

ISBN 0191-913X  
Texas Population Research Center Papers  
1999-2000

Paper No. 99-00-01

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January, 2000

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## Abstract

*This paper uses data drawn from the U.S. Censuses of Population enumerated between 1880 and 1940 to draw conclusions about the demographic impact of the Mexican Revolution for the United States. There was a substantial Mexican heritage population in the United States as early as 1880. Earlier migration flows were overwhelmed beginning in 1906-07 with a much larger stream, provoked by a combination of economic and political conditions in Mexico and the United States. The Mexican economy suffered severe setbacks after 1906; after that political instability and armed conflict led to both economic and political emigration from Mexico. In the U.S. side a strong economy and demand for labor provided a home for immigrants. The demographic data show a large surge in immigration, the excess of which that is caused by the Mexican Revolution is estimated in the paper to be between 73,000 and 136,000 individuals between 1911 and 1919.*

Un día, muy desesperado de tanta revolución,  
Me pasé para este lado sin pagar la inmigración.  
¡Qué vacilada! ¡Qué vacilada!  
Me pasé sin pagar nada.

“El lavaplatos,” (ca. 1930) <sup>1</sup>

The Mexican Revolution of the early twentieth century provoked a large quantity of human migration; in its wake it left a large quantity of demographic change. This paper is about that demographic impact, especially in the United States. The events of the Revolution have been widely reported, and there is little need to discuss them in detail here.<sup>2</sup> After an economic boom that began around 1880, the Mexican economy crashed in 1907. On top of the economic disaster, the regime of the aging President Porfirio Díaz had become less and less stable. Challenged by a popular reform candidate in the

presidential election of 1910, Diaz jailed his opponent, Francisco I. Madero, and had himself elected for the sixth time. Madero escaped from jail and, on November 20, 1910, issued a call to the Mexican people to revolt. A decade of insurgency, civil war, revolution, and banditry ensued, causing widespread calamities to the infrastructure of society and to civilian populations. Not until the 1920s was relative stability once again established.

While a surge in Mexican migration to the United States can be linked to the souring of the Porfirian economy in 1906-07, the intensification of the Revolution and the political and social disruption of Mexico provided still stronger reasons for movement. Contemporaries certainly thought that emigration played an important role in the social disruption caused by the Revolution; so have historians. Evidence for the perceptions of contemporaries includes a survey done by Gilberto Loyo in 1926-27 that asked 61 Mexican immigrants to the U.S. why they came. Seventeen reported the Revolution, 21 higher wages, nine adventure, and three because of underemployment or unemployment.<sup>3</sup> The persistent power of the emigration explanation appears widely in the historical literature. As recently as the end of 1999, Suzanne Ruta wrote in the *New York Times Book Review*, "The Mexican revolution was an explosion of hope and violence and chaos. Ten percent of Mexico's population moved across the border into the United States."<sup>4</sup>

In this paper we challenge the view that large-scale emigration to the United States accompanied the Mexican Revolution. While the small number of Mexicans in the U.S. increased dramatically in the early twentieth century, scarcely one percent of the population of Mexico arrived in the U.S. Moreover, the Revolution was only one factor among several that led to Mexican immigration to the U.S. Mexicans were also pulled by the booming economy of the American Southwest, particularly in California and Texas. That migration in turn led to a large number of additional Mexican born persons in the U.S., and eventually to a large number of U.S. born persons of Mexican heritage who were the children, grandchildren and later descendants of Mexican immigrants.

We begin this analysis by describing the sources for understanding the impact of the Mexican Revolution in the U.S. From a description of sources and methods, we then turn to estimating what part of the Mexican origin population of the U.S. can be attributed to the disruptions of the 1910s.

