Corazón de Dixie

Weise, Julie M.

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**Notes**

*Abbreviations Used in the Notes*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACANO</td>
<td>Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans, Louisiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACDJ</td>
<td>Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Jackson, Mississippi</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACDS</td>
<td>Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Savannah, Georgia</td>
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<tr>
<td>AEMEUA</td>
<td>Archivo de la Embajada de México en los Estados Unidos de América, Mexico City</td>
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<tr>
<td>AGENL</td>
<td>Archivo General del Estado de Nuevo León, Monterrey, Mexico</td>
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<tr>
<td>AGEV</td>
<td>Archivo General del Estado de Veracruz, Xalapa, Mexico</td>
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<tr>
<td>AGN</td>
<td>Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City</td>
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<tr>
<td>AHSRE</td>
<td>Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City</td>
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<tr>
<td>AMLN</td>
<td>Archivo Municipal de Lampazos de Naranjo, Nuevo León, Mexico</td>
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<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>Associated Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASU</td>
<td>Arkansas State University, Jonesboro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BHA</td>
<td>Smithsonian Bracero History Archive Oral Histories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCES</td>
<td>Catholic Church Extension Society Records, Loyola University, Chicago</td>
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<td>CIC</td>
<td>Church of the Immaculate Conception, Blytheville, Arkansas</td>
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<td>D&amp;PL</td>
<td>Delta and Pine Land Papers, Mississippi State University Archives, Starkville</td>
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<td>DCFS</td>
<td>Department of Children and Family Services series (24-1-31), Georgia Archives, Morrow</td>
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<td>DSU</td>
<td>Delta State University Archives and Museum, Cleveland, Mississippi</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECG</td>
<td>E. C. “Took” Gathings Collection, Archives and Special Collections, Arkansas State University, Jonesboro</td>
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<td>GA</td>
<td>Georgia Archives, Morrow</td>
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<td>GBC</td>
<td>Georgia Baptist Convention Archives, Duluth</td>
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<tr>
<td>HA</td>
<td>Homer M. Adkins Papers, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock</td>
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</table>
ICE-FOIA  Freedom of Information Act request to Immigration and Customs Enforcement
JM  Sen. John McClellan Papers, Ouachita Baptist University, Arkadelphia, Arkansas
MDAH  Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson
NAFW RG 33  National Archives at Fort Worth, Record Group 33, Records of the Agricultural Extension Service
NARA RG 85  National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., Record Group 85, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
NCCC  North Carolina Council of Churches Papers, Duke University Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Durham
NOPL  New Orleans Public Library, Louisiana Division and City Archives
OLV  Our Lady of Victories Catholic Church, Cleveland, Mississippi
SANC  State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh
SHCC  Sacred Heart Catholic Church, Vidalia, Georgia
TB  Theodore G. Bilbo Papers, University of Southern Mississippi, McCain Library and Archives, Hattiesburg
UGA  University of Georgia Libraries, Athens
VSU  Valdosta State University Archives, Georgia

Introduction

1. Cónsul Rubén Gaxiola to Secretariat of Foreign Relations, November 19, 1949, folder TM-26–2, AHSRE.


5. For reports of tense relations, see McClain, Carter, et al., “Racial Distancing in a Southern City”; Marrow, “Hispanic Immigration, Black Population Size, and Intergroup Relations,” 221–23; Gray, We Just Keep Running the Line. For reports of actual or potential cooperation, see Stuesse, “Race, Migration, and Labor Control”; Barbara Ellen Smith, “Market Rivals or Class Allies?”; Jones, “Blacks May Be Second Class.” For a critique of these discourses, see Jackson, “Shifting Nature of Racism.”


8. On smaller migrations in the nineteenth century, see Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico"; Jiménez, "Cultural Diplomacy on an International Stage."

9. Here and elsewhere I use "borderland" to denote a space largely beyond the reach of nation-state power. Hämäläinen and Truett, "On Borderlands."


11. Grossman, Land of Hope; Cobb, Most Southern Place on Earth; Woodruff, American Congo.


16. Ibid.; Jung, Cookies and Cane; Walter Johnson, River of Dark Dreams.


20. On cultural racism, see Balibar, "Racism and Nationalism"; Fredrickson, Racism; Spitzer, Lives in Between.


24. Gamboa, Mexican Labor and World War II; Valdés, Al Norte; Valdés, Barrios Norteños; Vargas, Proletarians of the North.

25. For more on Texas as both a southern and southwestern state, see Neil Foley, White Scourge. On Florida, see Hewitt, Southern Discomfort; Connolly, "Timely Innovations."

26. Arredondo, Mexican Chicago; Barton, "Borderland Discontents"; Dreby, Divided by Borders; Neil Foley, White Scourge; Matt García, A World of Its Own; Pitti, Devil in Silicon Valley; Sifuentez, "By Forests or by Fields"; Vargas, Proletarians of the North; Vargas, Labor Rights Are Civil Rights; Erika Lee, At America’s Gates; Matthew Frye Jacobson, Whiteness of a Different Color; Hoffnung-Garskof, Tale of Two Cities; Deborah Cohen, Braceros; Deutsch, No Separate Refuge; Goldring, "Mexican State and Transmigrant
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Organizations”; Gutiérrez, Walls and Mirrors; Perales, Smeltertown; Rouse, “Mexican Migration and the Social Space of Postmodernism”; Ruíz, Cannery Women; Sánchez, Becoming Mexican American; Robert C. Smith, Mexican New York; Hsu, Dreaming of Gold; Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu; Fink, Maya of Morganton; Rodriguez, Repositioning North American Migration History; Marc S. Rodriguez, Tejano Diaspora.

27. Schmidt Camacho, Migrant Imaginaries; Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu.

28. This is true, in part, because I was denied access to the archives of the Catholic Diocese at Little Rock, making it impossible to make conclusive arguments about the role of the Catholic Church in the pivotal middle chapter of this book.

29. See, for example, the dissertation proposal of Yuridia Ramírez, Duke University Ph.D. candidate.

30. Lassiter and Crespino, Myth of Southern Exceptionalism.


32. Bow, Partly Colored; Jung, Coolies and Cane; Lovett, “‘African and Cherokee by Choice.’”


34. Benjamin Heber Johnson, Revolution in Texas; Montejano, Anglos and Mexicans.

35. Matt Garcia, A World of Its Own; Vargas, Proletarians of the North; Valdés, Barrios Norteños.

36. Cobb, Most Southern Place on Earth.

37. Calavita, Inside the State; Deborah Cohen, Braceros.


39. On the need not to reify the difference between the two, see Holt, Problem of Race in the Twenty-First Century, 14.


41. On connections between neoliberal economic growth patterns in the U.S. Sunbelt and Mexico, see Cadava, Standing on Common Ground, 17–18.

42. On globalization’s effect on the social and racial landscapes of cities, see Sassen, Global City.

43. Walker, Waking from the Dream.

44. Lassiter, Silent Majority.

46. For a critique of this narrative, see Lassiter and Crespino, Myth of Southern Exceptionalism.

47. Alabama House Republican Caucus, “Representative Micky Hammon and Illegal Immigration.”

Chapter 1

1. See, for example, cover and middle pages of Sánchez, Becoming Mexican American.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.; Mario García, Mexican Americans; Gutiérrez, Walls and Mirrors; Monroy, Rebirth; Behnken, Fighting Their Own Battles.

4. Benjamin Heber Johnson, Revolution in Texas; Montejano, Anglos and Mexicans; Sánchez, Becoming Mexican American.

5. Hazel Canedo, interview by the author.

6. Ibid.

7. The U.S. Census counted 1,242 Mexican-born whites in New Orleans in 1920, and based on my analysis of the 1920 manuscript census (see Appendix), it is likely that an additional 10 percent lived there as well, classified by census workers as Negro or mulatto. For 1930, U.S. Census publications report 467 foreign-born white Mexicans as well as 527 foreign-born individuals with the race “Mexican,” for a total of 994. An additional 190 U.S.-born Mexican-race individuals, presumably the children of immigrants, lived there as well. Since my detailed analysis suggests substantial turnover in the Mexicano population between 1920 and 1930, I estimate that around 2,000 Mexicanos lived in the city at some point during the 1910s–30s (see Appendix). Hunt, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 3:247, 391; U.S. Census Bureau, Fifteenth Census of the United States, 70, 326.

8. For more on the racialized construction of Creole identities, see Dominguez, White by Definition. For examples of minority groups deliberately positioning themselves vis-à-vis the color line elsewhere in the U.S. South during the height of Jim Crow, see Bow, Partly Colored; Loewen, Mississippi Chinese; Lowery, Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South.

9. This definition is somewhat broader than Omi and Winant’s, including realms outside the social, economic, and political and also emphasizing the process through which individuals acquire “race.” Omi and Winant, Racial Formation in the United States.

10. Fredrickson, Racism; Stern, Eugenic Nation.


12. Leo Spitzer provides an intellectual history of race in Europe, Africa, and Latin America from the nineteenth century into the twentieth, emphasizing the tension between long-standing traditions of cultural assimilation and the rise of eugenics. Spitzer, Lives in Between.


15. For more on the South’s global past under European colonialism, see Peacock, *Grounded Globalism*, 31–32.


24. Analysis of 1930 “Protección” logs of the Mexican Consulate at New Orleans, AHSRE.


33. Secretaría de Gobernación to C. Delfino Victoria, Gob. Interino del Estado de Veracruz, Circular #30, 1918, Box 86, Folder 53, “Consultas contratación de braceros,” AGEV.

34. Acuse, Municipio de Xoxocotla, Canton de Zongolica, November 15, 1918, Box 86, Folder 53, “Consultas contratacion de braceros,” AGEV.

36. For more on the henequen plant and its importance to Yucatán’s economic, social, and political history, see Joseph, *Revolution from Without*, 13.

37. Michael Nelken (grandson of Francisco Enseñat), interview by the author.


42. 1930 manuscript census analysis; see Appendix for more information.


45. Frank Cervantes (grandson of Francisco Cervantes), telephone interview by the author.


57. Ibid., 140–44.

59. This description is based on observations from the early 1930s in ibid.; Federal Writers’ Project, *WPA Guide to New Orleans*, 60–61, 150–51, 261.


61. Of Mexican-born people whose arrival dates were cataloged by enumerators on the 1920 census, 60 percent arrived in 1917 or later. See 1920 census analysis, explained in Appendix.


63. This extrapolates from my analysis of the 1920 manuscript census. See Appendix for methodological information.

64. “Se organiza una Cia naviera mexicana en este país,” *La Prensa*, July 31, 1917.

65. Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 173; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 192. Camarillo’s figures are precisely for 1920 while Sánchez’s are based on naturalization petitions filed before 1940 and thus represent the 1910s–30s as a whole.


67. Huber, *Our Lady of Guadalupe Church*.


69. “Re-dedication and Blessing, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, February 3, 1952,” 15, ACANO.

70. Anne M. Martínez, *Catholic Borderlands*.


75. This figure counts Mexican and Mexican American women over the age of sixteen listed as single, divorced, or widowed. See Appendix for more information.

76. This figure is based on arrival dates of immigrant women in the 1930 census. This date was meant to indicate arrival to the country, if not necessarily the current city of residence. As a port city, however, New Orleans was the first destination for the vast majority of Mexican immigrants, as evidenced by the fact that 90 percent of the immigrants’ U.S.-born children were born in Louisiana. See Appendix.


