exclusively to Mexican Americans stood in the region where the colonia business section merged into the downtown shopping area. This four-square block area included sidewalk cafes, groceries, pharmacies carrying folk remedies, businesses that printed or sold Spanish-language publications, and Mexican theaters. Many family groceries, bars and restaurants, barber shops, and gas stations scattered in smaller commercial sections throughout the colonia. Successful Mexican American businessmen in San Antonio included the owners of a Spanish-speaking radio station, a wholesale grocer and produce distributor (both of whom supplied the large number of small colonia grocers), a hotel owner, a real estate agent who sold lots

in the colonia, and two furniture dealers. Some Chicanos, including the owner of a piano company, the owner of a chain of drive-in restaurants, a high official of one of San Antonio's largest banks, and a meat packer, had considerable Anglo patronage.³⁷

In 1962, Mexican Americans constituted about one-third of the 41,000 San Antonio residents employed in retail establishments. Mexican Americans generally filled the city's service industries, which have been characterized by low wages and long hours, minimal educational requirements with little job diversification, and slim advancement possibilities. Mexicans worked in clerk and salesmen groups in relatively large numbers because of their bilingualism, and, in the past, due to their willingness to accept lower wages than Anglos. Whereas virtually all main store department managers and assistant managers had been Anglos prior to World War II, 11% were Chicano in 1963--including 6% of the department managers and 18% of the assistants.³⁸

Of the handful of Mexican attorneys in San Antonio in the late 1940s only one achieved a reputation as a successful criminal lawyer. A few others managed to obtain enough civil cases to eke out a living; the rest had political appointments or sold real estate or insurance for a livelihood. At that time, about twelve Mexican American doctors practiced in the barrio. Two of them operated extensive private clinics with small hospitals attached; the rest were situated in two-room suites in the colonia drugstore. By 1961 Mexican American professionals had increased both numerically and proportionately in every area except architecture, although still representing less than 10% of the city's total in accounting, law, dentistry and medicine. In 1970, Latinos,

making up over one-third of San Antonio's labor force, comprised less than 5% of those in professional and managerial occupations.³⁹

Several Mexican American organizations claimed that all of the utility companies, some of the agencies of the city government, and one of the largest department stores adhered to a policy of not hiring Mexican Americans. Southern Bell Telephone, the largest private employer in San Antonio, faced frequent charges of anti-Mexican discrimination. As a private monopoly, it could not be subjected to a consumer boycott, as had a major brewery which openly discriminated against Mexicans. The City Public Service Board faced continuous protest from Mexican Americans for purported discrimination in all but laborer and semiskilled jobs. The non-political nature of the Board, together with its autonomy of control, made it difficult for Mexican Americans to combat discrimination there. By contrast, in 1968, Spanish-surnamed workers constituted over half(2,200 out of 4,300) of persons employed by the City of San Antonio.⁴⁰

Mexican-American representation in manufacturing, 48%, exceeded that of other broad industrial groups in 1962 and they engaged in most types of skilled occupations; only 30% remained in service and common labor. The average weekly earnings from manufacturing employment at that time(\$171.86) placed San Antonio 125th among the 134 cities reported by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, and none of the cities with lower earnings had even half as large a population. While Chicanos dominated operative, craftsmen and, to a lesser extent, clerical positions, blacks tended to concentrate more heavily in unskilled service and private household occupations. In 1967 28% of Mexican Americans held white-collar jobs, as compared with 59% of the Anglos and

23% of the blacks.⁴¹

Mexican-American women, who dominated the unmechanized era of the clothing and apparel industries, remained as sewing machine operators, replacing handworkers. Embroidery increasingly lost out to foreign producers. The Federal Wage and Hour Law, here, as in the pecan industry, destroyed San Antonio's competitive edge and by 1939 Mexican American employment in clothing factories dropped to about 2,000 workers, down from 4,000 before the application of the FLSA. During the late 1940s and the early 1950s San Antonio had about 800 organized workers in the garment industry. The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act and the Texas "right-to-work" laws in 1947 not only outlawed union shops, dealing a major blow to the ILGWU in Texas, but meant that jobs and benefits no longer depended directly on union membership. After losing a certification election at the Juvenile Manufacturing Company, Local 347 (representing half of the city's union members) folded. After negotiations failed to settle a lingering confrontation concerning the practice of contracting out to non-union firms between the Tex-Son Company and the ILGWU, Rene Sandoval, a Chicano organizer, called on workers to strike in February, 1959. After nearly years four of contention, during which time the union paid about half a million dollars in strike benefits, and despite church and labor backing, the ILGWU finally withdrew October, 1962. This bitter defeat marked the end of the ILGWU as a factor in San Antonio's garment industry. To make matters worse, the following year, the Bernard Altman International Corporation's apparel plant closed down without notice, leaving its 450 workers unemployed.⁴²

In October, 1971, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

(ACWA) won a contract at the Gant plant in San Antonio, which manufactured a line of expensive men's shirts, securing national cotton garment standards, including hospitalization and other benefits for members and dependents. However, this success paled before the prolonged struggle at two important branches of Farah plants which began in March, 1972, when El Paso's Northwest Plant fired twenty-six workers after they had walked out. ACWA organizers sponsored a march in that city, which attracted Farah workers from San Antonio, some of whom did not return in time for work on Monday morning. The next day, a supervisor who had seen news coverage of one of his workers demonstrating promptly fired him, along with other sympathizers. Soon, more than 500 San Antonio Farah workers had walked out in protest, triggering a large scale strike in El Paso of machine strippers, cutters and many seamstresses. The union thereafter embarked upon a highly publicized and ultimately successful national boycott of Farah pants. Nonetheless, the trend toward relocating plants in Mexico and Asia dictated low wages thereafter among Texas garment firms.⁴³

The adoption of the tractor, the mechanical cotton picker, the "sled" and other innovations in the cotton industry contributed substantially to the permanent displacement of Texas Mexican tenant farmers and agricultural laborers. During the 1940s, migrants throughout the country, given the opportunity to do so, dropped out of agriculture. Those who continued migrating had to journey far and wide to find jobs. Workers came from rural areas outside San Antonio, or from major Texas cities such as El Paso, Brownsville, Corpus Christi, and Crystal City, paying their own way to reach San Antonio with the ultimate goal of working in the Midwestern beet districts. Ernesto

Cortez, San Antonio's principal emigrant agent, or labor contractor, as well as the owner of a funeral parlor in the barrio, from where he recruited workers for the Michigan Beet Growers Employment Committee from March until May (in Michigan it was commonly assumed that all the Mexicans who came to work in sugar beets originated in San Antonio). Each season he sent about 6,000 recruits north in trucks, jalopies, and trains. As the sugar beet districts of Montana and Wyoming developed in the 1940s and 1950s, Denver replaced San Antonio as a seasonal reservoir for migrant labor.⁴⁴

Congress began the Bracero Program in 1942 to help alleviate the wartime agricultural labor shortage throughout the Southwest by contracting Mexican workers. Small growers, more characteristic of Texas than California, required only a few men for a relatively short period, and frequently could not maintain the braceros for the full season. Private labor contractors thus provided "illegals" who, under the straining Mexican economy, readily worked under harsh conditions. Indeed, studies have shown that for the duration of the Program (it was extended several times through 1964) undocumented workers came from the same Mexican states that provided the majority of the bracero population. The massive influx of mojados across the border into Texas (the state was finally removed from a blacklist in 1949) in the mid-1950s, in turn created labor surpluses, especially in low-skilled job categories, causing Chicanos to leave San Antonio and other cities. Texas became both the largest importer of Mexican nationals and the largest exporter of Chicano workers to other states, and depressed wages displaced thousands of families. As conditions worsened in Texas, Chicano migration to the Midwest increased.⁴⁵

In 1962, machines harvested more than 50% of the crop in the cotton growing areas of Texas which used bracero labor for picking. The Chief of the Farm Placement Service of the Texas Employment Commission predicted in 1964 that within three years all crops would be harvested by machine, further displacing Texas migrants, then numbered at 128,000. Texas farmers had long realized the possibility of having the Mexican contract labor shut off and had been moving into mechanical harvesting as well as the use of chemical herbicides to reduce weeding and chopping. Thus the shutting off of bracero labor only minimally affected Texas' recently modernized agricultural economy. By the late 1960s, moreover, undocumented labor spread from agriculture to urban employment, as Southwestern factories and assorted businesses attracted Mexicans.⁴⁶

Census figures, although they lack precision, nevertheless reveal broad trends in San Antonio's demography. The proportion of the city's native-born, already substantial by the 1930s, experienced considerable natural increase in the 1940s and 1950s. By 1960, Mexican nationals officially numbered only 30,000 out of the total Spanish surnamed population of 244,000(although perhaps three times that number evaded the census enumerator), and fully 55% of the Latinos in San Antonio were third generation or older. During the 1920s, only 27,000 Mexicans entered the United States "legally" with permanent visas, while hundreds of thousands traveled back and forth across the border. However, their descendants, who form the vast majority of San Antonio's Latinos throughout the post-war period, are of course, citizens.⁴⁷

San Antonio in the 1960s absorbed many Chicanos from border cities such as McAllen, Laredo and Brownsville, as well as undocumented

workers, mainly "target earners," who have made repeated trips north while their families resided in Mexico. Over half of the undocumented recently apprehended in the San Antonio District of the Immigration and Naturalization Service came from the northeastern Mexican states of Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas, areas which have experienced considerable economic and population growth since 1965. They often traveled on foot for several days, hiding by day and moving by night through the stark border area brushland to avoid detection, barely surviving on cactus or fruit before reaching San Antonio. Here they entered the "shadow labor market," awaiting offers from small contractors in search of cheap labor under the expressway overpass or in some other peripheral location. They have tended work in homogeneous groups and to live in old, often dilapidated housing vacated by outwardly mobile Chicanos near the railroad tracks, where trucking firms, warehouses, and stockyards converge, as well in the traditional manufacturing area.⁴⁸

San Antonio offers opportunities in the garment industry in food processing, and wholesaling as well as in construction, restaurant and hotel employment. Undocumented labor has been virtually absent in white-collar positions. While the effect of urban illegals on wages remains unclear, most hold unstable, low-paying jobs with few opportunities for advancement. Others go on to Houston and Dallas, which have larger illegal populations and serve to a greater degree as national distribution centers. Generally, present-day undocumented head for California, with its higher wages (about double that paid in San Antonio for common laborers), bypassing Texas entirely, or to the Midwest, where they arrive by various clandestine means.⁴⁹

While successive waves of immigrants from Mexico fed a large Spanish-Indian civilization in the Southwest which predated the arrival of Anglo frontiersmen, New York's Puerto Ricans, although citizens, entered an entirely alien environment following the mode of earlier European immigrants. The first trade they entered, cigar making, had originally been controlled by Bohemians and Germans. It attracted a large number of turn-of-the-century immigrants, predominantly Jews, who generally found apprenticeships in the highly-skilled union shops closed to them and turned to independent firms, usually run by their compatriots. Puerto Ricans in the late nineteenth century practiced this trade in small Latino-owed shops in Manhattan and Brooklyn. By 1910 the Cigar Makers International Union(CMIU), one of the nation's oldest skilled craft unions, reached its zenith nationwide (with a sizable New York membership), including locals with large numbers of Latino workers.⁵⁰

With the introduction of cheap grades of tobacco, competition from domestic, non-union shops increased. Further, between 1911 and 1913, imported Puerto Rican and Philippine cigars flooded the local market, although the CMIU did not begin organizing seriously in Puerto Rico until 1916. By 1921, however, as newcomers arrived from the island, recession hit, causing total membership levels in New York's locals to drop to a low of 1,400, and ending the tabaquero's aspiration of someday owning a shop whereby he could introduce his children to a new trade. Organizing difficulties, both on the island and among migrants in New York, illustrated the ever-present tensions between solidarity and exclusivity which faced Puerto Ricans as newcomers in the United States labor movement.⁵¹

Puerto Rican women, who helped introduce the fine needle trade to New York City, had received much training in their homes in sewing and embroidering in the larger cities of the island before World War I. After the war (which interfered with the supply of embroidery from Europe) trade with New York increased and boats from the metropolis entered San Juan harbor weekly with the raw materials of the needlework industry--hundreds of cases of cut but unsewn handkerchiefs, doilies, tablecloths, lingerie, and other items. Wages dropped from as much as one dollar a day in the early 1920s to ten cents a day in the mid-1930s. Whereas formerly most needleworkers worked either on the western part of the island around Mayaguez, in the slums of San Juan, and within towns, they now appeared in the countryside as well, causing losses in production time. Managers increasingly took on workers with little experience, with many of the more skilled sewers migrating to New York. Yet profits remained sufficiently high throughout the depression decade to undercut mainland embroiderers.⁵²

The majority of Puerto Ricans worked at the lowest paying jobs in New York throughout the 1920s, primarily in non-union sewing plants and restaurants. Some 130 young Puerto Rican women came under contract to Brooklyn's American Manufacturing Company in 1920. AFL unions generally did not recruit or even admit Puerto Rican carpenters, bricklayers, tailors or barbers. Migrants arrived at a time when skilled manual occupations had begun to overtake common labor. New York up to the time of the depression also saw continuing increases in clerical, professional, service and civil servant occupations and experienced a trend away from domestic and personal service occupations. Outside of a small number of students, who formed the basis of a managerial group in

the post-World War II generation, no members of Puerto Rico's upper class migrated.⁵³

By 1929 unemployment had already become a chief concern of Harlem's Puerto Rican self-help group, La Liga Puertorriquena e Hispana, and the onset of the depression compounded their fears, while revealing the inadequacy of organized private relief. However, neither families, neighborhoods, nor employers could grapple with joblessness on such a large scale, and the city's resources broke down in the face of the magnitude of the crisis. Many leading citizens and newspapers, conscious of a responsibility to the community, donated financial resources. New York's established welfare agencies, run by competent social workers, as well as its highly organized ethnic, religious and economic groups, all looked on helplessly. The Governor of Puerto Rico, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., out of concern for New York's 45,000 Puerto Ricans, helped bring about the establishment of the Puerto Rican Employment Service in Harlem in 1930, which merged with the new Puerto Rican Department of Labor in 1931. This agency offered laborers and clerical workers jobs controlled by the Civil Works Administration and, later, by the Works Progress Administration. Throughout the decade the Employment Service placed many women as fine needle workers, although by 1939 few such jobs remained. Others became domestics and laundry workers. Few possessed office or clerical skills. The Agency referred most men to unskilled road construction and factory work, and to such jobs as porters, handymen, and hotel and restaurant workers. With their limited qualifications, Puerto Ricans encountered tremendous competition from better trained, English-speaking workers.⁵⁴

The ILGWU of necessity embraced Puerto Ricans, particularly

during the period of the National Recovery Administration, 1933-1935, when its total membership jumped from 24,000 to 200,000. It organized them while other unions had not. The widespread use of Puerto Rican and black labor in the garment industry in New York during the late 1920s, and especially after the stock market crash in 1929 aroused concern that they would resort to either strikebreaking or to accepting work in non-union shops. In 1934, Latinos represented about 6.5%, or 2,900, of the 29,000 members of Dressmakers Local 22, while Jews, the founders and backbone of the union, represented about 70%. The Local organized them into a special departments: Saby Nehama, a Spanish-speaking Sefardic, brought the Puerto Ricans and other Latinas into the Spanish Department, while Manager Charles Zimmerman headed a "Colored Department."⁵⁵

During the depression years Puerto Rico's economy became more dependent upon the mainland, highlighting the complex political and economic relationship between the island and the continental United States. Sugar and tobacco production declined, fruit exports lost out to Florida, California, and Texas competition. Moreover, the needle work industry lost out to wage regulations and the competition of lower wage areas, and suffered the loss of tariff protection (in 1940 the federal minimum wage of thirteen cents an hour was applied to Puerto Rico and contractors immediately turned to the Philippines and China). The coffee industry reached a point of virtual bankruptcy. The federal government, meanwhile, began agricultural adjustment and soil conservation payments to the island's farmers. Essentially, it sacrificed economic diversification and self-sufficiency, spending huge sums instead on temporary relief programs and military defense.⁵⁶

The temporary alliance during the World War II years of (appointed

American Governor) Rexford Tugwell and Puerto Rican Senator(later Governor) Luis Munoz Marin and the Popular Democratic Party parlayed wartime surpluses, mainly rum sales and tariff rebates, into a far-reaching program of economic development. "Operacion Manos a la Obra," known in English as Operation Bootstrap, actually got under way in 1942. Despite the extreme limitations on transportation and equipment, Fomento(the Puerto Rican Industrial Development Company), succeeded in getting four plants into operation before 1945--producing much-needed, glass, cement, and clay products. However, it became clear that the Puerto Rican government alone could not finance the industrial expansion that the island seemed to require. Therefore, in 1946 Fomento undertook major efforts to attract private capital from the United States, supplying technical assistance and financial incentives through full exemption of manufacturing firms from all local corporate taxes for ten years.⁵⁷

Processing industries, which depended almost entirely on locally produced raw materials, predominated during the initial stage of growth in the 1940s, while in the next decade more labor-intensive industries arose in garment making, textiles, electronics, and other miscellaneous products. Puerto Rico's Economic Development Administration(EDA), established in 1950, gave overall direction to expanding industries, and provided services ranging from locating a factory to installing telephones. With offices in San Juan, New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, and representatives throughout the mainland, EDA helped advertise the island's economic potential. The vast majority of the new enterprises, with no more than few hundred workers, belonged to mainland manufacturers. In 1956, for the first time in the island's history,

industrial production surpassed agriculture. A "gold rush psychology" emerged among investors, fed by claims hailing the work of Operation Bootstrap as the "Caribbean Miracle."⁵⁸

Emigration succeeded in controlling the rapid population growth of Puerto Rico during the economic transformation, alleviating a potentially devastating labor surplus. This safety valve allowed for rapid gains in per capita income and in the standard of living while also contributing indirectly to the educational attainment of the population remaining on the island by removing a substantial number of school-age children who migrated with their parents. Moreover, it conveniently took unskilled, young males from the rural sections of the island, who comprised the largest proportion of the migrant flow, out of the labor force during the period of large-scale emigration, 1945-1960. (Pre-1947 emigration had consisted to a greater extent of female, urban semi-skilled industrial workers.)⁵⁹

Beginning in the mid-1940s, Puerto Ricans entered the migrant farm labor stream along the East Coast, generally from June to November, the "dead season" in sugar cane on the island. Two laws passed by the island legislature in 1947 and 1948 provided farm workers with contracts enforced by the Puerto Rican Department of Labor which guaranteed suitable working conditions, insurance, and travel. An average of 20,000 contract workers came to the mainland every season during the 1940s and 1950s. Newspaper accounts in June, 1950, described the Saginaw Valley "beet airlift" of some 2,000 islanders to Michigan as the "biggest non-military airlift in history." Some of the migrants remained behind after their work ended, moving to nearby cities. In fact, the nuclei of many Puerto Rican communities, including those in Camden and

Trenton, New Jersey, Boston and Detroit, began with such small clusters of farm workers who left the migrant stream.⁶⁰

During the late 1940s, news from relatives and friends of declining job opportunities in New York's manufacturing plants spurred migration to Chicago. Generally, as Puerto Ricans settled in a given area, those who followed came directly from the island. This "family intelligence service" provided a network of communication with roots throughout the continent. Between 1957 and 1961, as reported in the New York Times, only 60% of the migrants came to New York, compared with 95% in the surge of movement that followed World War II. This trend has continued and the New York area now only has about 45% of the mainland's two million persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage.⁶¹

In 1950, some 60,000 Puerto Rican men and 40,000 women worked in the city's labor force; by 1953, this number had increased to 100,000 males and 55,000 women. About two-thirds of the men worked as operatives and service workers in several industries, including the metal and auto trades, electric plating, and paper goods. Those in the service sector took on jobs primarily as bus boys, kitchen workers, dishwashers, and laundry workers. Occupational disparities 1950s sprang less from differences in the rate of pay for given jobs than from the fact that Puerto Ricans worked in the least rewarding position. Operative work, the most common job classification among Puerto Ricans in the United States, also became the most problematic, due to the automation of routine and repetitive tasks. Since migration could not support a very large body of low-wage industries in New York City, Puerto Rican men frequently worked as cooks, cleaners, and health service workers.⁶²

In 1950 only 7% of Puerto Rican women worked in clerical and sales categories. More than three-fourths worked as operatives, most running simple machines in the garment industry; their almost 40,000 needle trade workers constituted 10% of the labor force of the industry. They also turned to health and personal services, including positions as hairdressers and nursing aids; however, they accounted for only 1% of private household workers. Manufacturing employment in New York City reached a peak of just over 1,000,000 workers in 1947, primarily in small factories in the garment, costume jewelry, toy and other industries located in Manhattan, the Bronx, Brooklyn and to a lesser extent, Queens. However, between 1950 and 1980, employment payrolls dropped by one half, from 30% to 15% of the city's total. Puerto Ricans tried not to remain long at low-wage jobs, but the metropolitan economy dictated otherwise.⁶³

A 1958 survey estimated that Puerto Ricans comprised about one-fifth of the labor force in the hotel trades. Each of the 33 hotels questioned employed at least some Latinos, with the proportion running from 7 to 28% of total personnel. Puerto Ricans represented 55% of the employees engaged in food preparation as compared to only 2% of white collar and administrative staff. The report claimed, however, that they achieved "substantial breakthroughs" in skilled supervisory work and that they generally made important contributions to the industry(which employed 45,000 people city-wide); their presence would reportedly increase as language barriers fell. It neglected to describe the development of a two-tiered "semi-caste" system evident in New York's service industries, which relegated darker complexioned Puerto Ricans to behind-the-scenes kitchen work while the lighter ones worked

in more visible jobs dealing directly with the public.⁶⁴

In the face of heavy competition and high rates of business mortality in New York City, Puerto Ricans opened many small businesses, especially bodegas, or grocery stores. One of their oldest organizations in the city, the Puerto Rican Merchants' Association, was founded in the late 1930s. Barrio shops also supplied special products for Latinos, such as food, records, and books. Music stores and family restaurants spread quickly through the barrios and by the late 1940s typified the Latino settlement much as the candy store had characterized earlier immigrant neighborhoods. An estimated 50% of the food marketing of Latinos took place through the bodega during the 1960s. Demolition for urban renewal and other construction, as well as the expansion of chain stores, dispersed Puerto Rican-owned businesses throughout the city, yet some 6,500 bodegas existed in the New York area in 1965.⁶⁵

