"Mexican Repatriation:
New Estimates of Total and Excess Return in the 1930s"

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Introduction

In the wake of the economic collapse of the1930s, hundreds of thousands of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans returned to Mexico. Their repatriation has become an infamous episode in Mexican-American history, since public campaigns arose in certain locales to prompt persons of Mexican origin to leave. Antagonism toward immigrants appeared in many countries as unemployment spread during the Great Depression, as witnessed in the violent expulsion of the Chinese from northwestern Mexico in 1931 and 1932.[1] In the United States, restriction on European immigration had already been achieved through the 1920s quota laws, and outright bans on categories of Asian immigrants had been in place since the 19th century. The mass immigration of Mexicans in the 1920s—in large part a product of the success of restrictionist policy—had made Mexicans the second largest and newest immigrant group, and hostility toward them rose across that decade.[2] Mexicans became a target for nativism as the economic collapse heightened competition for jobs and as welfare costs and taxes necessary to pay for them rose. Still, there were other immigrants, including those from Canada, who received substantially less criticism, and the repatriation campaigns against Mexicans stand out in several locales for their virulence and coercive nature.

Repatriation was distinct from deportation, a federal process. An individual's decision to return to a home country, repatriation implied no legal procedures at the federal or local level, and returning to the home country was a decision immigrants commonly made in prosperous times.[3] Nonetheless, historians, social scientists, and politicians conventionally assert that the 1930s campaigns led to the forcible repatriation of at least one half million persons of Mexican origin during the Depression, and that 50 to 60% of the repatriates were American citizens. The estimates often reach 1 million forced returns. Such assertions have had demonstrable effects,

including an official apology from the State of California to the persons affected.[4] In the influential work, *White by Law*, Ian Haney-López concludes that: "Approximately 500,000 people were forcibly returned to Mexico during the Depression, more than half of them U. S. citizens." The canonizing of these estimates extends to official U.S. records, since Haney-López's source is the 1980 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights report, *The Tarnished Golden Door: Civil Rights Issues in Immigration*. The Commission stated that "Federal immigration officials expelled hundreds of thousands of persons of Mexican descent from this country," adding that "Approximately 500,000 persons were 'repatriated' to Mexico, with more than half of them being United States citizens." The Commission report's sources, however, provide no evidence for the total number, for federal involvement, nor for the level of citizenship among those repatriated.[5]

Failures to provide concrete evidence for claims about the magnitude and forced character of repatriation characterize most, though not all, American scholarship. These claims often refer to three standard sources, Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodríguez, *Decade of Betrayal*, Camille Guérin-Gonzales *Mexican Workers and American Dreams*, and Abraham Hoffmann's *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression*. Balderrama and Rodríguez assert that "Taking the conservative middle ground, it is reasonable to estimate that the total number of repatriates was one million," and that "approximately 60 percent of those summarily expelled were children who had been born in the United States and were legally American citizens." They provide no clear, direct evidence for their estimates, citing a variety of Mexican newspaper articles and government records for both countries.[6] Guérin-Gonzales does not carry out any independent calculations nor does she provide the sources used for her estimates, save for those between 1933 and 1937. But, she concludes that during the 1930s, "half a million

immigrants and Americans of Mexican descent became targets of one of the largest mass-removal operations ever sanctioned by the United States government." Invoking a now common theme in Mexican-American historiography, she argues that a federal government policy of "mass expulsion," had, "from its inception … constructed both Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants as foreigners, as 'alien,' to be sent back to their home country." As a result, between 1929 and 1937, some 455,000 persons returned to Mexico.[7]

In contrast, Hoffman provides an empirically based account.[8] He reviews the efforts of both public and private agencies in several locales in the United States to urge or to fund returns to Mexico; he recounts the large role of the Mexican government in encouraging and underwriting repatriation. While U.S. federal officials were not directly involved in repatriation, they conducted aggressive deportation programs in the early 1930s that coincided with local offers of repatriation, encouraging returns and there is some evidence of cooperation between federal and local authority. As Hoffman and other historians note, Los Angeles County officials, and those of other southern California counties, stand out for their promotion of repatriation, and for the eager cooperation of the Mexican government. George J. Sánchez concludes that Los Angeles Mexican "consul Rafael de la Colina jumped at the chance to help facilitate the repatriation of Mexican nationals and their often American-born children." Those desiring to repatriate signed up in advance; when sufficient numbers had done so, a train departure date was set. The county paid for the trip and for provisions, with either a county or Mexican consulate official accompanying passengers to the border and through customs to, in some cases, transportation provided by the Mexican government.[9] Here and in such other places as Gary, Indiana and Houston, Texas, voluntary programs became increasingly coercive as welfare officials and citizens' groups grew more insistent that Mexicans leave. It is also notable that in

many cities and regions, such as Chicago, St. Paul, San Antonio and in most parts of Arizona and New Mexico, repatriation programs were small or never appeared at all.[10]

Official Mexican involvement emerged from a long-established discontent in that country over the exodus of young men and women, viewed by many as "a bane to the republic." Political rhetoric decried the loss of these sons and daughters as an economic catastrophe, as well as a symbol of national failure. In 1929, Armando Vargas de la Maza commented that Mexico had in the past given to the United States the riches of its territory, but now provide "*el oro de nuestra sangre*" ("the gold of our blood"). Even in the late Porfiriato, government aid appeared and demands for assistance to emigrants in the United States were advanced by various political factions; after the Revolution, calls for repatriation became part of the rhetoric of the Mexican state. The resulting programs were large on oratory but underfunded and generally unsuccessful. In the 1930s, in addition to official governmental assistance with transportation, a quasi-public organization, the "Comité de Repatriación," began to collect private relief funds for repatriates, intending eventually to establish agricultural colonies. These colonies failed miserably and Mexican President Abelardo L. Rodríguez dissolved the Comité in June of 1934.[11]

Private aid in the United States also promoted returns, largely through Catholic charitable societies and Mexican-American mutualistas, or benevolent aid societies, such as the Comisiones Honoríficas Mexicanos and the Brigadas de la Cruz Azul, often organized with direct assistance from consular offices of the Mexican government. While in Detroit, the muralist Diego Rivera established the "Liga de Obreros y Campesinos" to aid in the repatriation of Mexicans in Michigan to "colonization projects in Mexico." As in other cities, Chicago Spanish language newspapers reported railroad fare subvention for travel within Mexico as well as assistance for travel within the United States, and described the local Mexican consul's active encouragement

of repatriation.[12] While most native born Mexican Americans were sympathetic to the immigrants' plight, they were not necessarily enthusiastic about mass migration from Mexico. Such immigration brought direct competition for jobs and, in the view of some Mexican American leaders, led to an antagonism that included all those of Mexican origin.[13]

The Mexican Migration Service Data

Hoffman's great contribution was the discovery and use of data drawn from the *Departamento de Migración de México* or "Mexican Migration Service" (MMS), charged with recording emigrants' return to Mexico. Since the early 20th century, the Mexican government required returning citizens to register at 26 ports of entry. Their records had captured the striking circular migration in the 1920s, recording over 740,000 returns to Mexico between 1920 and 1928, and, at the height of prosperity, between 1926 and 1929, 218,000 repatriations. Ports of entry lay on the most convenient, efficient, and safe routes, and Mexican historian Fernando Saúl Alanís Enciso finds no evidence in Mexican sources of large numbers crossing at other sites, though such certainly did occur.[14] Registration imposed no cost and provided specific benefits; indeed, during the 1930s crisis, "registrations for entering [Mexico] were quite abundant" due to repatriates' "interest in enjoying exemptions" from any taxes on goods brought back from the United States, the provision of free transportation to residences in Mexico, and, for some, land promised in repatriation colonies. Using the MMS repatriation figures, Hoffman concludes that the total return for the period 1929 to 1935 was "in excess of 415,000."[15]

Mexican scholarship on repatriation has followed a similarly judicious utilization of Mexican port of entry evidence. In her careful work, *Los Mexicanos que devolvió la crisis 1929-1932,* Mercedes Carreras de Velasco argues that repatriations before 1930 were part of the conventional immigrant strategy and that there was little return after 1933. Using data from the

Mexican government's National Department of Statistics and the Department of Foreign Affairs, she concludes that 311,717 persons returned from 1930 through 1933.[16] Although based primarily in the same Mexican sources, Alanís provides the best comparative re-analysis. Like Carreras, he eliminates 1929 as part of depression era repatriation, agrees generally with her estimate through 1933, but extends the period examined to 1940, arguing that hostility to Mexican immigrants was still present in the remainder of the decade. He estimates that there were 425,000 repatriates and deportees between 1930 and 1940.[17]

Characteristics of Deportation and Repatriation in the 1930s

In the crisis of the 1930s, repatriation ranged from 1) the conventional immigrant return strategy, to 2) that induced by special financial assistance from American or Mexican agencies, to 3) the "coercive, forced, or involuntary" returns featured in accounts of public campaigns in certain locales; and to 4) extraordinary levels of deportation.[18] In contrast to the first category, returns motivated by financial assistance, coercive campaigns, or deportation beyond that found in normal years represent the *excess repatriation* of the 1930s. Given their openly coercive nature, and concrete numbers available for them, deportations deserve special attention. Such attention reveals an extraordinary effort to deport Mexicans in the years 1930 to 1933.