Notes to Pages 24–27
79. Gardner, *Qualities of a Citizen*.
81. For more on Ramos, see Jiménez, “Cultural Diplomacy on an International Stage.”
84. Due to New Orleans census workers’ quixotic spellings of Mexicans’ last names as well as my sampling methodology, it was not possible to conduct a systematic longitudinal analysis. However, of four matches I was able to make between the 1920 and 1930 samples, two remained stable and two experienced upward mobility. Naturalization petitions would have identified a limited slice of the immigrant population (those who remained in New Orleans and naturalized there) but would have allowed for a robust longitudinal analysis of that slice, as in Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*.
86. Based on analysis of extant AHSRE records. There were sixty-three cases that definitively originated in New Orleans from 1930 to 1935.
87. Carlos Zervigón, interview by the author; Kenneth Nieto, interview by the author; Frank Cervantes, telephone interview by the author; Hazel Canedo, interview by the author; Michael Nelken, interview by the author; David Resendez, telephone interview by the author.
88. Carlos Zervigón, interview by the author; David Resendez, telephone interview by the author.
90. Just 26 percent of Mexicans in 1920 had at least one Latin American neighbor; in 1930, 31 percent did. See Appendix.
93. 1920 and 1930 census analyses (see Appendix).
95. Based on analysis of 1920 manuscript census. See Appendix for methodology. Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*.


104. Ibid., 1399.

105. Ibid., 69, 323.

106. The 1930 U.S. census publications report 467 foreign-born white Mexicans as well as 527 foreign-born individuals listed with the race “Mexican” lived in New Orleans that year; this means that 47 percent of Mexican-born individuals were returned as white. An additional 190 U.S.-born Mexican-race individuals lived there as well, presumably the children of immigrants. Ibid., 70, 326. Examination of the manuscript census reveals that in some cases, Central Americans were racially categorized as Mexican, causing official statistics to be inexact. In the households I sampled for this study, 41 percent of Mexican-born individuals were returned as white on the 1930 census, 56 percent were returned as Mexican, and 3 percent were returned as Negro. See Appendix for details.

107. A random sample of enumerators was identified as white through searches on Ancestry.com; I identified approximately 60 percent as female on the basis of first names and use of the titles “Mrs.” or “Miss.”


109. See, for example, C.N.S., “Mexicans Warring against ‘Jim Crow,’” *Louisiana Weekly*, October 24, 1931.


112. For more on hierarchies within whiteness during this period, see Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*; Guglielmo, *White on Arrival*.

113. This is in contrast to another Gulf Coast city, Tampa, where Cubans were classed as “Latinos” alongside Spanish and Italian immigrants. Hewitt, *Southern Discomfort*.


119. “Louisiana Sugar News,” Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer, June 1, 1918.
120. Wooton, “Mexican Labor May Aid Sugar Planters Here—Serious Situation Can Be Met by Importation of Cane Laborers,” Times-Picayune, June 21, 1918.
121. “Louisiana Sugar News,” Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer, July 6, 1918.
123. “Mexican Involved in Fight at Negro Dance Hall,” Times-Picayune, September 19, 1922.
127. The question would be foremost in the minds of Cuban elites in Tampa as well. Hewitt, Southern Discomfort, 219.
128. Ibid.
129. For Shreveport, see Consul Fernando Alatorte to Sra. Petra S. Viuda de Hernandez, August 30, 1933, Folder IV-642-25, AHSRE. For Cleveland, Mississippi, see Chapter 2. For the West and Midwest, see Vargas, Labor Rights Are Civil Rights, 135. For the Southwest, see Sánchez, Becoming Mexican American, 117.
130. “Visitation Report for the Parish of St. Louis Cathedral,” 1934, Parish files, Our Lady of Guadalupe, ACANO.
132. For more on the Mexican consulate in Los Angeles, see Sánchez, Becoming Mexican American, 108–25.
134. Arnesen, Waterfront Workers of New Orleans; Claire Nee Nelson, “Redeeming Whiteness in New Orleans.”
137. “Diplomat Protests Ban on Mexicans,” September 19, 1923, newspaper clipping from unknown source, in Folder 1451/1, AEMEUA.

Notes to Pages 36–39
139. Basave Benítez, México Mestizo, 130.
140. Ibid.; María Elena Martínez, Genealogical Fictions.
141. Knight, “Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo.”
142. Ibid.
143. Ibid.
144. Basave Benítez, México Mestizo, 92; Rénique, “Race, Region, and Nation.” For the subversive potential of mestizaje, see Benjamin Heber Johnson, “Cosmic Race in Texas.”
145. Basave Benítez, México Mestizo, 141.
146. For more on the prerevolution history of this relationship, see Cornell, “Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico.”
147. Horne, Black and Brown, 182–83; Gellman, Good Neighbor Diplomacy, 30.
148. Embassy of Mexico to Secretary of Foreign Relations, November 15, 1929, Folder IV-122-4, AHSRE.
149. Horne, Black and Brown, 182–83; Cornell, “Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico.”
150. Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo argues that European-influenced Porfrian ideas of nation and modernity shaped the contours of “post”-revolutionary Mexican culture and intellectual life, including in matters of race. See Tenorio-Trillo, Mexico at the World’s Fairs.
151. “Expediente personal de Armando Cuitlahuac Amador Sandoval,” Folder 14-29-4, AHSRE.
152. Ibid.
153. “El Renacimiento del Arte Mexicano,” lecture by Armando Amador, February 16, 1929, Tulane University, New Orleans, Folder IV-263-58, AHSRE.
154. Text of radio talk over Station WSMJ, by Armando Amador, January 19, 1930, Folder IV-490-22, AHSRE.
156. Benjamin Heber Johnson, Revolution in Texas.
158. “Sugar in Mexico—A Summary,” Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer, July 8, 1916.
160. On the Jung Hotel, see Federal Writers’ Project, WPA Guide to New Orleans, xxxiii.
161. Cónsul Octavio Barreda to C. Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores, September 22, 1930, and Program of Independence Day Celebration, September 16, 1930, Folder IV-265-33, AHSRE.
162. Anita González, Jarocha’s Soul.
163. On Amador in Chicago, see Arredondo, Mexican Chicago, 80.
164. This information is based on analysis of extant documentation of New Orleans
consular protection cases originating in New Orleans in 1930–32: Folders IV-188-16, IV-358-14, IV-358-43, and IV-69-44, AHSRE.

165. The regionally specific historiography of racial ideas in twentieth-century Mexico is sparse and has not yet explored Veracruz. On the colonial period, see Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz*.


167. Fox, *Three Worlds of Relief*.


176. List of Consular Protection Activities, Mexican Consulate in New Orleans, 1930, Folder IV-69-44, AHSRE.

177. “Será Deportado por Quinta Vez un mexicano de 14 años,” *La Prensa*, January 9, 1929.

178. This is based on all extant records from the New Orleans consulate from 1929 to 1935 and key-word searches of the *Times-Picayune* and Newsbank’s Hispanic American Periodicals database, which includes several papers that reported on New Orleans at the time, as well as *La Prensa*, which had a correspondent there. Furthermore, Cybelle Fox has conducted an exhaustive review of federal records pertaining to the deportation and repatriation of Mexicans in the early 1930s. She found no evidence of large-scale repatriation or deportation campaigns targeted at Mexicans in New Orleans. Cybelle Fox, e-mail to the author, July 27, 2014; and Fox, *Three Worlds of Relief*.


180. Fox, *Three Worlds of Relief*.

181. District Director, New Orleans District, U.S. Department of Labor Immigration Service, to Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., August 16, 1934, Entry 9, 55598/568A, Box 412, NARA RG 85. I am grateful to Cybelle Fox for finding and sending me this primary source.

183. In lieu of a criminal charge, the records of New Orleans Police Department arrests sometimes read, "Held for U.S. immigration authorities." See, for example, the arrest cards of laborers Antonio López (July 30, 1928) and Federico López (April 10, 1929), NOPL.

184. Assistant Commissioner of Immigration, New Orleans, La., to Commissioner, May 27, 1924, and Assistant Commissioner of Immigration, New Orleans, La., to Commissioner, February 14, 1928, Entry 9, 55396/17, NARA RG 85; Commissioner, U.S. Department of Labor, New Orleans, La., to Commissioner-General of Immigration, Washington, D.C., July 28, 1930, Entry 9, 55727/917, NARA RG 85.

185. In addition to several cases in consulate files that clearly originated outside New Orleans, federal documents suggest that of Mexican immigrants permanently departing the United States for any reason from July 1, 1929, through June 30, 1930, just twenty-three listed Louisiana as their last state of residence, though this is almost certainly an undercount. U.S. Department of Labor, Annual Report, 96.

186. List of Consular Protection Activities, Mexican Consulate in New Orleans, 1930, Folder IV-69-44, AHSRE.

187. List of Consular Protection Activities, Mexican Consulate in New Orleans, 1931, Folder IV-188-16, AHSRE.

188. The total number of ship records was determined from a search for Antonio Benavides on Ancestry.com and by confirming Benavides’s identity via his age and nationality and/or race. See, for example, “List or Manifest of Aliens Employed on the Vessel as Members of Crew,” Vessel Crawford Ellis, arriving at New Orleans, La., October 4, 1932, from the port of Veracruz, accessed via Ancestry.com.


190. Fox, Three Worlds of Relief, 160–86.

191. List of Consular Protection Activities, Mexican Consulate in New Orleans, 1931, Folder IV-188-16, AHSRE.

192. List of Consular Protection Activities, Mexican Consulate in New Orleans, 1930, Folder IV-69-44, AHSRE; for Los Angeles, see Fox, Three Worlds of Relief, 173.

193. List of Consular Protection Activities, Mexican Consulate in New Orleans, 1930, Folder IV-69-44, AHSRE.

194. Ibid.

195. My overall analysis is based on repatriations reported in ibid. and List of Consular Protection Activities, Mexican Consulate in New Orleans, 1931, Folder IV-188-16, AHSRE.

196. It is unclear whether this indicates Laguna, Texas, or Laguna, California, though Manuel Gamio’s text indicates the latter. William Deverell posits that this lyric refers to the backbreaking labor at Simons Brick Company in “Simons, Laguna” east of Los Angeles. Deverell, Whitewashed Adobe, 169.

197. Gamio, Mexican Immigration to the United States, 84–104.
Chapter 2

2. The full collection of Wolcott’s photographs is available from the Library of Congress at http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/fsa/. I am grateful to April Merleaux for calling these photographs to my attention.
3. For Bauxite, Arkansas, see Keltner, “Tar Paper Shacks in Arcadia.” For Floyd County, Kentucky, see U.S. manuscript census, 1930. For rural Louisiana, see Chapter 1 of this book.
4. Quoted in Jung, *Coolies and Cane*, 78.
8. For 1904–5, see Cornell, “Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico,” 264. For 1908, see Bishop Gunnis to Rev. Father Jeanard, September 23, 1908, Bishop Gunnis correspondence, File 9, ACDJ. Another mention of Mexicans in Mississippi in 1908 is in McWilliams, *Ill Fares the Land*, 249.
16. “Plan to Bring in Mexican Laborers,” *Arkansas Gazette*, August 11, 1918. I am grateful to Story Matkin-Rawn for sending me this primary source.
18. Ibid., 76–146; Daniel, *Shadow of Slavery*. 