The United States Censuses of Population constitute an excellent source of data for understanding the size of the Mexican origin population in the U.S., and for getting a preliminary estimate of the rate of migration of Mexican born persons to the U.S. during the early years of the 20th century. The U.S. Census has regularly asked a question about place of birth, and the published census results always report the size of the population by place of birth for all large nations, including Mexico. In addition, new individual-level census samples exist that allow the recalculation of the estimates of the Mexican born, giving us the opportunity to work with sources unavailable to earlier authors who studied the impact of the revolution.<sup>5</sup> These individual-level census samples have been produced

by a number of research groups in the United States, and collected and systematized by researchers at the University of Minnesota.<sup>6</sup> They include samples that range from 1-in-760 individuals (for 1900) to 1-in-100 individuals (1880, 1920, and 1940); the sample for 1910 provides a 1-in-250 ratio, plus a 1-in-10 oversample of Hispanics. These historical census samples were created by transcribing and digitizing selected records from the microfilms of the original manuscript census enumeration forms. No sample exists for 1890 because a fire destroyed the original manuscript enumeration forms. No sample yet exists for 1930 because U.S. law requires that census records remain confidential for 72 years; they should be made available to researchers in the year 2002. Samples for 1940 through 1990 were prepared by the U.S. Census Bureau itself, which is not bound by the confidentiality rule, and do not include names or other identifying information.

**Table 1: Estimated Size of Mexican-Born Population of the United States, 1880-1940**

	Mexican-Born			Total Foreign-Born		Total U.S. Population
	IPUMS Census Samples	Published Census Data	Percent of U.S. Pop.*	Published Census Data	Percent of U.S. Pop.	Published Census Data
1880	74,400	68,399	0.14	6,679,943	13.32	50,155,783
1890	**	77,853	0.12	9,249,560	14.69	62,947,714
1900	126,740	103,393	0.14	10,341,276	13.61	75,994,575
1910	228,909	221,915	0.24	13,515,886	14.70	91,972,266
1920	500,429	486,418	0.46	13,920,692	13.17	105,710,620
1930	**	641,462	0.52	14,204,149	11.57	122,775,046
1940	389,986	377,433	0.30	11,594,896	8.81	131,669,275

\*Percentage estimates are based on the published census data columns.

\*\*No valid data exist for 1890 and 1930. See text for explanation.

**Source:** For IPUMS estimates, see text. Published Census Data are from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1976, pp. 8, 117. For 1940 data, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population, Nativity and Parentage of the White Population. Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock by Nativity, Citizenship, Age ...*, Washington, 1943.

Table 1 reports the estimated size of the Mexican born population of the United States in its temporal context, based on two different sources. The columns headed “Published Census Data” report the actual count of Mexican born persons, all foreign born persons, and all persons in the United States, extracted from selected original census publications, and reprinted in the *Historical Statistics of the United States*.<sup>7</sup> The column headed “IPUMS Census Samples” represents the weighted count of Mexican born persons included in those samples. The numbers in the two alternative columns for the

Mexican born are similar but not identical. The differences can be explained by sample variation, especially in the 1900 sample, which is very small.

Table 1 also puts the Mexican born population of the U.S. in context, by showing the total population of the United States and the total foreign born population. The columns headed “Percent of U.S. Population” show that the Mexican born were only a small part of the U.S. population, even at their peak in 1930. In that year, Mexican born people made up about half of one percent of the total U.S. population. By contrast, the total foreign born population reached a maximum of 14.7 percent in both 1890 and 1910. The second conclusion to draw from the percentage columns in Table 1 is that the overall total foreign born was a relatively constant proportion of the country’s total population from 1880 to 1920, varying between thirteen and fifteen percent, before falling off in 1930 and 1940 in the wake of restrictive legislation and a severe depression.<sup>8</sup> Again, the Mexican born population stands in contrast to the total foreign born in its trajectory in the early twentieth century. While the overall foreign born population was a fairly constant percentage of the national population from 1880 to 1920, before falling off rapidly in 1930 and 1940, the Mexican born population increased as a percentage of the total U.S. population from 1900 to 1930, before falling off only in 1940. These dramatic increases coincide with the years of greatest disruption in Mexico, and the declines are linked both to the achievement of relative stability in Mexico in the late 1920s, and the advent of economic depression in the United States.