Deportations carried out "under warrant" occurred after formal hearings determined that the alien was subject to removal; returns to home countries were carried out at government expense. Threatened with such proceedings, immigrants could voluntarily leave the country, at their own expense, without voiding their rights to return. Records of the Bureau of Immigration and, after 1933, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, in the *Annual Reports of the Secretary of Labor* show that that formal deportation had risen steadily during the prosperous 1920s for all immigrant groups, with Mexicans and Canadians comprising nearly half of all

formal deportees.[19] As immigration officers noted, after the 1920s restrictionist laws, deportation increasingly became linked to the two land borders. Violations of immigrant law regarding literacy or being a public charge initially dominated the list of offenses, but, after 1925, being in the country without a proper visa became the chief grounds for removal. About 22,000 Mexicans were deported under warrant from 1919 to 1929, and circa 16,000 Canadians in the same period. Voluntary deportations (departures by those threatened with formal deportation) were not reported in the 1920s, but at least equal numbers of each group were likely to have returned in this manner. Deportations were higher throughout the 1930s, but between 1930 and 1933, during the Hoover administration, they reached extraordinary levels. Formal deportations increased sharply, and dramatically so for Mexicans. Although statistics for voluntary deportation are not always available, these also probably rose rapidly for Mexicans in these years. After 1933, with the change of administration, both formal and voluntary deportation fell, especially for Mexicans. For the entire decade, 1930 to 1940, 62,608 Mexicans were deported under warrant and perhaps another 67,000 agreed to return at their own cost (Mexicans constituting about half of all deportees). Among Canadians, 21,546 formal deportees and about 30,000 voluntary deportees departed across the decade (nearly a quarter of all deportees). If the late 1920s and late 1930s are taken to reflect conventional rates of formal and voluntary deportation, the 1930-1933 Hoover period witnessed about 33,500 deportations of Mexicans beyond those seen in conventional times. This constitutes 25% of the total of 130,000 Mexican aliens deported between 1930 and 1940.[20]

While deportation is openly coercive, the level of compulsion in repatriation campaigns is difficult to measure. Newspaper accounts of mass returns to Mexico from California cite unemployment as the chief motivation, but point to deportation campaigns and rising anti-

Mexican sentiment as contributing to the decision to leave.[21] Carreras captures the conundrum well even for persons facing deportation: "the return to Mexico covered the whole gamut between a voluntary return and a forced one and since repatriation was of such magnitude and frequency in the period, it was confusing even in the feelings of the repatriate himself, knowing himself to be deported and asking for his repatriation at the same time."[22] Like Hoffman, Alanís does not attempt to distinguish between voluntary and coerced repatriation, though he emphasizes that return to Mexico had long been a basic strategy among Mexican immigrants. Certainly a considerable proportion of returns followed that normal pattern. Paul S. Taylor, a sympathetic observer of Mexican immigration in the period, maintained that the "extent of the repatriation, large as it is, has been greatly exaggerated in American newspapers and lay opinion." In his view, the level between 1930 and 1933 "actually turns out to be hardly 50% greater than the usual repatriation movement of prosperity."[23]

Financial assistance provided by U.S. and Mexican agencies certainly encouraged some to return, even those without any intent to resettle in Mexico. Mexican authorities and journalists criticized repatriates' practice of taking assistance to come back and then return to the United States "several times." As one critic remarked, "They arrived in Mexico with optimism, happy to return to Mexico, but with the intention of returning to the United States."[24] An observer in 1933 in Los Angeles noted the "'holiday spirit that seemed to pervade the deportees…. Those to whom I spoke expected to return the next spring and were glad of the opportunity to visit relatives in Mexico.'"[25] Even threats of denial of continued assistance by American welfare officials could have fit the desires of an unemployed immigrant, especially when free transportation was provided to Mexico, and the Mexican government promised assistance after arrival. As one repatriate remarked, looking back on his experience, "repatriation was

voluntary…. We were happy to leave."[26] Still, instances of near compulsory pressure can be found in various locales in the United States, most graphically and infamously in Los Angeles. Examining repatriation of Mexicans in Texas, R. Reynolds McKay concludes that most returns were voluntary, enthusiastically encouraged by the Mexican government. But deportation raids and repatriation campaigns, especially in urban areas in 1931, prompted some persons of Mexican origin to leave who might otherwise have stayed in the United States.[27]

Total and Excess Repatriation, 1930-1940

How might both total repatriation and excess repatriation be measured? Samples taken from the United States census provide a new approach for estimating total repatriation (including within it, deportation), and the extent to which it exceeded an expected level because of financial inducements, pressure from welfare or civic agencies, or high levels of deportation.[28] Total repatriation of persons of Mexican origin can be assessed by comparing census data on the number of such persons in the United States in 1930 and 1940. Such data avoid two sources of error in Mexican port records: they count as repatriates those who did not return through the official ports and they do not double or triple count those who returned to Mexico, emigrated to the U.S. again, and repatriated once more. Such data also have the advantage of including all varieties of return, from customary remigration to deportation. They do introduce other possibilities for error: new immigrants from Mexico are counted as if they had been in the United States in 1930 and those who repatriated (or were deported) and then returned to the United States are treated as if they had never left. Given the low levels of immigrant entry during the depression these errors are likely to be small, but their extent cannot be accurately measured. In so much as new immigration occurred, it belies the argument of commanding hostility toward Mexicans in the period.[29]

Following Carreras and Alanís, 1930 is taken as the first year of excessive levels of return. For immigrants, permanent repatriation is estimated by subtracting the number of Mexican-born persons 10 years and older in the 1940 Census from the number in 1930, after correcting that figure for expected mortality. Joseph A. Hill's (1929/31) and Thomas N. E. Greville's (1939/41) age- and sex- specific single-year survival rates applied to the age-sex structure of the Mexican-born U.S. population in 1930 yield the expected number of such immigrants in the United States in 1940 had none returned to Mexico, assuming no new immigration. A similar procedure is used for the second generation, persons born in the United States but with at least one parent born in Mexico. In each case, the difference between those expected to be in the United States in 1940 and those actually present provides a measure of total net repatriation.[30]

In 1930, there were 649,207 persons of Mexican birth in the United States. Given the age and sex distribution of the foreign born Mexican population in 1930, approximately 54,815 would have died in the ten year interval. Corrected for mortality, the expected population aged 10 and over in 1940 is 594,392. The actual population at least 10 years of age in 1940 was 374,660. Total repatriation across the decade therefore equaled 219,732 persons, a repatriation rate of 33.8% of the immigrant population resident in 1930. (These and subsequent repatriation calculations are provided in Table 1.) The immigrant repatriates were, as expected, disproportionately male and young. Men made up 64% of immigrant repatriates, though they were 57% of the Mexican born population in 1930. Persons 20 to 39 were 52% of the Mexican-born population in the United States in 1930, but furnished 60% of all such repatriates. As can be seen in the population pyramid for 1940, displayed in Figure 1, returns to Mexico (and aging

with few new immigrants) produced a Mexican-American population that was decidedly older and more female.

For the second generation, there were 614,988 persons of American birth with at least one Mexican-born parent in 1930. In this much younger group, approximately 20,148 would have died, and the expected number of second-generation Mexican Americans 10 years of age or over would have been 594,840. The actual number in the 1940 Census 10 years of age or older was 459,120. Thus the total number of repatriates (technically, emigrants) was 135,720, yielding a rate of 22.1% in the second generation.[31] Combining the first and second generation yields a total permanent repatriation of 355,452 between 1930 and 1940, 28.1% of the first and second generation population in 1930. The second generation, native born citizens, constituted 38% of Mexican repatriates, to which would be added some foreign born Mexican persons who had naturalized yet chose to repatriate.

Excess Repatriation

An estimate of what proportion of Mexican repatriation occurred because of financial assistance, coercion, or extraordinary levels of deportation—the excess beyond that expected to occur in the period—can be made by applying the axiom that repatriation is a strategy common to immigrants. Most early 20th century European immigrants had followed a circular migration pattern, which was disrupted in the 1920s. Immigration restriction legislation had forced the repatriation issue for those of European origin: those who abandoned residence in the United States could not return.[32] By 1930, European immigrants had decided whether to stay or repatriate, permanently, to their home countries. One expects, and witnesses, very low rates of repatriation in the 1930s for these groups.[33] In contrast, the 1920s laws did not restrict the entry of Mexicans or of other Western Hemisphere groups, most importantly, Canadians. While not as

young, single, male, and recently arrived as Mexicans, French Canadians share signal characteristics with them, the most vital an irredentist geography with a mother country directly across a land border, facilitating circular migration. Like Mexicans, French Canadians had low socioeconomic status, a closely held language, and strong Catholic faith; moreover, in Quebecois culture and politics one finds the same lament for lost sons and daughters and the same repeated, if largely rhetorical, government hopes to facilitate their return.[34] Indeed like Mexicans, in the early phases of their immigration French Canadians had been targets of considerable xenophobia; in 1881, the esteemed Commissioner of Labor for the State of Massachusetts Carroll Wright described them as the "Chinese of the East."[35] However, in the 1930s, although isolated incidents of nativist reaction occurred, there was no sustained pressure on French Canadians to leave the United States, nor extensive governmental or private assistance to aid them to do so.[36] Deportations of French Canadians, while usually higher than that of European groups, did not rise to extraordinary levels in the early 1930s. French-Canadian repatriation thus provides a model for levels of normal return in depressed times, albeit in an older and more settled immigrant group.

The 1930 census reported 370,787 persons born in French Canada.[37] Age and sex-specific mortality would have reduced this population by 61,994 over ten years, leaving an expected population 10 years of age and older in 1940 of 308,793. The population of that age was 272,631, indicating a permanent repatriation of 36,162 persons, or 9.8% of the resident 1930 population. If this is the expected rate of return during hard times, the excess proportion for Mexican immigrants was 24% (33.8% minus 9.8%*).* Using this proportion, 155,810 persons (24% of the 1930 Mexican-born population and about 71% of the 219,732 first generation

repatriates) returned because of financial assistance, undue pressure, or high levels of deportation.

This estimate of excess repatriation is surely too high. As comparison of the population pyramids for Mexican and French Canadian immigrants in Figures 2 and 3 attest, Mexican immigrants, disproportionately young and male, were much more likely to have been candidates for voluntary repatriation. Among French Canadians there were as many women as men, and the pyramid is top heavy with older age categories unlikely to return. The median age among French Canadians in 1930 was 45, versus 32 for Mexicans; despite rising immigration by Mexican women, there were 1.3 males for every female in that population. Among persons 16 and older, over one third of Mexican men were single, versus 20% of French Canadian men. The composition of repatriation points to this higher propensity. Nearly 62% of all Mexican immigrant repatriates 18 and over were male, and 45% of these were men between 18 and 30 years of age. The mortality-adjusted decline in the population of Mexican men in 1940 who were married was 22%, but, for the unmarried, was 63%. Thus the estimate of excess repatriation among Mexicans is an outward boundary, likely to exceed the actual level.

A similar procedure can be used for the 2nd generation. There were 745,017 French-Canadian second generation persons in the United States in 1930. Among these, expected mortality was 53,014, leaving an expected number in 1940 of 692,003. The number ten years of age or greater in the 1940 Census was 552,320, a loss of 139,683, or a repatriation/emigration rate of 18.7%. (The combined number of first and second generation French Canadian repatriates was 175,845, about 15.8% of the resident first and second generation population in 1930—native born citizens made up nearly 80% of the total). The second-generation rate of return is only slightly lower than that of Mexicans at 22.1%, indicating that that returns to a "home country"

cannot be assumed to have been prompted only by coercion, particularly in groups strongly linked to a nearby society.[38] If we were to apply the 3.4% difference in emigration or repatriation in the 2nd generation, then an additional 20,910 of the Mexican second generation in the United States in 1930 returned because of inducement, coercion or deportation. Under these assumptions, total excess repatriation for the 1st and 2nd generation in the Mexican origin population would be 176,720, 14% of that population in 1930 and half of all repatriates.