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22. Montejano, Anglos and Mexicans, 168–78; San Miguel, Let All of Them Take Heed, 51.
25. Benjamin Heber Johnson, Revolution in Texas; Montejano, Anglos and Mexicans; Sánchez, Becoming Mexican American.
27. Pitti, Devil in Silicon Valley, 107; Vargas, Proletarians of the North, 88; Rivera, Y no se le tragó la tierra, 23; Rivas-Rodriguez, “Ignacio E. Lozano,” 81. For the Mexican American exodus from Texas in the 1920s, see also Montejano, Anglos and Mexicans, 200–219; Sánchez, Becoming Mexican American, 65–6; Valdés, Al Norte; Valdés, Barrios Norteños.
28. For settlement in the 1910s, see, for example, Celso Palacios, Draft Registration Card, Serial number 3295, Order number 1988, Skene, Mississippi, 1918, MDAH.
29. D. A. Davidson to Delta & Pine Land Co. of Mississippi, March 29, 1927, Oscar Johnston General Correspondence, Series 6, D&PL.
32. Whatever the crop, the vast majority of Mexican agricultural laborers in South Texas were wage workers, not sharecroppers, by 1930. Montejano, Anglos and Mexicans, 173.
33. Excerpt of Report of Department of Justice, Concerning Alleged Persecution of Mexican Citizens at Mayersville, Mississippi, Folder 1451/8, AEMEU.
34. Juan Marshall, Acting Consul General, to Hon. Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, August 21, 1924, Folder 1451/6, AEMEU.
35. Excerpt of Report of Department of Justice, Concerning Alleged Persecution of Mexican Citizens at Mayersville, Mississippi, Folder 1451/8, AEMEU.
36. “El Algunos Campos Agrícolas se Trata con Suma Dureza a los Trabajadores Mexicanos,” La Prensa, June 5, 1924; “Centenares de Mexicanos se Encuentran Sufriendo en los Campos de Trabajo,” La Prensa, August 28, 1924.
37. “Las Penalidades de los Braceros Mexicanos en el Mississippi,” La Prensa, November 24, 1925. Anthropologist Manuel Gamio reported in the late 1920s that Mexicans earned about $1.75 daily for picking cotton in Texas: Gamio, Mexican Immigration to the United States, 39.
38. “Los mexicanos que sean maltratados en Los campos de trabajo deben quejarse,”
La Prensa, September 24, 1925; “Una Compatriota se Queja de los Enganchadores,” La Prensa, March 31, 1926.

40. “Correspondencia de Nueva Orleans,” El Heraldo de México, September 26, 1925.
42. Report of St. Elizabeth’s Parish, Clarksdale, 1925, “Reports—Parishes,” ACDJ.
My analysis shows that approximately one-fifth of ethnic Mexicans in the Delta in 1930 were Texas born. See Appendix.
45. “Las Penalidades de los Braceros Mexicanos en el Mississipi,” La Prensa, November 24, 1925.
46. Ibid.
47. “Una Compatriota se Queja de los Enganchadores,” La Prensa, March 31, 1926.
49. “Una Compatriota se Queja de los Enganchadores,” La Prensa, March 31, 1926.
50. “Las Penalidades de los Braceros Mexicanos en el Mississipi,” La Prensa, November 24, 1925.
51. Ibid.
52. Woodruff, American Congo, 116; Grossman, Land of Hope; Benjamin Heber Johnson, Revolution in Texas; Sánchez, Becoming Mexican American; Vargas, Labor Rights Are Civil Rights.
54. Namorato, Catholic Church in Mississippi, 64.
60. “Las Penalidades de los Braceros Mexicanos en el Mississipi,” La Prensa, November 24, 1925.
61. Translation of letter from Embassy of Mexico, Washington, D.C., to the Honorable Frank Kellogg, Secretary of State, December 4, 1925, in Daniel, The Peonage Files of

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the U.S. Department of Justice, Reel 19, Casefile 50-636, frames 0368–82; “Los Mexicanos No Deben Ir a las Haciendas de Mississipi,” La Prensa, November 28, 1925.

62. “Los Mexicanos No Deben Ir a las Haciendas de Mississipi,” La Prensa, November 28, 1925.


64. Quoted in Woodruff, American Congo, 149.

65. This is in contrast to east-central Texas. Neil Foley, White Scourge.

66. U.S. Census Bureau, Fifteenth Census of the United States, 66. Thirty-one of the thirty-seven Mexican and Mexican American household heads in the sample who were enumerated in the 1930 census listed their occupation as “farmer,” rather than “laborer” or “day laborer.” See Appendix on sampling methodology.

67. Throughout this section, my most careful analysis has focused on Bolivar County, the Mississippi county that enumerated more Mexicans and Mexican Americans than any other in the 1930 census.

68. See Appendix.

69. See Appendix.

70. Sacrament Records, OLV.

71. This description is based on African American cotton farmer Ned Cobb’s, as told in his autobiography, as well as James Cobb’s details of the cotton cycle. Cobb, Most Southern Place on Earth, 156–60; Nate Shaw, All God’s Dangers, 177–87.


73. Report of Protection Activities, 1930, Folder IV-69-44, AHSRE.

74. Cobb, Most Southern Place on Earth, 106.

75. This is based on the families’ residence at the time of their children’s baptism. Sacrament Records, OLV.

76. “Llegaron a 5,000 los Mexicanos que Sufrieron Considerablemente a Causa de las Inundaciones del Mississippi,” El Heraldo de México, September 8, 1927; Daniel, Deep’n as It Come, 84.

77. Cobb, Most Southern Place on Earth, 185; Daniel, Breaking the Land, 69–70; Woodruff, American Congo, 153.

78. Entry for May 22, 1927, Diary of Bishop Gerow: Vol. VI, 1924–34, ACDJ.

79. Rotondo to Gerow, April 29, 1929, File 11, Folder “Rotondo—1927,” ACDJ.


82. Ibid.

83. D. A. Davidson to Delta & Pine Land Co. of Mississippi, March 29, 1927, D&PL.
84. It appears that they arrived in 1926 or 1927, as Delta & Pine Land’s 1925 plantation census listed no Spanish surnames. Ledger #26, Series L1-L9, D&PL.


91. Cobb, Most Southern Place on Earth, 177–83.

92. For the historical debate on this question, see Blanton, “George I. Sánchez, Ideology, and Whiteness”; Neil Foley, “Partly Colored or Other White”; Guglielmo, “Fighting for Caucasian Rights”; Benjamin Heber Johnson, “Cosmic Race in Texas.”

93. This is based on my analysis of the 1930 manuscript census; see Appendix.


97. Cobb, Most Southern Place on Earth, 159.

98. Loewen, Mississippi Chinese; Higham, Strangers in the Land, 169.

99. For more on Blumenbach’s contribution to modern eugenic thought, see Fredrickson, Racism, 62.

100. Rice v. Gong Lum, 139 Miss. 760, 104 So. 105 (1925).

101. Loewen, Mississippi Chinese; San Miguel, Let All of Them Take Heed; Montejano, Anglos and Mexicans.


103. Castro to Bilbo, March 22, 1930, Folder 5, Box 73, TB.

104. Eckles to Bilbo, February 22, 1930, Folder 20, Box 71, TB.

105. “Elecciones de Funcionarios en la Comisión Honorífica de Gunnison, Mississippi,” El Heraldo Mexicano, August 8, 1928. On Landrove’s movements, see Rafael

106. Gunnison Consolidated School Records, 1928–29, 2nd grade, Race: white, Teacher: Mrs. E. M. Pease; 1929–30, 2nd grade, Teacher: Mrs. Edwina M., DSU. The latter book does not have a racial designation in its title, but I know it to be the white school because several of its pupils were the children of plantation managers.

107. Eckles to Bilbo, February 22, 1930, Folder 20, Box 71, TB.


110. Sacrament Records, OLV.

111. Diocese of Natchez Annual Reports, 1925–35, ACDJ.

112. Downing to Gerow, February 18, 1929, File 12, Folder “Mexicans,” ACDJ.


115. Rafael Landrove and Petra Jayme, marriage record, 1879, San Juan Bautista parish, Lampazos de Naranjo, Nuevo León, Mexico, International Genealogical Index, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, www.familysearch.org; Tomás González Landrove (great-nephew of Mississippi’s Rafael J. Landrove), interview by the author.


119. Tomás González Landrove, interview by the author.


121. Tomás González Landrove, interview by the author.


124. Rafael Jaime Landrove, Petition for Naturalization.

125. Census and school records identify her brother as Perry, while baptismal records identify her as Pérez. On Mexican cotton workers in East-Central Texas, see Neil Foley, *White Scourge*.

126. Rafael Jaime Landrove, Petition for Naturalization.


129. Acta #113, *Nacimientos 1922*, Civil Registry of Lampazos de Naranjo. Great-nephew Tomás González Landrove also was not aware of any familial connection to Cuba. Tomás González Landrove, interview by the author.

130. Nicolas and Mary Enriquez identified this photograph’s subjects as Rafael and Martha Landrove to their grandson, Richard Enriquez. I was able to confirm Landrove’s identity because his naturalization documents indicate that he had a shortened first (pointer) finger on his right hand, which is visible in the photograph. I date the photo to early 1928 because the first child Rafael and Martha had together, Martina, was born in May 1927. Rafael Jaime Landrove, Petition for Naturalization.

131. Rose emphasizes the importance of interpreting such contexts, rather than treating photographs as stand-alone texts. Rose, *Doing Family Photography*.


136. This is based on my 1930 Bolivar County census analysis; see Appendix.

137. Neil Foley, “Partly Colored or Other White”; Neil Foley, “Becoming Hispanic.”


139. For example, see Folders IV-69-44 and IV-188-16, AHSRE.

140. Report of Protection Activities, 1930, Folder IV-69-44, AHSRE.


144. For Mexican schools in Texas, see Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans*, 192; San Miguel, *Let All of Them Take Heed*. For educational segregation of Mexicans in Southern California, see Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 258–59.

145. Neil Foley, “Partly Colored or Other White”; Neil Foley, “Becoming Hispanic”; Guglielmo, “Fighting for Caucasian Rights.” More convincingly, historian Carlos Blanton argues that the “Caucasian strategy” was merely a legal argument chosen because it could win in court—but that its Mexican American proponents in the 1950s and 1960s made common cause with African American civil rights leaders even as they argued for their own legal whiteness. Blanton, “George I. Sánchez, Ideology, and Whiteness.”

146. Castro to Bilbo, February 12, 1931, Folder 11, Box 71, TB.


148. Gunnison Consolidated School Record, DSU. These records show that the Landrove and Robledo children did not attend school regularly until December that year.


150. For more on these collaborations, see Fox, *Three Worlds of Relief*.
152. List of Consular Protection Activities, Mexican Consulate in New Orleans, 1930, Folder IV-69-44, AHSRE.
153. Sacrament Records, OLV.
154. Folder IV-188-16, AHSRE.
155. Cónsul Fernando Alatorre to Rafael J. Landrove, October 13, 1932, Folder IV-358-76, AHSRE.
156. Rafael Jaime Landrove, Petition for Naturalization.
160. Weise, “Mississippi.”
161. SRE to Consulate of Mexico in New Orleans, January 31, 1931, Folder IV-186-1, AHSRE.
162. J. G. Chastain Sr., “Work Among the Mexicans in the Delta,” *Baptist Record*, December 7, 1933. I am grateful to Alison Greene for sending me this primary source.
163. McKenna to Gerow, August 14, 1946, File 11, Folder “McKenna 1946–7,” ACDJ.
164. Phillip Laro, interview by the author; Weise, “Mississippi.”
165. Joe Enriquez, interview by the author; Mary Palacios Ybarra, interview by the author.
166. This is based on personal observation as well as Márquez, “Chicanos in SNCC.”