By the postwar forties, labor had accrued immense power in New York. Their million plus members made it generally known as a "good, fine, union town." When leaders of several unions with large Puerto Rican memberships met in 1952, many of them noted a lack of trust on the part of Puerto Rican workers. Saul Lasher of Local 8 of the AFL's Metal Polishers and Buffers, argued for the need to instill in the Puerto Rican worker the desire to fight for his own objectives, to speak up at meetings, and to comment on contracts being negotiated. His organization used Spanish-speaking volunteers to explain to Puerto Rican members their rights and benefits.⁶⁶ David Sternback, representative of the CIO in Puerto Rico, noted that with almost fifty percent of Puerto Rico's 375,000 workers organized (many of them in agriculture) islanders had become very union-minded, although "when they first arrived,

migrants from Puerto Rico may not know the language, ways and customs of the continent and may not have special skills." He noted, "Those having spent the last penny for fare had to take the first job offered. Lacking information on labor legislation and wage scales, they are frequently exploited."⁶⁷ Moreover, he claimed, "it is the job of the trade unions to become acquainted with their problems and to help and protect them."⁶⁸

In 1954 rising concern over the exploitation of Puerto Ricans by unscrupulous employers and unions led Mayor Robert Wagner, Jr., to help form the Labor Advisory Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs in New York City. The New York Times reported in May, 1957, that at least 25,000 Puerto Rican workers in New York City belonged to organizations which collected dues from paychecks without providing any services to their members. According to the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, these fraudulent unions collected initiation fees of from ten to twenty-five dollars in exchange for contracts providing a wage scale a few cents above the \$1 hourly legal minimum. Racket unions and employers thus joined together in exploiting Puerto Rican workers. Unfavorable publicity forced legitimate labor organizations to rebuild their image and in 1957 AFL-CIO President George Meany commissioned a new Advisory Board and sent a representative to New York City, who expelled many of the less honest locals. Not surprisingly, general suspicion of unions remained within the Puerto Rican community. Nonetheless, 30% of the Puerto Rican workers in the city belonged to unions, the same percentage as for the entire labor force.⁶⁹

The ladies' garment industry in New York City employed more

Puerto Ricans than any other in 1950, in completely unskilled crafts as well as those which needed many years of experience. Before 1940 newcomers generally secured entrance through friends or relatives. The wartime labor shortage gave untrained Puerto Ricans an opportunity to enter the industry, which, since it lacked a formal apprenticeship program, relied upon recruits from the open labor market to keep its wide range of jobs filled. Newcomers, therefore, had to await openings of workers who left through attrition or those promoted to higher skilled and better paying positions. The incorporation of Puerto Rican males as shipping clerks occurred during the next decade.⁷⁰

Skilled help in the traditional shop included the cutters (mostly men), who prepared hundreds of layers of fabric at once into pattern pieces; pressers, who finished garments for shipping; and the sewing machine operators, all of whom were usually paid on an incentive basis. Finishers, drapers, and examiners usually fell somewhat below this level. Semi-skilled special machine operators and the unskilled cleaners and general helper comprised the "floor-help" in the shop. The members of other crafts worked for weekly salaries which varied with the industry's ability to bargain with the employers. Some men worked as operators and floor workers, but rarely did women participate in this higher-paid domain, as they have not traditionally been considered strong enough to use cutting tools, or to withstand the rigors of working with hot, heavy irons. Postwar "deskilling" of the higher paid operators also helped Puerto Ricans rise in the industry, while decreasing wages.⁷¹

Smaller shops kept skilled workers in a better bargaining position for higher wages. While they feared all newcomers regardless

of ethnicity, employers considered them docile labor, thus very desirable. The combination of the adaptability of Puerto Ricans to the techniques of the trade, their initial willingness to accept prevailing conditions, and their inexperience with union methods (due in part to language and cultural differences), cast them during the immediate postwar period as unwelcome competitors of all other groups.⁷²

The dressmakers, the most important branch of New York's garment industry in terms of the number of workers employed and product value, had two locals which had formed along ethnic lines. The Italian Dressmaker's Union, Local 89, established in 1919, comprised the largest single union in the International, while Local 22, the oldest in the industry, had historically been composed of Jewish dressmakers. By the 1940s, however, it was known as the "miniature United Nations." The Spanish-speaking percentage in Local 22 doubled from 1934 to 1944 while the Jewish membership dropped to 54% from 70%, and declined to 44% by 1958. The Latino proportion of new members similarly increased. Designers and cutters remained Jewish. Younger Jews continued during the 1960s to enter the industry, although almost exclusively in the more skilled and better-paying trades. By contrast, the men's clothing workers lost a greater percentage of members of earlier immigrant groups.⁷³

The ILGWU, with more Spanish-speaking members than any other union in post-World War II New York, according to union leaders, did everything possible to help them. A prominent Local 22 leader claimed that its Education Department organized classes "for the study of English, economics, trade union principles and in arranging recreational and vocational activities."⁷⁴ A Spanish Club of Local 22, designed to

meet the varied social, educational, and political needs of its members, surfaced in Harlem in 1954. Edward Schneider, of Local 91, claimed that through unions, economic conditions would improve to a point where Puerto Ricans would not have to go to city welfare agencies for assistance. His local had six Spanish-speaking staff members, as well as a counselling service to help members solve housing, family and other problems.⁷⁵

The ILGWU policy dating back to the 1950s of holding the line on wages in order to stop runaway shops brought about a sharp relative decline in the wages of dressmakers. Whereas their earnings in the late 1940s had been higher than those of auto steelworkers, they earned less than half of the wages of such workers in the 1950s. This policy, along with their opposition to minimum wage increases, had been designed to stabilize the industry, but nonetheless hurt Latinos. Between 1950 and 1964 foreign, particularly Japanese, imports, further devastated several branches of the apparel industry with large numbers of Puerto Ricans, such as the neckwear industry. The ILGWU leadership only gradually acknowledged the potential gravity of the import problem and the need for protection.⁷⁶ An editorial in Justice in October, 1955 stated: "The promotion of free trade among the free nations is of primary importance. But the vast and sudden increase in importations to the country is a pointed warning that in international trade, as in interstate commerce, anarchy must not be mistaken for freedom."⁷⁷ ILGWU President David Dubinsky concluded in January, 1956 that "the solution must come in the form of trade that is both free and regulated."⁷⁸ By the end of 1958, not only did Japan export blouses, scarves, and sweaters to the United States, but Hong Kong and other

countries in South Asia also dumped inexpensive goods onto the American market, hurting other garment trades and further reducing employment levels and wages.⁷⁹

Employment in New York's apparel industry, long the largest single employer of New York's Puerto Ricans, reached a peak of 310,000 employees in 1950. By 1960 it had returned to its 1940 level of about 250,000 jobs. During the next decade it lost 127,000 more jobs, and losses continued at the rate of 12,000 a year through the mid-1970s. Critics of the ILGWU's policies cited the powerlessness of black and Puerto Rican workers in a major trade union with a "liberal reputation," and one even claimed that "the contrast between the ILGWU's radicalism in the past and its present political conservatism and bureaucratic manipulation of workers dramatically illustrated the moral and social decline of the American labor movement."⁸⁰ A 1962 Congressional investigation of charges of discrimination against minorities in the garment industry helped pressure the ILGWU in 1964 to select the first Puerto Rican member to its powerful General Executive Board (GEB). Alberto Sanchez became the first non-Jewish and non-Italian member in the Board's history. Shortly thereafter, another Puerto Rican, Julio Ramirez was named manager of Local 32.⁸¹

After 1965, blacks and Puerto Ricans ceased to enter the garment industry in significant numbers and, moreover, the contraction of the industry severely undercut chances for more than a few hand-picked Puerto Ricans to move up and advance within the union hierarchy. Increases in the number of Puerto Rican officers from 1965 to 1980 occurred almost exclusively at the "grass roots" business agent, organizer, and educational director levels. By 1980 only two Puerto

Ricans and one black sat on the 23-member GEB, though minorities made up approximately half of the membership in New York. (Women, who comprised over 90% of the ILGWU, also lacked union representation, having only two seats on the Board.) Currently, undocumented workers (primarily Chinese and non-Puerto Rican Latinos) make up about one-quarter of the ILGWU's more than 100,000 New York members. Significantly, locals in New York and in Los Angeles began actively organizing the undocumented in the mid-1970s to compete against "cheap imports."⁸²

The Electrical Workers, Local 3, faced with a large and growing Puerto Rican membership during the 1950s helped establish the Santiago Iglesias Society, named after the first major island labor leader. This organization sought to promote the education and welfare of the local's Spanish-speaking members, as well as to prevent exploitation by racketeers. Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., business agent of the electrical workers and former president of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council (AFL), headed the New York Central Labor Council, representing some 550 unions, after its 1959 merger with the CIO's central body. A Committee to End Exploitation of Puerto Ricans and Other Minority Groups soon became an official part of the new council's structure. The Building and Construction Trades Council, on the other hand, had a much lower percentage of non-whites and did little to welcome them. Generally, Puerto Ricans found few jobs in any building trades crafts except painting. After 1965, however, a separate, secondary sector of the industry, dealing with additions and alterations rather than new construction, and composed largely of non-Puerto Rican Latinos, has emerged.⁸³

In 1964 a plumber's dispute in the Bronx, involving the hiring of three Puerto Ricans and a black for a government plumbing contract by the city's Commission on Human Rights had national repercussions. Arranging a settlement took the combined efforts of the White House, the Mayor and George Meany, a former member of the plumber's union as well as President of the AFL-CIO, after 41 white union plumbers of Local 2 refused to work with the four new workers, hurling racial epithets at them during the early days of their walkout. In this case, as in others, the competition of Latinos challenged the trade union principles of seniority and solidarity, increasing ethnic friction. The 4,100 member union had only a handful of non-white plumbers and the shortages of trained Puerto Ricans and black plumbers reflected the problems of opening up unions which had long practiced exclusionary hiring practices. Only the Puerto Rican Council, formed in 1958, served as an unofficial body for Latino unionists. In 1970, however, the New York Central Labor Council formally recognized its successor organization, the Hispanic Labor Committee. Composed of about 135 Latino union officers in 1983, the Committee has tried to increase Latino representation in organized labor in New York. However, according to its president, Enio Carrion(a Puerto Rican), perhaps only ten of its members hold any of the thousands of positions of political power within the city's AFL-CIO unions.⁸⁴

After District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees(AFSCME), led by Victor Gotbaum, won a representative election at the Department of Hospitals in 1965, it qualified as the representative for the major city-wide titles, and collective bargaining emerged among civil service workers in public

employee unions, making them important factors in New York's politics. Puerto Rican patterns in public employment paralleled those in the private sector and in 1971 they held 5% of New York City's government jobs, compared with 6% of all jobs in the city. In 1970 city employees worked in agencies responsible for the basic municipal public services of education(32%), transportation(11%), hospital and health care(10%), public safety(10%), sanitation(4%), fire protection(4%), and public welfare(7%) at some 400,000 jobs, over ten percent of the total in New York City, public and private. Moreover, the many governmental programs oriented to minority groups that arose in the 1960s significantly increased the number and percentage of Puerto Rican civil servants.⁸⁵

Regardless of the period in which they came to New York, migrants consistently earned more money on their first job in New York than they had earned in Puerto Rico. Having left the island for economic gain, some returned untrained and penniless, others came back with new occupational skills, becoming professionals, managers, and skilled workers. With the advent of the jet age, Puerto Rico and the mainland have become one job market for the skilled and educated(5% of migrants in 1958 had four years of college) as well as for the less educated. Economic development never provided a permanent cure to Puerto Rico's ills, as recent unemployment figures would attest, yet it did introduce into Puerto Rico's traditional agrarian, two-class society a middle class which grew rapidly from virtual non-existence two generations ago to become the most substantial sector in insular society.⁸⁶

In 1970, only about one-third of New York's Puerto Ricans held white collar jobs, compared with 58% of all residents and 43% of blacks. Those in offices worked more often as clerks, typists, and machine

operators than as secretaries. Less than 5% of the Puerto Ricans worked in professional and technical positions with managers, officials, and proprietors comprising less than 4% of the total(although this figure doubled between 1963 and 1971). Only an infinitesimal amount of Latinos taught in elementary or secondary schools, or at colleges or universities. On the whole, New York's Puerto Ricans lag far behind other groups in income. Their median family income in 1970 was about \$5,600, compared with the \$7,200 black median, and the city-wide median of \$9,700. Since then, their relative income position has further deteriorated. Participation in the civilian labor force was particularly low for Puerto Rican women, whose unemployment levels citywide doubled those of non-Puerto Rican whites.⁸⁷

Second generation Puerto Ricans have, since 1950, bridged the statistical gap between the newcomers and the general population in the move toward clerical, sales and other white collar jobs. Their numbers grew proportionally during the 1960s, as the birth rate for the first time contributed more to population growth among mainland Puerto Ricans than did the arrival of new migrants from the island. By 1970, the second generation had almost twice as large a proportion of white-collar jobs as the first(42% compared to 26% for men, 77% and 39% for women). Among the second generation, white collar jobs doubled between 1970, while operative and service work declined. Moreover, in 1971, according to a Department of Labor, "Poverty Area Profile," only about one-seventh of Puerto Ricans of working age who lived in poverty were born on the mainland.⁸⁸

Part of the explanation for the relative lack of Puerto Rican economic mobility lies in "structural factors" of New York's economy.

While the number of jobs in the metropolitan area remained fairly constant during the 1960s, the number of jobs in the city dropped by 340,000. The decline accelerated between 1969 and 1974, when according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the city lost 317,000 jobs, the majority(195,000) in manufacturing. A gain of 212,000 jobs in four suburban counties of New York and eight nearby New Jersey counties accompanied this shift. However, until 1970, it was matched by an increase in office jobs. Thereafter, the service, construction and commercial sectors followed suit, ending a two decade trend toward job growth in such areas as transportation, public utilities, trade, and finance, where relatively few Puerto Ricans worked. Only government continued to increase their supply of jobs.⁸⁹

Among residents of the city's low income areas fewer than half of the Puerto Ricans in manufacturing worked year-round. The occupational and industrial distribution of Puerto Ricans in New York City helps explain the high rates of unemployment and part-year working. In 1970, the Puerto Rican unemployment rate of 7% was one and a half times that for the total population and their part-year work rate was consistently about twice that of other groups. In general, employment continuity coincides with skill level. Managerial, professional and skilled workers are more regularly employed than those in semiskilled and unskilled occupations. As manufacturing jobs moved out of New York from 1960 to 1970, Puerto Ricans shifted out of manufacturing to the non-durable goods sector, and into other industries where they have historically been under-represented. These jobs may eventually lead to the acquisition of greater skills and increased upward mobility.⁹⁰

The Cuban exodus to Miami began as a trickle of refugees into the United States in 1959 and throughout the early months of the revolution exiles easily secured the necessary exit and entry papers and commercial airlines provided ample transportation for those who chose to leave. In the last half of 1959 and early 1960 many wealthy families left as complete households, bringing their servants and much of their wealth with them. By the mid-1962, emigration greatly accelerated, with as many as 3,000 Cubans a week arriving in Miami.⁹¹ The exile of the Cubans was essentially self-imposed, unlike that of East Germans, Chinese, and Hungarians, yet, after the Missile Crisis interrupted the flow in midstream, many had difficulty leaving and not all who attempted to escape on their own succeeded, as a 1964 newspaper editorial suggested:

Harder to penetrate than the infamous Berlin Wall is the Iron Curtain rung down around next door Cuba. It is almost escape proof. Castro's clampdown won't succeed completely, of course, as the Berlin Wall has proved. Where free men can't stand totalitarianism, they will find ways to get out, although most may die trying.⁹²

Cubans, as a transplanted group, represent another variant of Latinos, their experience in pre-Revolutionary Cuba and the flight itself explain much of their subsequent urban history. According to one study, the majority of Cubans at Miami's Refugee Center admitted having favored the Castro revolution to at least some degree initially. At different times they came to distrust specific social, economic, and political measures, as evidenced by the strong relationship which existed between emigration and the occupational flow. The departure of lawyers and judges, for example, peaked between the takeover and the promulgation of the far-reaching Urban Reform Laws in late 1960, which

altered the legal and social fabric of the country. A massive emigration of the upper and upper-middle classes--professionals, managers, entrepreneurs, merchants and landowners--followed. Non-occupational factors, such as the forced resignations of President Urrutia in 1959 and the trial and imprisonment of Major Huber Matos later in the same year convinced others to leave. Still others cited the Bay of Pigs invasion, which resulted in a tightening of internal security. The Cuban government harassed many opponents of the new regime if they "failed to integrate," and encouraged the emigration of its opponents and potential opponents. Threats of persecution, destruction, and physical isolation often correlated along class lines.⁹³

Throughout this period, striking differences appeared between the occupational distribution of Cubans on the island and those who became refugees. The poorer members of Cuban society, particularly blacks, who constituted a majority of the island's population, contributed only marginally to the exodus of the so-called first wave of 215,000 Cuban exiles. A disproportionate number of refugees, about 87%, came from Havana and other large cities. Higher levels of educational achievement existed among refugees than among Cubans, as indicated in the 1953 census. The inhabitants of rural areas, who comprised 43% of the island's population, including agricultural workers and fishermen, were almost unrepresented before 1963.⁹⁴

By 1967 75% of the refugees arriving on the Freedom Flights found jobs and homes away from Miami within a few weeks of their arrival. The administrative and financial assistance provided by the federal government, ironically, helped sustain an exodus of peoples who

generally had little desire to relinquish their citizenship. Both United States officials and the exiles themselves hoped that the latter's stay would be temporary and a changing Cuban situation would permit rapid repatriation. The Cuban Refugee Program targeted professionals, creating programs for teachers, college professors, doctors, optometrists, and lawyers, which helped clear the language barrier, providing training, certification, licensing and jobs. Although New York, Washington, Chicago and Puerto Rico offered more attractive opportunities for Cuban professionals than Miami, a substantial number of exile physicians, engineers, lawyers, and others chose to remain in South Florida or later returned on their own. By 1974 over 2,000 Cuban doctors had graduated from the University of Miami Medical School's training program, passed the exam for the education course for Foreign Medical graduates, and began practicing in the United States.⁹⁵

For Cuban-trained professionals life remained far more difficult than for refugees who had a place for themselves in business. Lawyers had a particularly difficult time transferring to the American legal system; some trained to become language teachers or librarians, Others took blue-collar jobs. Cuban refugees had relatives or friends well established in the professions and capable of lending them "start-up capital" once they had settled. From 1962 to 1976, the Cuban Refugee Program made available nearly \$34 million assisting more than 16,000 students to attend college, presumably for professional careers. In 1963 two programs of four and six courses each, involving about 100 persons, retrained Cuban teachers for Spanish language positions in American schools at the University of Miami under a grant from the

United States Office of Education. The first program provided 32 teachers to the Dade County Public schools to assist Cuban children at a time when their enrollments ran as high as 18,000. Graduates of these programs were encouraged to seek employment outside of Miami. Such advantages had been unavailable to other Latino groups.⁹⁶

Not all federal assistance, however, went to professionals; some 60,000 Cubans relied on public assistance at the end of 1963. Moreover, the Refugee Center began a "Training for Independence" project to help make unskilled Cuban female heads of families self-supporting. The Miami Herald reported that those who finished its "commercial housekeeping" course "will now find it easier to locate jobs in American hotels and motels."⁹⁷ As Cubans finished, voluntary agencies helped resettle them, yet many remained in the Miami area. This program involved intensive English training, with the cooperation of the Dade County Board of Public Instruction, supplementing the regular courses that had been available to all refugees registered at the Center. More than 1,000 women enrolled in Training for Independence by 1964 and new classes continued to be filled. Moreover, "two courses besides housekeeping are popular--the receptionist-clerk office machine course, giving basic training for office duties and power sewing machine, which leads to openings in the garment industry" which had emerged in small shops in the Miami area.⁹⁸ ILGWU organization went back as far as 1941, when Local 39 was formed in dress and sports clothing.

In December, 1967, 57 workers, mostly refugees, struck Hialeah's Monique, Inc., plant in solidarity with 18 fired employees. They had the support of the anti-Castro labor movement as well as La Federacion Cubana de Trabajadores and other Cuban workers' groups, who respected

picket lines.⁹⁹ In October, 1965, when the owner of Randi Roberts in Hialeah wanted to persuade his workers not to join ILGWU Local 415, the whole workshop went out on strike demanding union recognition. After two days of strikes and the intervention of President David Dubinsky in favor of the workers, the firm capitulated and signed a union contract. Justicia, the Spanish-language version of the ILGWU journal, noted, "Since around 90% of the workers of the shop are recent arrivals from Cuba, the success of the strike has major significance for Cubans working in other workshops in the Hialeah area."¹⁰⁰ In 1966 workers at Phyllis Dee in Miami ratified a three-year contract, providing a 12% general increase in salaries with increased benefits. Yet exploitation continued as "the presence of thousands of Cuban refugees in the Miami area has caused unscrupulous employers to take advantage of their lack of familiarity with their rights under American labor laws." In many cases, "the refugees, if they are employed in non-union factories, are being paid salaries below the federal minimum wages, but for fear of losing their jobs, they won't dare complain." Local 415 succeeded in obtaining back pay owed Cuban workers and undertook the "responsibility of educating Miami's refugee population concerning its rights as American workers."¹⁰¹

The Miami area during the 1960s faced chronic unemployment because of its sizable unskilled, largely black, labor force and a large retired community. Cubans in the mid-1960s threatened to displace blacks in menial jobs. Many blacks, indeed, felt that they were losing out to the exiles, especially in better-paid jobs in the garment and hotel industries, pointing out that had exile labor been unavailable black women would have been trained to work in greater numbers in the

region's garment industry, as well as in the local hotels. While the economic expansion of Greater Miami, beginning with an economic upswing in 1963, tended to lessen racial friction, resentment continued to build, and social problems persisted, as the riots of 1968 and 1980 demonstrated.