Still, there is reason to consider the Mexican case in another way. While citizens cannot be deported, much less forcibly repatriated, young children were likely to cross the border because of parental decisions rather than their own. Indeed, among older second-generation Mexican origin persons, repatriation was unlikely: only about 13% of those 21 and over in 1930 emigrated to Mexico. Young children were much more common in the Mexican-origin population—72% of the second generation was aged 15 or younger in 1930, but only 29% of the French Canadian population was in this age group. Figures 4 and 5 for 1930 show how different the second generations were in these two populations, those of Mexican origin characterized by young age categories, while adults predominated among French Canadians. Among second generation Mexican origin repatriates, almost 80% were 15 or younger (112,005 persons). Assuming those 15 and younger were dependent on parental decisions, we can apply the 71% excess repatriation rate from their parental generation. Under these assumptions, 79,524 more children (.71 times 112,005) went to Mexico than would have gone without assistance, pressure, or high levels of deportation. If age 18 is the cutoff for independent decisions, the number is 87,108, and if age 21, then 90,171 more went to Mexico than would have done under ordinary conditions. Given 155,810 first generation repatriates in excess of French Canadian rates, excess repatriation for both the first and second generation under these constraints ranges from 235,334

to 242,918 to 245,981 persons, from 18.6% to 19.5% of the Mexican origin population in 1930, and from 66.2% to 69.2% of all repatriates.

Conclusion

In summary, total repatriation in the 1930s was about 355,000, substantially below the half million estimate conventionally found in the scholarly literature. This is a figure largely congruent with Mexican sources for the critical period of the early 1930s. Perhaps 40% of these repatriates were American citizens, overwhelmingly persons younger than 21 returning with their parents. Within the overall number, excess repatriation—that is, prompted by financial assistance, coercive measures, or extraordinary levels of deportation—may have reached 246,000. The number is likely to have been substantially lower given that young males played an inordinate role in the demography of the Mexican immigration-origin population; these men customarily followed a strategy of circular migration. Deportation itself was a sizable component of repatriation in the decade, and the one for which a successful attempt to reduce the Mexican immigrant population can best be discerned. Even this coercive method reached extraordinary levels only from 1930 to 1933, adding perhaps 33,500 deportees beyond those seen in conventional times. Deportation in these years certainly reverberated in the more coercive repatriation programs that emerged in 1932 and 1933, prompted people to return. These campaigns were waged only against persons of Mexican origin. Nonetheless, across the decade, repatriation was often a voluntary decision, one encouraged by the eager participation of the Mexican government and by the resources provided by public and private agencies in the United States.

Imperfect as they are, the estimates of total repatriation corroborate those made with Mexican port of entry records for the critical period of 1930 to 1933 and caution against

acceptance of the much higher estimates commonly found in the literature. The attempt to estimate excess repatriation provides a starting point for a more realistic measurement than that present in most American scholarship on the impact of coercive measures and the fate of the Mexican origin population during the 1930s.

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[1] Governments around the world reacted to growing unemployment and escalating welfare costs by restricting immigration and deportation. While the working class in immigrant receiving nations had become increasingly hostile to new arrivals well before the economic crisis, its advent led many governments quickly to impose restrictions. See Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson, *Global Migration and the World Economy*: *Two Centuries of Policy and Performance* (Cambridge, 2005). In Canada, all immigration was suspended in 1931 and deportations rose radically. Alan G. Green and David Green. "The Goals of Canada's Immigration Policy: A Historical Perspective," *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 13 (no. 1, 2004), 102-39. As W. A. Gordon, Minister of Immigration for Canada, stated, such action "was rendered necessary by reason of the unemployment in Canada," but the crisis encouraged a

prejudicial hostility. In addition to unemployment concerns, the Quebec City Council objected to the entry of German refugee Jews in 1933, on the grounds that "it would be in the interest of the 'two mother Christian races in this country to prevent the entry of non-Christian persons.'" On Canadian responses, see "Calgary Acts to Deport Aliens Receiving Unemployment Aid," *New York Times*, Nov. 28, 1930, p. 2, available at ProQuest Historical Newspaper; "Quebec Asks Canada To Bar German Jews," *New York Times*, Aug. 27, 1933, p. 14 (quotation), available at ProQuest Historical Newspapers. *"*Canada Bars Immigrants," *New York Times*, Aug. 16, 1930, p. 24, available at ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

In Mexico, the crisis sparked a different hostility. Anti-Chinese nativism had a long history in that country, but, in the early 1930s, official and popular hostility led to the wholesale flight of persons of Chinese origin in northwestern Mexico, many of whom crossed into the United States. These refugees appeared then as deportees in U.S. Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1932 (Washington, 1932), 73; Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1933, 53, and Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1934, 64. See "Chinese Again Flee Agitation in Mexico," *New York Times*,

Aug. 6, 1932, p. 5 and "Mexicans Protest Cruelty to Chinese" *New York Times*, March 1, 1933, p. 18, both available at ProQuest Historical Newspapers. On anti-Chinese xenophobia and the 1930s crisis, see Manuel González Oropeza, "La discriminación en México: el caso de los nacionales chinos" ("Discrimination in Mexico: The Case of Chinese Nationals"), *Cuadernos del Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas. La problemática del racismo en los umbrales del siglo XXI, VI Jornadas Lascasianas* (*Notebooks from the Institute of Legal Research: The Problemátique of Racism on the threshold of the 21st Century, 6th Lascasian Symposium* (Mexico City 1997), available at http://www.bibliojuridica.com/libros/libro.htm?l=148; Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Racism and Anti-Chinese Persecution in Sonora, Mexico, 1876–1932," *Amerasia Journal*, 9 (no. 2, 1982), 1–28; Julian Lim, "Chinos and Paisanos: Chinese Mexican Relations in the Borderlands," *Pacific Historical Review*, 79 (no. 1, Feb. 2010), 50-85. All translations from Spanish and French are by Brian Gratton.

[2] The best review of both popular and academic reaction to the 1920s immigration can be found in Abraham Hoffman, "An Unusual Monument: Paul S. Taylor's *Mexican Labor in the United States* Monograph Series," *Pacific Historical Review*, 45 (no. 2, May, 1976), 255-270.

[3] We discuss a minor exception, a federal repatriation program, below.

[4] See Appendix A for a review of assertions in the scholarly literature. The bill of apology declared that "In California alone, approximately 400,000 American citizens and legal residents of Mexican ancestry were forced to go to Mexico," and, "In total, it is estimated that two million people of Mexican ancestry were forcibly relocated to Mexico, approximately 1.2 million of whom had been born in the United States, including the State of California." The bill passed the Senate and Assembly of California on September 7th, 2005, and, on October 7th, 2005, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger signed it into law. California Legislature, S.B. No. 670, *Apology Act for the 1930s Mexican Repatriation Program*, 2005-2006, available at http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/0506/bill/sen/sb_06510700/sb_670_bill_20051007_chaptered.html.

[5] U.S Commission on Civil Rights, *The Tarnished Golden Door: Civil Rights Issues in Immigration* (Washington, 1980), esp. 10, 44-45 cited in Ian Haney-López, *White By Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York, 2006), 27 [n. 7, p. 191]. For the total number of federally expelled repatriates, the Commission cites Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore and Ralph C.

Guzman, *The Mexican American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority* (New York, 1980), 523-26. Grebler, Moore and Guzman make no estimate of this magnitude nor any assertion about extensive federal involvement. For the level of citizenship, the Commission cites Wayne Moquin and Charles Lincoln Van Doren, eds., *A Documentary History of the Mexican Americans* (New York, 1971), 294; this consists of a reprint of an article: Carey McWilliams, "Getting Rid of the Mexicans," *American Mercury* 23 (March 1933), 322-24. The article decries the repatriation programs in Los Angeles County, but makes no estimates of citizenship—these appear in a note added by the editors to the article, with no source given. Abraham Hoffman has deftly shown the unreliability of McWilliams on estimates of repatriation, despite his considerable influence on views of the subject. See Abraham Hoffman, "Mexican Repatriation Statistics: Some Suggested Alternatives to Carey McWilliams," *The Western Historical Quarterly,* 3, (no. 4, Oct. 1972), 391-404. While the Hoover administration may well have approved of local repatriation campaigns, federal officials were not directly involved. As discussed below, their response to rising unemployment was to restrict entry and to increase deportations.

[6] Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodríguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque, 2006), esp. 151, 330, 119-51. The authors appear to use but do not directly cite Mexican data sources, criticizing governmental records on both sides of the border as largely meaningless bureaucratic exercises. Though they acknowledge voluntary repatriation at various points in the text, they nonetheless conclude that the "ruthless expulsion" made Mexicans among the "first major contingent of displaced refugees in the twentieth century," Balderrama and Rodríguez, *Decade of Betrayal*, esp 216. Their estimates have had considerable influence, particularly outside of historical scholarship. As one example, Kevin R. Johnson links the repatriation of Mexicans in the 1930s and security policy after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, relying exclusively on the Balderrama and Rodríguez estimates. He asserts that the "forced removal¨ was "a form of ethnic cleansing." Kevin R. Johnson, "The Forgotten 'Repatriation' of Persons of Mexican Ancestry and Lessons for the 'War on Terror,'" *Pace Law Review* 26 (no. 1, March 2005), 1-26, esp. 2, 6.

[7] Camille Guérin-Gonzales, *Mexican Workers and American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900-1939*, (New Brunswick, 1994), esp. 1, 77, 111.

Mai M. Ngai has argued forcefully for the historical impact of a racial social construction of persons of Mexican origin in the 1920s. See Mai M. Ngai, "The Architecture of Race in American Immigration Law: A Reexamination of the Immigration Act of 1924," *Journal of American History* 86 (no. 1, June 1999), 67-92 and Mai M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America.* (Princeton, 2003).

[8] Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929-1939* (Tucson, 1974).

[9] Sánchez links the Mexican government's eagerness for repatriation to efforts begun "in the early 1920s to keep Mexicans in the United States loyal to their mother country." George Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900--1945* (New York, 1993), esp. 123. Such cooperation is a major feature in Mexican historians' accounts of the repatriation period. Mercedes Carreras de Velasco notes that the Mexican government offered to pay the costs of return for all returnees who had entered the United States since 1928, Mercedes Carreras de Velasco, *Los mexicanos que devolvió la crisis 1929–1932* (*The Mexicans sent back by the crisis [the Depression] 1929-*

1932), (Tlatelolco, 1974), 65. In one example of active cooperation between American and Mexican officials, the Mexican Repatriation Board met with representatives of American agencies, including the Assistant Superintendent of Charities from Los Angeles, Mr. Rex Thomson, who had directed thousands of repatriations. Thomson apparently offered travel assistance not just to the border, but to residences in Mexico. See John S. Littell, Vice Consul, Mexico City, "Formal Dissolution of Mexican National Repatriation Committee," U.S. Department of State, American Consulate General, Mexican Affairs Division, (June 1934), (National Archives, Washington, D.C.), Record Group 311.1215/63) and John S. Littell, Vice Consul, Mexico City, "Interview With Mr. Rex Thompson Regarding Mexican Government Aid To Unemployed Mexicans In The United States," U. S. Department of State, American Consulate General, Mexican Affairs Division, (May 1934), (National Archives, Washington, D.C.), Record Group 311.1215/55.