Chapter 3

1. Cónsul Rubén Gaxiola to Secretariat of Foreign Relations, November 19, 1949, Folder TM-26-2, AHSRE.
2. Ibid.
4. Klein, *For All These Rights*, 4–7; Sullivan, *Days of Hope*.
6. This extrapolates from Holley’s calculation that 251,298 braceros worked in Arkansas between 1953 and 1965 and uses his figures for braceros as a part of the overall cotton labor force during those years. Holley, *Second Great Emancipation*, 152.
11. Agricultural Extension Service Annual Reports, Crittenden County, Arkansas, Narrative Report of Negro County Agent, December 1, 1944, and January 5, 1945, NAFW RG 33. Research assistant Carla Mendiola, Southern Methodist University, conducted the research at NAFW RG 33.

12. Lemann, Promised Land.


15. Woodruff, American Congo, 154.


17. Whayne, A New Plantation South, 222; Agricultural Extension Service Annual Reports, Crittenden County, Arkansas, Narrative Report of County Agent, November 30, 1943, NAFW RG 33.

18. Woodruff, American Congo, 208.

19. Montejano, Anglos and Mexicans, 212, 19; George B. Franklin and Son to W. H. Farmer, Manager, Louisiana Delta Council, excerpted in Statement of W. H. Farmer, Manager, Louisiana Delta Council, Delhi, La., to the House Committee on Agriculture, Subcommittee on Farm Labor, Farm Labor Investigations: Hearings in Greenville, Miss., Memphis, Tenn., and Midland, Tex, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, 1950, 57.


23. Statement of Joe Cromer, Osceola, Arkansas, to the House Committee on Agriculture, in Farm Labor Investigations.


25. Agricultural Extension Service Annual Reports, Crittenden County, Arkansas, Narrative Report of County Agent, November 30, 1948, NAFW RG 33.


27. Agricultural Extension Service Annual Reports, S. Mississippi County, Arkansas, Narrative Report of County Agent, November 30, 1948, NAFW RG 33.

28. Thom E. Beasley, interview, BHA.

29. Deborah Cohen, Braceros; Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu.

30. Deborah Cohen, Braceros; Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu.
31. Gabino Solís Aguilera, interview, BHA.
32. Declaration of I. G. García and J. P. Yepes, October 14, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEU.
33. Declaration of Antonio Vega Aguiniga, October 16, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEU.
34. Declaration of Pedro Villarreal Jr., October 14, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEU.
35. Declarations of Nemesio Puente H. and José Cifuentes Martínez, October 17, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEU.
36. Miguel Jáquez López, interview, BHA.
38. A. Cano del Castillo to Ed McDonald, October 11, 1952, Folder TM-10-30, AHSRE.
39. A. Cano del Castillo to Ed McDonald, approximately 1952, Folder TM-24-18, AHSRE.
40. A. Cano del Castillo to Ed McDonald, October 11, 1952, Folder TM-10-30, AHSRE.
43. J. W. Speck to E. C. Gathings, June 18, 1951, ECG.
44. For more on the ways California’s growers employed discourse to denigrate local workers, see Deborah Cohen, *Braceros*, 47–65.
45. Statement of W. M. Garrard Jr., Chairman, Delta Council Agricultural Committee, Indianola, Miss., and Statement of A. W. Oliver, President, the Agricultural Council of Arkansas, to the House Committee on Agriculture, Subcommittee on Farm Labor, in *Farm Labor Investigations*.
47. Gabino Solís Aguilera, telephone interview by the author.
49. Report of Joint Investigation of Mexican National Agricultural Workers, Crittenden Farm Association, October 2, 1952, Folder TM-6-3, AHSRE.
50. John Collier, interview, BHA; Thom Beasley, interview, BHA.
51. Calvin King, interview, BHA.
52. For interpretations of braceros’ relationship to the money they earned in the United States, see Deborah Cohen, Braceros; Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu.
53. Jesús Ortiz Torres, interview, BHA.
54. John Gray, interview, BHA.
56. Kirby, Rural Worlds Lost, 271; Woodruff, American Congo, 194–214; Whayne, A New Plantation South, 220.
58. Delores Atkins, interview, BHA.
60. Calvin King, interview, BHA.
61. Green, Battling the Plantation Mentality, 205–6.
62. For more on this myth, see Neil Foley, White Scourge.
63. James O. Scarlett to E. C. Gathings, February 2, 1952, Folder 4153, Box 272—Farm Labor—Mexican, ECG.
64. Daniel, Shadow of Slavery.
66. Delores Atkins, interview, BHA.
67. Memorandum from Gustavo Garcia, transmitted by telephone from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, October 21, 1949, Folder 1453/3, AEMEUA.
68. Preliminary report given by Canciller Rafael Linares Navarro about the official commission conferred on Pine Bluff, Arkansas, November 15, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEUA.
69. Royce Stubblefield to E. C. Gathings, February 4, 1952, Folder 4153, Box 272—Farm Labor—Mexican, ECG.
70. Bernard Lipsey, interview, BHA.
71. On braceros as dehumanized economic “input factors,” see Galarza, Merchants of Labor, 16.
72. On the importance of program experiences for bracero reputations in their families and home towns, see Deborah Cohen, Braceros; Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu.
73. Gabino Solís Aguilera, telephone interview with the author.
74. Vice Consul Daniel Mancha Macías to Consul General Miguel G. Calderón, November 5, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEUA.
75. Statement of A. W. Oliver, President, Agricultural Council of Arkansas, before the House Committee on Agriculture, in Farm Labor Investigations, 1950.
76. Deborah Cohen, Braceros; Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu.
77. Joe García, interview, ADT.
78. Royce Stubblefield to E. C. Gathings, February 4, 1953, Folder 4153, Box 272—Farm Labor—Mexican, ECG.
79. Declaration of Pablo Soto Amaya and Cristóbal Vázquez Martínez, October 17, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEUA.
80. Gabino Solís Aguilera, interview, BHA.
81. Vaughan, Cultural Politics in Revolution.
82. For more on the modern promises of the bracero program, see Deborah Cohen, Braceros.
84. Declaration of José Luís Landa and Manuel Gallegos, October 16, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEUA.
85. In addition to Chapter 2 of this book, see Sánchez, Becoming Mexican American, 144–45.
89. C. A. Dawson to E. C. Gathings, July 29, 1950, Folder 4150, Box 272—Farm Labor—Mexican, ECG.
90. Dan Felton to E. C. Gathings, July 29, 1950, Folder 4150, Box 272—Farm Labor—Mexican, ECG.
91. Juan Antonio Mérigo to Consul General, San Antonio, December 12, 1953, Folder 1455/1, AEMEUA.
94. For an example of federal immigration officers working to keep braceros from leaving their farms, see Frank O. Wilson to E. C. Gathings, July 27, 1950, Folder 4150, Box 272—Farm Labor—Mexican, ECG.
95. Woodruff, American Congo.
96. A. Cano de Castillo to W. B. McFarland, March 13, 1952, Folder TM-6-3, AHSRE.
97. “Memorandum,” October 24, 1951, 56321/448 (A), NARA RG 85. I am grateful to Andy Eisen for finding and sending me this primary source.
98. On the limits of “free” labor in the absence of citizenship rights, see Woodruff, American Congo, 3–4.
99. Report about the Protection Case of the Mexican Workers of the Area of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, November 22, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEUA.
100. Rafael Jiménez Castro, Consul in New Orleans, to Consul General of Mexico, San Antonio, October 29, 1949, Folder 1453/3, AEMEUA.
101. See, for example, Tenorio Trillo, “Cosmopolitan Mexican Summer”; Delpar, *Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican*; Olsson, “Agrarian Crossings.”

102. On STFU joining the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), see Woodruff, *American Congo*, 185–86. For CIO attempts to stop the importation of Mexican workers to Arkansas, see Philip M. Weightman, CIO-PAC Field Director, to Mrs. Ethel B. Dawson, Field Representative, National Council of Churches, Pine Bluff, Arkansas, June 3, 1955, Box 1, Folders 4–6, Philip M. Weightman Papers, Tamiment Library, New York University. I am grateful to Michael C. Pierce for alerting me to this collection and Diana Greenwold for consulting the archive on my behalf in New York.

103. Whitlow, *Annual of the Arkansas Baptist State Convention*, 111; Bishop of Little Rock to Most Reverend William D. O’Brian, June 28, 1948, Series I, Box 64, Folder 4, CCES. I am grateful to research assistant Christina Davidson for conducting CCES research in Chicago.

104. Whitlow, *Annual of the Arkansas Baptist State Convention*, 1957. Regarding Catholics, there is no evidence of their advocacy in other records or those of the Catholic Church Extension Society (Boxes 64, 65, and 112, CCES). However, Little Rock’s Catholic diocese was the only one to deny me access to their archive, so a key source is missing from this analysis.


109. See, for example, Cano de Castillo to Casildo Caldera Hurtado c/o Crain Company, Wilson Arkansas, September 19, 1952, Folder TM-10-25, AHSRE; Report of Consul Angel Cano de Castillo about the official commission that was conferred in Pine Bluff, Ark., November 15, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEA.


111. My description of the weather conditions is informed by local weather data for November 23, 1951, from the National Climatic Data Center, http://www.ncdc.noaa.gov.


114. This analysis extrapolates from a careful analysis of thirty-nine out of the ninety-six folders in Mexico’s Foreign Relations archive relating to Arkansas employers, dated 1948–53.

115. A. Cano to Ed McDonald, September 22, 1953, Folder TM-10-22, AHSRE.

116. A. Cano to Ed McDonald, October 20, 1953, Folder TM-23-15, AHSRE.

117. Esteban Saldaña, interview, BHA.
118. Conversation between Mr. P. M. Kenefick, Mr. Holly, and Mr. Gathings, July 28, 1953, Folder 4155, Box 272—Farm Labor—Mexican, ECG.

119. Testimony of J. C. Baird, President of the Delta Council, October 2, before the House Committee on Agriculture, in Farm Labor Investigations.


121. Rocco Siciliano, Assistant Secretary of Labor, to E. C. Gathings, March 31, 1955, Folder 4464, Box 298—Foreign Agricultural Labor, ECG.

122. Earl C. Beck Jr. to E. C. Gathings, April 4, 1952, Folder 4153, Box 272—Farm Labor—Mexican, ECG.

123. E. D. McKnight, Parkin Farmers’ Association, to Don Larin, March 14, 1952, Folder 4153, Box 272—Farm Labor—Mexican, ECG.

124. A. Cano del Castillo to Ed McDonald, August 25, 1953, Folder 1455/1, AEMEU.

125. See, for example, the entire folder TM-9-19, AHSRE.

126. A. Cano de Castillo to W. B. McFarland, March 13, 1952, Folder TM-6-3, AHSRE.

127. A. Cano de Castillo to Ed McDonald, March 14, 1952, Folder TM-24-31, AHSRE.

128. A. Cano de Castillo to Ed McDonald, December 18, 1952, Folder TM-11-29, AHSRE.

129. Woodruff, American Congo.

130. Gamboa, Mexican Labor and World War II, 113; Galarza, Merchants of Labor, 77.

131. Deborah Cohen, “Caught in the Middle.”


133. Gamboa observes a similar phenomenon in the case of the Pacific Northwest. Gamboa, Mexican Labor and World War II.

134. M. G. Calderón, Consul General in San Antonio, to SRE, October 26, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEU.