Through boom and recession, tourism remained essential to Miami's economy and the largest single economic force in the metropolitan area, supporting hotel, restaurant and other service industries. In the 1970s, the city has become a center for foreign vacationers--Latin American as well as European. In addition, Miami now serves as the nation's leading cruise ship port. Commercial aviation has provided another major impetus to Miami's economic growth and an estimated 161,000 workers, or about one-fifth of the Miami labor force, including a large number of Cubans, work at the airport and in related activities. An increasingly important manufacturing sector has developed since 1940, when only 3% of the labor force had factory jobs. Thereafter, manufacturing employment continued to rise, reaching 9% by 1950, 13% by 1960, and an estimated 18% of total employment, or 118,000 by 1980. By the 1970s, Miami's manufacturing had expanded beyond local and regional markets to tap national and international business. Its industries included plastics, electronic equipment, aircraft parts and medical technology. The decreasing dependence of the economy on the seasonal tourist trade, which generally employed unskilled labor, has allowed for a more balanced economy.¹⁰²

Refugees in the Miami area have participated in the city's overall revitalization and enjoyed rapid economic mobility in the process. The number of Cuban-owned enterprises in the Miami area

increased from 1,900 in 1967 to about 8,000 in 1978 and to an estimated 13,000 in 1985. They have increased in size as well. Gross receipts of Cuban manufacturing firms multiplied tenfold from 1969 to 1977, although most of them remain relatively small, with an average of eight employees per firm in 1977. Others employ hundreds of workers. From 1969 to 1977, Latino manufacturing firms almost doubled while their construction companies tripled. Refugee-owned businesses ran the gamut from restaurants and supermarkets to law offices and private schools.¹⁰³

The small Cuban community already in Miami helped refugees overcome initial problems of language, employment and social adjustment until, in time, the affluence of the Cuban population grew to the point that it became an important market and the language barrier constituted an advantage of sorts. Bilingualism eventually became an economic necessity in great demand in the general Miami business community and the presence of a trained, bilingual labor force led many large corporations to choose Miami as the site for their Latin-American headquarters. Perhaps unavoidably, Cuban entrepreneurial success (as with blue-collar employment), often came at the expense of black-owned businesses. In addition, some black spokesmen have charged that Cubans received preferential treatment in getting loans from the Small Business Administration. In 1977 Latinos received 47% of the total distributed in the Miami area, Anglos 47% and blacks only 6%. Another example can be seen in ownership of gas stations in Dade County. In 1960, blacks owned 25%, by 1979 the rate had dropped to 9% while Latinos (mostly Cubans) received 48% of the total.¹⁰⁴

Jobs generated and controlled by the immigrant community have significantly increased their income and occupational mobility. A

considerable number of Cubans in Miami who moved into self-employment during the 1970s after working in Cuban-owned firms. They have entered a large array of professional and technical jobs serving other Latino immigrant communities in the city, as well as those producing goods and services. Although immigrant small businesses and an entrepreneurial class has occurred among earlier ethnic groups, its operation in Miami and other Cuban centers has been unusually diverse and extensive. Cuban employers profit from the "willing self-exploitation" of fellow immigrants, while reserving supervisory positions for them in their firms. Moreover, acquisition of trade skills allows them eventually to move into self-employment in increasingly diverse occupations.¹⁰⁵

Cubans represented one-third of the bank employees in Dade County in 1974, and they worked in executive suites as well as behind teller's cages. The first wholly Cuban-owned bank, the Continental National of Miami, opened in May, 1974. Cuban stockholders and office holders have played an important role in Miami banks since the exodus began. The majority interest of Republic National in Miami, founded in 1965, for example, belonged to Cuban stockholders with two years later, and they immediately began to orient the bank toward the Spanish-speaking community, which included Puerto Ricans and newer immigrants from South and Central America as well. Cubans remained Republic National's top officers in the 1970s, although the bank's ownership passed into South American hands. Roberto Gonzalez Blanco, Senior Vice President, pointed out that Cubans had difficulty obtaining even small loans from American banks when they first arrived. These banks loaned only to wealthy emigres with credit records and investments abroad before the revolution. Blanco stated in 1974:

Because we had so many Cubans in management . . . we had ways of checking what people had done in Cuba. We took character references instead of credit references. We would give a \$5,000 loan to a man who wasn't worth anything on paper. Some of those people who started with nothing are coming in here now with \$1 million businesses behind them. We were willing to gamble on the ability of our own people to make good if someone would give them a first chance.¹⁰⁶

The construction industry in Miami also provided thousands of jobs to individual refugees through subcontracting, and thus offered ample opportunities for new arrivals to establish their own small-scale operations. By the early 1970s, Cuban-owned construction companies were putting up at least 35% of all of Dade County's new buildings. More than half of all new construction loans in Dade County in 1974 went to Cubans, and the building included everything from modest four-to six-family apartments in the poorer sections of Little Havana to luxury accommodations on the ocean front. In 1977, their firms, representing 38% of the total number in the Miami metropolitan area, grossed more than \$43 million. Throughout the postwar period, the construction industry has been an integral part of the local economy and, as the 1980s began, seventy major construction development projects got under way in downtown Miami, including dozens of new skyscrapers, hotels, office buildings and condominiums.¹⁰⁷

During the 1960s Cuba experienced a baby boom that disrupted long established trends of declining fertility, which had been brought on, in part, by rising expectations of the new regime. Its children began reaching working ages in late 1974 and 1975. By the 1970s, the "golden exile" era was clearly over. Pressures on the labor market and housing in Cuba emerged as important determinants of the Mariel Boatlift, indicating that capitalist countries have not monopolized labor

migration. These poorer and less educated refugees, the majority of whom remained in Miami, joined the enclave at the bottom. Thus, the Mariel exodus, which can be viewed as an effective use of the migration safety-valve to offset Cuba's economic problems, also demonstrates that the demographic composition of outward migration from Cuba continues to reflect the changing character of the Castro revolution.¹⁰⁸

Statistics indicate that for every 100 immigrants to America between 1908 (when the United States Office of Immigration began record-keeping) and 1924 approximately 38 returned, with repatriation even more heavily male than immigration. Nearly 15 million Italians, for example, repatriated between 1900 and 1914. The character and intensity of Mexican migration and settlement patterns, which have been closest to the turn of the century "birds of passage," have changed in character and intensity over time. Labor recruitment has become increasingly obsolete with the development of an international economy with its varying means of incorporating immigrants into metropolitan labor markets. Mexican target earners do not always strive to "assimilate" into the institutions of the host society. Rather, their goal has recently been to accumulate extensive occupational experience in the United States on successive migrations across the border.¹⁰⁹

Net migration from Puerto Rico to the United States mainland totaled 700,000 persons during the period 1947-1973. However, the fact that 280,000 Puerto Ricans (all, of course, American citizens) either migrated or visited between Puerto Rico and the United States in the short space of one year, 1958, for example, indicated a social transformation accompanying the developing economy. Two radically different ways of life--the pre- and the post-industrial--have

confronted each other. Officially, the Puerto Rican government neither encouraged nor discouraged migration to the mainland, maintaining that until the island's economic development had reached a point where it could offer job opportunities and future prosperity to its workers, the more ambitious of them would go elsewhere in search of better jobs and a better future. In 1951 the Commonwealth established its Migration Division offices in New York, attempting to foster "assimilation," which met with limited success. Since the end of large-scale migration, Puerto Rico has had only minimal dealings with the primary mainland community of its compatriots and their descendants. Meanwhile, United States influence upon the island has increased, encompassing everything from minimum wage levels to food and shelter subsidies.¹¹⁰

In the Cuban case, assistance from established social networks within the Cuban community and especially contact with other Cuban entrepreneurs helped accelerate mobility, although not necessarily cultural assimilation. Education and prior work experience became less important than "connections" as Cubans rapidly spread geographically and economically throughout the Miami area. Significantly, Cubans have experienced an increasing trend toward naturalization, aided by federal policy. Between 1961 and 1973, only 43,000 Cubans in Florida became American citizens. During 1973, the rate of citizenship applications in Miami alone jumped to more than 1,200 a month. Between 1967 and 1976, 260,000 Cuban refugees adjusted their status under the Act of 1966. A 1976 amendment to this act exempted Cubans from the numerical country ceiling limitation. Moreover, as refugees, they have never have been required to obtain labor certification, as were have other immigrant groups who entered after the 1965 Immigration Act.¹¹¹

The transformation of the trade union movement had inevitable consequences, increasing the differential in pay between union and non-union workers. Yet the percentage of the labor force enrolled in unions had dropped from 35% in 1955 to under 22% in 1974. The rise of multinational corporations helped undercut labor's economic leverage, as did the changing nature of work. The earlier success of the American labor movement in winning "economic betterment" has undermined solidarity in recent years as trade unions, in an effort to protect the jobs and living standards of their members, reduced the number of new entrants, especially in times of austerity, and excluded those minorities, such as Latinos, who offered competition. Moreover, the Latino journey to work has included more than the story of labor unions and the struggle on the job, increasingly encompassing the international context of labor migration and its extension, the urban work place.¹¹²

NOTES

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CHAPTER 4

EDUCATION AND ETHNICITY

The experience of German-Americans, the nation's largest non-English-speaking group in the nineteenth century, in St. Louis, where they comprised the majority of foreign inhabitants, offers a useful starting point for placing the education of urban Latinos in historical perspective. Beginning in the 1840s, these well educated and politically-minded immigrants fled turmoil in their European homeland and came to the United States, where they readily developed and maintained independent schools. In the pre-Civil War era, bilingualism flourished throughout the Mississippi Valley. By 1860, thirty-eight non-sectarian schools offered German-English instruction to 5,500 pupils in St. Louis alone, rivaling the dominance of the city's public school system. William Torrey Harris, superintendent of schools from 1868-1880 (and later the first national Commissioner of Education), believed that the newcomers could maintain their cultural and historical ties through language education. He supported and expanded a program offering the ancestral language as a subject (although not as a medium of instruction), and the classes attracted many students of all backgrounds, causing a decline in the number of parochial schools and successfully curtailing the growth of the parallel system.¹

The language question, however, soon became entwined within the larger conflicts dividing the city. Many opponents of the program felt

that German, already the native tongue of nearly half of the city's adults, imperiled the standing of English. Others saw any kind of programs for foreigners as a luxury which siphoned off resources from the basic curriculum. Ethnic strife and thinly disguised political partisanship surfaced in one 1878 board meeting, which escalated into a confrontation as an Irishman presented a petition requesting that, in fairness to his group's culture, Gaelic be added to the curriculum. The predominantly Republican membership denied his motion and controversy raged for another decade until in 1887 reformers joined with the Democratic opposition to vote out what began as an experimental program. Despite some predictions to the contrary, the St. Louis public school system survived intact. Moreover, within several generations millions of native German speakers throughout the country became almost completely linguistically assimilated.²

The initiation and funding of limited forms of "bilingual education," which took place exclusively at the local level during the nineteenth century, involved European immigrants. By the time bilingualism revived in the mid-1960s, it was with federal assistance and legal prodding, and Latinos had become the nation's largest non-English-speaking group. Yet the schools of San Antonio, New York, and Miami have also served as battlegrounds, perhaps to a greater degree, because of the emergence of ethnic as well as linguistic issues due to the mixed racial origins of the Spanish-speaking. Moreover, the increasing demand of society for universal education and technical training has virtually mandated that the state monitor progress in the classroom for the interest of society as a whole.³

Schooling in San Antonio began with the Spanish attempts in the eighteenth century to Christianize the native tribes in the missions. The padres also taught natives the practical arts of crop growing and livestock raising. Spain during the colonial era generally discouraged secular instruction in its dominions for fear of undermining the authority of both Crown and Church. In the early 1800s, first under the remote and capricious rule of Mexico, and later as part of the short-lived Texas Republic, institutionalized learning among San Antonians evolved slowly, especially when compared with German colonists in Central Texas. As late as 1850, fewer than one-sixth of the state's children received any formal education. However, several public schools opened in San Antonio after 1853 on each side of the river; by 1870, one of these had more than 200 pupils.⁴

San Antonio's public schools in the nineteenth century existed within the original thirty-six square mile corporate limit. During the years 1870 and 1871 the Radical Republican legislature attempted to centralize the system under a state superintendent and police court. The "Carpetbaggers" also promoted education among the freedmen and did away with the separation of taxation for the white and black population. Popular opposition rendered the plan ineffective and, by 1873, many southern Democrats had returned to power and restored both white supremacy and county control of educational finance. The Texas Constitution institutionalized segregated schools for "colored" children, while leaving control of the Mexicans to local custom.⁵

During the 1870s a few Mexican children of the upper class attended a public school in the bend of the San Antonio River. Other Tejanos sent their boys to a parochial school behind the Catholic Church

on St. Mary's Street and the sisters at the Ursuline Convent instructed a few girls. Mexican Americans from prominent families and a few poor children attended the Flores Street Public School two miles south of town in apparent harmony with some American boys. One four-room building on South Pecos Street, built in 1885, centered on the Mexican colony west of the River, and bisected San Antonio north and south. As the city's boundaries expanded, numerous districts emerged, and each remained a separate administrative entity, electing its school board, levying and collecting taxes, constructing facilities and employing instructors.⁶

Victor S. Clark, a government economist, noted in 1908 that where San Antonio's residential boundaries dictated, Americans and Mexicans parents sent their children to the same schools. In order to accommodate the West Side's increasing Mexican American student population, authorities expanded one eight-room building to sixteen rooms and built another of seven rooms in a different section of the district. Observers described Mexican children, who entered school later and left earlier than others, as bright and disciplined in the elementary grades. Some residents reportedly expressed an interest in "keeping the Mexican population content, so more Mexican labor will immigrate to the country." Shortly thereafter, the Mexican Revolution brought more Mexicans, including large numbers of displaced hacienda laborers with little or no formal education, to San Antonio's schools.⁷

By 1914, Latinos comprised 8,400 of the city's 22,000 students. A state law the following year established a compulsory attendance policy, but the meager school budget provided few resources for its enforcement, especially on the West Side. In 1921, 11,000 Mexican pupils attended

classes, and while some 250 had gone to high school, only a handful graduated. Specially-designated teachers took care of the overage or educationally retarded children in certain cases. Anglos dominated the teaching faculty with only a few Latinos teaching Spanish as a subject; a lone Tejano customarily served on the school board. Yet some Anglo teachers attempted to break the language and cultural barrier. Elma Neal, according to educator Herschel T. Manuel, made an "outstanding contribution," pioneering the adaptation of a series of readers for the teaching of English fundamentals to first graders. Generally, however, teachers and administrators favored white students and American culture, as revealed by the enforcement of "Spanish detention" as punishment for students speaking the foreign language on school grounds.⁸

The Texas Educational Survey approved in 1925 the practice of maintaining special schools for Mexicans provided that trained instructors with special teaching aids taught the students, and in Del Rio Independent School District v. Salvatierra (1930) the state court sanctioned Mexican segregation in the first three grades in separate campuses in order to "limit the disruptive effects of a transient student body on regular Anglo school progress." Often, however, pedagogic intent became blurred and Spanish-surnamed students at all levels were lumped together, regardless of language proficiency. The Federal District Court of Texas in 1948 stipulated that any separate classrooms for Mexicans must be on the same campus as the main school, and forbade segregation by "arbitrary and capricious acts." However, in San Antonio, residential separation, supported by custom and, in the case of restrictive covenants before 1948, by law, quite effectively

isolated West Side Mexicans in barrio schools, to their obvious detriment. Blacks, meanwhile, lived mostly on the East Side, across the central business district from the Mexican Quarter, and they attended their own "Jim Crow" schools.⁹

Few Mexican Americans in San Antonio could afford the fees charged by private institutions, and those who could often found themselves barred by religious schools outside the barrio who refused to take on "Latin Americans." The Catholic church catered to the Chicanos on the West Side, but its educational efforts faltered due to shortages of facilities and personnel. Some successful Tejanos, as well as the children of ricos who lived in mixed areas, entered predominantly Anglo public schools. These middle class groups helped form the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in 1929 out of the merger of three Texas mutual benefit associations. It concentrated on civil rights issues, including the improvement of Chicano educational programs and institutions. LULAC required all its members to be either native-born Americans or naturalized citizens and firmly believed in the advantages of learning and speaking English, both "for the enjoyment of our rights and privileges," and as the organization's official language. It participated in the legal effort to end segregation of the Spanish-speaking in Southwestern schools and also developed educational scholarships for promising students of limited means.¹⁰

During the depression era, Mexican Americans sought local reforms. In 1934 a report by LULAC's Committee on Public School Buildings and Recreational Facilities found only 12,300 Mexican school age children, or 57% of the total, enrolled in the public schools. Moreover, Mexican Americans attended only eleven schools with 269 rooms, making for

overcrowding of more than forty-eight students per room. The Committee demanded five new elementary schools to accommodate over three thousand pupils. After being rejected by the School Board, many social, civic, commercial and religious organizations merged that December to found the Liga de Defensa Escolar (League for the Defense of our Schools, also known as the West Side School Improvement League). It held community conferences and protested the neglect of Latino students in a largely unsuccessful effort to win over the school board during the next fourteen years.¹¹

Illiteracy reached 16% among Mexicans in 1930, more than twice the city-wide rate. As conditions on the West Side worsened throughout the decade, pecan shellers and agricultural workers increasingly withheld their children from school and had them work or help around the house. Due to their poverty, migrant families often could not return to the city until as late as December, and many started leaving San Antonio with their families for the beet fields or for cotton chopping as early as April. During the academic year 1937-1938, attendance at one school in the Mexican district varied from 740 at the beginning of the term to 1,500 in February. A study of pecan shelling families revealed that only 62% of the children attended school at all in 1938. The principal of the barrio's Sidney Lanier High School stated in 1940 that about 3,000 Mexican children never entered school, and that only one-half to two-thirds of those who entered primary school ever finished the fifth grade.¹²

During the next decade, the Edgewood Common School District, on the far West Side, attracted Mexican newcomers because of its unrestricted housing and the newly created jobs in and around Kelly Air

Force Base. Its student population increased from 1,600 to 6,000 from 1939 to 1949. The district faced continual crises thereafter, as a result of inadequate facilities and overcrowding of more than forty pupils per teacher in elementary schools--even with half day sessions. Mexicans had little voice in school affairs(the first, and for some years only, Mexican American school board member was elected in 1946). Despite a 1949 Texas law guaranteeing a minimum level of funding for each child in the state, supplemental revenues generated for neighborhoods with relatively high property valuation went exclusively to the education of the children residing within those affluent neighborhoods, leaving poorer areas in the lurch. The San Antonio Independent School District, encompassing the downtown area, with a wealthier population and a higher tax base, has repeatedly thwarted Edgewood's attempts to merge with it, fearing the additional burden of providing for an impoverished population.¹³

Even in the downtown district, as a result of limited financing, educational isolation persisted during the 1950s, with about ninety elementary schools having over 90% Mexican American students; conversely, in nineteen elementary schools they made up less than 10% of the students. Although Mayor Walter MacAllister claimed that the district had been completely desegregated after 1955, with Chicanos attending all schools and blacks widely distributed, it is clear that de facto school segregation constituted a barrier to the economic and social advancement of Latinos. Moreover, the persistent use of Spanish at home and on the job nurtured widespread illiteracy and deficiencies in the English language, even after large-scale bracero immigration began decreasing around 1960. At that time, Mexicans twenty-five years

and older completed an average of only 6 years of school, compared with 9 for blacks and over 11 for Anglos; 19% of Chicano adults never even completed the first year of school. Only 13% graduated high school, one-fourth the rate of Anglos, less than 40% that of blacks, and only about half that of Mexicans in Los Angeles, the only city in the United States at the time with a larger number of residents of Mexican descent. The San Antonio Independent School District developed a comprehensive program of vocational education for Mexican American high school students it judged unqualified for the college preparatory curriculum, shifting one-fourth of its 7,880 high school enrollment in 1962-1963 into vocational subjects in grades 10, 11, and 12. Only 1% of Mexicans then completed four years of college, compared with 11% for whites and 4 percent for blacks, although in the two-year San Antonio College, Mexicans made up almost-one quarter of the 12,300 students by 1968.¹⁴

The Supreme Court's 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision did not affect Mexicans directly, since they had legally been considered whites, although two Texas court decisions in the 1970s in East Texas (an area with a large black population) offered conflicting rulings on the question of racial classification. A Houston Circuit Court characterized Chicanos as Caucasians (which allowed them to be used instead of whites for desegregation), while a Corpus Christi judge considered Mexicans an identifiable ethnic group to be covered under the Brown rubric. Mexican civil rights groups, such as LULAC and the American G.I. Forum--a Mexican American veteran's organization--have argued throughout the postwar era that separate schooling often violated Constitutional guarantees of due process and equal protection under the law. Many observers also pointed

to the irony of the state setting up a discriminatory and, for all intents and purposes, inadequate system of education, since this was one of the chief complaints of the founders of the Republic of Texas in 1836.¹⁵

The Chicano educator, George Sanchez, testifying at a Hearing of the United States Commission on Civil Rights in 1968, noted the false sense of superiority bred in Anglo children when Mexican American children were segregated and the Mexican American "is ipso facto told he is not good enough and that of course his language is not good enough." However, he continued, "It is the conditions under which they are educated that can do the damage," particularly the curriculum, which was poorly suited for them and the fact that "the teachers don't understand the children [and] can't communicate with the parents."¹⁶ Sanchez proposed changing the public school curriculum, which was "not realistic with reference to the needs of Texas children, both Anglo and the other," to include "more of the history of the Southwest, of New Spain, of Spain itself, of the various Indian cultures of the Southwest that have blended into the culture of the Mexican American."¹⁷ He also urged revision of certification requirements, noting that "It is the Anglo-Americans who have dictated the norms for the state of Texas."¹⁸

He pointed out that "There isn't a statue anywhere in the state to the first discoverers," and textbooks often ignored Spanish and Mexican explorers and statesmen. The Texas Revolution, like the rest of Texas history, had been Anglo oriented and "it is inexcusable to say anything controversial about William Barret Travis or Davey Crockett."¹⁹ This hagiography of Texas heroes implicitly cast all Mexicans (and Mexican-Americans) as villains. According to San Antonio State Senator

Jose Bernal, testifying at the same hearing, teachers emphasized only the massacre of the Texas patriots, and gave little attention to the contributions of Lorenzo Zavala, the first Vice President of the Republic. In subsequent years, Chicano scholars have pointed out similar one-sidedness in scholarship, such as the failure to distinguish myth from reality in presumably objective accounts of the Texas Rangers, the "elite cavalry." The Anglo version has survived, both in the popular mind and in the classroom, ignoring the brutality of the Rangers in their dealings with Mexican American settlers in the border conflicts during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and exaggerating their heroism in subduing the treacherous "Meskins."²⁰

At both state and district levels a lack of Latino participation typified decision-making. In 1968 no Chicanos served on the state-wide committee for books and only one had been elected to the 24-member State Board of Education (a second had been elected to the latter body by 1978). Of the 181 members in the Texas legislature in 1974 (31 senators and 150 representatives), ten Mexican Americans served in the House and two in the Senate; there were even fewer blacks. In the San Antonio Independent School District, where Chicanos comprised 58% of the students, fourteen Mexican American administrators served out of a total of 132. In the Texas Educational Agency, which is responsible for all aspects of implementing the policies set forth by the legislature and the State Board of Education and determines curriculum and textbooks, Chicanos held only three of the top 57 administrative positions as late as 1978.²¹

Due to these state-wide institutional barriers, limited innovations came strictly from local (and later federal) initiative, as when, in 1957, San Antonio and Houston LULAC leaders began the "Little

Schools of the 400," which later expanded throughout the nation. This involved training of Chicano pre-schoolers who had never spoken any English by teaching them 400 basic words before their first year in public school. In 1963, approximately 20,000 children, 3,000 of them in San Antonio, attended these LULAC schools, which proved notably successful and received federal funds as part of the Johnson Administration's Project Headstart. Another program, initiated by the San Antonio Independent School District in the summer of 1962, provided remedial reading for seventh graders. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, however language issues increasingly dominated the educational scene.²²