[10] Although he argues for strong pressure in Gary, Indiana, Juan R. García thinks most early repatriation from the Midwest was voluntary, strongly encouraged by Mexican government promises and assistance from charitable groups, and by request of individuals wanting to return.

Beginning in 1932, welfare officials began to react more sharply to welfare costs for non-citizens, and, in the Calumet area, the American Legion as well as European immigrants who resented Mexican labor competition participated in repatriation campaigns. In oral histories, Mexican families in the region stated that they were told they would be taken off welfare rolls if they did not accept transportation to Mexico. See Juan R. García, *Mexicans in the Midwest 1900—1932*, (Tucson, 1996), 228-240. For similar early voluntary return, see Neil Betten and Raymond A. Mohl, "From Discrimination to Repatriation: Mexican Life in Gary, Indiana, During the Great Depression," *Pacific Historical Review*, 42 (no. 3, Aug. 1973), 370-88. Denis Noldín Valdes describes the "limited effect" of repatriation efforts in most parts of the Midwest and none in St. Paul, where sugar beet companies protected their workers, or provided for their transportation to Mexico if they wished to return. Denis Noldín Valdes, *Al Norte: Agricultural Workers in the Great Lakes Region, 1917—1970* (Austin, 1991), esp. 31, 10, 30-33. Valdés is more insistent on the campaigns' effect in Denis Noldín Valdes, *Barrios Norteños: St. Paul and Midwestern Mexican Communities in the Twentieth Century* (Austin, 2000), 87-100. For Texas, see Robert R. McKay, "Mexican Americans and Repatriation," *Handbook of Texas*

Online, available at www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/MM/pqmyk. The lack of campaigns in San Antonio, despite discussions of them, can be traced in Julia Kirk Blackwelder, *Women of the Depression: Caste and Culture in San Antonio, 1929-1939* (College Station, 1984), 14, 100. Louise Año Nuevo Kerr finds no repatriation campaigns in Chicago, see Louise Año Nuevo Kerr, "The Chicano Experience in Chicago: 1920-1970" (Ph. D. diss., University of Illinois--Chicago Circle, 1976). In Arizona, neither Tucson nor Phoenix had prominent repatriation campaigns, though small, largely voluntary programs appeared in copper mining regions, financed by copper mining companies and welfare departments. For a brief account, see Eric V. Meeks, *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona* (Austin, 2007), 114-117. Christine Natalie Marin examines the voluntary repatriation programs in the Globe-Miami copper district, in which mining companies, welfare departments, and the Mexican consul organized the return of perhaps 1000 persons. *Always a Struggle: Mexican Americans in Miami, Arizona, 1909-51*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Arizona State University, 2005. Jorge Iber finds no repatriation programs for the small Mexican origin population in Utah. Jorge Iber, *Hispanics in the Mormon Zion, 1912-1999* (College Station, 2000). Although Sarah

Deutsch claims there were concerted and coercive repatriation programs in Southern Colorado, she records none in New Mexico. Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (New York, 1987), 164-65.

[11] For programs dating from before the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, subsequent government efforts, and the ascendancy of emigration as a political issue in Mexico, see Jaime R. Águila, "Mexican/U.S. Immigration Policy Prior to the Great Depression," *Diplomatic History* 31 (no. 2, April 2007), 207-25, esp. 220; also, Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans*, 24-30; Carreras, *Los Mexicanos*, 43-56, Armando Vargas de la Maza quoted in Carreras, *Los Mexicanos*, 43; and Fernando Saúl Alanís Enciso, *Que se queden allá. El gobierno de México y la repatriación de mexicanos de Estados Unidos, 1934-1940* (*Let Them Stay There: The Government of Mexico and the Repatriation of Mexicans from the United States, 1934-1940*) (Tijuana, 2007), 47-53. In 1920, President Álvaro Obregón created a department of repatriation within the Ministry of Foreign Relations, facilitating the return of about 15,000 Mexican workers. Lawrence A. Cardoso, "La Repatriación de Braceros en la Época de Obregón, 1920-

1923" ("The Repatriation of Braceros in the Obregón Era, 1920-1923") *Historia Mexicana* 26 (no. 4, April-June 1977), 576-95.

[12] Dennis Valdés, "Mexican Revolutionary Nationalism and Repatriation during the Great Depression," Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos, 4 (no. 1, Winter 1988), 1-23. For private assistance from Mexican-origin groups, see. Jaime R. Águila, "Ayuda Mutua Mexicana: el Origen de las Comisiones Honoríficas y las Brigadas de la Cruz Azul" ("Mexican Mutual Aid: The Origin of the Honorary Committees and the Blue Cross Brigades") in *Labor Consular Mexicana en Estados Unidos Siglos XIX y XX: Cinco Ensayos Históricos*, (*Mexican Consular Work in the United States, 19th and 20th Centuries: Five Historical Essays*), ed. Fernando Alanís Enciso (Naucalpan, 2004), 95-120. See also the accounts in Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans,* Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American,* and Balderrama and Rodríguez, *Decade of Betrayal*. Valdés describes Diego Rivera's efforts in Valdés, *Barrios Norteños,* esp. 95. For Chicago, see Gabriela F. Arredondo, *Mexican Chicago: Race, Identity, and Nation, 1916-1939* (Champaign, 2008), 96-98.

[13] On the contentious relationship between Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants, see David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley, 1995). Such opposition reached its peak in 1953, when the American GI Forum—a Mexican American advocacy organization—published the pamphlet *What Price Wetbacks?*, American G.I. Forum of Texas and Texas State Federation of Labor, *What Price Wetbacks?* (Austin, 1953).

[14] For the 1920s, see Fernando Saúl Alanís Enciso, "¿Cuántos fueron? La repatriación de mexicanos en los Estados Unidos durante la Gran Depresión: Una interpretación cuantitativa, 1930-1934," ("How Many Were There?: The Repatriation of Mexicans in the United States During the Great Depression: A Quantitative Interpretation, 1930-1934") *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 32 (no. 2 Fall 2007), 65-91, esp. 75. Paul S. Taylor does so for the 1926-29 number, using similar Mexican records in Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: Migration Statistics. IV* (Berkeley, 1933/1934), 24. Alanís finds little evidence of extensive use of other crossings in Mexican records. Fernando Saúl Alanís Enciso to Brian Gratton, email, June 24, 2008, (in Brian Gratton's possession).

[15] Carreras, *Los Mexicanos*, esp. 131; Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans* esp. 126.

[16] Carreras, *Los Mexicanos*, 131-134, 173—176. Taylor argues that Mexican immigration "was at its height" between 1927 and 1929, and "the ebb began in 1930." Taylor, *Mexican Labor*, esp. 23. There were no prominent campaigns for repatriation in 1934 and, none that we know of after that year. For one of the last, describing a voluntary plan run by that state, see "300 Mexicans to leave Ohio," *New York Times* March, 20, 1934, p. 20, available at ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[17] Alanís, "¿Cuántos fueron?," and Alanís *Que se queden allá*. Alanís, sharply critical of the "marked tendency" on the part of popular and scholarly treatments to "exaggerate and dramatize everything that had to do with repatriation," praises Hoffman and Carreras for their "straightforward and objective estimation, with carefully selected sources." ("¿Cuántos fueron?," 85-86). His estimates add information from the Dirección General de Estadistica and the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (General Directorate of Statistics and Department of Foreign Affairs); each approach yields an overall number of about 400,000, highly similar to that strictly from MMS data. Though seeing the New Dealers as more tolerant, and excessive

repatriation over by 1934, he argues that continued hostility and deportations argue for a decadal approach, Alanís, *Que se quedan allá*, 29, 39-40, 53-61, 90-94, 315. His estimate for 1935 to 1940 relies on a 1935-36 figure from Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans* and statistics from Secretaría de Economía Nacional/Dirección General de Estadística, *Compendio estadístico* (Secretariat of the National Economy/General Directorate of Statistics*, Statistical Compendium*) (Mexico, 1941).

[18] For a similar typology, see Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans*, 166.

[19] All deportation statistics are drawn from the U.S. Department of Labor, *Annual Reports of the Secretary of Labor*, (Washington). The Secretary of Labor at times commented in person on immigration; Secretaries James J. Davis [1921 to 1930] and William N. Doak [1930 to 1933] evinced great interest, while Secretary Frances Perkins [1933 to 1945] almost none. Both Davis and Doak were union men, strongly opposed to mass immigration, who argued that all Western Hemisphere nations ought to be added to the quota laws.

The Bureau and Service, however, provided separate detailed reports, often included in an Appendix, and at times signed by the "Commissioner General" or Commissioner of

Immigration. The reports covered the fiscal year, which ended on June 30 of the report year. The *Annual Report* was published by the Government Printing Office, in Washington, usually in the year of the report but occasionally in the next year.

[20] Harry E. Hull, the Coolidge and Hoover administration's Commissioner General of Immigration, enthusiastically described the deportation program in Harry E. Hull, "The Tide of Migration Turns Away From America's Shores," *New York Times* Aug. 9, 1931, p. 103, available at ProQuest Historical Newspapers. The annual reports did not break down voluntary deportation by home country in the 1920s, nor in 1931 and 1932. The 1930s records show Mexican voluntary deportation numbers to be slightly above the level of formal deportations, and Canadian voluntary returns 40% higher than formal ones. Values for the missing years 1931 and 1932 in the 1930s were estimated as the mean of 1930 and 1933. Assuming equivalency in formal and voluntary rates in the 1920s, total deportation for Mexicans from 1925 to 1929 was about 6200 per year and from 1935 to 1939, about 9500 annually. If the expected annual rate for 1930 to 1933 is the average of these rates (7850), deportations exceeded the expected by 33,505.

New Deal officials claimed that very low immigration levels led to fewer cases, but they also instituted softer policies, refusing to arrest without warrant, a policy that they admitted reduced deportation levels, see Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1935 (Washington, 1935), 89-90. Looking back from 1940, Secretary Perkins asserted that New Dealers' "Emphasis was at once laid on the *prevention* of illegal entries" (italics ours) and New Deal immigration officials regularly indicated uneasiness about deportation procedures against well-settled, if technically illegal immigrants, Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1940 (Washington, 1940), 8 (quotation) and Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1934 (Washington, 1934), 48. In the 1930s the vast majority of deportees were returned to Canada or Mexico shortly after entry, and the same obtained for those immediately sent back across the border after a Border Patrol arrest. In the words of the 1936 report, illegal entry was "primarily a land-border problem, with the Mexican border presenting the greatest difficulties," Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1936 (Washington, 1936), esp. 99. Recently arrived, male immigrants crossing the northern or southern border dominated deportation. Between 1934 and 1938, men made up

nearly 90% of those deported and the 1937 report found that 28.2% of all deportations occurred within 3 months of entry and 54.5% within 1 year, Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1938 (Washington, 1938), 100 and Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1937 (Washington, 1937), 89.