135. Notice to Mexican Nationals, October 23, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEU.

136. M. G. Calderón, Consul General in San Antonio, to SRE, November 6, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEU.

137. For more on how these dynamics played out at the U.S.-Mexico border, see Deborah Cohen, “Caught in the Middle.”


139. Telegram from J. W. Fulbright to Gov. Homer Adkins, September 20, 1950, HA.

140. Arturo Garza Cantú, Vice Consul in Memphis, to Embassy of Mexico, Washington, May 9, 1956, Folder TM-67-20, AHSRE.

141. E. C. Gathings to Luis Padilla Nervo, Minister of Foreign Relations, Mexico, April 30, 1957, Folder 4463, Box 298—Foreign Agricultural Labor, ECG.


143. A. Cano to Ed McDonald, September 8, 1953, Folder Leo Powell, AHSRE.
144. A. H. Barnhill to Ed McDonald, May 13, 1953, Folder 4463, Box 298—Foreign Agricultural Labor, ECG.

145. For an example of D.C. bureaucrats’ efforts, see Paul M. Kenefick, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor, to Señor Hector Blanco-Melo, Mexican Embassy, September 18, 1952, Folder TM-11-26, AHSRE. On long-standing patterns of local federal employees beholden to local power structures thwarting D.C.-initiated liberal initiatives in the South, see Daniel, Shadow of Slavery, 149–66; Woodruff, American Congo; Scott Beck, interview by the author.

146. Vice Consul Daniel Mancha Macías to Consul General Miguel G. Calderón, November 5, 1948, Folder 1453/3, AEMEUA.

147. Ibid.

148. For more on the histories of these counties’ establishment for “whites only,” see Woodruff, American Congo, 31.

149. Rubén Gaxiola, Memphis Consul, to Consul General, San Antonio, November 5, 1949, Folder TM-26-32, AHSRE.

150. D. O. Rushing, Agricultural Employment Specialist, to Angel Cano, May 3, 1951, Folder TM-26-2, AHSRE.

151. Rubén Gaxiola to SRE, November 19, 1949, Folder TM-26–32, AHSRE.

152. Memorandum to McDonald from Rushing, November 23, 1949, ibid.


155. Sherriff of Poinsett County, Mayor of Marked Tree, and Chief of Police, Marked Tree, to Cano de Castillo, August 31, 1951, Folder TM-26-2, AHSRE.

156. Declaration to A. Cano de Castillo, August 29, 1951, Folder TM-26-2, AHSRE.

157. Consular report from V. Harwood Blocker, October 28, 1951, Folder TM-26-32, AHSRE.

158. Joint Investigation Report Alleged Discrimination in Marked Tree, Arkansas, October 8, 1951, Folder TM-26-32, AHSRE.

159. José Antonio Mérigo to SRE, November 27, 1951, Folder TM-26-32, AHSRE.

160. Joint Investigation by A. Cano del Castillo, Consul of Mexico, and Ted T. Critenson and Ray O. Bronander, USES Representative, in Trumann, Arkansas, October 18, 1951, Folder TM-26-32, AHSRE.

161. Supplement to Joint Investigation Report Alleged Discrimination, Trumann, Arkansas, November 16, 1951, Folder TM-26-32, AHSRE.


Notes to Pages 104–8 263
For more on Ritter’s outsize holdings and influence in Poinsett County, see Whayne, *A New Plantation South*, 142.

163. Ordinance 29—An Ordinance Prohibiting Discrimination against Mexican Nationals Because of Their Ancestry or Nationality, October 9, 1952, Folder 4153, Box 272—Farm Labor—Mexican, ECG.

164. Jess Wike, Mayor of Marked Tree, to Consul A. Cano de Castillo, October 2, 1952, Folder TM-26-2, AHSRE.

165. Marked Tree Chamber of Commerce to A. Cano de Castillo, October 8, 1952, Folder TM-26-2, AHSRE.

166. Miguel Calderón to Consul of Mexico, Memphis, August 29, 1952, Folder TM-26-32, AHSRE.

167. Consul Cano, Memphis, to Mexican Bracero Reception Center, Harlingen, Texas, September 23, 1952, Folder TM-26-32, AHSRE.

168. Miguel Calderón, Director of Office of Migratory Workers, to Consul of Mexico, Memphis, October 22, 1952, Folder TM-26-32, AHSRE.

169. J. D. Harlan to A. Cano de Castillo, May 8, 1953, Folder 1455/1, AEMEUA.


171. Claude Kennedy, telephone interview by the author.

172. Bernard Lipsey, interview, BHA.


174. José Gutiérrez, interview by the author and Joel Urista. I am grateful to Urista, then an undergraduate at California State University, Long Beach, for arranging our interview of Gutiérrez.

175. Ibid.

176. Harrison Locke, interview, BHA.

177. Claude Kennedy, interview by the author.

178. For additional accounts of blacks’ and Mexicanos’ memories of warm encounters in Arkansas, see Lucas and Buss, *Forged under the Sun*, 78; Gomez, “Braceros in the Arkansas Delta.”

179. Telegram to E. C. Gathings, September 8, 1953, Folder 4441, Box 297—Foreign Agricultural Labor and Agricultural Labor, General, ECG.


184. J. L. Bland to Benton M. Kitchens, Manager, Employment Security Division, Paragould, Arkansas, November 17, 1958, Folder 4164, Box 273—Farm Labor—Mexican, ECG. I assume Hensen was white because a black person would have had no reason to believe that Governor Faubus, a dedicated proponent of segregation, would respond to his concerns.

185. Conversation between Albert D. Misler (Labor Department), P. N. Kenefick (special assistant to secretary of labor), Lloyd Godley, Osceola, and Mr. Gatings, April 24, 1953, Folder 4463, Box 298—Foreign Agricultural Labor, ECG.

186. Letter, October 5, 1956, Folder TM-25-40, AHSRE.


188. Holley, Second Great Emancipation.

189. Green, Battling the Plantation Mentality.

190. “Probe Bias In Cotton Labor Wages,” Tri-State Defender, July 17, 1954. Thanks to Story Matkin- Rawn for leading me to this article.

191. For more on this work, see Green, Battling the Plantation Mentality.


193. Green, Battling the Plantation Mentality, 205–6.

194. Story Matkin- Rawn has conducted a thorough review of these organizations’ files for Little Rock and did not find any reference to Mexican labor. I reviewed files from the Arkansas Delta and Memphis and also found no references. NAACP papers, Urban League papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

195. Lee Beegle to Mr. Gatings, handwritten letter, July 5, 1955, Folder 4136, Box 271—Farm Labor and Foreign Agricultural Labor, ECG.

196. W. J. Stoddard, Brookland, Arkansas, to E. C. Gatings, April 10, 1961, Folder 4136, Box 271—Farm Labor and Foreign Agricultural Labor, ECG.


198. Holley, Second Great Emancipation, 158.

199. On the relationship between agricultural and racial systems in the Delta, see Woodruff, “Mississippi Delta Planters.”

200. Monette Growers Association to Gatings, February 3, 1958, Folder 4162, Box 273—Farm Labor—Mexican, ECG.

201. Oliver Clark, McAllen, Texas, to Gatings, July 20, 1962, Folder 4112, Box 270—Farm Labor and Foreign Agricultural Labor, ECG.

202. Joint Investigation, October 13, 1956, Folder TM-69-2, AHSRE.


204. Berry, “Use of Mexicans as Farm Laborers in the Delta.”

Hundreds of Spanish-surnamed children were baptized at Blytheville’s Church of the Immaculate Conception alone during the bracero years. Since braceros traveled as single men, these children’s parents were most likely Tejanos and undocumented immigrants. CIC.

Dray, *At the Hands of Persons Unknown.*

Berry, “Use of Mexicans as Farm Laborers in the Delta,” 5.

José Ines Cano to SRE, April 14, 1960, Folder TM-110-5, AHSRE; Letter about F. C. Centro Mexicano printed in *Congressional Record*, Folder 4454, Box 298—Foreign Agricultural Labor, ECG.

M. G. Calderón, General Office of Migrant Worker Affairs, to Consul of Mexico, Memphis, April 30, 1960, Folder TM-110-5, AHSRE.


John M Stevens Jr. to Gathings, April 14, 1964, Folder 4099, Box 270—Farm Labor and Foreign Agricultural Labor, ECG.

Mrs. B. C. Burnette to Gathings, July 16, 1965, Folder 4483, Box 298—Foreign Agricultural Labor, ECG.


Holley, *Second Great Emancipation*, 152.

Ibid., 159.

Ibid., 154–55.

Extensive attempts to find ex-braceros through local contacts in the Arkansas Delta between 2006 and 2008 revealed only rumors of two who had stayed but no solid evidence of their or others’ presence.

On how these men came to see themselves as full citizens of Mexico, see Deborah Cohen, *Braceros*.

Declaration of I. G. Garcia and J. P. Yepes, Folder 1453-3, AEMEA; Declaration of Manuel Avila Rosales, Folder 1453-3, AEMEA; José Antonio Contreras to Consul General of Mexico in San Antonio, Folder 1453-3, AEMEA; Joint Report of Investigation of Mexican National Agricultural Workers—AH Barnhill, Folder TM-21-30, AHSRE.

Juan Loza, telephone interview by the author. I am grateful to Mireya Loza for helping me make contact with her uncle.


Woodruff, *American Congo*.

Requests for Foreign Labor Processed by USES, January 1 to December 31, 1949, Folder 4440, Box 297, ECG; Adolfo G. Domínguez, Consul of Mexico in New Orleans, to Ernest L. Marbury, Regional Director, USES Atlanta, February 24, 1953, Folder TM-10-22, AHSRE.

Chapter 4

1. Friendly, *Harvest of Shame*, November 24, 1960, CBS. The complete documentary is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yJTVF_dya7E.
2. On the distinction between "transnational" and "trans-state," see Waldinger and Fitzgerald, “Transnationalism in Question.”
4. For more on this "silent bargain" in rural North Carolina, see Torres, Popke, and Hapke, “South’s Silent Bargain.” Marrow, New Destination Dreaming. This chapter explains the historical process through which a similar (though not identical) “bargain” was struck in rural Georgia.
9. Andrea and Bernardo Avalos, interview by the author. Migrant camp surveys confirm that Slim Avalos had whites, blacks, and Mexicans in his crews. 1981 survey, “Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association” folder, Box 132; and 1982 survey, “Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association 1983” file, Box 146, DCFS.
10. The earliest mention I have found of “Spanish-speaking” migrants in North Carolina is in the papers of the North Carolina Council of Churches’ Migrant Ministry, which cover the 1960s and 1970s. See, for example, North Carolina Public School Bulletin, Raleigh, N.C., Vol. 32, No. 2, October 1967, “Our Migrant Story,” 4–5, by Y. A. Taylor, State Supervisor Program Development, Title I, ESEA, Folder “Migrant Ministry (2 of 3),” Box 53, NCCC. The first mention that these “Spanish-speaking” migrant agricultural workers are Mexican and Mexican American is in 1973: Migrant Family Health Service report, June 18–November 2, 1973, Henderson County, North Carolina, Folder “Migrant (2 of 2),” Box 53, NCCC. For South Carolina, see AP, “Aliens,” Valdosta (Ga.) Daily Times, June 18, 1976. For Virginia, see Heppel, “Harvesting the Crops of Others.” Additionally, Mexican consulate records report that Mexican nationals performed farm labor in Alabama as early as 1986. Ramon Moreno Llamas, Third Level Consul, to Minister Luisa Virginia Junco, Consul of Mexico in Atlanta, July 17, 1986, Folder IV-343-2 2a parte, AHSRE.
12. Ibid., 89–92.
14. “Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers in Georgia,” in Frank Brewer’s report, Box 16, Series 1-9-95, “Governor-Special Affairs Office” collection, GA.
17. “Interview Excerpts on South Georgia Seasonal Agricultural Workers collected by Laurie Kay Sommers, 1997–2002,” South Georgia Folklife Project, UA 22-12, Box 14, Folder 13, “Last Harvest Project Echols County Field Notes Clippings,” VSU.