**Table 2: Mexican Origin Population of the United States, by Place of Birth**

	<b>1880</b>	<b>1900</b>	<b>1910</b>	<b>1920</b>	<b>1940</b>
Mexican Born	74,400	126,740	228,909	500,429	389,986
U.S.-Born	213,447	273,992	406,277	495,976	1,213,036
Other Foreign Born	2,795	759	3,335	3,130	7,481
Total	290,642	401,491	638,521	999,535	1,610,503

**Source:** IPUMS 98 data, as tabulated and interpreted using the rules set out in Brian Gratton and Myron P. Gutmann, *Hispanics in the United States, 1850-1990: Estimates of Population Size and National Origin, Historical Methods*, forthcoming. The figures shown provide minimum but consistent estimates of the Mexican-origin population across censuses.

The growth of the Mexican born population of the United States between 1900 and 1940 was accompanied by an increase in U.S. born persons of Mexican origin, as shown in Table 2. Estimating the size of the Mexican-origin population in the United States across a long period of time is no easy matter. The U.S. Census did not ask any kind of Hispanic-origin or Hispanic-status question prior to 1970, so any estimate of the Mexican origin population prior to that year has to be based on a combination of questions about surname, place of residence, nativity, birthplace of parents, and language spoken in

childhood and as an adult. Our estimates are drawn from new work by Brian Gratton and Myron Gutmann, and by Gutmann, W. Parker Frisbie and K. Stephen Blanchard, who have systematically examined the census questions that might reveal Mexican origin, and coupled them with information about where the Mexican-origin population was most likely to live.<sup>9</sup>

The results presented in Table 2 show that there was already a significant U.S.- born Mexican origin population in the United States in 1880, and that it grew substantially, especially in the four decades from 1900 to 1940. While the Mexican-origin population in 1880 was not large in absolute terms, it was large enough that by natural increase alone it had continued effects in building a U.S. born Mexican origin population. Except in 1920, at the height of the immigration spurred by the Mexican Revolution, U.S. born persons of Mexican origin outnumbered those who were born in Mexico. By 1940, the ratio between the native born and the Mexican born was more than three to one. The size of the U.S. born Mexican heritage population as early as 1880, and its continued importance in 1900 and even 1910, may be a surprise to some. Many of these people were long-term inhabitants of United States territory who lived in New Mexico, and were the descendents of Spanish-speaking people who had settled in the region as early as the seventeenth century.<sup>10</sup> The high birth rates of the U.S. born Mexican origin population were more than matched by high birth rates for the Mexican immigrant population. These two fertility factors led to the rising number of U.S. born Mexican origin people during the first half of the twentieth century.

When we display state-by-state totals for the U.S. born and the Mexican born population of Mexican origin (Table 3), we see a specific pattern. The U.S. born population had its greatest numbers in New Mexico (where the older Hispano population lived), and to a lesser extent in Texas, California, and Colorado. Those states continued to be home to large numbers of U.S. born persons of Mexican heritage, but the role of New Mexico diminished because it received relatively few Mexican immigrants compared with Texas and California. By 1940, the geographic distribution of Mexican origin persons had changed substantially, so that California had replaced New Mexico as the state with the second largest number of Mexican origin people, after Texas. In place of a population that had deep roots in U.S. territory, the Mexican origin population of the U.S. was increasingly made up of immigrants, their children, and their grandchildren.

Table 4 shows that the Mexican origin population that developed in the U.S. between 1880 and 1940 had a sex distribution that is characteristic of populations made up of a mix of long-term residents, migrants of the same ethnic origin, and the children of recent migrants. The U.S. born Mexican-origin population had a balanced sex ratio, with slightly more males than females in every year except 1910, when females outnumbered males by a small margin. The Mexican born population, on the other hand, had many more males than females up until 1920, with the most dramatic differences in 1900, 1910, and 1920. The large excess of males relative to females is common to immigrant groups in this period; male immigration for short-term economic gain was a customary strategy, followed by remigration to the country (and homes) of origin. In Mexico, revolutionary

political conditions may have also induced more men than women to emigrate. The cessation of hostilities ended the latter motivation, and the depression of the 1930s curtailed interest in sojourners' wage-earning adventures. The result was a much more balanced sex ratio by 1940, a finding consistent with the general pattern for other immigrant groups in the United States during this period.<sup>11</sup>