In the fall of 1964, a University of Texas professor, in cooperation with the San Antonio Independent School District, introduced a "language research program" designed to develop oral language skills and to promote the teaching of English as a second language among Chicanos. It began with eighteen classes in five different elementary schools and grew to one-hundred eleven classes in eight schools by 1967, serving over 3,000 children in grades one through four. Classes met twice daily, for thirty minutes in the morning and afternoon, emphasizing English and Spanish fluency, reading skills, and the development of basic sentence structure, practiced first by individual children, then by increasingly larger groups. The emphasis at this point clearly lay on language transfer, not on bilingualism. In 1966, a similar program started in San Antonio's Harlandale Independent School District, using Spanish-speaking teachers for first grade language arts. Under the 1968 Bilingual Education Act (known also as the Title VII amendment to the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act), which sought to reverse low educational achievement and high dropout rates,

particularly among Latinos in the Southwest, the Edgewood District in 1972 implemented bilingual experiments in six primary and secondary schools, each of which generally placed greater stress on the retention of Spanish.²³

As the 1960s progressed, Chicano demands for educational equality increased. In April, 1968, some 700 students at Lanier High School and 600 from Edgewood High School walked out in protest, demanding Mexican American teachers, counselors, special courses, and better facilities. Under the Texas system, no state funds could be used for school buildings and other capital improvements, with land acquisition and construction financed through the issuance of bonds, which depended on local wealth. However, the educational component of San Antonio's Model Cities Program received nearly twelve million dollars for education from 1969 to 1973, mostly for sites and buildings in the Edgewood and San Antonio districts, which helped to finance the construction of new schools and the renovation of old ones. These funds also helped teachers to become certified, alleviating the constant turnover in instructional staff. Thereafter, increasing proportions of Mexican Americans graduated from high school and many went on to higher education at local colleges, including St. Mary's and other Catholic institutions, and at San Antonio College.²⁴

In contrast to the caste-like educational system of San Antonio, public schools in New York have, since the turn of the century, stood as the reformer's panacea, particularly for the children of immigrants on the Lower East Side. The "neighborhood school" became a focal point of the community, leading the fight against poverty, vice, and the other

social ills of the slum, weaving the immigrants into the fabric of American society, demanding extreme conformity, and undermining all things foreign. In fact, "150% Americanism" became the antidote to fears that the millions of southern and eastern European immigrants would "dilute the basic strain of the population" and turn the United States into a "collection of foreign colonies."²⁵ Moreover, according to Philander P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education, in 1919, first among the fundamentals of Americanization stood instruction in the English language: "This tongue is the common means of expression--the literature, the statutes, the state and national constitutions, the newspapers, the very signs of instruction and warning, being printed in English. Without a knowledge of the language no one can begin to know the American people and American ideals."²⁶

United States policy towards Puerto Rico at the end of the Spanish-American War reflected Americanization. Only 25,000 islanders out of the total population of almost one million attended school, practically no one spoke English, and the general educational level of the masses shocked Americans who came to administer the military government, which ruled from 1898 to 1900. With the inauguration of civilian rule thereafter, the school system underwent a series of modifications. American educators, with little regard for the history and culture of the new territory (one Commissioner of Education erroneously labeled Puerto Rican Spanish a "patois") set out to make English the basic language for the primary and secondary curriculum, even though few Puerto Rican instructors had studied it. This ill-fated linguistic policy, which continued for almost half a century, meant not only that children did not remain in school long enough to master the

second language, but also that all of the core subjects suffered in an atmosphere of linguistic confusion. The intensity and degree of the use of the vernacular in the early grades varied with each appointed commissioner, with English most dominant through the 1920s and into the early 1930s, followed by a three-year period beginning in 1934 when Spanish regained influence. Then, in 1937, one of President Franklin Roosevelt's Puerto Rican appointees, Jose Gallardo, renewed the emphasis on the teaching of English in primary schools(it had remained the sole medium of instruction in secondary and higher education), reflecting the belief that Americanization would facilitate democratic political development on the island.²⁷

In 1942, however, after renewed public criticism and almost by default, Spanish unofficially gained the upper hand. The United States finally relinquished control over the island's domestic policy in 1947, with the passage of the Elective Governor Act, which led shortly thereafter to the formal restoration of Spanish as the language of instruction at all levels. The growth of the island's educational system proceeded at a rapid pace under American rule with the introduction of coeducational schooling for all children between the ages of six and eighteen, the formal separation of church and state, and a fixed school year. Moreover, illiteracy among the population ten years of age and over declined from over 80% in 1900 to 31% in 1940. Educators also taught Puerto Ricans to pledge allegiance to the United States flag, encouraged the celebration of United States national holidays, and Anglicized the official spelling of the island's name to Porto Rico(it reverted to its present spelling in 1933).²⁸

Despite these persistent efforts, few Puerto Rican migrants

arrived in New York with more than a smattering of English. In the 1930s most Puerto Rican children who entered public schools went unnoticed in the classroom (although a 1933 report from the State Commissioner of Education, Frank P. Graves, noted the rapidly accelerated migration of what he termed "negroes from southern states, Porto Rico, and the West Indies"), and they usually fell behind in their classes several years. No city-wide system or policy had developed to facilitate language acquisition among immigrants, although by the 1930s special "C" classes in some schools helped foreigners (including Puerto Ricans) ease the social and academic adjustment into the regular school program. Historically, high dropout and educational retardation rates had been tolerated; indeed, until the 1920s most children from poor families could not afford to stay in school for very long, and formal schooling usually ended with the sixth or eighth grades. Despite the expansion of secondary education, few had an opportunity to advance with their studies. The schools offered sufficient preparation for most blue-collar and "entry level" white-collar jobs in the expanding post-World War I economy, but could not accommodate the large influx of Puerto Ricans after 1945 using their past methods.²⁹

In 1947, about one-third of the almost 14,000 island-born pupils attending the public elementary and junior high schools of the city spoke no English. The total number of students of Puerto Rican background at the time totaled 25,000, with almost half residing in Manhattan, one-third in the Bronx, and one-fifth in Brooklyn. Many principals avoided even temporarily segregating these pupils, fearing that they might be stigmatized. Generally, the most recent arrivals had entered first grade in the crowded island schools a year or two later

than mainland students, depending on the locality of origin; in addition to facing a greater language barrier, they thus tended to be older than average. Others enrolled in some of the elementary grades in Puerto Rico, dropped out for a while, often due to family hardships, and often did not return to school until their arrival in New York. The system-wide policy of "continuous progress," while reducing the number of overage pupils resulted in wide ranges of achievement resulted in teachers having to cope with Puerto Ricans of different levels of ability as well as two or three diverse groups of continental American pupils within the same class.³⁰

A report by the Association of Assistant Superintendents in 1947 represented the first bureaucratic effort to deal with the problems of Puerto Rican children. It noted that the larger their percentage in a school, the poorer the attendance and academic progress. While recognizing that little could be done to reduce the concentration of Latinos, the Superintendents recommended the incorporation of special personnel. Shortly thereafter, bilingual Substitute Auxiliary Teachers(SATs) and, a few years later, Other Teaching Positions(OTPs) aided regularly licensed teachers by conducting informal orientation sessions. Some even taught English in makeshift "vestibule classes" in schools with large numbers of Puerto Rican children. Individual educators, such as Leonard Covello, the principal of East Harlem's Benjamin High School, sometimes took the initiative. He encouraged the establishment of the Borinquen Club(which derived from the name the Taino Indian tribes gave to the island) and other Puerto Rican organizations in an effort to create a sense of community and to ease the transition for his almost 300 Latino students, who comprised 50% of

the total student body in 1947.³¹

A Mayoral Advisory Committee Report of 1951 noted that with only a handful of auxiliary personnel, and about 5% of the teachers professing to have a knowledge of Spanish, the city urgently needed about 1,000 instructors. Although the numbers of migrants swelled--by 1955 the total Puerto Rican student population reached 100,000 and by 1960 it surpassed 150,000--the Board of Education never succeeded in formulating a comprehensive solution for the education of non-English-speaking, predominantly Puerto Rican, pupils. One major attempt, however, resulting in the publication of many reports and teaching guides(though little pedagogic reform), took place when it sponsored the Puerto Rican Study from 1953 to 1957, which involved the collection of data from thousands of pupils in eight public elementary and junior highs schools in Manhattan and the Bronx. The Study's final recommendations urged flexibility and innovation in policy-making, foreshadowing the seriousness of the language problem and its relationship to the persistent dropout problem.³²

Until the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision, no great questions of educational policy appeared in New York City for public debate. The following year, however, the Public Education Association (which came to represent the views of the progressive education movement) brought into the open desegregation, an issue which dominated the educational scene in the city for over a decade. The Status of the Public School Education of Negro and Puerto Rican Children in New York City(1955), found that racial homogeneity characterized 71% of the city's schools, and that those with black and Latino children had much greater teacher turnover and larger class sizes. Moreover, another

study by the East Harlem Citizen's Committee in 1956 found that eight of El Barrio's fifteen elementary schools were built before the turn of the century and five before 1925; most of them faced neglect of their physical plants and needed renovation. The junior high schools, similarly, had become more run-down than others elsewhere in the metropolis.³³

In 1957, when the Board established the Central Zoning Unit, with strong support from civil rights groups, it set the goal of quality education and integrated schools. Between 1957 and 1965, it built new schools in fringe areas in order to draw an integrated student body; however, in practice, according to one assistant superintendent, most of the new schools had been constructed either in the core black neighborhoods of Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant or in homogeneous white neighborhoods, and the transitional areas soon became absorbed by the core, thereafter "tipping" towards minority enrollment and thus defeating the purpose of integration. Severe overcrowding characterized ghetto schools, with those in the periphery generally under-utilized. Aside from school construction and site selection, the period from 1958 to 1962, under Superintendent John Theobald, witnessed unprecedented, if not successful, experimentation in rezoning and pupil redistribution.³⁴

In June, 1959, the Board decided to transfer some 1,000 black and Puerto Rican students from Brooklyn's Bedford Stuyvesant to less crowded schools in neighboring Glendale, Queens, provoking marches on City Hall by white parents' groups demanding adherence to the neighborhood school concept. Black and Puerto Rican groups supported the plan(although they each launched separate demonstrations), but within two months, the Board backed off from its stated policy and announced the construction of a

school in Brooklyn, thereby eliminating the need for transfers. In November of the same year, a majority of Latino and black parents voiced opposition to a proposal for the busing of 35,000 students from East Harlem to Yorkville, on the Upper East Side, an affluent and almost totally white area. They favored new schools closer to their home and resented the Board's prolonged indecision and lack of planning. However, from 1960 through 1964, under the Open Enrollment Program, some 50,000 pupils went from overcrowded to under-utilized schools, resulting in some desegregation, due to the nature of residence patterns, but little substantive improvement of the educational system.³⁵

Although some Puerto Rican activists, such as Gloria Diaz and Evelina Antonetty, participated in the early desegregation movements with black groups and supported transfers across neighborhood lines, the Puerto Rican community increasingly recognized its own educational needs as distinct, and lost interest in busing as a solution for segregation. They even questioned the validity of the Central Zoning Unit counting their children with blacks when calculating racial distribution. In March, 1964, following a school boycott called by black civil rights groups the previous month, and preceding an anti-integration protest by 15,000 members of the Parents and Taxpayers League, Puerto Ricans paraded on City Hall, calling for greater emphasis on the Spanish language, more representation among school officials and the reorganization of vocational schools. Black groups, in turn, bemoaned the failure of Puerto Ricans to exert greater influence in favor of integration and to go beyond the language issue.³⁶

Cleavages in the civil rights movement and the ineffectiveness of half-hearted lobbying efforts by the Commonwealth's New York office

created a leadership vacuum which the Puerto Rican Forum filled. Established in the late 1950s by Latino professionals, this organization called attention to the need for alleviating the dire conditions under which Puerto Ricans lived on the mainland and sought to improve prospects for the next generation. Its 1964 survey pointed out that of the nearly 21,000 academic diplomas granted the previous year, only 331 went to Puerto Ricans, a mere 2% of the total. Many others had been tracked into commercial or vocational schools(a statistic the Board has since tried to blur), which left them unprepared to begin higher academic education. The placement of minority students in non-academic high school tracks also tended to reduce their aspirations and self-esteem. New York high school guidance counselors, who usually provide crucial advice to the students filling out the applications, particularly regarding the colleges for which they can expect acceptance, thus reinforced class distinctions. Moreover, minority students were more likely than whites to be channeled into two-year community colleges in their vocational programs, limiting their chances of ever obtaining a baccalaureate. An important offspring of the Forum, Aspira, opened its offices in New York in 1961, providing alternative counselling in high schools, developing a body of volunteers to act as liaisons with parents, and initiating legal challenges in behalf of Latino students.³⁷

In 1968, with a renewed influx of newcomers into New York City, annual school censuses started to identify non-Puerto Rican Latinos from the Caribbean and South and Central America. They found marked diversity of settlement patterns, with the highest proportions of Puerto Ricans living in the Bronx, of Colombians in Queens, and of Dominicans

in upper Manhattan. School personnel, however, often assumed the existence of a pan-Hispanic culture and tradition, and generally ignored distinctions among the nationalities. Throughout the 1960s, due to their seniority and greater numbers, Puerto Ricans generally predominated in such roles as community liaisons and as aides, as well as among the relatively few Spanish-speaking teachers and administrators. Significantly, the Board of Education acknowledged the problem of attracting qualified teachers in Latino areas of Manhattan and the Bronx when it made two year's teaching experience in those schools a prerequisite for prospective principals and supervisors.³⁸

Each Board of Education had traditionally consisted of Catholics, Jews, Protestants--including black, Italian, and, eventually, by the late 1960s, Puerto Rican seats--serving staggered terms. The members voted on the Superintendent, who generally supported the status quo, serving at their pleasure as an "educational expert." He, along with the principals, implemented policy and achieved a measure of consistency in curriculum, teaching methods, and instructional materials in districts and schools throughout the city. In practice, however, the thousands of "headquarters staff," and the Central Zoning Unit, in particular, made crucial decisions on site-selection and the establishment of neighborhood boundaries, gaining power largely through its ability to obscure Board policy through inaction. The nebulous, highly centralized organization of the schools represented a barrier to communication between parents and the educational bureaucracy, offering little flexibility in initiating new programs and exacerbating racial tensions. The newer black and Puerto Rican arrivals posed increasingly serious administrative problems, each in a different way, although official

policy perceived them as one, non-white group.³⁹

Recognizing the opposition to busing, "school coupling," and other measures of transferring elementary students across neighborhoods, and spurred on by a directive urging integration from the State Superintendent of Schools, the Board in 1965 planned the reorganization of the "feeder" system. It proposed establishing intermediate (formerly junior high) schools of four grades and shortening the elementary level from six to four years. A site-selection controversy arose in 1966, producing far-reaching effects on the city's educational system, when it became known that one of the first intermediate schools, I.S. 201 in East Harlem, would consist almost entirely of black and Puerto Rican students. In the spring of 1966, when the Board brought in a white principal, outraged parents and civil rights activists changed their demand from integration to "community control," with authority transferred to school headquarters. They further proposed that I.S. 201 become an experimental school governed by a "school unity committee" which could hire and fire administrators, including the principal. Thereupon Mayor John V. Lindsay appointed an Educational Advisory Panel, and the Ford Foundation sponsored experimental school districts on the Lower East Side, in East Harlem, and in the Ocean-Hill Brownsville area of Brooklyn, each of which had previously sought increased local control.⁴⁰

Although blacks clearly took the lead in the I.S. 201 controversy, Puerto Ricans became increasingly active in its aftermath. After many months of wrangling, and in the wake of a two-month long 1968 teachers' strike which pitted Albert Shanker's United Federation of Teachers (UFT) against the parents, the state passed a law dividing decision-making

between the central board and thirty-two elected community school boards, with the former retaining much of the final authority. A politically-appointed Chancellor replaced the Superintendent. The decentralization law also gave the community boards power over personnel, curriculum, and the use of appropriated funds. The Board and the Chancellor set city-wide personnel and educational standards and determined the formula for district funding. The community boards, meanwhile, received power to appoint the community superintendent, whose responsibilities were to include the hiring of supplemental teachers and the appointment of principals. Large areas of educational policy remained with the districts concerning matters relating to the instruction of students (subject to some oversight), including the selection of textbooks and other classroom material. Their discretion has been greater in theory than in practice, due to the lack of technical assistance from the Central Board, budget cuts, and the fact that few administrators have the inspiration, training and expertise necessary to reconstruct time-honored practices and design workable curricula.⁴¹

Decentralization, however, allowed for a more flexible approach to sensitive issues. Schools with large Latino populations almost always contained many students reading one or more years behind grade level. In 1971, the East Harlem district chose a Puerto Rican administrator with a bold and innovative approach who brought in new personnel, raised much outside money, and implemented programs which probably could not have been conceived under the old system. Reading scores improved substantially in all nine grades throughout the decade, even when compared with city-wide averages, while the staff became one of the most integrated in the city. In the Lower East Side, student performance

improved less dramatically, but the number of Latino educators increased threefold between 1971 and 1978. Nevertheless, a decade after decentralization, Puerto Ricans accounted for only two district superintendents, forty-five principals and forty-five assistant principals scattered among the nearly one-thousand schools which served a quarter million Spanish-speaking students. Latino students faced a decaying and indeed, shrinking public school system, magnified by retrenchment during the fiscal crisis of the mid-1970s.⁴²

Teacher's Union President Shanker noted in 1972 that the "school is not the only agency in society that is responsible for educational failure and if we continue to have poor housing and poor health conditions and discrimination in employment and the whole bunch of other factors that we have, even if the schools were to have an ideal situation in terms of teaching and learning, not all of the problems the children come to school with would be overcome by the schools."⁴³ He conceded that desegregation is "worthwhile as a social thing to do, but when we are all integrated in terms of staff and thousands of blacks and Puerto Ricans and others have jobs in the school system and on community boards and everything else, we are still going to have to lick the problem of how to get the kids to read."⁴⁴ His solution lay mainly with universal early childhood education, the reduction of class sizes, especially in special education, and gradual implementation of programs in bilingual education.

Catholic schools functioned as neighborhood institutions at a time when the concept came under heavy criticism for creating racial imbalances. Since few Puerto Rican priests had migrated from the island, Archbishop (later Cardinal) Francis Spellman in 1939 turned St.

Cecilia's in East Harlem over to American priests who continued to serve members remaining from the earlier Irish and German population, but also spoke Spanish. As early as 1947 several parochial schools in East Harlem enrolled some 3,000 Puerto Ricans students from all over the city. The integrated parish redesigned existing facilities, including the parochial schools, which were taught in English, for Puerto Rican children. Unlike the ethnic parish, where the children learned both language and culture from priests and teachers brought up in the same tradition, less harmony existed between home and school. As it became clear that mainland American priests staffing these parishes would require training in the Spanish language and preparation in understanding of the cultural background of the Puerto Ricans the New York Archdiocese created the office of Coordinator of Spanish Catholic Action in 1953.⁴⁵

The mass replacement of nuns, priests, and brothers by lay teachers, together with the more liberalized religious instruction ushered in by the Second Vatican Council went against tradition, and the parochial schools remained important for discipline and instruction more than as cultural agents. By the mid-1960s about 12% of the total school-age population attended them in Manhattan and the Bronx, and about 30% in the five boroughs. The percentage of whites declined from 72% in 1957 to 45% in 1967 in the public schools of Brooklyn. By 1973 more whites (about 90,000) attended parochial elementary and junior high schools than attended the city's school system (about 83,000). Whereas only 15,000 Puerto Rican children attended parochial schools in the Archdiocese in 1965--about 12% of their total school-age population--111,000 enrolled in the public schools of Manhattan and the Bronx. In

1980, more than 30,000 children in the Catholic elementary and high schools of the New York Archdiocese were Latinos, representing about 25% of all children in the Catholic schools, while the Brooklyn diocese counted about 20% in its school system.⁴⁶

Superintendent Calvin Gross had urged as early as 1963 that Puerto Rican children and other new arrivals to the city be enabled to develop biculturally and bilingually. Yet by the end of that decade, with almost 100,000 students of limited English proficiency, the overwhelming majority Spanish-speaking, fewer than five-hundred Latino teachers and SATs provided special education, and only about twenty-five bilingual classes existed, most of them in East Harlem. In 1969, under community pressure, and with recently allocated funds from the Bilingual Education Act of the previous year, P.S. 25 in the Bronx, the city's first bilingual elementary school, opened with about 500 (mostly Puerto Rican) students. A second, "multilingual" school, P.S. 1 in Manhattan, with some 180 Latino and Chinese students, shortly thereafter began instruction in pre-kindergarten through second grade. Other programs developed, in which only a partial segment of the student population participated, such as the Bilingual Science Program, which in 1970 operated in junior high and intermediate schools.⁴⁷

That same year the Board began licensing teachers of English as a second language (ESL) to help students acquire rapid fluency; they came to serve as a supplement to bilingual instructors, who sought helped students keep up in their academic subjects as they gradually phased into all-English instruction. Most ESL instructors are not bilingual and their classes ideally service students of various linguistic backgrounds in the same classroom at the same time. The State Education

Department established a bilingual education unit in 1969 to develop and supervise special programs for educating children whose native tongue is other than English. Bilingual schools as of 1972 were supported by tax levy funds, although they all had grants from federal and state sources, including Title I and Title VII of the ESEA, which also assisted black and Latino heritage programs for 8,500 students from 1969 to 1971. During the early 1970s, staffing constituted a major problem in the institution of bilingual programs.⁴⁸

In 1972, Aspira, Inc., having in several years become an influential organization with branches in several mainland Puerto Rican cities, sued the New York City Board of Education, claiming that tens of thousands of Latino students received inadequate instruction in their native language, which violated federal guidelines. With the case still pending, the United States Supreme Court decided in Lau v. Nichols in 1974 that the San Francisco School District must provide non-English-speaking Chinese students with special instruction, although it left it up to the district to specify which linguistic approach best suited their needs. Aspira then moved for "summary judgment," and a lower court that same year rejected the Board's assertion that it provided equal educational services to all students. Under the Aspira Consent Decree, it ordered the implementation of a bilingual plan with "bicultural teaching materials" and mandated further ESL programs. By the end of the 1975-1976 school year, a broad-based bilingual education program operated in New York, involving over 50,000 pupils and approximately 1,500 instructors. However, a shortage of qualified personnel persisted well into the next decade. Indeed, in 1985 a civic watchdog organization estimated that over one-third of the New York City

youngsters who should have been getting some form of bilingual education, particularly non-Puerto Rican Latinos and Asians(whose numbers had greatly increased during the 1970s), received insufficient attention, including many non-Puerto Rican Latinos who had recently arrived in large numbers.⁴⁹