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18. Tirso Moreno, interview by Laurie Sommers, Apopka, Fla., March 6, 1998, Last Harvest Documentation Project, UA 22-12, Box 14, VSU.
19. Israel Cortez, interview by Laurie Sommers, Valdosta, Ga., December 7, 2004, South Georgia Folklife Project, UA 22-12, Box 19, DAT 1010.37, VSU.
21. “Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers in Georgia,” in Frank Brewer’s report, Box 16, Series 1-9-95, “Governor—Special Affairs Office” collection, GA.
23. Cortez interview.
24. For discussion of the role of unemployment benefits in shaping migrant routes, see Olga Martinez, interview by Laurie Sommers, El Pozo camp, Apopka, Fla., March 6, 1998, Last Harvest Documentation Project, UA 22-12, Box 14, Folder 8, VSU.
25. Cortez interview.
26. Ibid. Crop types were deduced from Migrant Housing Surveys analysis. See note 32.
27. José and Anselma Gómez, interview by the author.
28. Sacrament Records, SHCC.
30. Olsson, “Peeling Back the Layers.”
32. This is based on my analysis of migrant camp surveys conducted in 1980, 1981, and 1982. “Directions to Migrant Camps,” 1980, compiled by Dawn Blum and Patricia Mendoza, Governor’s Interns for WIC, August 13, 1980, Box 38, Series 1-9-95, “Governor—Special Affairs Office” collection, GA; 1981 survey, “Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association” folder, Box 132, and 1982 survey, “Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association 1983” file, Box 146, DCFS. For 1980 survey, Spanish sur-named crew leaders’ camps were included in the analysis. For 1981 and 1982, camps were included if “Hispanic” was among the groups listed in the “race/origin” category.
33. See note 32.
34. Sister Patricia Brown, Report, October 1982, “Migrant Ministry” files, ACDS.
35. María Villegas, interview by the author.
37. Teresa and Abel Aguilar, Rosa and Albert Aguilar, Carlos Alcantar, Mary Ann and Howdy Thurman, joint interview by the author; Studstill and Nieto-Studstill, “Hospitality and Hostility,” 73.
38. Teresa and Abel Aguilar, Rosa and Albert Aguilar, Carlos Alcantar, and Mary Ann and Howdy Thurman, joint interview by the author.
39. See note 32.
40. Memorandum from Keith Yarbrough, District Director, to Ms. Barbara Ferrell, Refugee Coordinator, Georgia Department of Children and Family Services, Au-
For a discussion of race and Caribbean farm labor in the U.S. South, see Hahamovitch, *No Man's Land*.


42. “Findings from the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) 1989.”

43. Cortez interview; Anderson, “New Law Changes Life for Migrants.”


46. For the demographics of Georgia farm labor in the 1970s, see “Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers in Georgia,” in Frank Brewer’s report, Box 16, Series i-9-95, “Governor—Special Affairs Office” collection, GA. On the rise of poultry processing in the South, see Striffler, *Chicken*.

47. Cornell, “Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico,” 264; Jung, *Coolies and Cane*; and Chapters 1–3 of this book.


49. Javier González, telephone interview by the author.


53. Javier González, telephone interview by the author.

54. Ibid.

55. Beck, “We Were the First Ones,” 141.

56. Robert Marín and Teodora Marín, interview by the author.

57. Cortez interview.

58. Diana (Avalos) Mendieta, interview by the author.

59. Javier González, telephone interview by the author.

60. For more on the racial work that discourses of difference and exoticism can do, see Bow, *Partly Colored*, 30–31; Holt, *Problem of Race in the Twenty-First Century*, 111.

61. Diana (Avalos) Mendieta, interview by the author.

62. José and Anselma Gómez, interview by the author.

63. Diana (Avalos) Mendieta, interview by the author.

64. Robert Marín and Teodora Marín, interview by the author.

65. Andrea Hinojosa, interview by the author.

67. John Raymond Turner, interview by the author.
68. On African Americans perceiving Latinos as political competitors in the rural South, see Marrow, *New Destination Dreaming*.
69. Heppel, “Harvesting the Crops of Others.”
70. Migrant Housing Surveys analysis. See note 32.
71. Migrant Ministry Project, November 1982 report, “Migrant Ministry” files, ACDS.
73. “Opinion” of Minister Luisa Virginia Junco, Consul of Mexico in Atlanta, August 15, 1986, Folder IV-343-2, 2a parte, AHSRE; Hernández-León and Zúñiga, “Appalachia Meets Aztlán.”
74. Griffith, “Hay Trabajo.”
75. Wade, *Fiery Cross*, 276–79; MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry*.
77. Ibid. For other examples, see “Opinion” of Minister Luisa Virginia Junco, Consul of Mexico in Atlanta, August 15, 1986, regarding the workplace death of Pablo Jacobo Moscones, which mentions his widow, “norteamericana” Sandra Lavonne Dawson of Cedartown, Folder IV-343-2, 2a parte, AHSRE.
78. Wells, “Cedartown Story.”
84. Auchmuty, “FBI Asked to Probe Threats in Cedartown.”
85. Auchmuty, “Mexican’s Shooting Explained in Taped Statement.”
86. Auchmuty, “FBI Asked to Probe Threats in Cedartown.”
88. Zúñiga and Hernández-León, “A New Destination for an Old Migration.”
89. “1981 Survey of Migrant Housing in Georgia: Location Information,” Folder “Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association,” Box 132, DCFS.
90. “1982 Survey of Migrant Housing in Georgia: Location Information,” Folder “Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association 1983,” Box 146, DCFS.
91. “Summary Observations and Comments on 1981 Migrant Housing Survey,” Folder “Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association,” Box 132, DCFS.
92. “Final Report, Governor’s Internship for WIC, Migrant Outreach,” by Dawn Blum, August 19, 1980, Box 37, Series 1-9-95, “Governor—Special Affairs Office” collection, GA.


94. See note 32.

95. “Migrant Workers Paddle against a Tide That Hasn’t Turned since Steinbeck’s Era,” Macon (Ga.) Telegraph-News, September 6, 1987, clipping in “Migrants” vertical file, UGA.


97. Sister Patricia Brown, “Report on Migrant Housing Site in Metter, Georgia.”

98. Robert Marín and Teodora Marín, interview by the author; Anderson, “New Law Changes Life for Migrants”; Beck, “’We Were the First Ones.’”

99. Beck, “’We Were the First Ones,’” 1–3.


102. Numbers of fatal injuries are from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Fatal Occupational Injuries to Workers in the Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing Industries, All Ownerships, Georgia, 1992–2002” and “Fatal Work Injuries in the Farming, Forestry and Fishing Industries involving Hispanic Workers, Georgia, 2003–2013.” Estimates of the total Latino farmworker population in those states were difficult to locate, as neither the U.S. Census Bureau nor the Bureau of Labor Statistics releases statistics for farmworkers on the state level. So I have used statistics from Migrant Health Program, An Atlas of State Profiles Which Estimate Number of Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers and Members of Their Families.

103. Asbed, “’Coalition of Immokalee Workers’”; Estabrook, Tomatoland, 87.

104. Gloria Shaw Jackson, interview by the author.

105. “Final Report, Governor’s Internship for WIC, Migrant Outreach,” by Dawn Blum, August 19, 1980, Box 37, Series 1-9-95, “Governor—Special Affairs Office” collection, GA.


108. Heppel, “Harvesting the Crops of Others.”

109. Cortez interview.

110. Moreno interview.

111. Ramón Moreno Llamas, Third Level Consul, to Minister Luisa Virginia Junco, Consul of Mexico in Atlanta, July 25, 1986, Folder IV-343-2, 2a parte, AHSRE.

113. Ramón Moreno Llamas, Third level Consul, to Minister Luisa Virginia Junco, Consul of Mexico in Atlanta, July 25, 1986, Folder IV-343-2, 2a parte, AHSRE.

114. See, for example, Joe D. King and Randy King to Congressman Richardson Pryor, August 11, 1977, Governor Hunt papers, Box 31, Folder “Migrant Workers,” SANC.


116. Sellers, “‘Del pueblo, para el pueblo,’” 59–60; Randy Shaw, *Beyond the Fields*, 147; Alfonso Pulido Sisniega, Consul General of Mexico in Miami, to SRE, January 20, 1977, Folder PAC-F-87-17, Mexicanos en Miami, AHSRE.


119. For the long history of Mexican and Mexican American labor organizing, including in agricultural industries, see Vargas, *Labor Rights Are Civil Rights*.

120. See Chapters 2 and 3 of this book.


122. Michael W. Foley, “Agenda for Mobilization.”

123. Coin, “Pickles and Pickets after NAFTA.”

124. See Chapter 3.

125. Deborah Cohen, *Braceros*.


128. Michael W. Foley, “Privatizing the Countryside.”

129. O’Toole, “A New Nationalism for a New Era.”

130. Robert Marín and Teodora Marín, interview by the author.

131. Héctor Mena, former consul of Mexico in Atlanta, telephone interview by the author, January 29, 2008.


133. “Opinion” of Minister Luisa Virginia Junco, Consul of Mexico in Atlanta, July 31, 1986, Folder IV-343-2, 2a parte, AHSRE; O’Toole, “A New Nationalism for a New Era.”

134. O’Toole, “A New Nationalism for a New Era.”

135. Teodoro Alonso to Luisa Virginia Junco, February 21, 1985, Folder IV-343-1, 1a parte, AHSRE.

136. “Opinion”—attachment to letter 874, June 1, 1987, Folder IV-432-3, 6a parte, AHSRE.