**Table 3: State of Residence of Mexican Origin Population, by Nativity, 1880-1940**

Mexican Born\*

	1880	1900	1910	1920	1940
Arizona	12,078	17,455	35,932	65,794	28,506
California	10,774	6,072	37,470	87,005	143,865
Colorado	398	0	2,520	13,222	7,323
Kansas	200	0	14,678	14,629	7,757
New Mexico	6,469	12,902	12,759	24,014	18,788
Texas	43,787	87,275	121,726	265,005	152,208
All Other	3,489	3,795	7,159	33,789	39,020
Total	77,195	127,499	232,244	503,559	397,467

U.S. Born

	1880	1900	1910	1920	1940
Arizona	7,484	22,011	35,143	42,583	71,592
California	44,057	42,504	70,708	72,555	315,055
Colorado	16,362	7,590	15,372	27,632	79,243
Kansas	500	759	528	5,047	15,867
New Mexico	100,261	80,454	114,992	121,682	179,584
Texas	38,198	111,566	154,581	210,731	487,223
All Other	6,585	9,108	14,953	15,746	64,472
Total	213,447	273,992	406,277	495,976	1,213,036

\*We include in the Mexican Born the small number born in other foreign places.

Source: See Table 2.

The data and analysis presented thus far have shown the evolving size of the Mexican origin population of the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, based on periodic measures of the size and structure of that population. It is now appropriate to turn to data about migration, in order to show the flow of Mexican people

into the United States before, during, and after the years of the Mexican Revolution. No perfectly adequate sources about the migration of Mexicans exist. The best available estimates from U.S. sources are reported in Table 5.

**Table 4: Mexican Origin Population of the U.S. - By Sex, 1880-1940**

	1880	1900	1910	1920	1940
Mexican Born*					
Male	42,284	72,867	141,377	283,776	204,061
Female	34,911	54,642	90,867	219,783	193,406
Sex Ratio (Males/100 Females)	121	133	156	129	106
U.S. - Born					
Male	110,011	141,931	202,593	525,459	612,599
Female	103,436	132,061	203,684	243,517	600,437
Sex Ratio (Males/100 Females)	106	107	99	104	102

\*We include in the Mexican Born the small number born in other foreign places.

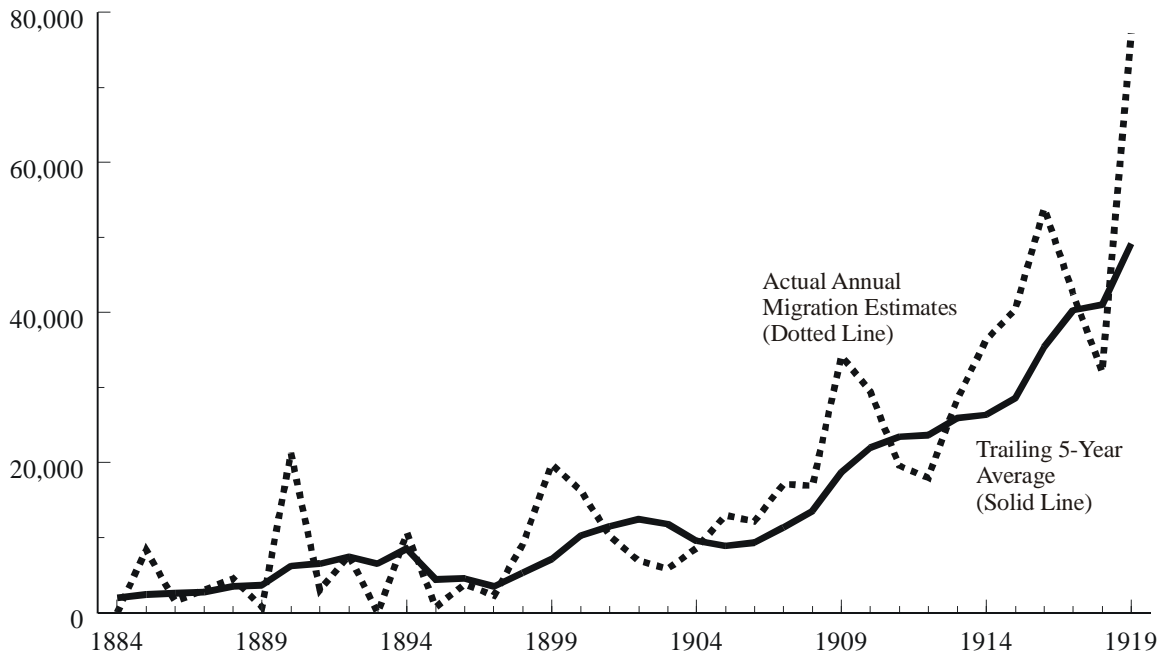
Source: See Table 2.