In response to charges that the school system has discriminated, President Albert Shanker noted in 1972 that the union recruited teachers from the ranks of college graduates, of which Puerto Ricans made up a very small percentage. Of particular importance was the City University, with its eighteen campuses of junior and senior colleges, which furnished approximately 85% of the city's public school teachers. City College, the nation's first tuition-free municipal college, now located in upper Manhattan, has historically offered a ladder for the upward mobility of poor first and second generation children(mostly Eastern European Jews from the beginning of the twentieth century through the 1960s). It remained in the classical model for a number of years after other elite colleges had begun to introduce more modern subjects and pedagogical methods, and it prided itself on its recognized and distinguished faculty. As the City University system developed, campuses spread out in all five boroughs, drawing most of its students from the public school system. In the spring of 1969 a series of student uprisings and closings arose on the campus of the City College, which had important ramifications for higher education throughout New York, as blacks and Latinos demanded that the racial composition of entering classes more closely reflect the new ethnic profile of the New York City schools, and challenged the rigorous selection procedures, which, they said, discriminated against the "educationally

disadvantaged." Another set of demands focused on developing a curriculum oriented more to minority culture.⁵⁰

The City College crisis provided just the opportunity that was needed to create what CUNY Chancellor Albert Bowker had favored for a long time: an Open Admissions program which would solve the impasse over the expansion of access to the university as well as growth of the University itself. In 1969 the Board of Higher Education approved a plan guaranteeing admissions to all high school graduates; those having a high school average of at least 80 and ranking in the top half of their graduating class could enter one of the senior colleges, while the two-year "community colleges" received all others. Bowker assured that in addition to allowing every high school graduate a place in the City University each matriculant would have a reasonable opportunity for success, with extensive remedial programs. This two-tier system exhibited the features of universal higher education; it was free and publicly supported and it provided mobility on the educational ladder; it also sought to overcome the class disadvantages of ethnic groups. Puerto Rican freshmen admissions doubled(to almost 13%) within five years. Moreover, the number of entering students increased from 20,00 to 35,000 in the first year.⁵¹

As the number of non-whites grew at CUNY there was some ethnic mixing in classes and colleges but in time the concentration of whites and non-whites grew more dispersed. Some colleges remained largely white despite the increased number of blacks and Latinos attending other colleges in the same tier, while others became largely non-white, with unequal distributed among the undergraduate units of the institution. In 1976, at a time when minorities, for the first time, constituted a

majority of the freshman class, tuition was imposed on the City University, ending 129 years of free education. Teachers were fired, budgets cut, and whole schools dismantled. The fiscal crisis substantially narrowed the effects of Open Admissions, tracking a larger proportion of CUNY's students into the community colleges, while decreasing the number of entering freshmen and causing the University to be perceived as somewhat unstable and(not inaccurately) as minority-oriented.⁵²

Hostos Community College in the South Bronx, intended to appeal to minority students. Named after the nineteenth century Puerto Rican intellectual and patriot Eugenio Maria de Hostos, it opened in the fall of 1970 with 623 students, a great proportion of whom needed remediation. It offered a bilingual curriculum designed to prepare students for careers in the health services leading to an Associate's Degree. Its student body, 40% Latino and 40% black in 1972, tended to be older than the average. Courses allowed for the flexible schedules of part-time students, as well as for the preparation for adults who had been out of school for a long time. Much attention also went to Puerto Rican history and culture. Meanwhile, throughout other City University campuses as well as in many private colleges, Puerto Ricans Studies programs emerged. More recently, reflecting the change in Latino population, these programs have broadened their focus to include the Cuba and the Dominican Republic. Moreover, by the 1980s, many campuses offered bilingual education in several subject areas to allow foreign-born students to ease into the regular university curriculum.⁵³

The educational history of Cubans in Miami, unlike that of the

Puerto Ricans in New York, only tangentially originated in the circumstances of American intervention and its aftermath, although in both places United States occupation forces found largely illiterate populations and almost immediately worked to replace the educational system. However, they had little no direct effect on language policy and no long-term influence on the growth of literacy among the populace after the establishment of the Cuban Republic. Still, Cuban-American economic ties strengthened during the boom years of the 1920s, and the island's school enrollments increased markedly. By 1953, attendance stood at over 80% in the towns and cities, but only 50% in rural areas. Lower income urban children filled the public schools, while an extensive private system also developed, patronized by the middle- and upper-income groups. Despite widespread corruption involving educational appropriations during the regime of President Ramon Grau San Martin in the 1940s and the political turmoil of the next decade, Cuba's literacy rate nevertheless remained among the highest in Latin America on the eve of the Castro Revolution. At that time three state-controlled universities, a private one, and several colleges of lower academic standing also existed, yet they had been closed down after a student strike in 1956 (with more than half of the faculty of the University of Havana leaving for the Miami area by 1961).⁵⁴

When the refugees began to enter Dade County in the early 1960s, the wealthier Cubans, who traditionally questioned the value of anything "public," enrolled their children primarily in parochial schools of the Catholic religious orders. Many of the earliest refugees settled in South Miami Beach, where they found work in hotels and restaurants, and they sent their children to public schools out of economic necessity.

Others followed suit, and by June, 1961, more than 5,000 Cubans students attended the county's schools. The next fall, unanticipated lines formed at the three special student registration centers and the scholastic population doubled by the end of November. By September, 1962, Cuban refugees comprised close to 10% of all students.⁵⁵

The large number and uneven distribution of refugee children with no school records from their homeland made placement difficult and generally required administrative improvisation at individual schools. In some cases, "orientation teachers" worked with small groups for one or two hours daily, helping them adjust to new customs while they learned English. In other instances, a "buddy system" paired a bilingual student with a non-English-speaking one. Generally, bilingual Cuban aides worked under the supervision of American teachers. The relatively low density and wide geographic dispersal of Miami's first wave of refugees allowed schools to assign refugee pupils to several different classrooms, each having no more than four or five newcomers, which accelerated their academic progress.⁵⁶

As early as March, 1961, the federal government began reimbursing Dade County for expenses incurred as a result of the influx; the assistance continued. In 1965, when the organized exodus of the Freedom Flights began after a three-year lull, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare agreed to underwrite the costs of building facilities, materials, supplies, transportation, and other related expenses for each new refugee pupil for a period of up to five years. This support allowed for intensive English instruction of up to three hours daily, with the regular program being gradually introduced into the academic curriculum. In 1966 and 1968 tuition-free six-week summer

school English courses, staffed by about 100 certified teachers and 75 Cuban aides (the latter chosen from among the refugees), targeted the most recent arrivals. Moreover, the Refugee Program from the outset provided loans for undergraduate and graduate training programs amounting to over thirteen million dollars by 1968. Altogether, from 1960 to 1972, more than \$130 million went to Dade County schools for the administration of a myriad of academic and vocational education efforts, affecting an average of 20,000 Cuban students per year.⁵⁷

During the 1961-1962 school year, a bilingual specialist, Pauline Rojas, visited classrooms and workshops for teachers in the Miami area, researching various methods of teaching English to Spanish-speaking students. By the fall of 1962 she had obtained a grant from the Ford Foundation, as well as financial and administrative commitments from local school officials, for a three-year pilot project involving about 350 first, second, and third graders, which led to the establishment of the nation's first fully bilingual school, Coral Way Elementary. Its location in an ethnically mixed neighborhood composed of middle-class Cubans and non-Cuban whites ensured that many parents in both groups would enroll their children. Much planning, research and evaluation went into the curriculum, which alternated between English and Spanish throughout the day. A bilingual atmosphere within the school allowed teachers, aides, office personnel and students to use their mother tongue when needed, while encouraging them to practice their second language whenever possible. Special programs celebrated United States and Cuban holidays and a mutual tolerance of both cultures minimized opposition to the program. Coral Way Elementary also pioneered the development of readers for teaching English as a second language.⁵⁸

When funding from the Ford Foundation, as planned, terminated in 1966, the Cuban Refugee Program assisted the county in maintaining the bilingual school. Student achievement tests indicated the program's success and a second two-way bilingual school, Central Beach Elementary in Miami Beach, opened in September, 1966; within a decade federal funds under the Bilingual Education Act had helped launch several more experimental projects throughout Dade County. During the 1970s, Miami Beach's Spanish Curriculum Development Center tested materials for bilingual instruction locally for distribution nationwide, with regional editions for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans.⁵⁹

Since 1945, when the state legislature consolidated the separate districts into a single county system, the locally-elected members of the Dade County School Board have formulated educational policy, with the superintendent and six district superintendents overseeing all instruction and controlling expenditures. Legal segregation existed in Miami from the late nineteenth century until 1959, when the Board permitted black students to transfer into white neighborhoods, resulting by 1967 in the integration of some 123 of Dade's 213 public schools. A court-ordered desegregation plan also called for "school pairings," yet throughout the next decade busing, often over long distances, resulted in dwindling enrollments and closings of inner-city schools, much to the consternation of black parents, who opposed what they considered the undermining of neighborhood institutions.⁶⁰

The desegregation plan had no special provisions for Latinos, although in 1970, a Federal District Court ordered the desegregation of faculty and administrative staff, mandating racially balanced teacher ratios for each academic level within the system, and forcing the

reorganization of some 2,000 teachers. Yet rising incomes allowed the wealthier emigres to seek alternatives to the public school system. Already high rates of parochial school enrollments in 1962 rose by two-thirds within a decade. Cuban priests accompanied the exiles, and they taught Cuban culture and Spanish in Miami at bilingual and bicultural schools such as the Colegio de Belen. Cuban-run secular institutions also proliferated until, by the mid-1970s, an estimated 30 private schools, most of them relatively small, accounted for some 15,000 refugee students. Yet despite overcrowding and deteriorating facilities, most Cubans continued attending local public schools in expanding enclaves such as Little Havana. In 1976, they comprised 80% of Miami Senior High's student body and about half that of Hialeah High School; emigre teachers represented 15% and 2%, respectively. In 1980, Latinos, whites, and blacks each made up roughly one-third of the Dade County Public School enrollments, while among instructors, about 12% were Latino, 62% white, and 26% black.⁶¹

In 1974, Miami's Anglos vehemently protested a special program requiring thousands of English-speaking children in eight elementary schools to study Spanish while Latino students learned English. In the school board election that November they mobilized to vote out the only Cuban American member. Yet in 1976, in the wake of the Lau decision, and after a visit from HEW's Office of Civil Rights in 1976, the Dade County Public School System standardized its instructional program, providing for the use of the home language in any school with twenty or more "limited English proficiency" students. In 1979 Dade County's Operation Bilingual attempted to increase the number of native English-speaking students graduating with a functional use of Spanish in

order to prepare residents to compete successfully in the area's job market. Many black parents, however, chose not to enroll their children in the program, concluding that the school system did not give Spanish as a second language and the curriculum for English speakers equal weight.⁶²

The refugee crisis of 1980 added thousands of students to the county's public school population, which then stood at 225,000, the fifth largest in the country(including some 85,000 Latinos), further aggravating ethnic and racial tensions in Dade County. Controversy erupted as voters approved an anti-bilingualism ordinance which prohibited the expenditure of county funds for the utilizing of any language other than English or promoting any culture "other than that of the United States," mandating that all county government meetings, hearings, and publications should be in English only. This replaced a 1973 ordinance that officially declared the county to be bilingual, and had resulted in the increased hiring by Metro agencies of the Spanish-speaking. A backlash had clearly developed, based on the perception of many Anglos that the exiles had come to dominate jobs, the classroom, and even determined the language used on street signs and in official documents. Moreover, Cubans hardly seemed disadvantaged, comparing favorably with native whites throughout the educational chain--fewer than one-third of whites and Latinos dropped out of the 1979 graduating class(while more than half of black students did so). At the University of Miami, refugees comprised over 5% of the student body, and at Florida International University and in the Miami-Dade Community College system, their representation had consistently increased.⁶³

After the establishment of Miami's Coral Way experiment in 1963, a strong movement to create Spanish-English schools throughout the Southwest followed. Buoyed by a national trend tolerating "cultural pluralism" and it was first embodied in provisions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act(ESEA) of 1965 allowing special education for low-income children. In 1968, the Bilingual Education Act, appropriated \$7.5 million for the following year to support 76 pilot projects serving 27,000 children; expenditures increased steadily, amounting to well over \$50 million by the time of the renewal of the Act in 1974 and doubling four years later. The legislation also encouraged state and municipal governments to accommodate newcomers through the use of "matching funds," which have taken on a greater share of the funding for bilingual education after a 1978 revision scaled down federal appropriations. Most of the earlier experimental projects focused on Mexican Americans in California and Texas, with only a few directed to New York's Puerto Ricans, due to their smaller numbers and more limited concentrations. Moreover, authors of the early bill, such as Ralph Yarborough of Texas, claimed that Chicanos merited special status as a "conquered" peoples rather than as voluntary immigrants. The Supreme Court's historic decision recognizing "linguistic rights" further encouraged school districts to liberalize their policies.⁶⁴

While no precise measures of the success of bilingual education exist, it would be hard to disprove its value in helping to redress the historical grievances of Mexicans in San Antonio. The lack of expenditures had been felt in the five predominantly Mexican districts, which have faced historic isolation and inequalities, evident in low teacher-pupil ratios, high dropout rates, and a large percentage of

instructors holding only temporary teaching permits. The Texas legislature passed "equalization" bills in 1975 and 1979 which increased state assistance to the poorer school districts, but these measures alone have been inadequate in overcoming discrimination. To make matters worse, in the mid-1970s, as undocumented workers increasingly came north of the border, Texas law allowed districts to turn away their children or charge them tuition (even though they already contributed to property and sales taxes). However, in June, 1982, the United States Supreme Court declared the denial of free public education to "illegal aliens" an unconstitutional and shortsighted practice that could "easily lead to the creation of a sub-class of illiterates within our boundaries," and districts thereafter had to take care of the educational (and thus linguistic) needs of these thousands of children.⁶⁵

In 1962, interestingly enough, some fifteen years after the resolution of Puerto Rico's language question, the Secretary of Public Instruction threatened to withdraw accreditation for several private schools which continued to teach non-language subjects in English. The ambiguity surrounding Puerto Rico's political status of the island and the rapid economic changes of recent decades have caused a cultural crisis concerning national identity which has also had an impact on the migrants. In New York City in 1970, three-quarters of the 362,000 Puerto Ricans under age 18 were born on the mainland, 80,000 in Puerto Rico, indicating a demographic trend toward native English speakers. However, the conflict over bilingual education often has as much to do with politics as with education and some Puerto Rican parents may place less stress on English than other foreigners because the island remains predominantly Spanish-speaking. Although in the early 1970s, New York's

Puerto Rican student population grew only slightly, it still represented over 80% of the Latino total of 287,000 in the public schools, which, in turn, amounted to 31% of the city-wide total in 1980. A greater number of non-Puerto Ricans of the first generation increasingly dominate a decaying and contracting system. Some community school districts have failed to accept funds from the Board for bilingual programs, arguing that they would involve costly busing of children. Others have been sometimes overburdened where many different immigrant groups coexist. In general, however, school officials recognize the need for the continued use of a combination of bilingualism and English as a second language.⁶⁶

Cubans received both massive federal assistance and a warm reception. The Superintendent of the Dade County Public Schools noted in 1965 that the refugees had garnered the support and sympathy of community leaders and teachers partly out of patriotism. The "homeless persons" seemingly confirmed the virtues of the non-Communist world by dispersing rapidly throughout Dade County, taking their businesses and language with them. Their very success, however, heightened resentment, although white, second-generation Cubans, unlike many Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, readily blended into the mainstream if they chose to identify with the English language and American customs. Nonetheless, the settlement of many newcomers from the Mariel Boatlift has helped assure that Miami will remain bilingual for the foreseeable future.⁶⁷

The children of the Spanish-speaking constitute over one-half of the student population of San Antonio and about one-third each in New York and Miami. The educational system of each city required some adjustment to the cultural background of students, and all but the most

Americanized Latinos during the 1960s and 1970s have grown up in bilingual metropolises. The surfacing of the language question, with Latinos squarely in the middle of the controversy, along with the need for greater education in the workplace, calls for a whole new conceptualization of the process and goals of assimilation in American urban life. While neither Congress nor the courts have offered a blueprint for educating Latinos, they have concluded that society stands to lose if large numbers continue dropping out of school. A greater popular understanding of its historical evolution, could help point the present revival of bilingualism into productive directions for the urban educational system and expand the traditionally limited awareness of the United States towards the international community, particularly the countries of the Western Hemisphere.⁶⁸

Public schools have been slow in exploring the link between language and culture, and indeed many diverse aspects of the Latino experience have eluded both textbooks and classroom curricula. In San Antonio, an extensive tradition of Mexican corridos and other folk and popular songs has been transmitted musically. Many originated in Mexico, some verses were composed in the United States or along the border as an autobiographical expression of immigrant experiences in the new country, recounting misfortunes at the hands of unscrupulous coyotes, or labor contractors. One San Antonio corrido popular during the 1920s reflected the cultural gap between traditional Mexican values and the American "flapper." During this time the famous ballad, El Corrido de Gregorio Cortez, extolled the legendary border hero who stood up to the "defend his right" against Anglo invaders; it appealed to many Mexicans in San Antonio (where the hero was reportedly briefly

imprisoned just after the turn of the century, and received much support). Other corridos arose in the city with the continued growth of the Mexican barrio; in the late 1940s braceros brought their stories, which often recounted trying experiences north of the border.⁶⁹

Among Puerto Ricans in New York a literature has arisen on the migration as well as on the settlement in the metropolis, focusing on the persistence of close emotional ties with the island and its culture, and often reflecting the homesickness of the first generation migrants. During the 1960s the second generation "Nuyorican" emerged, who felt himself alienated from his parent's homeland and rejected from the American mainstream, a victim of the indignities of barrio life, the inequities and prejudice of American racial relations, and the general "urban crisis." Like the World War II era pachuco, or second-generation Chicano adolescent who, according to Octavio Paz, had lost his "whole inheritance," created a dialect and lifestyle neither Mexican nor American, he seeks a new definition of culture within his own experience. He is also conscious, however, of his Puerto Rican identity, much as the Chicano, who as early as the 1920s has, in a broader sense, considered himself a member of La Raza (the race) with other persons of Mexican origin, regardless of generation.⁷⁰

The 1960s saw an attempt by Chicanos and Puerto Ricans on the mainland to examine their heritage. The former cited common origins in Aztlan, the Southwestern region from which the Aztecs reputedly descended into Central Mexico hundreds of years ago, while the latter aligned themselves to some degree with blacks as an oppressed minority. A Cuban "exile literature" developed in the United States in the 1960s, nostalgically looking back to the pre-Revolutionary era with the

persistent hope of overthrowing Castro and returning home.⁷¹ The Miami emigres have viewed themselves not as victims of "Americanization" but as pursuers of the American Dream who could help make South Florida the "Gateway to the Americas." Second-generation Cubans have more of a conflict in reconciling their Caribbean background into the mainstream, given prevalent negative ethnic stereotypes.

The small Mexican American middle class in San Antonio and, of course, the Catholic parish, had traditionally organized lavish celebrations for the colonia, such as the Cinco de Mayo celebration of victory over the French at the Battle of Puebla in 1862 and the September Sixteenth Independence Day. The Puerto Ricans in New York have had a shorter history as immigrants and a smaller middle class. The Cubans in Miami, essentially a transplanted middle class, have, no doubt, more successfully adapted to their new homes. All three groups, however, share a common, if sometimes remote, Spanish heritage. Meanwhile, non-Latinos, not surprisingly, retain a somewhat unrealistic image of them. In the final analysis, the university, a source for the diffusion of knowledge and embodiment of cultural values, may well offer the best chance to influence the study and perceptions of Latinos in the United States.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 5

DIMENSIONS OF LEADERSHIP

Both history and contemporary circumstances militate against a monolithic Latino identity, let alone a solid, bloc vote. However, the growth nationwide in the number of Latino elected officials from some 1,600 in 1974 to over 3,000 in 1987 suggests that, while they may not or should not be considered a national constituency, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans have gained increasing influence in their metropolitan strongholds. In each city, voluntary and community organizations, the federal government, and the Catholic Church, brought together the Spanish speaking peoples before they began to participate seriously in American urban politics in the second half of the twentieth century. This chapter focuses on the differing patterns of political leadership evident at various historical junctures.