[21] "35,000 Mexicans Leave California: Migration, Expected To Reach 75,000," Special to The New York Times, *New York Times*, Apr 12, 1931, p. 5, available at ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[22] Carreras, *Los Mexicanos,* esp. 57.

[23] Taylor, *Mexican Labor*, esp. 24.

[24] Carreras, *Los Mexicanos,* esp. 135.

[25] Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans*, p. 127.

[26] Sánchez links early repatriation from Los Angeles to customary circular migration and to promises made by the Mexican government for land, Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 212-13. Betten and Mohl quote the repatriate Pilar Goméz Norrick in Betten and Mohl, "From Discrimination," esp. 370.

[27] See McKay, "Mexican Americans and Repatriation."

[28] Sample data from the censuses are drawn from Steven Ruggles et al., *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0* [IPUMS] [Machine-readable database] (Minneapolis, 2010), available at http://usa.ipums.org/usa/cite.shtml. While the IPUMS samples provide much greater command over the characteristics of individuals, the placement of the parental birthplace question on the sample line in 1940 resulted in very small sample sizes for Mexicans and French Canadians in the second generation. For the number, age, and sex of the second generation in 1940, we therefore use values from the published census, as provided in U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Office, Sixteenth Census: 1940, *Population: Nativity and Parentage of the White Population: Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock*, (Washington, 1943), 87-91, esp. Table 13. In all other cases, unless otherwise stated, IPUMS samples are used, and specifically for both generations in 1930 and for the 1st generation in 1940. The responses for these birthplace inquiries in these years are on the main questionnaire and sample-based estimates of population counts exhibit very low rates of error, as calculated by comparison to the figures provided in the published census. Use of the IPUMS individual level data has a number of

advantages and, in fact, the 1930 analysis cannot be done without them. The introduction of the Mexican race category in that year resulted in the lack of published data on the age and sex of Mexican persons of foreign stock (that is, the first or second generation).

[29] Immigrants did arrive in the decade, in part through family reunification clauses in immigration law. IPUMS data indicate that in 1940 there were 11,429 persons less than 10 years of age born in Mexico, and about 8,000 French Canadian children of this age. Bureau of Immigration reports indicated small levels of legal entry and amply reveal attempts at illegal entry at the two land borders throughout the 1930s.

[30] A similar approach to estimating net migration is described in Herve Le Bras, *The Nature of Demography* (Princeton, 2008). Life tables come from Joseph A. Hill, *United States Life Tables* (Washington, 1936), 4-7, and Thomas N. E. Greville, *United States Life Tables and Actuarial Tables 1939-1941* (Washington, 1947) 34-37. Age- and sex- specific ten year survival rates for 1930 to 1940 were derived by averaging the l(x) column in life tables for white males and females in the U.S. in 1929/31 (Hill) and 1939/41 (Greville). This provides a conservative estimate of mortality for persons of Mexican origin, and perhaps those of French Canadian

origin, whose socioeconomic status would be lower than the overall average. Dividing the number of people expected (out of each initial 100,000) at the 1940 age by the number of people at the 1930 age gives the expected survivorship. We base the survival estimates on 1930 IPUMS data, classified by sex and 1-year age groups. Total survivorship is the sum of the product of the number in each age and sex group by the corresponding survival rate.

[31] Since those in the second generation are citizens, they *emigrate* rather than repatriate, but the common usage will intermittently be followed here. A more conservative approach would use only children with two Mexican born parents, given that an American born parent (the overwhelming majority of second parents among children with only one Mexican born parent) could not be deported or coerced to return. Children with two Mexican born parents had a repatriation rate of 26.4%. The rate was 15.5% among children with only one parent born in Mexico.

[32] Wyman, *Round-Trip to America*. Technically, under the 1924 Immigration Act, "An immigrant previously lawfully admitted to the United States" could return "from a temporary visit abroad." Potential travelers facilitated return by applying for a re-entry permit and paying a

fee. See Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1928, 67, quoting Immigration Act of 1924, 68 U.S.C, sec. 4 (1924). Some European aliens exercised this privilege: in the 1927-28 fiscal year, 113,977 reentry permits were issued but permanent residence had to be chosen, see Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1928, 67.

[33] The adjusted repatriation rate for Poles was 7.3%, with relatively large numbers of older Poles leaving the country. Italians had a negative repatriation rate (-5.3%), indicating family reunification under the 1924 law, which allowed naturalized citizens to bring in immediate family members.

[34] Both historical and contemporary sources comment on retention of language and resistance to assimilation among French Canadians. Their opposition in Rhode Island to "the law passed by a Republican House in 1922 making English compulsory in the schools," lay in the "French Canadians desire to retain their hyphentated distinction." "In Rhode Island" *Time,* Sept. 10, 1923, 18. See also F. L. Bullard, "French-Canadians Strong in Numbers," *New York Times*, Sept. 29, 1929, p. E6, available at ProQuest Historical Newspapers. For historical

accounts, see George French Theriault, *The Franco-Americans in a New England Community: An Experiment in Survival*, (New York, 1980); Gary Gerstle, *Working-class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914-1960* (Cambridge, 1989), Bruno Ramirez, *Crossing the 49th Parallel: Migration from Canada to the United States, 1900-1930* (Ithaca, 2001); Mary MacKinnon and Daniel Parent, "Resisting the Melting Pot: The Long Term Impact of Maintaining Identity for Franco-Americans in New England," *Cahiers de recherché* (June 2005), CIRPEE Working Paper no. 5-17, available at http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=739627.

Circular migration was a standard strategy among French Canadians. According to an assessment by the Dillingham Commission, of 240,368 foreign-born wage-earners in the first decade of the twentieth century, 54% of French Canadian men in the United States had returned to Canada at least once since arrival; among those in the United States less than 5 years, nearly a third had returned. Almost 50% of French Canadian women had returned. These were the second highest rates among all groups examined. See U.S. Congress, Immigration Commission, *Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission: With Conclusions and Recommendations,*

and Views of Minority (2 vols., Washington, 1910-1911), I, 61 Cong., 3 sess., 1910-1911, p. 461. For the circular migration strategy, for governmental and Catholic Church encouragement of repatriation (including, in 1875, land if they returned), and the general ineffectuality of such efforts see especially Yves Roby, *Les Franco-Americains de a la Nouvelle-Angleterre: Rêves et réalités* (French-Americans in New England: Dreams and Realities) (Sillery, 2000), 38-39, 47, 61 and 462; Ramirez, *Crossing the 49th Parallel*; Paul-André Linteau, "Les migrants américains et franco-américains au Québec, 1792-1940 : un état de la question" (American and French-American Migrants in Québec, 1792-1940: An overview of the subject"), *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 53 (no. 4, 2000), 561-602; and Damien-Claude Bélanger and Claude Bélanger, "French Canadian Emigration to the United States, 1840-1930," *Readings in Quebec History* (Marianopolis College, 2000), available at http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/readings/leaving.htm. The Bélangers estimate French-Canadian *repatriement* across a century at about half the emigrant population. Though Linteau shows no jump in the Quebec population of persons born in the United States in 1940, returns may not have been solely to Quebec. About 10% of emigrants to the United States

from French Canada had been born in other foreign countries and their children may have returned to these or to other parts of Canada. See Census Office, Sixteenth Census, *Population: Nativity and Parentage of the White Population: Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock*, 10.

[35] Carroll D. Wright, "Uniform Hours of Labor, Commonwealth of Massachusetts," *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1881), 469-470.

[36] Ramirez finds no evidence of compulsory or pressured repatriation of Canadians in the 1930s, Bruno Ramirez to Brian Gratton, e-mail, October 2007 (in Brian Gratton's possession). Roby cites observers in Manchester, N.H, who stated that Quebec agents had repatriated several thousand persons in 1930 and 1931, Roby, *Les Franco-Americains de a la Nouvelle-Angleterre*, 317. In marked contrast to the extensive journalistic coverage of Mexican repatriation, little appeared about French Canadians. On April 16, 1931, the *New York Times* cited a Montreal newspaper's claim that a "Mrs. Anna C. M Tillinghast, Commissioner of Immigration" for New England intended, for "the protection of native labor," to carry out a "wholesale round-up and deportation," claiming that there were "at least 30,000 French Canadians" likely to be "deported or returned to their native province of Quebec." See "Expects Deportation of French

Canadians," *New York Times*, April 16, 1931, p. 18. Repatriation linked in part to enforcement of visa laws (imposed prior to the Depression and regularly violated by French Canadians) is also discussed on April 25 of that year, in "Repatriating Canadians," *New York Times*, April 25, 1931, p. 40.

[37] In 1930, Canadian birthplace was reported by province and birthplace in Quebec was used as a proxy for French Canadian. The 1940 Census distinguished between Canada-French and Canada-English.

[38]Adjusted repatriation rates in the second generation for other ethnicities were as follows: Italians 5.3%, Poles 15.1%, Other Canadians 13.4%.