The first results reported in Table 5 are drawn from the U.S. census samples described earlier, for 1900, 1910, and 1920. In those years, the Census enumeration form asked all persons born in a foreign country either the year of their entry into the U.S., or the number of years that they had lived in the U.S. It is possible to tabulate those data from the digitized samples for persons born in Mexico, and to use those figures to estimate the amount of migration in each year. Needless to say, the migration estimates produced in this fashion are very rough. One important problem with these data is the fact that the longer the time period between migration and the census, the more likely the estimate of migration to be low. Some people will have returned to their place of origin (or birth) in the intervening years, while others will have died or not accurately remembered the details of their arrival. We attempt to optimize the data by using the 1900 census data for 1880 to 1899, the 1910 data for 1900 through 1909, and the 1920 data for 1910 through 1919. These results are reported in the columns labeled “1900 Census Estimates,” and so on. In order to smooth the data and overcome heaping on years or ages, we take a trailing five year average, so that the data reported in the column headed “Trailing Five-Year Average” for 1884 are the average numbers for 1880-1884. We show the difference between the actual tabulation and the trailing average in Figure 1.

**Table 5: Estimates of Mexican Migration, by Year**

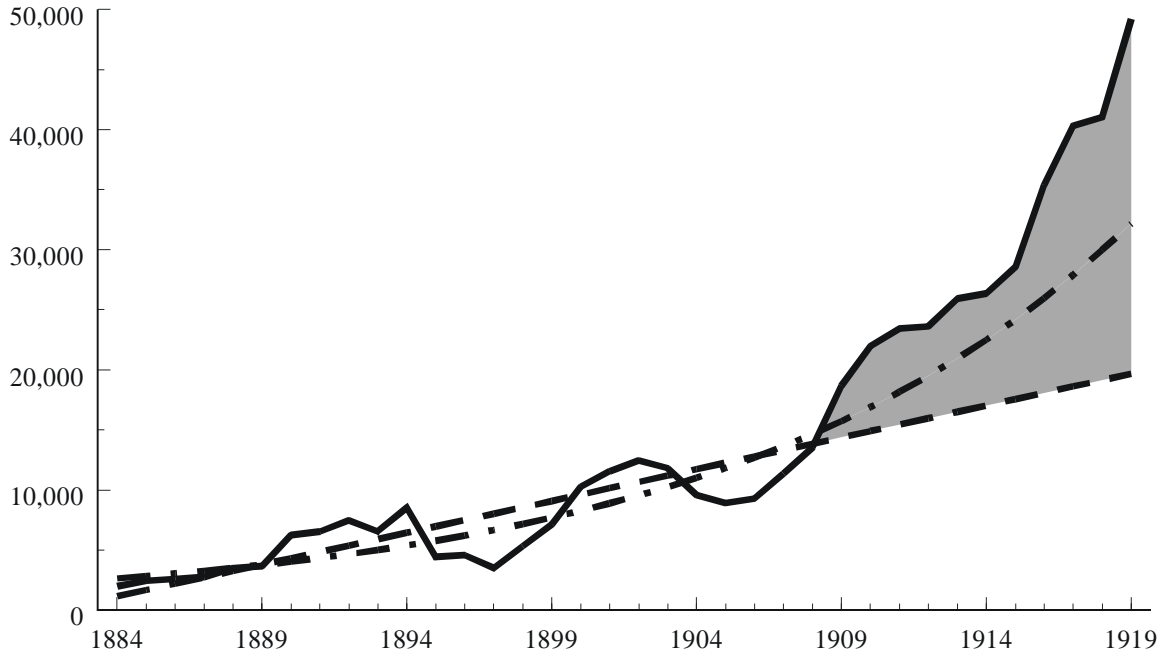
	Census-Based Migration Estimates				U.S. Immigration Service
	1900 Census Estimates	1910 Census Estimates	1920 Census Estimates	Trailing 5-Year Average	
1880	6,080				492
1881	760				325
1882	2,280				366
1883	760				469
1884	0			1,976	430
1885	8,360			2,432	323
1886	1,520			2,584	N/A
1887	3,040			2,736	N/A
1888	4,560			3,496	N/A
1889	760			3,648	N/A
1890	21,280			6,232	N/A
1891	3,040			6,536	N/A
1892	7,600			7,448	N/A
1893	0			6,536	N/A
1894	10,640			8,512	109
1895	760			4,408	116
1896	3,800			4,560	150
1897	2,280			3,496	91
1898	9,120			5,320	107
1899	19,760			7,144	161
1900		16,283		10,249	237
1901		10,236		11,536	347
1902		6,907		12,461	709
1903		5,840		11,805	528
1904		8,600		9,573	1,009