138. I am grateful to Aimee Villareal Garza for this insight.
139. José and Anselma Gómez, interview by the author.
141. While scholars believe that the details of daily life and routines can be accurately recalled decades later, emotional memory is notoriously fickle. Abrams, Oral History Theory, 87. For more on nostalgia even for times and places of great suffering, see Marianne Hirsch and Spitzer, Ghosts of Home.
142. Otero, “Refusing to Be ‘Undocumented’”; Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu, loc. 1130.
144. Marianne Hirsch, Family Frames; Richard Chalfen, Turning Leaves, 12.
145. Richard Chalfen, Turning Leaves, 7–9. Indeed, while ideologies of family have varied across time and space, family albums where present have served as a tool to prop up those ideologies in the lives of family members. Some scholars construct this idea narrowly, claiming that family photographs specifically advance the ideology of white middle-class families. See, for example, Spence and Holland, Family Snaps; Rose, Doing Family Photography; Langford, “Speaking the Album”; Holland, “Introduction,” 7. More useful are those who apply the framework to the experiences of immigrants, minorities, and other subcultures, including Marianne Hirsch, Family Frames; Marianne Hirsch, Familial Gaze; Kunimoto, “Intimate Archives”; Spitzer, “Album and the Crossing”; Campt, Image Matters; Otero, “Refusing to Be ‘Undocumented’”; Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu.
146. Stanley, “‘Well, Who’d Want an Old Picture of Me at Work?’”; Richard Chalfen, Turning Leaves, 92.
147. Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu, loc. 2769.
148. Richard Chalfen found a similar pattern among Japanese Americans, some of whom carefully preserved photos of farm labor in their albums. Richard Chalfen, Turning Leaves, 86–92. For more on how male-led agricultural labor migration created a labor–leisure divide where none had previously existed in the Mexican countryside, see Deborah Cohen, Braceros.
149. Robert Marín and Teodora Marín, interview by the author.
150. For the theorist Roland Barthes, the best photography reaches beyond its cultural context to prick the heart of the viewer. Barthes, Camera Lucida.
151. José and Anselma Gómez, interview by the author.
152. Ibid.
153. While lower-income Americans did own cameras at rates comparable to those in other income levels, they were far less likely than higher-income earners to own a Polaroid. Wolfman, “Wolfman Report on the Photographic & Imaging Industry in the United States,” 1987–88, 45.
154. José and Anselma Gómez, interview by the author.
155. Richard Chalfen, Turning Leaves, 71.
156. José and Anselma Gómez, interview by the author.
158. Perales, *Smeltertown*.
160. For another example of contemporary discourses shaping workers’ narratives as they formed, see Bodnar, “Power and Memory in Oral History.”
163. Montejano, *Chicano Politics and Society in the Late 20th Century*, 282–86; Ernesto Chávez, “Mi Raza Primero!”; Marc S. Rodriguez, *Tejano Diaspora*. Rodriguez argues that even the Mexican American activism of Texas has substantial roots in the progressive traditions of Wisconsin, a place where many activists had once lived.
164. Randy Shaw, *Beyond the Fields*, 147.
166. For the demographics of Georgia farm labor, see “Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers in Georgia,” in Frank Brewer’s report, Box 16, Series 1-9-95, “Governor—Special Affairs Office” collection, GA.
167. For the relationship between black attitudes toward farm labor and organizing, see Heppel, “Harvesting the Crops of Others,” 222.
168. José and Anselma Gómez, interview by the author.
169. Heppel found a similar phenomenon among black and Mexican workers on the Virginia shore. There, blacks and Mexicans created their identities in part through contrast with the other. Heppel, “Harvesting the Crops of Others,” 221.
171. Migrant Workers Service Providers, Georgia, “Hispanic Ministry” file, ACDS.
172. Beck, “‘We Were the First Ones,’” 5.
173. Lynn Brazen, “The Kiddie Kastle Opens,” Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association newsletter, April 16, 1982, Folder “Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association,” Box 132, DCFS; “WIC Migrant Outreach and Internship Activities, Presented by Dawn Blum and Patricia Mendoza, Georgia Governor’s Interns for Department of Human Resources,” October 1980; Patricia Mendoza’s intern report, Box 38, Series 1-9-95, “Governor—Special Affairs Office” collection, GA.
174. Ramón Moreno Llamas, Third Level Consul, to Minister Luisa Virginia Junco, Consul of Mexico in Atlanta, July 14, 1986, in Folder IV-343-2, 2a parte, AHSRE.
177. Germany, “Poverty Wars in the Louisiana Delta.”
178. Gloria Shaw Jackson interview. Helen Marrow observes that teachers and social service workers in rural North Carolina were highly receptive to their new Hispanic clients but does not comment on the implications for black–Mexican relations. Marrow, *New Destination Dreaming*. This point bears further exploration as many social service workers in the black-belt South are African American veterans of the region’s civil rights struggles. This case and Marrow’s contrast with scholarly observations of white and black social service workers limiting Latinas’ access to health and social services in North Carolina’s Research Triangle metropolitan area. Deeb-Sossa and Mendez, “Enforcing Borders in the Nuevo South.”
179. Jerome Woody, interview by the author, Claxton, Ga., April 2, 2008. Helen Marrow has shown that in rural North Carolina counties where blacks do not comprise a majority (as they don’t in most of southeastern Georgia), black activists have seen Hispanics as potentially advantageous political allies over the long term. Marrow, *New Destination Dreaming*, 136. Furthermore, Angela Stuesse documents that even in Mississippi, with its many majority-black counties, African American civil rights leaders have adopted the immigrants’ rights cause as their own. Stuesse, “Race, Migration, and Labor Control.”
180. See, for example, Montejano, *Chicano Politics and Society in the Late 20th Century*; Marc S. Rodríguez, *Tejano Diaspora*.
181. Andrea Hinojosa, interview by the author.
182. Ibid.
183. Crespino, *In Search of Another Country*.
185. In 1987, 89 percent of farms in Georgia were individual- or family-owned. U.S. Census Bureau, *1987 Census of Agriculture*.
186. Ibid.
187. Mary Ann and Howdy Thurman, interview by the author.
190. For more on similar discourses during the bracero program, see Deborah Cohen, *Braceros*, 51.
191. Mary Ann Thurman believed that growers have successfully influenced police in
Fort Valley to be more sympathetic to immigrants. Mary Ann and Howdy Thurman, interview by the author. Andrea Hinojosa reported that by the mid-2000s, however, police harassment of undocumented immigrants was the norm in Vidalia. Sabia, “Anti-Immigrant Fervor in Georgia.”

195. Lichterman, Elusive Togetherness, 135; Emerson and Smith, Divided by Faith, 52–63.
196. Keane, Christian Moderns, 49–52; Emerson and Smith, Divided by Faith, 75–79; Crespino, In Search of Another Country, 269–70; Elisha, Moral Ambition, 199.
197. Bartkowski and Regis, Charitable Choices, 103–18.
199. For discussion of “moral ambition” in white churches, see ibid. Studying conservative Christian charity in the Midwest, Paul Lichterman found that for white church volunteers, African American and Guatemalan charity clients were “interchangeable ‘others’ on the group’s social map.” Lichterman, Elusive Togetherness, 158.
201. Handwritten draft of personal history of Mary Ann Thurman, Thurman personal papers.
202. Ruth and Sonny Bridges, interview by the author.
203. Though Protestant evangelization efforts in Mexico were well under way in the 1970s and 1980s, they were most successful by far in Mexico’s southeastern and northeastern states, while most Mexican migrants to southern Georgia in this time were from the central and north-central part of the country. For example, Israel Cortez’s home state of Mexico was 97 percent Catholic in 1970, 95 percent in 1980, and 91 percent in 2000. Teodora Marín’s home state of Guerrero was 97 percent Catholic in 1970, 93 percent in 1980, and 89 percent in 2000. In contrast, the southeastern Mexican state of Tabasco was 87 percent Catholic in 1970, 79 percent in 1980, and 70 percent in 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática, La diversidad religiosa en México; Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática, “Censo General de Población y Vivienda.”
205. Ibid.
207. Carolyn Flowers, interview by the author.
210. Ruth and Sonny Bridges, interview by the author. For another example, see Pierce, “Growing Hispanic Ministry Result of Vision.”
212. Ruth and Sonny Bridges, interview by the author.
213. Mary Ann Thurman to Duke Lane, President, Lane Packing Co., October 10, 1988, Thurman personal papers.
217. See, for example, Ayers, *Southern Crossing*; Grossman, *Land of Hope*.
218. See, for example, Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, 266; Hewitt, *Southern Discomfort*, 27.
219. AP, “Vidalia Onion Growers Hot about Labor Regulations.” For more on farmers’ turn away from paternalistic labor relationships, see Hahamovitch, *No Man’s Land*, 91.
221. For further discussion of the pitfalls of liberalism in the arena of race and rights, see HoSang, *Racial Propositions*.
222. Hahamovitch, “Creating Perfect Immigrants.”
223. Janis Roberson, interview by the author.
224. For more on the role of deportability in exacerbating the power gulf between guest workers and employers, see Hahamovitch, “Creating Perfect Immigrants”; Hahamovitch, *No Man’s Land*.
225. Janis Roberson, interview by the author.
231. Janis Roberson, interview by the author.
232. For more on coercive settings in photography, see Richard Chalfen, *Snapshot Versions of Life*, 74–75. Also see Anthony W. Lee, *A Shoemaker’s Story*, 219.
233. Handwritten draft of personal history of Mary Ann Thurman, Thurman personal papers.
234. Elisha, Moral Ambition.
235. Ruth and Sonny Bridges, interview by the author.
236. For more on how “intensive benevolence” at churches can help the poor gain greater social capital, see Bartkowski and Regis, Charitable Choices, 70. On Latino immigrants gaining social capital through white churches in the South, see López-Sanders, “Bible Belt Immigrants.”
237. For a similar case, see López-Sanders, “Bible Belt Immigrants.”
238. José and Anselma Gómez, interview by the author.
239. Mary Ann and Howdy Thurman, interview by the author.
240. On the importance of community building in blacks’ response to white supremacy, see Connolly, “Colored, Caribbean, and Condemned.”
241. Mary Ann and Howdy Thurman, interview by the author.
243. For other examples of Latino community building in southern churches, see Marquardt, “From Shame to Confidence”; Odem, “Our Lady of Guadalupe in the New South”; Waits, “‘They’ve Come for the True Gospel.’”
244. Margarita to Mary Anne Thurman, December 21, 1988, Thurman personal papers.
245. Postcard from Jesús and María to “Mr. Howdy y Mary Anne,” August 23, year obscured, Thurman personal papers.
246. Eujeinyo Moreno to “Mariana,” February 27, 1990, postmarked McAlpin, Fl., Thurman personal papers.
248. José and Anselma Gómez, interview by the author.
249. Andrea and Bernardo Avalos, interview by the author.
250. Cortez interview.
251. Javier González, interview by the author.
252. Petra Soto interview, interview by the author.
253. Cortez interview.
254. The Coalition of Immokalee Workers, for example, was founded in a meeting room at a supportive Catholic church. Coalition of Immokalee Workers, “Consciousness + Commitment = Change.”
256. Though mostly associated with the Republican Party, the anti-immigrant movement in California also enjoyed wide support from Democrats. HoSang, Racial Propositions, 173–74.
258. Southern Poverty Law Center, “Close to Slavery.” On the origins of H2 visas, see Hahamovitch, No Man’s Land, loc. 2725.

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259. Diana (Avalos) Mendieta, interview by the author.
265. Teodoro Maus, telephone interview by the author.
267. Teodoro Maus, telephone interview by the author; Joyner, “H2A Agricultural Guestworker Program.”
271. “Mark in East Cobb” to Smyrna Mayor Max Bacon, June 1, 1995, Governor—Intergovernmental Relations—Subject Files—1993–7—Gov. Zell Miller 001-24-133, Box 20 (RCB 35852), GA.
273. Andrea Hinojosa recalled once seeing Klan members in hoods distributing anti-immigrant pamphlets in Vidalia during the late 1980s or early 1990s. This was the extent of anti-immigrant Klan activity that she or other southern Georgia interviewees could recall. Andrea Hinojosa, interview by the author.
275. Luz Marti, interview by the author.