After the establishment of the Texas Republic in 1836, socio-economic cleavages arose within San Antonio's Tejano community. One descendant of the Canary Islanders noticed during the 1930s "great distinctions" between the two sides of the San Antonio River at that time. The West Side "was supposed to be the residence for the first families here," while "the descendants of the Indian and Spanish soldiers settled on the east side of the river. . . . Most of the Canary Islanders who lived on the [west] side took great pride in preventing any marriage with mixed races and when one did mix he lost his caste

with the rest."¹ Moreover, although a few upper-class Tejanos purchased servants, Frederick Law Olmsted noted that most of the Mexicans in San Antonio "committed the egregious sin of consorting openly with blacks." They generally opposed slavery, regarding it "with abhorrence," which caused the slaveholding whites to view them with contempt and suspicion.²

After 1836 some Tejanos increased their landed wealth at the expense of fellow Mexicans who sold their property before moving south. Moreover, from 1837 to 1842, thirteen prominent "American buyers" purchased 1,400,000 acres from 358 Mexican owners. Extensive changes of ownership generally proceeded peacefully until in 1842, armed bands drove out the city's mayor, Juan Seguin, former captain of the Texas Army and hero of San Jacinto, along with other Mexican land-holding families who strongly fought annexation to the United States. After 1845, adventurers, and merchants continued seizing the lands of many who fled, with the tacit approval of the occupying army (whose population comprised over half of San Antonio's antebellum newcomers). Many returned, but suffered considerable losses in an alien judicial system.³

The Texas Charter of 1836 granted citizenship and voting rights to Mexicans resident in the Republic, but beginning with the first Anglo Mayor, John W. Smith, newcomers to San Antonio insinuated themselves into roles of influence, soon taking control of politics. Mexicans had also, by the time of annexation in 1845, been squeezed from their dominant positions on the Board of Aldermen. By 1856, according to Olmsted, few voted; travelers in 1860 found it remarkable that European immigrants dominated the ranks of the elected officials in San Antonio from the mayor down. The native or Mexican vote was important,

but without a local leadership class, Anglo judges and sheriffs usually "voted" them. They unsuccessfully tried to maintain their traditional privileged status through entering the political arena, but never received more notice than being named deputy sheriff or assistant marshall.⁴

The descendants of the Canary Islanders who intermarried with the French and Irish, particularly in the years 1835 to 1880, could not blend into the new society. Alienated Tejanos could not compete within the new kind of economy and society which arose in San Antonio as a handful of Anglo merchants and financiers created and soon dominated new enterprises. After 1875, when the national railroad system tied San Antonio to the North and East, further Americanizing influences began to be implanted immediately. The remaining Mexican proprietors, many of whom had fallen into debt, sold their commercial lots around the plaza and by the early 1880s, most Mexicans had left Alamo Plaza and moved across the river west of the old Military Plaza, forming the nucleus of the twentieth century Mexican Quarter. Meanwhile, Anglos peacefully appropriated the best business locations, just as they had acquired choice ranch land a generation earlier. In the new downtown, banks appeared with "modern" methods, such as mortgages drawn up with time limits, which further ostracized Tejanos.⁵

From the 1840s through the early twentieth century, the Callaghan family--father and son--dominated San Antonio politics. Bryan I served only one term as mayor, in 1846-47, yet remained an important force for several decades thereafter. Bryan II, half Irish, half Latino(his mother was "old stock" Spanish), went east to study at the University of Virginia and later in France. In 1885, he became mayor, where he served

with only brief interruption until his death in 1912. "King Bryan" generally dictated local politics with the support of the Mexicans, the largest voting bloc in San Antonio in the late nineteenth century, but his "nominally Democratic" political machine also reached out to the heavily Republican Germans. Under his tenure the city's infrastructure expanded--with the construction of public buildings, the paving of streets, and the granting of franchises for street cars. Moreover, he added parks and playgrounds, enhancing the town's cosmopolitan, if rowdy, reputation. His familial roots in the Mexican upper class assured him the loyalty of the masses.⁶

In the mid-nineteenth century Mexicans attended the San Fernando Church, founded in 1730, while Germans and Irish mostly worshiped at St. Mary's Church. Catholicism in San Antonio, as in the Southwest generally, remained somewhat of a foreign church throughout the nineteenth century, dominated by French priests and bishops. In Texas, contrary to the immigrant model of the East, whereby immigrants would seek the church for support and comfort during the interval of adjusting to a new country, the church missionaries, as newcomers, had to reach out for the Spanish-speaking. The poor resources at its command as well as the existence of large, relatively isolated rural populations complicated this situation. Bishops, plagued by a shortage of diocesan priests, invited religious order priests to staff parishes and schools. The Claretian Order, with a Spanish rector, came to San Antonio in the early twentieth century and conducted a weekly mass in a chapel on the southern edge of the colonia, Our Lady of Guadalupe, along with celebrants from nearby churches.⁷

In 1923 Mexicans in San Antonio sponsored a series of bazaars and

benefits for the fledgling Guadalupe parish. By 1932 the Jesuits had replaced the Claretians, expanding and renovating the old chapel into a thriving church, and launching La Voz, a Spanish language diocesan newspaper. They also named the Italian social reformer, Carmelo Tranchese, pastor. Tranchese devoted his life to improving the social circumstances of Mexican Americans, who by the 1930s comprised about two-thirds of the city's Catholics, through lobbying City Hall for public housing and, along with other parish priests, helping to support (against the wishes of Archbishop Arthur Drossaerts) the 8,000 pecan shellers during the divisive 1938 strike. The hierarchy had a great interest in the tribulations of the Church in Mexico, where Revolutionary regimes in the late 1920s closed churches in certain areas, causing many clergymen to cross the northern border to avoid persecution, with some settling temporarily in the San Antonio barrio. Most of these returned to the motherland by the end of the next decade, sensing the opposition of many American Catholic religious leaders to Mexican immigrants and disliking the domination of the Southwestern church by non-Latinos.⁸

Protestant sects established missionary arms in Texas, led by the Southern Methodists in 1874, who prepared special materials in Spanish, hiring Mexican ministers and lending financial assistance for the establishment of all-Mexican congregations. The Methodists remained the largest denomination in San Antonio at the turn of the century; they had a particularly strong "social gospel," emphasizing the eradication of poverty more than evangelicalism and founding several settlement houses. The Southern Presbyterians began their mission in San Antonio in 1914, with the opening of a Sunday School, which later became the House of

Neighborly Service. That most of the Protestant churches practiced Anglo-Mexican segregation from the outset caused some Mexicans to seek out Pentecostal denominations, whose lack of hierarchy enabled many easily to become ministers themselves and readily form their own congregations. Protestant churches in general, however, had limited success with colonia residents, although their social work and proselytizing activities presented the Diocese with a constant cause of concern.⁹

Mexican Americans, increasingly outcast, found support in voluntary organizations. Mexicans in San Antonio in the nineteenth century organized at least two mutual benefit societies, La Sociedad de la Union in 1886 and La Sociedad de Proteccion Mutua de Trabajadores Unidos in 1890. La Union served as a community bank, extending credit to members who would otherwise have had difficulty securing it, by lending them small sums against their accumulated dues. San Antonio mutualistas grew with the immigration after 1910, reaching a peak in the mid-1920s, with about five percent of the city's Chicanos belonging to one of the dozens of societies. Small shopkeepers and skilled laborers typically joined; membership required attendance at weekly meetings and the payment of monthly dues of fifty cents, with special collections of one dollar for the deceased (survivor benefits averaged about \$100). When a family had firmly settled itself, it usually expanded its coverage to include aid for the ill members.¹⁰

The mutualistas also organized cultural celebrations of traditional Mexican holidays and supported charitable activities with fiestas and raffles. Mutualistas rarely engaged in politics, and strictly forbade political discussions, largely refraining from Mexican

party politics. Some political events in San Antonio, however, such as the increase of Ku Klux Klan activity in the early 1920s, captured the attention of barrio residents, but resulted in little concerted action. When confronted with segregation in Anglo theaters, several mutualistas used their economic leverage, selling shares and building their own theaters in 1919, 1921, and 1927. They generally avoided radical protest, preferring to keep a low profile, working in relative autonomy, and maintaining only a slight connection with urban politicians.¹¹

During the 1920s the Mexican Consul in San Antonio partially bridged the gap between the homeland and the barrio through its comisiones honorificas, which, after 1921, played a quasi-governmental role helping Mexicans with legal problems or complaints against employers or administrators. It also instigated the founding of the Mexican Chamber of Commerce to foster trade relations with Mexico. The Liga Protectora Mexicana, which claimed over 500 members by 1920, owed its inspiration to the 1911 Congreso Mexicano, a convention held in Laredo to address the discrimination encountered by Mexican Americans. It focused on political issues, and included among its leaders the attorney Manuel C. Gonzales and two Anglo lawyers who joined forces in 1917 to advise Tejanos of their legal rights, particularly for migrant workers with contractual difficulties, and represent them in litigation. Unlike the mutualistas, the Liga held no formal meetings; it reached out mainly through a weekly article in El Imparcial de Texas. In the early 1920s it became a commercial enterprise with clients paying to prepare for citizenship tests.¹²

Although during the 1920s many organizations attracted--and even limited their membership to--Mexican nationals, the Orden Hijos de

America(Sons of America), founded by Tejano veterans of World War I, admitted American citizens only. Made up of white-collar workers and professionals who sought to acquire political power as well as the "intellectual and social progress of the Spanish-speaking people in the United States," it marked a departure from the apolitical stance of mutualistas, although it chose not to endorse individual candidates. When disagreements among the founders arose in 1922, its vice president resigned and formed the Hijos of Texas, which worked specifically on the right of Chicanos and Mexicans to sue an Anglo and to serve on juries(they had been routinely dropped from jury roles in San Antonio). The League of United Latin American Citizens(LULAC) emerged from a schism in the Hijos de America, and in 1929 it became the first Chicano organization to hold its meetings in English. Led in San Antonio by Santiago Tafolla, Alonso Perales and J. Luz Saenz in its formative years, LULAC steadily grew throughout Texas, the Southwest, and the Midwest and by 1946 over 200 units had been formed nationwide.¹³

The massive influx of Mexican peons and a small but relatively influential number of ricos had diversified San Antonio's Tejano social structure after 1910, adding to the historical cleavages between the descendants of Canary Island Spaniards and the castas. The ricos controlled the Spanish-language press and through it sought to maintain strong ties with Mexico. Simultaneously, an emerging middle class, led by the Hijos of America and LULAC, accepted its status as Americans with a vested interest in political progress and worked at overcoming divisions within the community. Its leaders sought to elevate the exploited lower classes, urging them not to abandon and sell their votes and to stand up for their civil and political rights.¹⁴

Throughout San Antonio's history Mexicans have played a major, though not always effective role in politics. In the late 1890s, when Mexicans constituted about 20% of the city's voters, the United States Circuit Court in San Antonio ruled that any foreigner (other than the Chinese, who were specifically restricted by law), even though illiterate, could vote if he had demonstrated good character and practiced good citizenship, thereby nullifying a measure designed to disfranchise newly-arrived Mexican nationals. However, many other methods thereafter minimized the potential Chicano vote, including the gerrymandering of districts through the use of at-large elections, the selective annexation of suburbs, voter intimidation, the selective enforcement of electoral laws, and fraudulent ballot distribution and collection. The poll tax, added to the Texas Constitution in 1902 (it remained in force until 1965), systematically eliminated those who could not afford the \$1.50 per year (payable six months in advance). In 1914, shortly after King Bryan Callaghan's death, the electorate approved a commission government, which soon fell into the clutches of a city-county political ring based on extensive patronage and facilitated by the commissioners' control of jobs. Any public employee who failed to support his superior's candidates for local office faced immediate dismissal. Such practices perpetuated inefficient and corrupt government, allowing several machine politicians to control the Mexican vote, small though it was, until after World War II.¹⁵

Few Mexicans showed interest in voting for the Anglo candidates put up by the machine, and, moreover, the migratory character of their work effectively prevented even the native born from exercising their franchise. Many migrants carried the memory of political corruption

and injustice from Mexico and, remained similarly suspicious of San Antonio's method of running the municipal government; they quietly and cynically supported the machine until presented with other alternatives. There had been, on occasion, considerable buying of Mexican American votes by the local bosses when needed in close elections--either by paying their poll tax, or through gifts of cash or "tamales and beer."¹⁶ This resulted in few political benefits for the sellers. Moreover, one observer noted, "In the street commissioner's department, they hire a lot of Mexicans, and they all must have their poll taxes. Well, if in one department they have say 200 men, with their wives and friends they multiply to about 600 votes."¹⁷ The county sheriff it was said, "could put fifty pistols on the West Side on the day of the election and fear did the rest."¹⁸ In 1939, a record year for voting in the local elections, Mexicans paid only some 9,000 poll taxes even though their population stood at over 100,000.¹⁹

Charles Bellinger, a black gambler and bootlegger with extensive real estate holdings, controlled the East Side vote(roughly a quarter of the total electorate) during much of the 1920s and 1930s. He reportedly "owned" 3,000 poll taxes, the receipts of which he retained in his safe for use by trustworthy individuals on election day. Moreover, he had promised political favors to pastors who would shepherd their congregations and thereby give him the power to swing city-wide contests. As a result of his influence, the black section of town became more livable than the neglected Mexican Quarter--with paved streets, water and sewer connections, modern schools, and fire houses. When "Boss" Bellinger died in 1936, Charles K. Quin easily appropriated the machine and with it the city government, doing little

to eradicate the endemic graft, poverty, and disease. The Kilday brothers, Owen and Paul, several commissioners, the ranchmen, gambling interests and the Mexicans and blacks kept the machine in power through most of the Depression decade.²⁰

Although during the 1920s some reformers had begun to organize against machine rule, not until the 1930 election did the Citizen's League successfully run an independent, Maury Maverick (who became tax collector). Maverick, scion of a respected San Antonio family--his grandfather had served as one of the town's mayors--won a Congressional seat in 1934 and, in his reelection in 1936, carried the West Side, marking the first time the Mexican vote had ever gone against the ring. Although he voted for the federal anti-lynching bill and civil rights legislation, his criticism of local blacks for supporting Boss Bellinger helped cause his defeat in 1938. The following year, however, he was elected mayor on the Fusion Ticket, again carrying the Mexican vote, as Quin and another candidate split the North Side. Both in Congress and in City Hall, Maverick helped introduce the New Deal to San Antonio, attracting federal assistance for public housing, renovating La Villita (a small group of buildings put up by early San Antonio settlers), and helping to finance the construction of the famous downtown Riverwalk with contributions of labor and material from the Works Progress Administration and the passage of a bond issue.²¹

Angered by Maverick's independence and his failure to carry through on charter revision, some reformers aligned with conservative Democrats and city machine politicians, backing former Mayor Quin's successful 1941 mayoralty campaign. The city-county ring presided over wartime growth and during the 1940s, when the city annexed many of the

suburban developments to defend its tax base and forestall the expansion of Bexar County municipalities. However, they failed to bring services in the newly-annexed areas up to par, allowing the service problems of the late 1930s to become nightmares. Prominent businessmen formed the Council Manager Association in 1946 under the leadership of Walter McAllister and launched a drive to improve municipal efficiency and remove politics from government, culminating in 1951 with a referendum adopting the council-manager form of municipal government. Under this system, councilmen had no administrative responsibilities, receiving only a token fee for each council meeting attended, and a chief executive--the city manager--now controlled the bureaucracy, taking away most of its patronage.²²

In 1954 after several years of infighting among reformers, the Good Government League emerged, seeking to strengthen the influence of the council at the expense of the mayor. The GGL quickly became a dominant force in San Antonio's politics, winning most of the council seats it sought for the next two decades, thereby setting the city's agenda. It created a non-partisan image, yet developed many of the makings of a machine, secretly selecting the candidates for council in at-large elections under a numbered place system. The mayor, chosen by the council, served as a figurehead for ceremonial purposes. The Citizens for Community Progress, a group of predominantly North Side Chicano business, civic, and professional leaders, supposedly represented the barrios, submitting the names of Chicanos who it wished the GGL to nominate and later campaigning on the West Side. However, these candidates merely served as tokens to avoid confronting the underlying structure of inequality. Not surprisingly, GGL appointments to city boards and

commissions systematically excluded Chicanos.²³

The League drew huge financial support in the form of dues and contributions from businessmen, most of whom geared the government to serve the "general good," which came to mean the interests of a socio-economic elite. The arrival of 150,000 war workers and large numbers of servicemen during World War II, and of white collar federal workers during the following two decades stimulated development in the newer sections of the city; stores, malls, and later office buildings inevitably followed the population outward. Annexations of adjoining areas increased San Antonio's area from 36 to 267 square miles between 1940 and 1973. The GGL's boosterism, which resulted in continual expansion of city limits, tightly controlled the urban renewal process, limiting it, for the most part, to the vitalizing of the central business district, thus refurbishing the city yet only indirectly planning for the lower income Chicanos. It came at the expense of the West Side, which needed street improvements and other services for its denser concentrations.²⁴

Until the 1940s no Mexicans in San Antonio held elective office in the city or the county and they were generally overlooked as appointees. In 1948, however, for the first time, Chicanos and blacks formed a coalition in support of two candidates. Gus Garcia, a member of LULAC and a World War II veteran, ran successfully for the school board and a black won election for the Junior College Board. Since neither position carried patronage, Mexicans, freed from machine and job pressures, voted as they pleased. Later that same year several Chicanos lost their bids for state and county offices on the Democratic line, demonstrating that machine rule still dominated the minority vote,

frequently pitting the two groups against one another.²⁵

Meanwhile, LULAC remained active in Texas and also formed national units. At the grass roots level, local units conducted task forces around special issues, such as discrimination at Kelly Air Base, as individual incidents arose. By the 1960s, LULAC had come to be considered by the next generation as an "assimilationist" organization and, indeed, even its Cinco de Mayo celebration in San Antonio served strictly as a fund-raising benefit, with Mexican nationalism an insignificant factor. Ironically, according to a co-founder of the organization, Juan Solis, San Antonians during the pre-war period had refused to join LULAC either because they feared their employers disapproval, or, in extreme cases, that their businesses would be harmed.²⁶

Henry B. Gonzales, son of a rico managing editor of La Prensa, began his political career in the late 1940s in the Pan American Progressive Association, a local group seeking justice for Chicanos in civil rights issues, as a leader in the fight against restrictive real estate covenants. He ran for city council in 1953 as an independent, winning along with eight Anglos. In 1956, he became the first Chicano elected to the Texas Senate in an upset at a time when the county had only some 30,000 eligible Chicano voters out of a total of 140,000 (along with 100,000 Anglos and 10,000 blacks). He received 40% of the vote in the North and South sides, pivotal areas where Chicanos previously received little support, as well as overwhelming support on the West and East Sides. Gonzales served five years at the state capitol, where he became known for his anti-segregation efforts and for his drive to bring urban renewal to San Antonio. In 1961, drawing on a

broad coalition of Chicanos, blacks, and working class Anglos, he became the Mission City's Congressman, representing a district incorporating the diverse downtown district. He has since remained an ardent advocate of federal housing legislation on the House's Banking and Finance Committee.²⁷

During the 1960 presidential campaign, the Political Association of Spanish Speaking Organizations(PASO) replaced the Mexican American Political Association(MAPA)--a national non-partisan organization, formed in the late 1950s--as the main vehicle for recognition of the Tejano middle-class. Albert Pena, a Chicano who served as Bexar County Commissioner from 1956 to 1968, along with Gonzales, worked to develop a liberal coalition out of the state-wide Texas "Viva Kennedy" Clubs and thereby helped deliver that key state for the Democrats. San Antonio, with its relatively few migrants and large middle-class Mexican population, had a greater opportunity for political development than smaller cities with predominantly migrant populations. However, in 1963 in one such town, Crystal City(about 80% Mexican), PASO, supported by advisers from San Antonio, joined with non-Mexican groups to help elect a slate of Chicanos to the City Council. They served until both the resident Latino middle class, which traditionally manipulated the migrants, along with the Anglo population, united to restore the status quo ante.²⁸

In the late 1960s, the Mexican American Youth Organization(MAYO), founded by students at San Antonio's St. Mary's University, led student strikes, and encouraged campus walkouts and "community service." Its leader's, along with the even more militant Brown Berets, frequently attacked the "Gringo Establishment." According to one of their

adversaries, Congressman Gonzales, they distributed "hate sheets, designed to inflame passions and reinforce old wounds or open new ones." Yet MAYO produced several leaders who effectively challenged the political mainstream, such as Peter Torres who remained one of the few independent, anti-GGL councilmen and Willie Velasquez, who helped found the Southwestern Voter Education Project, which launched registration drives throughout the Southwest.²⁹

MAYO organizer Jose Angel Gutierrez, a native of Crystal City who studied in San Antonio, formed various youth and community organizations and helped lay the basis for La Raza Unida Party, which regained control of the Crystal City Council and Board of Education in 1970. It later organized on the state and national levels and in the 1972 gubernatorial election ran Ramsey Muniz, who captured close to 6% of the vote, enough to provide the Republicans with the margin of victory. A struggle arose over tactics and goals among branches of the RUP in different states, particularly between Gutierrez and Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales in Colorado. RUP enjoyed the greatest success in areas where Chicanos had a voting majority. Although by the late 1970s it had passed from the political landscape, its appeal alerted both major parties to the importance of the barrio vote.³⁰

San Antonio Archbishop Robert Lucey became a moving force behind the Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking, formed in 1945; for nearly thirty years, from 1941 until his retirement in 1969, he presided over the Archdiocese. Although he harbored a strong concern for Mexican American migrants, opposing the extension of the Bracero Program and greeting marchers who came through San Antonio on their way to Austin in the summer of 1966, Lucey showed limited concern for barrio

residents. Social action in San Antonio itself began only after Father John Yanta applied for funding from the War on Poverty Programs in 1964. Between 1965 and 1967 the San Antonio Neighborhood Youth Organization(SANYO), created and supervised by Yanta, received over six million dollars, a third of the city-wide total(the settlement houses, located in or near the barrios, also sponsored neighborhood activities and competed for federal monies), soon becoming the biggest and most active anti-poverty agency in the Southwest, providing jobs, scholarships and other opportunities in its multi-service centers.³¹

The church hierarchy, however, remained largely impenetrable to the Spanish-speaking during the 1960s. To alleviate this situation, Latino priest in 1970 organized PADRES(Padres Asociados para Derechos Religiosos, Educativos, y Sociales), a group which grew out of the efforts of some clergy to assist Cesar Chavez in organizing farm workers in California. That same year, Patrick Flores, the son of Texas migrant workers, was ordained Auxiliary Bishop of San Antonio; in 1979 he was installed as Archbishop, where he has also lobbied for social action, serving as Chairman of the Texas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights and supporting barrio causes. Although by 1973 only two Chicanos in San Antonio had been appointed parish priests, the hierarchy clearly had moved towards social action in the Southwest.³²

In the 1970s the San Antonio Archdiocese sought to reduce its debt, stop the rezoning of some residential areas for light industry, and fortify the older parishes by bringing better streets, drainage, and schools in the core neighborhoods, which had lost much of their financial base. It therefore readily supported Communities Organized

for Public Service(COPS), a city-wide network of parish-based organizations, overwhelmingly Chicano, which had mobilized in 1974 in response to flooding on the West Side, which left residual so deep that the neighbors children went swimming in it days after the rains stopped. Although COPS relies on local initiative on the parish level led by priests--primarily from religious orders--and respects the traditionalism of Chicanos, it developed a strong activist element and has confronted the City Manager with videotapes of its grievances, documenting property damage as well as presenting research showing that funds for drainage projects on the West and South sides had never been spent. It later decided to use "direct action," tying up banking operations by changing pennies into dollar and back into pennies in order to get an audience with influential executives.³³

Ernesto Cortes, Jr., a native of San Antonio, studied Saul Alinsky's confrontational approach while working with several radical organizations in the Midwest and adapted it to his hometown's situation when he returned in the early 1970s. He played a significant role in organizing COPS, focusing on the immediate problems of struggling homeowners, appealing more to their self-interest more than to ideology. Other leaders included civil servants working at Kelly and West Side housewives. COPS has won hundreds of victories concerning stop lights, trash pick-ups, cleaning of junkyards, and pedestrian bridges across railroad tracks, as well as fighting urban sprawl. Moreover, it has broadened its base when necessary, allying with environmental groups. COPS has, predictably, stirred much opposition on the North Side, particularly among North Side developers who feared over-regulation of their plans for massive annexations. In 1972 they successfully challenged

GGL candidates in the 1973 and 1975 elections, setting the stage for a new era in electoral politics.³⁴