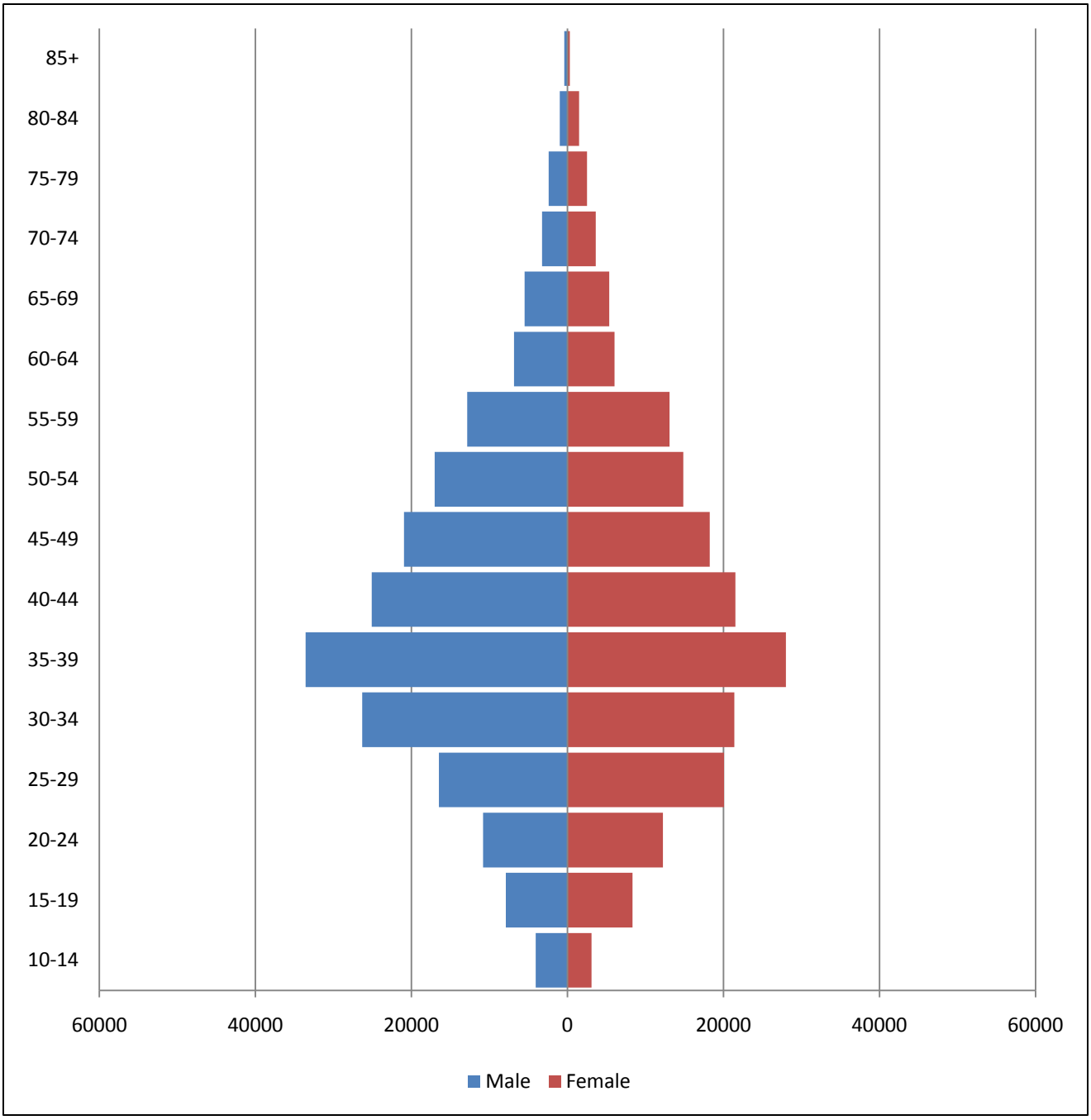

Figure 1. U.S. Mexican-born population, 1940
Source: IPUMS (see text)

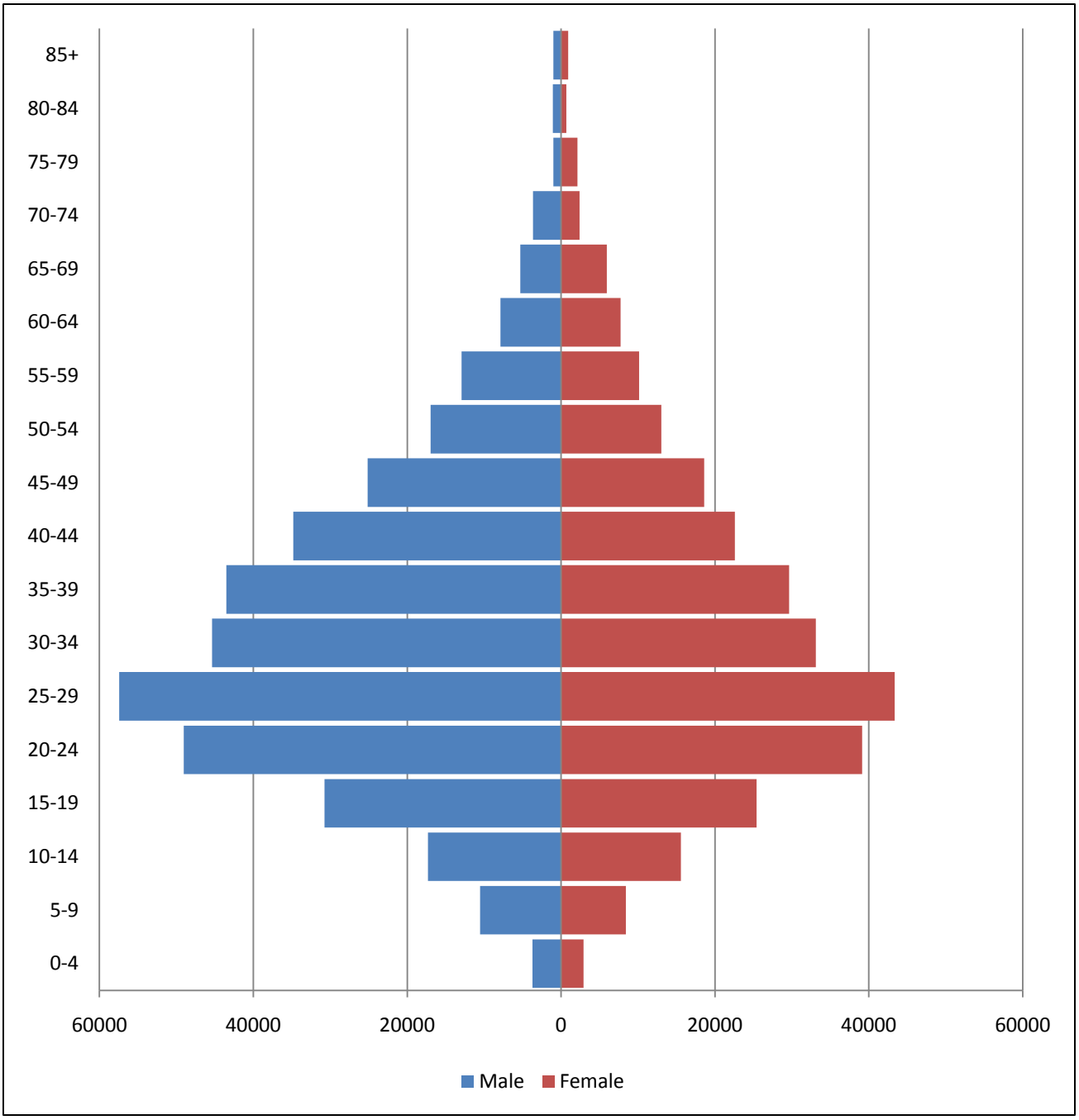

Figure 2. U.S. Mexican-born population, 1930
Source: IPUMS (see text)

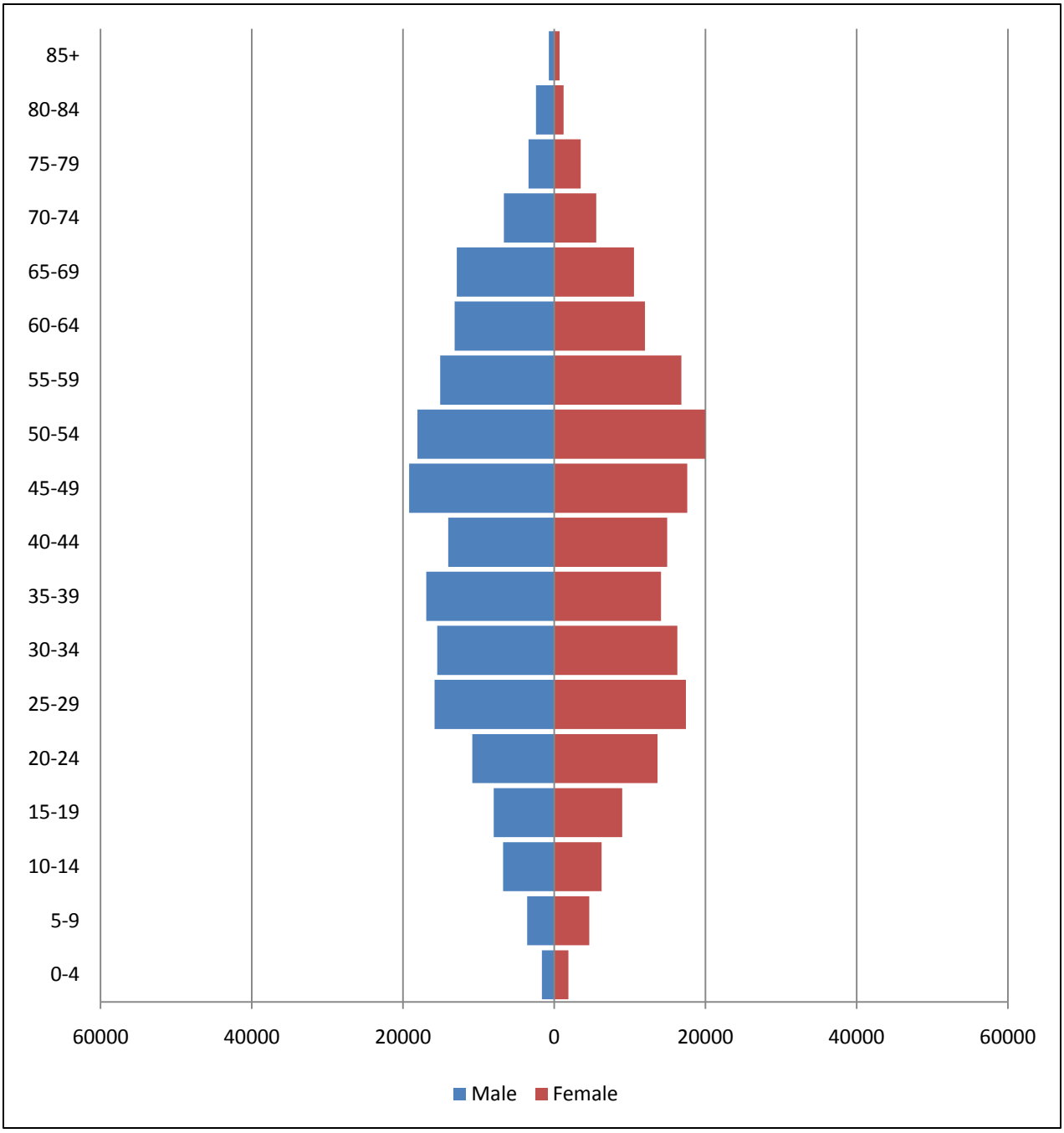

Figure 3. U.S. French-Canadian born population, 1930
Source: IPUMS (see text)