1905		12,977		8,912	2,637
1906		12,161		9,297	1,997
1907		17,144		11,344	1,406
1908		16,902		13,557	6,067
1909		34,173		18,671	16,251
1910			29,462	21,968	18,691
1911			19,573	23,451	19,889
1912			17,961	23,614	23,238
1913			28,463	25,926	11,926
1914			36,344	26,361	14,614
1915			40,351	28,538	12,340
1916			53,881	35,400	18,425
1917			42,493	40,306	17,869
1918			32,071	41,028	18,524
1919			77,217	49,203	29,818
1920					52,361
1921					30,758
1922					19,551
1923					63,768
1924					89,336
1925					32,964
1926					43,316
1927					67,721
1928					59,016
1929					40,154
1930					12,703

**Source:** Census based data: see text. U.S. Immigration Service Data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1976, pp. 107-108.



**Figure 1: Raw and Smoothed Estimates of Mexican Migration to the U.S. By Year, 1884-1919, based on Census Sample Data.** The dotted line reports year of arrival in the United States for sampled persons born in Mexico, as enumerated in the 1900, 1910, and 1920 U.S. Censuses. The solid line is a trailing five-year moving average of the data. Source: see Table 5..

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service provides another set of estimates of migration from Mexico from its official records. The estimates of Mexican migration that the Immigration Service provided to the editors of *Historical Statistics of the United States* for its 1976 edition are reported in the last column of Table 5. While these estimates are interesting, it is apparent that in many years they provide lower estimates than the Census data, which are quite obviously underestimates themselves. The most important interesting conclusion to draw from the Immigration Service estimates of migration from Mexico is that the flow of migrants continued to increase during the 1920s, and then rapidly declined after 1929, undoubtedly a consequence of the Depression in the United States. Steep fall-offs in migration, and pronounced return migration, caused the decline in Mexican born persons recorded in the 1940 U.S. Census. While the estimates of the Immigration Service are worth thinking about, we will concentrate our attention on figures we have drawn from Census reports of year of immigration for Mexican born people in the U.S.