In 1976 the United States Department of Justice, under guidelines established by the 1975 amendments to the 1965 Voting Rights Act which allowed federal monitoring of local elections, intervened in San Antonio politics. It claimed that thirteen of the twenty-three annexations completed during the 1972-1974 period, coupled with the at-large method of electing the City Council, illegally diluted the voting strength of the Chicano community. In a special and hotly contested election held in January, 1977, which saw COPS mobilize many residents of the West, East and South Sides, voters amended the City Charter so that each of the council members would thereafter be chosen by district; further, the whole electorate would now choose the mayor, the council's eleventh member and presiding officer. The following year, right after the adoption of single-member districts, voters chose five Mexican-Americans and one black for the City Council. Subsequently, electoral participation increased and, for the first time, the Mexican American turnout of exceeded that of Anglos(43% to 39%), ushering in an era of mass politics with greater minority access to city government. When Lila Cockrell, who served as mayor from 1976 to 1981, stepped down, two former GGL members declared themselves candidates for mayor. One of them, Henry Cisneros, a Harvard-educated professor, garnered 62% of the vote, with support from all segments of the city, becoming the first Chicano to assume the office since Juan Seguin in the years of the Texas Republic. He has placated both business interests and minorities and helped overcome the city's heritage of exclusion, emphasizing the need for "high-tech" economic development and the equitable distribution of

municipal services.³⁵

While in San Antonio a Chicano majority in the early 1800s changed over to an Anglo one and, recently, reverted, New York's municipal government has received numerous immigrant groups, including, in the 1890s, a wave of Antillean exiles, many of whom returned to Cuba and Puerto Rico after the Spanish-American War. From the early 1900s until 1917, when the Jones Act bestowed citizenship on Puerto Ricans, migrants generally remained uninvolved in the city's political and organizational life, although the mostly socialist tabaqueros formed Brooklyn's Circulo de Trabajadores, a predecessor of the Latino worker's societies of the 1920s--Alianza Obrera and Ateneo Obrero. Migrants founded in 1923 the Porto Rican Brotherhood, an all-purpose voluntary organization, which provided referrals and collected donations for needy families, and which took the lead in establishing the more activist Liga Puertorriquena e Hispana. The Liga first met in the summer of 1926 in the wake of weeks of street fighting and other manifestations of ethnic friction between Latinos and Jews in Harlem. Until it became inactive early in the next decade, the Liga served as an educational center, instructing members of their civic and political rights until becoming inactive early in the next decade. It represented not only Puerto Ricans, who comprised about half of the city's total Latino pre-Depression population, but Cubans, Argentinians, Spaniards, and Central Americans as well.³⁶

Several other Latino organizations surfaced during the 1920s. The Manhattan settlement grew to 35,000, in 1930, some five times as large as the Brooklyn colonia of 7,000. During these formative, pre-World War

II years, Puerto Ricans generally concerned themselves less with affairs on the mainland than with island politics. In 1928, New York's Spanish language daily, La Prensa, noted that the "Puerto Rican cannot influence, unless very indirectly, island politics" and should therefore work to improve the relationship between island and mainland by organizing effectively in New York.³⁷ It observed,

Repeatedly, upon organizing a new Puerto Rican society, the first obstacle has been in the preceding island-politics of its directors. If they were unionists, the socialists separated; if they were socialists, the unionists boycotted. That is not understandable and, above all, impractical.³⁸

One editorial urged that political leagues "fight to gain the most in possible influence in the eyes of the party bosses" which "is together, hardly the millionth part of what it should be and has to be."³⁹

Brooklyn became a political beachhead with the appearance of the Porto Rican Democratic Club in 1923; in 1925, the Club Democratico in Manhattan, later known as El Caribe, was founded. The first recorded recognition of the Puerto Ricans by a major political party candidate occurred when Senator Robert Wagner, Sr., lunched with Puerto Rican leaders in 1932; an event covered by photographers of La Prensa.⁴⁰ Yet in March, 1933, Ramon Colon, a Brooklyn activist, argued that "we who have had to immigrate here because conditions on our island were impossible . . . should have a voice in the selection of our island's next executive," and he recommended James A. Kelly--a liaison between Puerto Ricans and the county machine--to be the island's next governor.⁴¹

Tammany's district leaders acted as captains in a disciplined army; ruling Manhattan and to a lesser extent the outer boroughs they gained and retained their position through "delivering" solid blocs of voters in the primaries. The poor, foreign-born arrivals had

historically sought out the district leaders for help in a wide range of problems and supported the machine, which monopolized jobs and controlled city jobs, the police department and the courts. Tammany Hall reached the height of its power in the early 1920s under the leadership of Charles Murphy, who owned politicians from the local alderman to the governor. Beginning in 1926, however, under the administration of Jimmy Walker, the Hall's strength began to decline; mass unemployment during the Depression overwhelmed the relatively modest relief efforts of the machine and the ensuing array of New Deal programs and agencies weakened it further.⁴² Inside Manhattan factionalism arose, and the Seabury Commission probe revealed a "metropolis ravaged by corruption and public betrayal."⁴³

The principal donors of dues to Puerto Rican political clubs were the numbers game(bolita) operators seeking protection for their businesses. Luis Felipe Weber, a lottery banker, headed several political clubs in the borough and served as unofficial Democratic leader in the early 1930s. In the fall of 1935, the officers of several Puerto Rican Democratic clubs then operating in Brooklyn, noting the deplorable political situation of the Latino masses in the city(made worse by the arrest of Weber and his associates on gambling charges earlier in the year), broke with the banqueros. They turned instead to monthly fund-raising activities to help them achieve their goal of political recognition and to allow them their share of patronage. The steady decline of the machine, however, stymied any budding grass roots political power among poor migrants; in 1937, even the respected colonia leader, Carlos Tapia, moved across the river to East Harlem, joining the center of Spanish-speaking businesses and marking a decisive shift of

demographic and political momentum.⁴⁴

In 1928 Fiorello LaGuardia, then a Congressman from East Harlem, supported Home Rule for Puerto Rico; later in the year, he took the lead in Congress in appropriating relief funds the island after a hurricane. In 1932, nevertheless, Tammany, which received the active support of the Resident Commissioner of the island in Washington, D.C., succeeded in organizing thousands of new Puerto Rican migrants for his opponent, James Lanzetta, who, with the help of second-generation Italian Americans, defeated LaGuardia. The following year Fiorello ran successfully for mayor; and in his first administration, 1934-1938, he swept out many of the old bosses while restoring fiscal solvency and establishing a tradition of good government. From his efforts emerged a new charter, which went into effect in 1938, replacing the corrupt Board of Aldermen with the City Council, reinforcing the strong mayor system and making the Board of Estimate the city's chief administrative body.⁴⁵

In 1934, the Republican Vito Marcantonio, an Italian American protege of LaGuardia, defeated James Lanzetta in the East Harlem Congressional race, marking the beginning of his long association with the Puerto Ricans of El Barrio. Marcantonio came also to act as de facto Congressman for Puerto Rico during his tenure (1934-1936 and 1938-1950). In 1936 he introduced the first of his five bills for Puerto Rican independence, which were almost as unpopular outside of his district as his support of island nationalist leader Pedro Albizu Campos after his arrest on conspiracy charges. Marcantonio reinforced El Barrio's radicalism further through his "marriage of convenience" with Harlem's Communists, who helped to organize rent strikes and headed the struggle against evictions.⁴⁶

The absence in El Barrio of a major party machine which could deliver services gave Marcantonio a clear field on holding Puerto Rican support. Moreover, he supervised a district staff which had become fluent in Spanish long before city government agencies. His office helped the migrants find shelter, get jobs, battle the landlords, and obtain assistance from the Welfare and Health Departments--all in exchange for votes. Like LaGuardia, "Marc" saw himself as a people's politician, and learned all the languages of the large immigrant groups in his district--Italian, Yiddish, and Spanish. At election time, he sent his Puerto Rican assistant, Manuel Medina, to campaign for him. Members of the Teacher's Union contributed to Marcantonio's victories through preparing Puerto Ricans for the English literacy test(required of potential voters from 1922 until 1965). Many members of the Hotel and Restaurant Worker's Unions who lived in Marcantonio's district carried out voter registration drives, made substantial contributions, and provided hundreds of activists to work in the district.⁴⁷

Essentially, Marcantonio built up in East Harlem his own machine managed largely by professionals of all the major parties. He ran as a Republican in 1934 and, beginning in 1938, added the support of the American Labor Party, becoming its Manhattan Chairman, a position he used to throw support towards Democratic candidates for the city council or for the judiciary. Local Tammany leaders, too, gave him the nomination for Congress in 1942 and 1944 over the objections of county bosses. The Congressman's greatest political success occurred in the early 1940s, years when the district consisted of a predominantly Italian American electorate which supported him more out of ethnic pride

than because of ideology; yet by the late 1940s, the name Marcantonio had become synonymous with the Puerto Rican influx into New York.⁴⁸

Marcantonio tried to expand his following in 1949, running against Mayor William O'Dwyer in the mayoralty election on the ALP ticket, making a strong showing but losing. Indeed, the incumbent sought to attract Latino voters by creating of Mayor's Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs in New York City and, more importantly, by accepting the support of Puerto Rican Governor, Luis Munoz Marin, who resented the Congressman's influence and feared the effects of the his radicalism on public perceptions of the migrants. Finally, the combination of Republican, Democratic, and Liberal Party support of a single opponent(along with favorable legislation from Albany prohibiting a candidate from running on a party slate without the support of its leaders), defeated Marcantonio in the Congressional election of 1950. El Barrio, its numbers rapidly increasing, faced a vacuum of political leadership. Meanwhile, the LaGuardia administration had weakened the Democratic organizations by depriving it of county sinecures and, after 1945, the machine discovered that the steady growth of civil servants and professionals in city employment had lessened the opportunities for dispensing political patronage. Moreover, postwar suburbanization weakened Manhattan's traditional dominance relative to the outer boroughs. Underworld leaders, notably in East Harlem, no longer satisfied with buying "protection," extended their sphere of political power, contributing financially to local clubs and furnished manpower to those candidates that it favored as district leaders.⁴⁹

In 1954, Tammany's chieftain, Carmine DeSapio, chose Tony Mendez, a Puerto Rican jewelry store owner, as district leader for East Harlem.

The appointment came at a time of adverse publicity because of the shooting at several Congressmen in Washington by Puerto Rican nationalists. Mayor Wagner, who with DeSapio had opposed the Brooklyn, Queens, and Richmond county leaders that same year, demonstrated much interest in the helping the Puerto Rican migrants assimilate into urban institutions and, in turn, he received their loyal political support. His policies sparked housing reform, the provision of Spanish speaking auxiliary teachers, the easing of residency requirements for welfare, and also enhanced the power of Puerto Rican workers in labor unions. Moreover, he developed a close working relationship with Governor Munoz Marin and always welcomed Commonwealth dignitaries on their visits to the city with much fanfare. He also approved numerous exchanges of students and professionals between New York and the island. Wagner appointed the first Puerto Rican, Manuel Gomez, to the post of City Magistrate in 1957.⁵⁰

The Migration Division of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor, which opened in New York in 1948, referred and placed thousands of migrants in jobs while also assisting them in their dealings with city agencies, expanding the function of the pre-war Puerto Rican Employment Service. Jose Montserrat, head of the Commonwealth Office in 1953, also served as President of the Council of Spanish American Organizations, an independent agency which sought a more forceful approach to the solution of some of the housing and other problems of Puerto Ricans; it set up stations advising persons on registration and the use of voting machines. In 1957 the Puerto Rican vote rose to 85,000 out of some 266,000 potential voters (up over 50,000 from four years earlier). This widespread non-participation owed to a combination of factors including

the demands of the English literacy test, the transiency of the migrants, and the fact that they felt they had little input in mainland politics, especially on the local level. (On the island the federal government and the Governor controlled almost all budgeting and expenditures, leaving municipalities without responsibility for providing services and with virtually no representation in either San Juan or Washington). Pro-statehood sentiment grew in the Puerto Rican community(although on the island the Commonwealth advocates ruled continuously until 1968), as reflected in the strong opposition to a 1959 bill designed to give Puerto Rico greater autonomy in its dealings with the United States. By the late 1950s, the migrants sought greater independence from the paternalistic Migration Division; yet most migrants retained an allegiance for Munoz Marin and the Populares.⁵¹

In 1961, Mayor Wagner, having been denied the Democratic nomination, ran in opposition to the regular party and won, bucking all five county organizations and defeating DeSapio and many of the old machine politicians. His coalition included reform Democrats, who had formed rival clubs seeking control in the primaries and lobbied for electoral reform, favoring the election(rather than appointment) of the once-powerful district leaders. Shortly after beginning his third term, Wagner named Herman Badillo, a Puerto Rican lawyer and certified public accountant who backed his revolt, as Commissioner of Relocation(in charge of easing the housing problems of the poor in the midst of the housing crisis). He became the first Latino to head a city department. In 1965, Badillo ran on the reform ticket for Bronx Borough President, drawing votes from the county's Puerto Ricans, along with Jews, blacks, and a sprinkling of Irish and Italians to squeak by his opponents in the

primary and general election. In the next three city-wide elections he ran unsuccessfully for mayor, losing first to an Italian then to Jewish candidates (with votes largely distributed along ethnic lines). In 1970 Badillo became the nation's first Congressman of Puerto Rican origin, representing a newly-gerrymandered district incorporating much of the South Bronx. In key Congressional subcommittees, he co-authored the 1974 Bilingual Education Act and the 1975 amendments to the Voting Rights Act, while lobbying strongly for federal assistance to the cities. Voters overwhelmingly reelected him three times before he resigned to become Deputy Mayor under Edward Koch in 1978.⁵²

Although Badillo remained the main Latino political figure in New York for several decades, the first Puerto Rican elected official, Oscar Garcia Rivera, went to the state legislature representing East Harlem in 1937. He had been nominated by the Republican Party, but received support from the American Labor Party, on whose ticket he won reelection. The Liberal Party, formed in the 1940s with defectors from the ALP, along with the support of several labor unions with large Puerto Rican memberships, set up a series of Spanish-speaking clubs in the next decade and backed Jose Ramos Lopez's successful candidacy as State Assemblyman from East Harlem. Puerto Ricans in the Bronx had become active in the Democratic Party by 1953, when a wide-open City Hall race prompted Boss Ed Flynn to back Felipe Torres' successful candidacy for State Assembly representing the Morrisania and Mott Haven sections.⁵³

Outside of the electoral arena, the Catholic Church has played an important role in immigrant affairs in New York City. Although Latinos, at the turn of the century comprised some twenty different

nationalities, unlike the German Americans, whose trademark in the nineteenth century had been the formation of national parishes, they lacked a transcendent culture to foster solidarity. Yet in 1902, the Assumptionist Fathers, a religious order, established Nuestra Senora de la Guadalupe, which became the first Catholic church in New York City to hold services in Spanish. It catered to the dock workers in the West Fourteenth Street area, who at the time came largely from Mexico and settled in small but dense concentrations nearby. Another Latino church nearby and two parishes in uptown neighborhoods later opened. "La Milagrosa," once a synagogue in Harlem, emerged after 1926 as a religious center for the Puerto Rican migrants of the 1920s; by 1930, a total of four Spanish language parishes existed in New York, catering to Puerto Ricans and to smaller numbers of Cubans, Spaniards and Latin Americans.⁵⁴

To further reach and "integrate" the Puerto Rican migrants, ninety percent of whom were at least nominally Catholic, the New York Archdiocese in 1939, under Frances Spellman, decided to end the language(nationality) parish concept and adopt a "territorial" model, incorporating Latinos into existing churches. Since the migrants included virtually no priests--barely enough existed on the island to serve those remaining at home, and most of those were either Americans or Spaniards)--the Cardinal sent newly ordained clergy to Puerto Rico for language training. Moreover, volunteers sitting at San Juan's airport distributed guides to Catholic churches in the New York Archdiocese and its environs. In an attempt at cultural outreach, the Office of Spanish Catholic Action, created in 1953, launched the San Juan Fiesta, a celebration highlighted by a public mass and sermon in

Spanish at St. Patrick's Cathedral. By 1980 more than one hundred of the local priests of the Archdiocese, nearly one-quarter of the total, ministered to Latinos--now the dominant ethnic and cultural group--bilingually. The national and territorial models became irrelevant in the face of overwhelming numbers.⁵⁵

The New York Mission Society started the first Spanish-speaking Protestant mission in 1912, the First Spanish Evangelical Church(later Church of the Good Neighbor), which has emphasized educational and social service programs, especially for young people. The period after 1950 saw the Mission Society affiliate with denominations with large congregations and extensive religious programs. The postwar wave of migrants also coincided with the growth of Pentecostal groups among Latinos in New York. A 1949 survey showed that over half of the Puerto Ricans married in New York had Protestant, mostly Pentecostal, ceremonies(in contrast to only 14% in Puerto Rico), a statistic that Archdiocesan authorities found alarming. The number of Latino Pentecostal churches grew from about 25 in 1937 to some 240 by 1960, with an estimated membership of 18,500; in 1981 400 churches, mostly independent and self-supporting storefront chapels, had spread wherever a concentration of Puerto Ricans arose, far exceeding Latino membership in the city's Protestant denominational churches.⁵⁶

In the late 1950s, the Puerto Rican Forum helped to create and solidify the Latino middle class. However, its leaders recognized the difficulties of organizing a dispersed and poverty-stricken people. They became increasingly interested in the area of services and community action, as evidenced in the focus of one of its offspring, the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, which began operating in

1965 with funds from Washington. Federal policies and directives in the 1960s transformed Puerto Rican voluntary organizations and channeled political expression. Although city officials first dominated New York's anti-poverty boards, which determined the allocation of War on Poverty funds distributed after the passage of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act, criticism by Harlem Congressman Adam Clayton Powell led to greater black representation on the city's Council on Poverty. During the first administration of John V. Lindsay, from 1965-1969, Puerto Rican community corporations accused the mayor of a lack of interest in the unique problems of their neighborhoods. The Commonwealth Office's Migration Division, meanwhile, had lost most of its influence in the city, and concerned itself primarily with agricultural migrants in the 1970s.⁵⁷

The struggle to control the community corporations, while stirring some racial and ethnicity animosity, also led to the concentration of thousands of jobs and millions of dollars in several prominent programs. By the beginning of 1970 more than 14,000 people worked at the twenty-six neighborhood organizations under the city's Community Development Agency. Ramon Velez, a Puerto Rican who migrated to New York in the early 1960s, had by 1970 consolidated the largest anti-poverty empire in the city. His Hunts Point Multi-Service Center commanded substantial patronage for Bronx Puerto Ricans, bypassing City Hall altogether with massive federal monies for family day-care, a health center, manpower training and a housing office. Although reorganization of the remnants of the Great Society programs led to the dismantling of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project in 1978, Velez' ties with Washington allowed him to maintain his fiefdom through

the 1980s, despite frequent allegations of financial and other improprieties from many quarters.⁵⁸

Father Louis Gigante, a priest who had arrived in a South Bronx parish in 1962, took charge of a fledgling anti-poverty program, setting up the Simpson Street Development Association, which provided a mixture of social services. "Father G" soon became a district leader and in 1973 a City Councilman, representing an area with a large Puerto Rican constituency. In the 1976, he succeeded in getting city, state, and federal funds for the rehabilitation of abandoned housing, an effort supported by the Archdiocese, which remained committed to preserving the borough's churches and parochial schools. A separate endeavor, the Community and Clergy Coalition, attempted to forestall the devastation of the Northwest Bronx.⁵⁹

The postwar migrants readily established networks of their own based primarily on the hometown clubs, which had first surfaced in the 1920s. Representing the municipios(counties) on the island, they grew increasingly during the 1950s and 1960s, relying on membership dues and fund-raising activities for their sustenance. Each club served as a fraternal organization, substituting for the extended family, which had generally been thinned out and in some instances torn apart by the experience of migration and settlement. The Congress of Home Town Clubs, along with many different Puerto Rican organizations, political leaders, and even parish groups, customarily take part in the Desfile Puertorriqueno--the Puerto Rican Day Parade--which attracts hundreds of thousands of spectators along Fifth Avenue. The Desfile, emerged in 1958 out of the short-lived Hispanic Day Parade, showcasing hundreds of organizations, businesses and causes, and includes Puerto

Rican politicians and mainland dignitaries in the reviewing stand, if not as marchers. More than a folkloric event, it has enhanced ethnic solidarity, and at times served as a political rallying point, as in 1973 when the parade preceded by just a week the mayoralty primary runoff involving Congressman Badillo.⁶⁰

"Nuyorican" political activism during the 1960s, not surprisingly, took an increasingly radical turn. Gilberto Gerena-Valentin, an ardent advocate of Puerto Rican independence and one time president of the Congress of Home Town Clubs first dabbled in electoral politics and later adopted the strategy of confrontation, leading vocal demonstrations against City Hall hearings which neglected barrio issues. The more militant Young Lords, a Chicago-bred group of children of migrants, in 1970 took over the first Spanish Methodist Church in East Harlem (renaming it the People's Church) and launched a free lunch program. In 1971, they interrupted the Puerto Rican Day Parade, denouncing the pro-statehood views of Governor Luis Ferre. During 1970 and 1971 they occupied hospitals and other urban institutions and also interrupted several official conferences and hearings, demanding justice for the poor, while carrying their programs to white liberals and radicals in solicitation of ideological and financial support. The Young Lords reflected the prevalent unrest of the sixties with an admixture of anti-imperialism thrown in. They never really channeled the frustrations or stirred the hopes of the Nuyorican masses, however, neither did more centrist individuals or groups for that matter. Today lack of leadership and participation remain the major problem among the city's Latinos.⁶¹

While the masses of the Puerto Rican migrants largely escaped official notice and gradually developed their own political and voluntary organizations in response to conditions on the mainland, in the case of the Cuban refugees to Miami, the State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the President at various times set policy. In January, 1959, when the victorious rebels entered Havana, they rounded up and executed hundreds of Batista supporters, causing many others to go underground in guerrilla bands. Many of the Batistianos migrated to Europe, particularly Spain, and to Mexico. With time, opposition to the new regime, which challenged United States hegemony in the hemisphere while developing ties with the Soviet Union, spread among its early supporters. It soon became clear that the avowed aim of re-establishing the liberal Constitution of 1940, which had been drawn up by all the country's major factions and provided for free elections, civil liberties, and agrarian reform, had taken a different path. The Fundamental Law of the Republic of Cuba, issued by the Council of Ministers on February 8, 1959, changed the entire nature of the government from a semi-parliamentary to a collegial one, vesting all governmental authority executive and legislative, in the President, the Council of Ministers, and its head, the Prime Minister. Amendments to the Fundamental Law by the Council itself served to further consolidate power in the hands of a small revolutionary elite, by allowing for expropriations of the property of pro-Batista elements and that of foreign companies; it later allowed for eventual state ownership of almost all private property.⁵⁴

By June, 1959, some 500 emigres had entered once-tranquil Miami and police busily dispersed Cubans who gathered at the International

Airport to meet planes and physically attack their political enemies. In October, 1959, the exiles carried out flights over Cuba from Florida and in one expedition over the province of Pinar del Rio some twenty men were captured, including two United States pilots. The government forces gradually wore down the opposition, which lacked food and supplies, despite occasional sustenance from the CIA by air. In March, 1960, President Eisenhower accepted a recommendation of the CIA to begin to arm and to train Cuban exiles for an invasion of the island. Because of the perceived failure of the emigres to fall behind a leader whom the United States could recognize as the head of a government-in-exile, the CIA pressured five leading groups into forming the Frente Revolucionario Democrático(or Frente), led by Antonio Varona. Manuel Artime linked the organization to United States political and military operations. Other groups also organized during this time, with Manuel Ray forming the Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo(MRP).⁶³