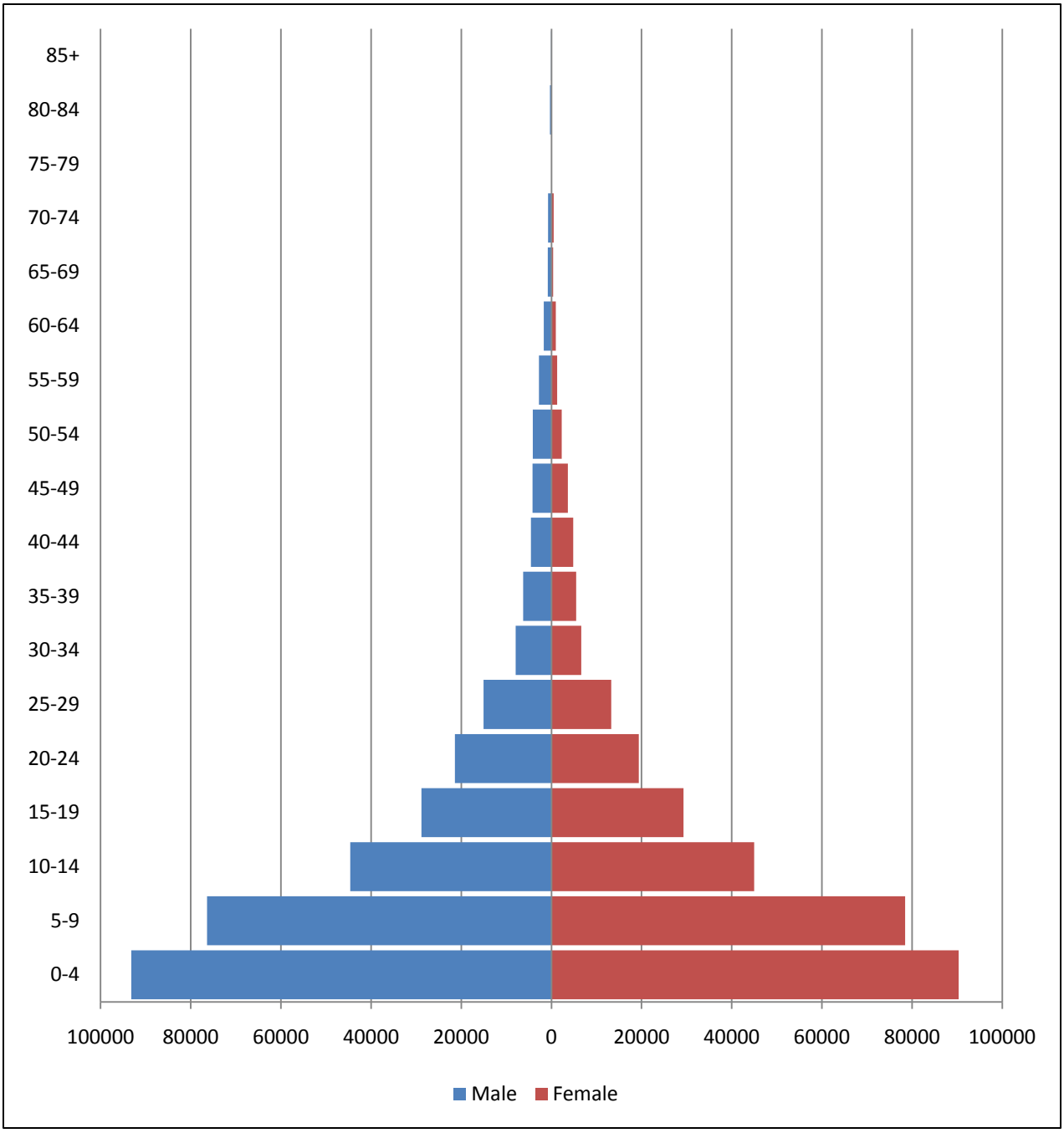

Figure 4. Second-generation Mexican American population, 1930
Source: IPUMS (see text)

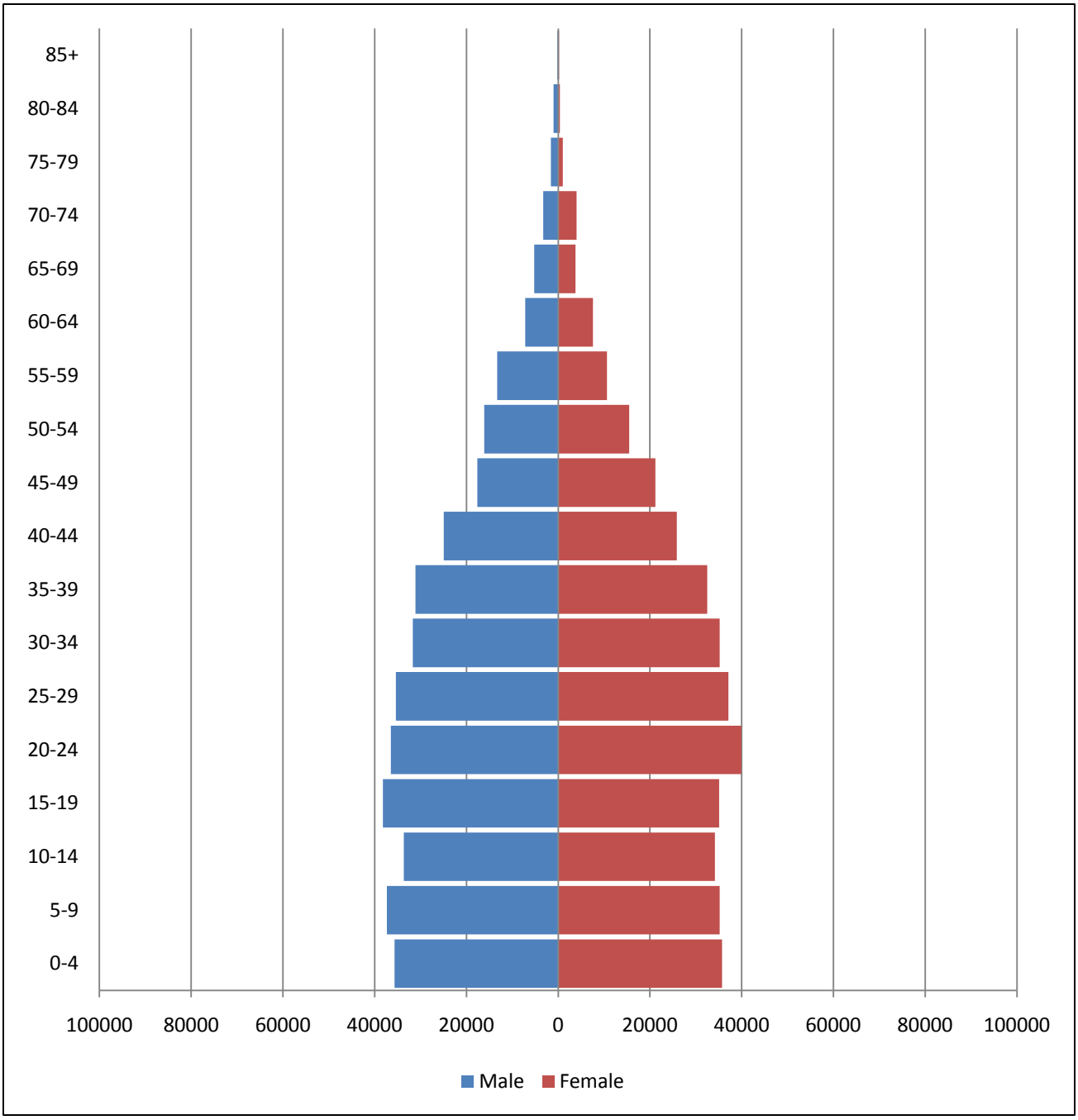

Figure 5. Second-generation French Canadian population, 1930
Source: IPUMS (see text)

Appendix A:

Repatriation and Coercion in Public and Scholarly Discourse

Christine Valenciana, an Assistant Professor of Elementary and Bilingual Education at California State University, campaigned for the California bill of apology; she asserted that as many as "2 million Mexican and Mexican-Americans … were deported during that era" and that 60% were American citizens.[1] In *USA Today* in 2005, Wendy Koch urged such apologies, citing that "Tens of thousands -- and possibly more than 400,000, -- Mexicans and Mexican-Americans were pressured, through raids and job denials, to leave the USA."[2] In that year, Democratic State Senator Joe Dunn of California sponsored a bill of apology that declared "In California alone, approximately 400,000 American citizens and legal residents of Mexican ancestry were forced to go to Mexico" and "In total, it is estimated that two million people of Mexican ancestry were forcibly relocated to Mexico, approximately 1.2 million of whom had been born in the United States, including the State of California." The bill passed the Senate and Assembly of California on September 7th, 2005, and, on October 7th, 2005, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger signed it into law.[3]

Social scientists have usually ventured somewhat more cautious estimates. Aristide Zolberg claims that the exodus across the decade could have been as high as 1 million and implies that coercion provides the main explanation.[4] The prominent sociologists of immigration, Richard Alba and Victor Nee, state that ¨hundreds of thousands were repatriated,¨ citing other scholars for an estimate that "415,000¨ were ¨´forced to leave the United States.'"[5] Another leading sociologist, Douglas S. Massey, asserts that "more than 400,000 people of Mexican origin, including many native-born citizens, were forcibly deported" during the early years of the Depression.[6] In "Mexican Immigration to the United States: Continuities and Changes," Massey, Jorge Durand, and René M. Zenteno state that "From 1929 through 1937, some 453,000 Mexican citizens were deported from the United States."[7] The political

scientist Peter Skerry concludes that "government-sponsored repatriation efforts" "reduced the Mexican-born population in the United States from 639,000 in 1930 to about 377,000 in 1940."[8]

Among historians, Mae Ngai maintains that, under a "racial removal program," an "[o]fficial policy … facilitated the deportation and repatriation of over 400,000 Mexicans (half of them children with United States citizenship) during the Great Depression."[9] David Lorey concurs, arguing that "One-half million Mexicans were forcibly repatriated between 1929 and 1935."[10] Vicki Ruiz concludes that between 1931 and 1934 "one-third of the Mexican population in the United States was either deported or repatriated to Mexico even though many had been born in this country;" a view to which she returns in "At Loose Ends: Twentieth-Century Latinos in Current United States History Textbooks," with Joseph A. Rodríguez, adding that "60 percent [were] United States-born children."[11] In her presidential address for the Organization of American Historians in 2006, Ruiz, repeated that "Between 1931 and 1934…(over five hundred thousand people) were either deported or quasi-voluntarily repatriated to Mexico even though the majority (an estimated 60 percent) were native U.S. citizens." Ruiz maintains that "They were either summarily deported by immigration agencies or persuaded to depart voluntarily by duplicitous social workers who greatly exaggerated the opportunities awaiting them south of the border."[12] Ruiz raised the estimate made in a previous OAH Presidential Address, by David Montgomery in 2001, that "Between 1930 and 1934 the United States…repatriate[d] more than 365,000 Mexican immigrants."[13]