**Figure 2: Estimated Mexican Migration to the U.S. By Year, 1884-1919, based on Census Sample Data.** The solid line is the trailing five-year average of reported years of immigration for Mexican-Born persons in the 1900, 1910, and 1920 U.S. Censuses (see Table 5 and Figure 1).. The dashed line is a linear estimate of the change from 1884 to 1910, extended to 1919. The dot-dash line is an exponential curve fit to the data for 1884 to 1910, and extended to 1919. The purpose of the dashed and dot-dash lines is to show what the level of Mexican immigration would have been if the trajectory of 1884-1910 had continued for another nine years. The gray are summarizes the quantity of additional migration.

We summarize the immigration estimates based on Census data in graphical form in Figure 2. The actual estimates of migration by year, based on trailing 5-year averages, is represented by the solid line. This line shows a clear upward trend, with short-term peaks in the early 1890s and 1900s, followed by troughs after 1894 and 1902. Then, beginning with the 1906 averages, the annual rate of migration increased rapidly. What had been an average annual rate of entries from Mexico of fewer than 15,000 in 1900-1902 became 20,000 by 1910, and nearly 50,000 by 1920. What is the meaning of this rapid increase in Mexican immigration? We know from the national data about the foreign born in the U.S. presented in Table 1 that their overall representation did not increase during the 1910s, at least as a percentage of the total U.S. population.

Figure 2 also tries to give a sense of the rapid growth of Mexican migration to the United States during the first two decades of the twentieth century. We can assume that even without the Mexican Revolution, the number of migrants from Mexico to the U.S.

might have increased after 1905 or 1910, just as it had been increasing since the 1880s. The dashed line represents the level of estimated migration per year, had the progression from 1884 through 1910 been linear, and had that linear trend continued until 1919. This linear trend would have reached 19,700 immigrants by 1919. The dot-dash line represents an alternative trend, one where the pattern of change was exponential from 1884 to 1910, and then continued to 1919. In the exponential scenario, the number of migrants by 1919 would have been nearly 32,200, still far below the actual number of immigrants in the teens, and even further below the estimated Mexican immigration to the U.S. in the 1920s, based on the figures reported by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

How much more immigration to the United States was there in the years from 1911 to 1920, because of the Mexican Revolution? That is very difficult to estimate, because we don't know how many Mexicans would have come to the U.S. for economic or political reasons, even without the Revolution. What we do know is that Mexican immigration was increasing from a low level beginning in the 1880s, and that despite ups and downs it began to rise significantly beginning in 1906. After 1908, the pace accelerated. We can estimate the difference between the linear trend from 1884 to 1910, extended from 1911 to 1919, and the actual data from 1911 to 1919. That produces an estimate of more than 136,000 "excess" migrants over those nine years.<sup>12</sup> The estimate of 136,000 excess migrants is only a rough figure, but it is worth thinking about. From one perspective, it may be an overestimate, because we are assuming a linear trend in the number of migrants, when an exponential trend might be more appropriate. An exponential trend in the expected number of migrants would yield an estimate of fewer "excess" migrants, in the range of 73,000 persons. On the other hand, our guess of 136,000 excess migrants may be an underestimate, because it is largely based on recollections in the 1920 census enumeration, when many Mexican migrants from the early 1910s might already have become disappointed and returned.

Another way to think about the estimate of 73,000 to 136,000 excess migrants whose arrival coincided roughly with the Mexican Revolution is to compare their numbers with the total Mexican born population of the U.S. in 1920. How much difference did they make? According to Table 2, there were roughly 486,000 Mexican born persons in the U.S. in 1920. If our estimate of those whose migration might be tied to conditions in the 1910s is accurate, there were one-fourth more than there might have been. That is a significant impact. On the other hand, this stream of migrants probably represents only one percent of the Mexican population living in Mexico, both before and after the Revolution.

From still another perspective, we need to remember that much of the steep rise in Figure 1 takes place only at the time of the First World War, when immigration from Europe was more difficult, and the opportunities for Mexicans were increasing rapidly. Even without a Revolution, there would have been sharply increasing demand for Mexican workers after 1914, and we should expect to see new, upward trends in immigrant numbers. What appears to be an emigration "push" created by the Mexican

Revolution may well be the immigration “pull” caused by a dynamic U.S. economy that needed immigrant labor but was unable to attract sufficient numbers of Europeans.