By the time of the United States presidential election in November, 1960, CIA planners had come to favor a full-fledged amphibious assault over hit-and-run tactical strikes. By January they had developed a "contingency plan," which no longer assigned a significant role to internal resistance. In March, 1961 the CIA pressed for the formation of a unified anti-Castro front among the exiles and cajoled Varona of the Frente and Ray of the RMP into conferring authority on Jose Miro Cardona, who had resigned as first premiere from Castro's government and spent most of 1960 in Cuba organizing an underground. A new group, the Cuban Revolutionary Council, would ostensibly serve as the provisional government of Cuba after the successful invasion, arousing groups and individuals already on the front lines fighting

against Castro. However, the CIA's scenario never materialized and the following month's expedition to Cuba's south coast in April, 1961, supported only by obsolete bombers, without official United States assistance, ended in disaster at the Bay of Pigs. Hundreds died, and over one thousand members of the brigade were captured (they later returned to Miami in 1963 in exchange for medical supplies). Not only did the hoped for fifth column never rise up but Castro strengthened his hold on the Revolution.⁶⁴

The more than 50,000 exiles and their leaders in Miami felt betrayed at what seemed like an abandonment of their cause at the last moment by a reluctant superpower. The Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962 ended as another disappointment. Instead of seizing the opportunity to invade Cuba, the United States government negotiated a settlement for the removal of Soviet nuclear missiles from Cuba, saying in exchange that it would not try to overthrow Castro. Washington, thereafter placed more emphasis than ever on the economic blockade and other attempts at conciliation. Miro, resigning from the Council in early 1963, angrily questioned the good faith of operatives in the federal government with whom he dealt. That year the United States withdrew its support from the Cuban Revolutionary Council, which thereafter disbanded, diffusing exile activities in widely different directions. Exile organizations, or agrupaciones, occupied houses and stores all over Miami, planning for future invasions. Meanwhile, Manuel Artime, the civilian delegate to the Revolutionary Council at the time of the Bay of Pigs, known as the CIA's "golden boy," announced the organization of the Revolutionary Recovery Movement. By March, he claimed to have the support of "powerful groups" in the United States

for the training of commandos in Costa Rica and Nicaragua to be used on Cuban targets.⁶⁵

The Roman Catholic Church also fought the Cold War against Castro (who, shortly after the Bay of Pigs invasion, proclaimed himself a Marxist-Leninist) by helping refugees and their families adjust to life in Miami, and resettling them elsewhere when their numbers became overwhelming. Although the church in pre-Castro Cuba had become equated with corruption and authoritarianism (its hierarchy did not speak out against Batista's 1952 coup), practicing Catholics predominated among the first wave of exiles. The Cuban-born clergy came mostly from the urban upper classes; indeed, in 1959 some seven hundred priests, most of them Spanish, along with thousands of religious order clergy, served two hundred parishes, mostly in the large cities. At first Miami's relatively small pre-Castro Cuban community took in the newcomers, among whom they counted friends and relatives. Subsequently, the weight of welfare assistance fell for a time on the Diocese of Miami. Its Centro Hispano Catolico, founded in October, 1959, for Colombians and other Latin Americans, came to function as a multi-service agency, distributing food and clothing donations, running an outpatient medical clinic and teaching English courses.⁶⁶

By September, 1960, however, the problem could not be handled locally and the Centro, along with the Committee of Citizens of Miami (which included the Greater Miami Council of Churches), held a series of meetings resulting in an appeal to President Eisenhower for assistance. His envoy, Tracy Voorhees, a specialist in handling refugees, commissioned a fact-finding committee which recommended resettlement out of South Florida, with civic organizations and

individual citizens throughout the nation sponsoring refugees. Miami Bishop Coleman Carroll strongly supported the policy of dispersing the exiles within the network of the Catholic Welfare Bureau. Similarly, the Protestant Council of Churches helped oversee the resettling of their Cuban brethren through the offices of the Church World Service. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Service received thousands of Jews who fled the Castro Revolution.⁶⁷

The Diocese of Miami by 1960 included some sixty-five parishes and 308,000 Romans Catholics. Bishop Carroll and his successor, Archbishop Edward McCarthy, relied on the area's predominantly Irish American priests to handle the first wave of Cubans. Soon after the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, however, Castro expelled 200 "foreign" clergymen, most of whom, including Agustin Roman, who in 1979 became Auxiliary Bishop, moved to Miami. By the mid-1960s, large numbers of Latinos gathered for Sunday mass at the Church of San Juan Bosco; many other parishes also held daily Spanish masses. Towards the end of the decade, Cuban refugees in Miami built a monument, symbolically facing southward toward their homeland, in homage to their patroness, Nuestra Senora de la Caridad de Cobre, and in defiance of the Castro regime, which had not only forced many churches to close but stigmatized religion to the point that only about two percent of the more recent Mariel refugees practiced Catholicism.⁶⁸

By 1982, after some twenty years of Cuban migration, the Catholic population of the Archdiocese of Miami, the fastest growing diocese in the country, had reached nearly 900,000 people in 134 parishes, with sixty-seven Latino priests, including thirteen born in Cuba. Virtually all churches had at least one Spanish-speaking priest. Latinos

comprised over 60% of the total Catholic population in the metropolitan area, although adherence to the Church declined in intensity with time. Moreover, the Protestant sects--primarily Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians--contained in 1967 approximately 3,500 members in over fifty Latino congregations, plus another 2,000 who attended services regularly, with scores of Cuban-born ministers; they continued growing in subsequent decades.⁶⁹

By around 1965, well after the dispersal of Cuban leaders into private, non-political endeavors elsewhere, the masses of dispirited Cubans began to realize that they had clearly ceased to be a factor in Cuba and would have to reconstruct their lives on the mainland. Some prominent exiles vigorously and stubbornly opposed the United States for its inactivity and coexistence with Castro. A lack of political sophistication of the Miami refugee community was reflected in the growth of periodiquitos, highly opinionated and partisan anti-Castro tracts which made no attempt at objectivity; these exile tabloids, distributed at many retail stores, flourished throughout the 1960s, funded by Cuban businesses and Spanish-language radio stations. More problematical, insofar as their appearance aroused public criticism and tainted the previously untarnished reputation of Cuban Americans as an exceptionally law-abiding people, was the rise of fanatical groups who terrorized commercial establishments, ships and diplomatic offices of countries that maintained relations with Cuba; some even bombed local night clubs and concerts claiming that no Cuban should enjoy himself while the island remained under Castro's rule.⁷⁰

However, the exiles' difficulties in developing leadership stemmed in many ways from Dade County's unique setting--its youth, its many home

owners, and the lack of a significant overflow from the central city, making it resemble a big suburb--have required innovations in urban government. In the 1930s, local power began drifting from city to county, yet by 1948 the City of Miami still contained somewhat more than 50% of the total population of Dade County, a figure which has since decreased as newcomers--Cuban and non-Latino alike--entered the suburban ring. Businessmen in the City of Miami strongly supported the consolidation of the region's municipalities as a way to solve serious area-wide problems of taxation, services and jurisdiction which had resisted piecemeal attacks by the local governments (and the weak county administration). In July, 1957, a county-wide "Metro" government began functioning in Dade County, the first such arrangement in the United States. A new charter established a two-tiered council-manager system with a weak mayor that conferred broad powers on the metropolitan government, while leaving a steadily decreasing number of local functions to the twenty-six individual municipalities. Metro council members, elected at large, on an area-wide basis in non-partisan elections, had difficulty in overcoming the historical fragmentation and the unstructured and amorphous society; indeed, in a county (and state) without strong party organization, newspapers, particularly the Miami Herald, took the lead in setting policy agenda.⁷¹

Many Cubans, blaming Kennedy for the Bay of Pigs failure, became Republican after 1961; in 1968 those few precincts with sizable Cuban citizens voted for Richard Nixon. Yet of the total Dade County voter registration that year of 423,000, most (over 85%) were Democrats, as were the county's nine members in the state senate and twenty-two in the house. As the exiles have attained citizenship status, they have

made the area a Republican stronghold, although in the early 1980s almost half of the registered Cubans claimed affiliation with the Democratic Party, reflecting a tendency towards liberalism on domestic questions such as government assistance to the elderly and student aid. Nevertheless, with time, Cubans have taken command of Miami politics. Whereas in 1969 only about 18,000-25,000 Cubans had become citizens, by 1978 the figure had risen to 43%, with 100,000 of the 350,000 eligible Latino voters in Miami actually registered. The numbers have since increased steadily and, moreover, Cubans turn out on election day in larger percentages than Anglos or blacks. In the 1981 Miami mayoral election the turnout rate was 58% for Latinos(who accounted for 18% of the registered voters in Dade County), 38% for Anglos, and 50% for blacks.⁷²

By 1980, as the second-generation emigres began to reach voting age, several Cuban candidates, garnering support along ethnic as well as ideological lines, had emerged in Dade County. Voters in Hialeah elected two Cuban city commissioners in 1977; by 1983 Latinos had not only a majority on its City Council but a refugee mayor as well. Maurice Ferre, a successful Puerto Rican industrialist and a Democrat, served as Mayor of Miami from 1973 to 1985 with a wide range of support until Xavier Suarez, brought over as a child from Cuba by his parents some two decades earlier, defeated Ferre and Raul Masvidal(who had been associated more closely with the "old school" of emigre politics), becoming the first Cuban mayor of a large United States city. In 1979, Latinos for the first time constituted a majority on the Miami City Commission. Moreover, although no Cubans served in state office during the previous decade, in 1983, partly as a result of legislative

reapportionment, three Cubans went to the state assembly. In the 1970s and 1980s political action committees sprung up to contribute the candidacies of local Cubans. On the national level, the Cuban National Planning Council, formed in 1972, lobbied for the exiles in Washington.⁷³

Aside from politics, Cubans have historically emphasized club membership as a part of their social life and have transplanted many of their institutions and organizations to Miami. The growth of Cuban mutual aid societies within the present boundaries of the United States paralleled the timing of Spanish-American War, and turn of the century exiles in Tampa banded together to form complex all-purpose organizations. In Cuba during the twentieth century included graduates of middle-class colegios, some of whom became politically involved in one way or another, later regrouped in the United States in professional associations such as the dentists, doctors, and even veterinarians en el exilio(in exile). More widespread, however, especially in Miami, have been the associations of the 126 municipios, or counties, in exile, which arose in the mid-1960s, lending assistance to new arrivals and publishing newsletters containing social, cultural and historical information about the hometown.⁷⁴

In San Antonio, Mexicans from south of the border reinforced the city's historic population, which became a minority soon after the arrival of Anglo newcomers in the early nineteenth century, who reshaped the city to meet their economic, cultural and political needs. The vast wave of immigrants who came after 1910, many of whom later moved to other points in the United States or returned to Mexico, found

themselves ignored by the local government machine. They formed organizations, from mutual societies to civil rights groups, which increasingly devoted themselves to achieving stability in a city which remained governed by a generally unsympathetic political machine. After World War II, a reform coalition practiced unabashed boosterism and promoted economic development, which tended to perpetuate historic patterns of inequality. Federal legislation in the 1960s and 1970s, however, helped break down formal and informal barriers of discrimination, both through legal redress and by infusing funds into decaying barrios. The emergence of grass roots groups inspired by community activists and supported by the parish network of the Catholic Church accompanied a trend towards increased political participation.

New York's Democratic machine, Tammany Hall, at first ignored the Puerto Ricans, who, during the early 1930s fell under the sway of self-interested numbers bankers. Congressman Vito Marcantonio, understanding their economic plight as well as their concern for island politics, captured Puerto Rican support until his defeat in 1950. After World War II, Munoz Marin and the Populares, who had reformed politics on the island, doing away with vote buying and fraud, instituted the Commonwealth relationship, with its a permanent association with the United States. This encouraged New York Puerto Ricans to align with the Democratic Party and Mayor Wagner and to abandon their generally ineffectual relationship with the Migration Division's office. Without the help of a machine, independent luminaries--notably Badillo--reaped somewhat isolated benefits from the reform movement without fully incorporating Puerto Ricans as full-fledged participants in the fratricidal ethnic politics of New York.

By 1963 New York had three Puerto Rican assemblymen--one in the Bronx and two in East Harlem--as well as three Democratic and two Republican district leaders and in 1967 the first Puerto Rican New York State Senator, Robert Garcia, from the Bronx, took office. However, it was not until 1973 that Brooklyn, with hundreds of thousands of Latinos, elected its first Puerto Rican politician, a city councilman--the borough's widely dispersed population had allowed Republicans in Albany easily to dilute Puerto Rican voting strength. Indeed, in the mid-1970s, minority politicians created the Black and Puerto Rican Caucus of the state legislature, in recognition of the fact that in New York City those two groups often shared similar problems and resided within the same election districts. By 1978 the New York Puerto Rican community had only two state senators, four state assemblymen and two city councilmen; it would not regain a spot on the important Board of Estimate until 1987.⁷⁵

Although one-quarter of the Cubans, especially the Golden Exiles who brought their wealth with them, did not have to turn to the government at any point, and some resettled on their own, most refugees received assistance from among the many sympathetic governmental, voluntary and religious organizations. Moreover, the refugees predictably benefited from their privileged educational, professional, and(as middle- and upper-class Catholics) social status in pre-Castro Cuba, which also helped preserve the cohesiveness of the transplanted community. Consequently, during the late 1960s the refugees had a limited interest in community affairs since they received their services directly from the federal government. Their experience with the Cuban Refugee Program reveals the general approach towards Latinos,

such as there has been one, which historically centered on foreign policy concerns, as evidenced as well in the Bracero Program with Mexico and Operation Bootstrap in Puerto Rico. Although legislation in the 1970s dealt with bilingualism, a "pan-Latino" issue, less interest has been shown for the Spanish speaking as a socio-economic group than for blacks. The changing definition of immigration and contemporary political and economic events would seem to suggest the need for a recognition of the indissoluble relationship between foreign and domestic concerns and for a broader hemispheric perspective on the crucial Latino question.

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⁷³"The Cubans: A People Changed," Miami Herald, Dec. 18, 1983, 7; Bill Gjebre, "Sweetwater," in Miami's Neighborhoods, ed. Pat Morrissey, (Miami: Miami News, 1982), 131; "Yanqui Si," Wall Street Journal, June 7, 1983, 35.

⁷⁴Boswell, 216; Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 74-77.

⁷⁵Joan Moore and Harry Pachon, Hispanics in the United States (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1985), 215.

EPILOGUE: LATINO ETHNICITY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Spanish settlement in the Southwest and Southeast preceded the American Revolution; indeed Mexican Americans are the second oldest component of American society(after the Indians). The growth of the Spanish empire during the sixteenth century created differences in national origins among those who subsequently came to settle in what is now the United States. Moreover, today's Latinos include many recent arrivals. Over 75% of the 15 million people identified by the 1980 census as "Hispanics" are concentrated in the urban areas of the states of California, New York, Texas, and Florida. However, interestingly, the highest state concentration of Spanish speakers is in less urbanized New Mexico, where close to one third of the population retains the use of the ancestral language. Sizable settlements have existed in Santa Fe, Los Angeles, and San Francisco for hundreds of years and in Chicago for much of the present century. Newer, rapidly growing groups such as Dominicans, Colombians, and Central Americans have recently increased the complexity of the picture nationwide and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future.¹

Here I have attempted to provide some needed data as well as a scheme of organization which allows the exploration of several important historical questions involving Latinos. I have also carried some of the most relevant events to the 1980s to connect the past with the present. More research needs to focus on the historical and comparative dimension of the Latino experience in the modern metropolis. This is especially

important for Latino scholars who too often see their work in isolation from the broader areas of American society. Latino history ultimately has to stand on equal footing with the study of the European and black experiences in the United States and should include such broad themes such as race, ethnicity, class, and gender, as well as the traditional institutional areas of housing, work, education and politics.

I have raised many more questions than I can answer. One of the first is that of an appropriate subtitle. I had originally sought to define and describe a single, common Latino experience in American cities. However, it eventually became evident that each city and each Latino group offered a vastly different historical pattern and that comparisons would have to be made on the basis of broad trends in institutional development over long periods. Hence, I have compared different stages of urban development. The result of this design has been to examine not only the Latinos of individual metropolitan regions, but also to isolate the more discrete workings of Latinos in the separate cities. In this way I hope I have been helpful in pointing out the divergences among the three groups and challenged the prevalent view in both the popular and scholarly mind of a single, monolithic, Latino, or Hispanic, experience. However, it is also true, though not as easily verifiable, that some sort of collective identity exists--based on similarities in background, culture, and language, and that the state of this consciousness has been steadily developing and unfolding at an increasing pace.

The variety of Latino experiences, taken as a whole, has elements resembling that of the black experience; however, it has also developed variations of its own. Although slavery existed in Latin America and in

parts of the Caribbean for years after it had been abolished in the United States, there was no influx of freed slaves into American cities comparable to that of blacks to the North. Yet prejudice and segregation followed the black model--most noticeably in the sphere of residential formation. Indeed, in all three cities studies barrios, or enclaves of Spanish-speaking newcomers, formed and grew; in San Antonio and New York, reinforced by federal policy, they remained isolated from mainstream urban institutions.

In San Antonio and New York, the blurring of the color line allowed many Latinos to enter areas of second settlement in increasing numbers, even while many voluntarily retained language and cultural traits which set them apart from the dominant white society. Latinos became a major force in the institutional development of cities in the years after World War II, at the same time as the black civil rights movement exerted its strongest impact, and they clearly benefited from it. However, this historical coincidence obscures the fact that the Latino experience, as seen in several locales, has taken on characteristics of the European immigrants of the turn of the century as well. The manner in which the politics of the group emerges will determine whether it remains closer to the black experience or forms a more fluid element. Like both the black and European immigrant experiences in northern cities, Chicano urbanization in San Antonio reaches back several generations. It is only now, however, that the emerging phenomenon of a collective Latino experience has come to a historical fork in the road which could either transform it into a new movement or see it splinter into more established historical patterns.

The posing of broad historical questions adds a new complexity to

the study of Latino experiences in cities and to the evaluation of past public policy decisions. Internal differences certainly exist. However, the common origins in Latin America rather than in the "Old World" should point scholars to a fresh study informed by the current urban crisis. The focus should move beyond Euro-centrism to a broader hemispheric understanding of a contemporary history. Indeed, the population of persons of Latin American heritage within the present boundaries of the United States will continue to grow. The success with which they confront pressing urban problems will not only determine their success individually and as groups, but of the cities as a whole. Recognition of the decline of American hegemony in Latin America, which has both directly and indirectly hastened northward migration from Mexico and the Caribbean, should underlie any analysis of Latinos in cities.

The role of the federal government in the three cities has helped forge a common bond among Latinos. In San Antonio, the military presence and, especially during and after World War II, the availability of jobs for Chicanos at Kelly Air Base, allowed for mobility which certainly did not occur in the smaller towns and rural areas of Texas. In the case of the Puerto Ricans, the unilateral U.S. domination of the insular economy through Operation Bootstrap, with the goal of "instant modernization," had distinct effects on the New York metropolis. Indeed, the migration and settlement in the inner-city barrios after World War II took on a quality distinct from concurrent migrations within the city. Among the Cubans in Miami, federal intervention with financial assistance and resettlement, along with the privileged social status of the exiles, accelerated spatial distribution and eased urban adjustment.

The question of bilingualism and language policy offers only

limited promise as a source of cohesion for Latinos, although the struggle for its implementation has been a crucial focal point in the history of education of Spanish-speaking Americans. Indeed, most of the objectives have already been won--federal legislation, a favorable Supreme Court decision, and the support of other "language minorities." The great educational demands of the future require more direct government assistance to non-English speakers than was the case at the turn of the century, entailing a whole array of measures, including Headstart, ESL, and "transfer" and limited "maintenance" programs in bilingual education. Moreover, Washington's reach has grown considerably since then. The support of bilingualism stems largely from its symbolic importance for those who recognize and fear the possibility of a society with a Spanish-speaking underclass.

Latinos are a heterogeneous group, despite their similarities in language and culture. Their diversity includes race, national origins, and all manner of socio-economic situations. Despite dissimilarities in historical origins and present circumstances, however, a shared culture is particularly evident in organized religion. Due to a variety of historical circumstances, Latinos have had little representation in the councils of the American Catholic Church, resulting in the church's inability to intervene effectively in the urban adjustment of Latinos as it had with previous immigrants. In the case of COPS in San Antonio, grass roots organization has occurred largely because of "indigenous" efforts, reflecting the alienation of Latinos from the hierarchy. It is doubtful that even the drive for "affirmative action" for priests could make this route a force for developing a Latino consciousness.

Recent gains in political representation by Latinos are most

significant at the municipal level, although the extension to national politics has clearly begun to take place through gains in Congressional representation. Much has been made in recent decades of the supposedly growing "Hispanic vote," but political progress needs to be measured as much in the awareness by Anglo candidates of the need to woo the "Spanish vote" as by changes in the locus of urban power. Moreover, it remains unclear what place Latinos will occupy in the changing American party system. Yet it is certain that the enhancement of numbers at election time of the Spanish-American minority can bring to the public arena greater attention on the problems that confront it. An indication of this trend is the inclusion of largely Puerto Rican and Cuban chapters of LULAC in the Northeast and Southeast and the emergence of the National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO), which groups Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban Congressmen, state legislators, mayors, and political appointees.

Conversely, black residents have competed in varying degrees for metropolitan resources, often finding themselves at odds with Latinos, or resentful of the consequences of their demands and struggles in the major areas of urban adjustment. This has occurred despite the fact that many of the present gains of all ethnic and minority groups owe their successes to black activism in the South. The black and Latino relationship remains fragile in each of the cities studied, as it does in the nation as a whole, due to competitive pressures and racial intolerance in American society. Under the infamous Boss Bellinger, San Antonio's blacks, with the consent of a corrupt machine, for several years decided the outcomes of municipal elections. In New York Puerto Ricans paved the way, to some extent for the residential diffusion of the

black population. Tensions in Miami became pronounced soon after the arrival of the Golden Exiles, and have continued to the present as Congress mandated federal benefits for the rapid assimilation of the Cubans, while blacks remained second class citizens. For Latinos, the absence of a national presence, such as blacks had in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference or the NAACP, has allowed pertinent political issues to escape public debate. Both groups uneasily share the classification of "minorities." The traditional immigrant experience in urban America has been much less ambiguous.

Indeed, both blacks and Latinos live in urban ambiguity, despite relatively recent successes in Atlanta, Chicago, San Antonio, Miami, and Los Angeles, with uncertain futures. The crucial problem of identity can be seen in the difficulties of mobilizing coalitions for the attainment of common objectives. Further polarization, which would be disastrous for our cities, might be averted by greater awareness of historical differences among ethnic and racial groups, as well as class factors. Perhaps the worsening urban crisis, which more than ever demands harmony and cooperation for the survival of cities, will lead to alliances within the metropolis. Certainly newer and broader definitions of assimilation and ethnicity must be used when dealing with Latino urbanites.

NOTES

¹Alejandro Portes and Cynthia Truelove, "Making Sense of Diversity: Recent Research on Hispanic Minorities in the United States," Annual Review of Sociology 13 (1987): 359-360, 372, 378-382. See also Felix Padilla, Latino Ethnic Consciousness: The Case of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985).

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