In an astute quantitative analysis of the fortunes of immigrants in the 20th century, Joel Perlmann states that there was a "forced deportation of close to half a million Mexicans" in the 1930s.[14] The eminent historian Roger Daniels, in the standard immigration history textbook *Coming to America*, claims that "as many as five hundred thousand Mexican Americans…were sent south across the border," though he observes elsewhere that the sharp drop in arrivals from any foreign source during the 1930s showed the primary influence of economic forces.[15] In an early work L. H. Gann and Peter J. Duignan found that: "all in all, the number of people repatriated between 1929 and 1935 must have exceeded 415,000 persons, by far the largest number of aliens of any nationality ever forced to leave the United

States."[16] In a 2007 *Social Science History* article, Michael B. Katz, Mark J. Stern and Jamie J. Fader state that "the government, worried about jobs for Americans and the burden of welfare dependency, repatriated more than 400,000 Mexicans."[17] Recent work testifies to the now conventional use of a figure of one million. In her, *California Vieja,* Phoebe S. Kropp repeats the one million person estimate of Balderrama and Rodríguez and their emphasis upon the forced nature of the exodus.[18] Julian Lim decries "an intense racist nativism that targeted [Mexicans] for mass deportation and repatriation," a coercive process that summed to 1 million, with "as many as 60 to 75 percent" U. S. born.[19]

In contrast, some historians have been cautious. After examination of records in Mexican archives, Arturo Rosales concludes that voluntary repatriation was by far the most common form and that unemployed, young men with no deep stakes in the United States would have looked at free transportation as an opportunity to repeat their normal patterns of return.[20] David Gutiérrez notes that "few Mexicans were formally deported," and acknowledges the Mexican government's role in its longstanding encouragement of return migration, including subsidization of transportation and resettlement. Gutiérrez thinks that most repatriations fell between voluntary and forced but sees the campaigns as stunningly oppressive.[21] Douglas Monroy is less sure: "The nasty commotion of the raids should not overshadow the equivocality of the issue," noting the Mexican government's active encouragement and the enthusiasm of many men in particular for returning to Mexico.[22]

Major U. S. history textbooks have tended toward relatively high estimates, with some caution about direct government involvement. Eric Foner's *Give Me Liberty!* claims "over 400,000 (one-third of the population of Mexican origin) returned to Mexico, some voluntarily," and that "perhaps 200,000" were children who were citizens of the United States.[23] In *America: A Concise History*, James A. Henretta and coauthors state that "…perhaps a third of the Mexican American population, most of them immigrants, returned to Mexico. A federal deportation policy—fostered by racism and made possible by the proximity of Mexico—was partly responsible for the exodus, but many more Mexicans left voluntarily when work ran out and local relief agencies refused to assist them."[24] Others tend to

emphasize the involuntary and compulsory factors. In *Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People*, the authors contend that "The combined efforts of federal, state, and local governments created a climate of fear in Mexican communities that prompted 500,000 to return to Mexico by 1935"; Richard White's *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own:" A New History of the American West*, follows a similar argument, stating that "The federal government directly secured the departure of over 82,000 Mexican immigrants…but during the same period approximately 500,000 immigrants from Mexico repatriated. Most left the United States as a result of a campaign of fear, coercion, and deception."[25] Edward L. Ayers et al, in *American Passages: A History of the United States*, provide an almost equivalent statement: "Some 82,000 Mexicans were deported and another half million immigrants crossed the border out of fear that they would be sent back under duress"; in *The American West: A New Interpretive History,* Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher focus mainly on Los Angeles, but note that "in their authoritative study, Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodríguez estimate that at least a million Mexican citizens from the Southwest were repatriated during the 1930s."[26]

None of the works cited make independent estimates of total repatriation. Most rely on the three sources discussed closely in the text: Abraham Hoffman's *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929-1939*, Camille Guerin-Gonzales's *Mexican Workers and the American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900-1939* and Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodríguez's *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s*. Few refer to the authoritative work of Mexican historians.

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[1] Valenciana quoted in Valerie Orleans, "1930s Mexican Deportation," March 17, 2005, California State University at Fullerton, available at http://campusapps.fullerton.edu/news/2005/valenciana.html.

Valencia appears to base her two million figure on the largest estimate provided by Francisco E.

Baldramma and Raymond Rodríguez (which includes the 1920s) in Balderamma and Rodríguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque, 2006).

[2] Wendy Koch, "U.S. Urged to Apologize for 1930s Deportations," *USA Today*, April 5, 2005, available at http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2006-04-04-1930s-deportees-cover_x.htm.

[3] California Legislature, S.B. No. 670, *Apology Act for the 1930s Mexican Repatriation Program*, 2005-2006, available at http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/0506/bill/sen/sb_06510700/sb_670_bill_20051007_chaptered.html.

On the same day, Schwarzenegger vetoed S.B. 645 [written by Senator Joe Dunn as well], which would have created "The Commission on the Unconstitutional Deportation of American Citizens During the 1930's and the 1930's Reparations Fund." The responsibilities of the Commission would have included "Altering California public schools' curricula to include the unconstitutional removal and coerced emigration," determining responsibility, as well as implementing and distributing money through the 1930's Reparations Fund to eligible recipients." California Legislature, S.B. No. 645, 2005-2006, available at http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/05-06/bill/sen/sb_0601-0650/sb_645_bill_20050909_enrolled.html. In the state of California, an apology that is merely an admission of sympathy and not an admission of guilt is inadmissible in a civil case. See Jennifer K.

Robbennolt, "Apologies and Legal Settlement: An Empirical Examination," *Michigan Law Review*, 102 (no. 3, December 2003), 460-516, 470-71 [note 49].

Using the methods outlined in the paper to which this Appendix is attached, we find only 45,000 permanent repatriates in the first generation in California between 1930 and 1940, and a rate of repatriation in that state lower than any other Southwestern state. While data are less sure for the second generation, repatriation among them also seems quite low compared to other states.

[4] Aristide R. Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America* (New York, 2006), 269-70.

[5] Richard D. Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge, 2003), esp. 185; they cite L.H. Gann and Peter J. Duignan. *The Hispanics in the United States: A History* (Stanford, 1986), esp. 329.

[6] Douglas S. Massey, "Borderline Madness," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 52 (no. 43, June 30, 2006), B11.

[7] Jorge Durand, Douglass S. Massey and René M. Zenteno, "Mexican Immigration to the United States: Continuities and Changes," *Latin American Research Review* 36 (no. 1, 2001): 107-27, esp. 109.

[8] Peter Skerry, *Mexican Americans: The Ambivalent Minority* (New York, 1993), esp. 22-23.

[9] Mae M. Ngai quoted in Wendy Koch, "U.S. Urged to Apologize for 1930s Deportations"; Mae M. Ngai, "The Architecture of Race in American Immigration Law: A Reexamination of the Immigration Act of 1924," *Journal of American History* 86 (no. 1, June 1999): 67-92; esp. 91.

[10] David E. Lorey, *The U.S.-Mexican Border in the Twentieth Century: A History of Economic and Social Transformation* (Wilmington, 1999), esp. 72.

[11] Vicki Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (Albuquerque, 1987), esp. 8; Vicki Ruiz and Joseph A. Rodríguez, "At Loose Ends: Twentieth-Century Latinos in Current United States History Textbooks," *Journal of American History* 86 (no. 4, March 2004), 1689-99, esp. 1692.

[12] Vicki L. Ruiz, "Presidential Address: Nuestra America: Latino History as United States History," *Journal of American History* 93 (no. 3, Dec. 2006), 655-72, esp. 668, available at http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jah/93.3/ruiz.html.

[13] David Montgomery, "Presidential Address: Racism, Immigrants, and Political Reform," *Journal of American History* 87 (no. 4, March 2001), 1253-74, esp. 1271.

[14] Joel Perlmann, *Italians Then, Mexicans Now: Immigrant Origins and Second-Generation Progress, 1890 to 2000*. (New York, 2005), esp. 27.

[15] Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York, 2004), esp. 307.

[16] Gann and Duignan, *The Hispanics in the United States*, esp. 52.

[17] Michael B. Katz, Mark J. Stern, and Jamie J. Fader, "The Mexican Immigration Debate: The View from History," *Social Science History* 31 (no. 2, Summer 2007), 157-89, esp. 166.

[18] Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley, 2006), 231-41.

[19] Julian Lim, "Chinos and Paisanos: Chinese Mexican Relations in the Borderlands," *Pacific Historical Review* 79 (no. 1, Feb. 2010), esp. 77.

[20] F. Arturo Rosales, email in the possession of Brian Gratton, May 19, 2008.

[21] David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley, 1995), 72-73, esp. 73.

[22] Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles From the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (Berkeley, 1999), esp. 150.

[23] Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty!: An American History* (2 vols., New York, 2005), II, esp. 837.

[24] James A. Henretta et al., eds., *America: A Concise History*, (Boston, 2006), esp. 740.

[25] John M. Murrin et al., eds., *Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People* (2 vols., Boston, 2008), II, esp. 778; Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman, 1991), esp. 471.

[26] Edward L. Ayers et al., eds., *American Passages: A History of the United States* (Belmont, 2007), esp. 717; Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven, 2000), esp. 429.

Table 1. Actual and expected repatriation or emigration by generation for persons of Mexican or French-Canadian origin, 1930-1940

	First Generation		Second Generation		Second Generation Mexican (age in 1930)			
	Mexican	French Canadian	Mexican	French Canadian	<16	<18	<21	>20
1930 Census	649,207	370,787	614,988	745,017	441,623	467,015	496,611	118,377
Number who would have died	54,815	61,994	20,148	53,014	9,318	9,927	10,710	9,438
Number expected in 1940	594,392	308,793	594,840	692,003	432,305	457,088	485,901	108,939
1940 Census	374,660	272,631	459,120	552,320	320,300	334,400	358,900	100,220
Number Repatriated/Emigrated	219,732	36,162	135,720	139,683	112,005	122,688	127,001	8,719
Percent Repatriated/Emigrated	33.8%	9.8%	22.1%	18.7%	25.4%	26.3%	25.6%	7.4%

Sources: Steven Ruggles et al., *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0* [IPUMS] [Machine-readable database] (Minneapolis, 2010), available at http://usa.ipums.org/usa/cite.shtml, and used for 1930 Census for both generations and for 1940 first generation and second generation by age; for 1940 total second generation, source is U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Office, Sixteenth Census: 1940, *Population: Nativity and Parentage of the White Population: Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock*, (Washington, 1943), 87-91, esp. Table 13. Number who would have died and number expected in 1940 have been calculated from life tables in Joseph A. Hill, *United States Life Tables* (Washington, 1936), 4-7, and Thomas N. E. Greville, *United States Life Tables and Actuarial Tables 1939-1941* (Washington, 1947) 34-37.