\* \* \* \* \*

In this paper we have used data drawn from the U.S. Censuses of Population enumerated between 1880 and 1940 to draw some conclusions about the demographic impact of the Mexican Revolution on the United States. We have shown that there was a substantial Mexican heritage population in the United States as early as 1880 (and surely much earlier), and that it was located in New Mexico and Texas, with smaller clusters in California and Colorado. Beginning as early as we can see, migrants from Mexico came to the United States too, concentrating themselves in the border states of Texas and California, but gradually spreading inland, so that there were nearly 15,000 Mexican born people in Kansas in 1910, working in agriculture and on railroads.

This steady flow of migrants was overwhelmed beginning in 1906-07 with a much larger stream, provoked by a combination of economic and political conditions in Mexico, and economic and political conditions in the United States. The Mexican economy suffered severe setbacks after 1906; after that political instability and armed conflict led to both economic and political emigration from Mexico. On the U.S. side, a strong economy and demand for labor (as well as the eventual restriction of immigration from Europe) provided a home for immigrants, at least until the Great Depression. The demographic data show a large surge in immigration, which we have estimated to be between 73,000 and 136,000 individuals between 1911 and 1919.

Our estimates of the impact of the Mexican Revolution are considerably less than those of other authors. We suspect that the economic factors leading to emigration from Mexico to the United States were ultimately more powerful than the political factors. Among the many voices that amplify the role of economic forces is this corrido, called “Despida de un norteno”, and collected by Eduardo Guerrero in 1924:

Adiós mi patria querida:  
Yo ya me voy a ausentar,  
Me voy para Estados Unidos,  
Donde pienso trabajar,

....

Pues yo no tengo la culpa  
Que abandone así a mi tierra  
La culpa es de la pobreza  
Que nos tiene en la miseria.<sup>13</sup>

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## **Acknowledgement:**

We are grateful for the assistance provided by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development for grants 1 F33 HD08147-0 (Gratton), and 5 R01 HD32325 (Gutmann). This paper appears in Spanish as “Los efectos demográficos de la revolución Mexicana en Estados Unidos,” *Historia Mexicana* 50 (2000), 145-165.

## **Endnotes**

<sup>1</sup> Loza, 1992, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Among many other histories, see Womack, 1991.

<sup>3</sup> Carreras de Velasco, 1974.

<sup>4</sup> Ruta, 1999.

<sup>5</sup> Greer, 1966. There is a substantial literature looking at the question from the Mexican side. See Collver, 1965, p. 143 and Mier y Terán, 1982.

<sup>6</sup> For the data and details about how each sample was constructed, see Ruggles and Sobek, 1997. For the Hispanic Oversample of the 1910 Census, see Gutmann, et al., 1998.

<sup>7</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976.

<sup>8</sup> For an introduction to the history of U.S. immigration and the policy that controls it, see LeMay, 1987.

<sup>9</sup> Gratton and Gutmann, 2000; Gutmann, Frisbie, and Blanchard, 1999. For estimates of the Mexican-American population in 1940, see Gratton, Rosales, and DeBano, 1988. The estimates reported in Table 2 reflect what Gratton and Gutmann call their “consistent” estimate strategy, which yields consistent estimates of the size of the Mexican origin population across decades. In their work, they also offer a “maximized” estimate, which uses all available data to give the largest credible estimate of the number of Mexican origin people in years for which there are more variables available to identify persons of Mexican origin.

<sup>10</sup> For the Hispano population at the transition from Mexican to U.S. jurisdiction, see Nostrand, 1992.

<sup>11</sup> Wyman, 1993.

<sup>12</sup> We arrive at the estimate of 136,000 by subtracting the values associated with the linear trend line in Figure 1 from the actual number of estimated annual immigrants in the column labeled “Trailing 5-Year Average” in Table 5, and summing the values for 1911 through 1919.

<sup>13</sup> Herrera-Sobek, 1993.