278. Janis Roberson, interview by the author.
279. Andrea Hinojosa, interview by the author.
282. On the need to examine politics at scales below the nation and state, see Las- siter, “Political History beyond the Red-Blue Divide.”
288. Glenn, “Immigrant Protest Patchy in Colquitt County.”
289. Nor did it in majority-white Yell County in Arkansas, another small haven of pro-immigrant conservatism. Hallett, “Better than White Trash.”
292. Ruth and Sonny Bridges, interview by the author.
293. Carolyn Flowers, interview by the author.
295. American Civil Liberties Union, “Republican Mayor Opposes Georgia’s Anti-immigrant Law.”

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Chapter 5

1. Lassiter, Silent Majority; Gaillard, Dream Long Deferred.

2. Laura Mendoza and Eréndira Molina, interview by the author. Berryhill was located in a census tract that had attracted Latino immigrants since the early 1990s. Smith and Furuseth, “Housing, Hispanics.”

3. Since 1955, scholars have used a combination of factors to define “exurbia” as opposed to suburbia or urban areas. Depending on the scholar, these factors have included distance from urban areas, rate of population growth since 1970 (sometimes as compared with prior population growth), commuting patterns, population density, and education levels of residents. Berube, Singer, Wilson, and Frey, “Finding Exurbia.” Because he is interested primarily in the relationship between exurbia and politics, Ruy Teixeira provides the most useful working definition of exurbia: a combination of “emerging suburbs” (places that are already suburbanizing) and “true exurbs” (rural areas that include increasing numbers of commuters but where large-scale suburban development has not yet taken root). Teixeira, “Next Frontier.” Teixeira relies on Lang and Sanchez’s typology of metropolitan counties: cores, inner suburbs, mature suburbs, emerging suburbs, and exurbs, noting that while “true exurbs” are overwhelmingly white and conservative, “emerging suburbs” are increasingly diverse. In the case of Charlotte’s Metropolitan Statistical Area, it is indeed these “emerging suburbs” that host substantial Latino populations. Given its focus on Latino populations and city- and county-level politics, the present book uses the word “suburbs” to refer to suburban areas within the city of Charlotte. It uses the word “exurbs” to refer to more recently developed cities in outer Mecklenburg County (such as Mint Hill) and to surrounding Lincoln, Gaston, Union, Cabarrus, and York (South Carolina) counties. The last three are categorized as “emerging suburbs” by Lang and Sanchez and thus would be considered exurbs under Teixeira’s definition, while Gaston is considered a “mature suburb” and Lincoln is not categorized. Lang and Sanchez, “New Metro Politics: Interpreting Recent Presidential Elections Using a County-Based Regional

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Typology,” http://www.mi.vt.edu/uploads/NationalElectionReport.pdf. Thus, my use of the term “exurb” is intended to be not precise from the perspective of demography but rather, following Texeira, useful from the perspective of political history.

4. For example, 39 percent of domestic newcomers to Union County between 1995 and 2000 came from urban/suburban Mecklenburg, and an additional 46 percent arrived from out of state, while smaller numbers arrived from more rural counties nearby, such as Anson and Stanly. LINC (Log Into North Carolina), “Migration Report for Union County.”

5. For more on suburban diversity, see Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell, Twenty-First Century Gateways.

6. Mercedes R., interview by the author. For more on Latino parents’ alienation even in public schools that conscientiously serve their children, see Winders, Nashville in the New Millennium, 124–25.


8. A fast-developing literature on suburban immigrant settlement has largely ignored the exurban frontier of “emerging suburbs” and “true exurbs.” Caroline Bretell’s study of Plano, Texas, is a notable exception within the seminal collection. See Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell, Twenty-First Century Gateways.

9. For evidence of “Spanish-speaking” migrants in North Carolina since the 1960s, see note 10 of Chapter 4.

10. For more on the relationship between the global financial industry and low-wage, nonwhite labor forces, see Sassen, Global City. On immigration to Sunbelt service economies, see Cadava, Standing on Common Ground.


12. Scholars commonly assume that IRCA legal status allowed immigrants to settle in new destinations since now they would not fear deportation. Though often asserted, this maxim has yet to be proven in the case of the South, a region that had comparatively little immigration enforcement in the late twentieth century. See, for example, Cravey, “Transnationality, Social Spaces, and Parallel Worlds,” 6; Zúñiga and Hernández-León, “A New Destination for an Old Migration”; Massey and Durand, Crossing the Border. The argument about the IRCA’s effects on the labor market is more convincing in the context of the South. Cornelius, “Los Migrantes de la Crisis.”

13. Census 2000 Summary, File 4, “Sex by Place of Birth by Year of Entry for the Foreign-Born Population [89],” accessed via Census.gov; “Table A4.11: Leading Non-Farm Private-Sector Industries for Hispanic Employment in Mecklenburg County, 2000,” in Kochar, Suro, and Tafoya, “New Latino South.” Because it is based on census data, this estimate of 27.6 percent of Mecklenburg County’s Hispanic workforce would not include crews brought in from other states such as Texas. Smith and Furuseth, “Housing, Hispanics.”

14. “Table A4.11: Leading Non-Farm Private-Sector Industries for Hispanic Em-


16. Smith and Furuseth have called this the “Welcome amigos” phase. Smith and Furuseth, “Localized Immigration Policy.”

17. Wayne Cooper, interview by the author.

18. Angeles Ortega-Moore, interview by the author.


27. In 1996, Piedmont residents surveyed in the Carolina poll were twice as likely to tell telephone pollsters that the influx of Hispanics was “bad” (45 percent) as opposed to “good” (23 percent). Since Charlotte is the Piedmont’s largest city, this must reflect at least somewhat the sentiments there. “Carolina Poll,” Spring 1996.


29. Deeb-Sossa and Mendez, “Enforcing Borders in the Nuevo South”; Dreby and Schmalzbauer, “Relational Contexts of Migration.”

30. On Latino settlement in racially mixed Charlotte neighborhoods that include significant African American populations, see Smith and Furuseth, “Housing, Hispanics,” 223.

31. The 1996 Carolina poll found that 28 percent of blacks thought the Hispanic influx was “good,” compared with 22 percent of whites, and that 38 percent thought it was “bad,” as opposed to 44 percent of whites. “Carolina Poll,” Spring 1996. For negative attitudes, see McClain, Carter, et al., “Racial Distancing in a Southern City”;

Notes to Pages 185–87
Marrow, “Hispanic Immigration, Black Population Size, and Intergroup Relations in the Rural and Small-Town South.”


33. Mercedes R., interview by the author.

34. For example, see Alicia E., interview by the author; Rosa Elba Gutiérrez, interview by the author.


37. Ibid.

38. Park, Entitled to Nothing; Robin Dale Jacobson, New Nativism. For more on shifts in U.S. culture toward consumption-based ideas of race, rights, and citizenship, see Holt, Problem of Race in the Twenty-First Century, 73–75; Lizabeth Cohen, A Consumers’ Republic.

39. Chang, Disposable Domestics; Hondagneu-Sotelo, Doméstica; Flores-González, Guevarra, and Toro-Morn, Immigrant Women Workers in the Neoliberal Age; Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell, Twenty-First Century Gateways.

40. Smith and Furuseth, “‘Nuevo South’”; Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell, Twenty-First Century Gateways.

41. Hondagneu-Sotelo, Gendered Transitions.

42. The 2004 American Community Survey showed that like these interviewees, more than 90 percent of North Carolina’s “Hispanics” were forty-four years old or younger. Kasarda and Johnson, “Economic Impact of the Hispanic Population on the State of North Carolina,” http://www.kenan-flagler.unc.edu/assets/documents/2006_KenanInstitute_HispanicStudy.pdf.

43. Interviewees from newer out-migration areas included Guerrero (four), Mexico City (two), and the State of Mexico (one). Those from more traditional emigration states included Michoacán (four), Durango (one), and Tamaulipas (one). While there are no reliable survey data on states of origin among Mexicans in North Carolina, data about identity cards (matriculas consulares) processed by the Mexican consulate can approximate this information. These data may underestimate the number of immigrants from traditional origin states who first lived in California or Texas and acquired their matricula consular prior to moving to North Carolina. “Consulmex Raleigh, Matrículas Consulares Expedidas por Estado de Procedencia, 2003,” in author’s possession; Kasarda and Johnson, “Economic Impact of the Hispanic Population on the State of North Carolina,” 3.

44. Hernández-León, Metropolitan Migrants; Marcelli and Cornelius, “Changing Profile of Mexican Migrants to the United States,” 121; Cornelius, “Los Migrantes de la Crisis,” 162.
46. Jennifer S. Hirsch, A Courtship after Marriage; Dreby and Schmalzbauer, “Relational Contexts of Migration.”
47. These interviewees signed a release form based on the American Association of University Presses’ model form, which I adapted to allow them to explicitly choose whether I would use their names and biographical data. As a practical matter, however, I did not anticipate that their names would be public beyond this book’s readership, as e-books now necessitate. After consulting with sociologists, anthropologists, and journalist experts in this area (some advocated using full names and others advocated using only pseudonyms), I struck this compromise position, using real first names and last initials, to honor the women’s decisions to make their names known while acting cautiously in a changed publishing climate and still-uncertain policy future for undocumented immigrants. The few immigrants whose full names are used are not undocumented and not part of the sample described in note 43.
48. Angelica C., interview by the author.
49. Ibid.
50. Deborah Cohen, Braceros, 174–75; Ben Hyneman, interview, ADT.
52. Deborah Cohen, Braceros; Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu.
53. De la Calle and Rubio, Mexico, 60; García Canclini, Consumers and Citizens; Walker, Waking from the Dream; Bauer, Goods, Power, History.
54. Castañeda, Mexican Shock; Oppenheimer, Bordering on Chaos.
55. González Chávez and Macías, “Vulnerabilidad alimentaria y política agroalimentaria en México.”
56. De la Calle and Rubio, Mexico, 32.
57. María and Alejandra N., interview by the author.
58. Edith H., interview by the author.
59. De la Calle and Rubio, Mexico.
60. Hondagneu-Sotelo, Gendered Transitions.
61. Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu.
62. Dreby, Divided by Borders.
64. Mercedes R., interview by the author.
66. On women’s attitudes toward family separation during the bracero program, see Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu.
67. Massey, Durand, and Malone, Beyond Smoke and Mirrors.
69. María F., interview by the author.
70. Rosas, “Breaking the Silence.”


74. Property taxes in Gaston County were comparable to Mecklenburg’s, but for all the other counties in question, they were lower.


76. LINC, “Census 2000, Summary File 3, Indian Trail, N.C.”

77. Ibid. On Cobb County, Georgia, see Lassiter, “Big Government and Family Values.”

78. LINC, “Migration Report for Union County.”


85. LINC, “Census 2000, Summary File 3, Indian Trail, N.C.”


88. Smith and Furuseth, “Housing, Hispanics”; Smith and Furuseth, “‘Nuevo South.’”

89. Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell, *Twenty-First Century Gateways*.

90. See, for example, ads in *La Noticia*, Charlotte, October 10, 1997, 42, and March 27, 1998, 44, 48.


95. In 2000, 32 percent of nonfarm Hispanic employment was in construction, 20 percent was in manufacturing (durable and nondurable combined), 12 percent was in service industries, and 10 percent was in retail. Kochar, Suro, and Tafoya, “New Latino South,” 72.

96. María and Alejandra N., interview by the author; Ana Hernández, interview by the author; Rosa Elba Gutiérrez, interview by the author.

97. Edith H., interview by the author; María F., interview by the author.

98. On Latino avoidance of black neighborhoods, see Price and Singer, “Edge Gateways.”

99. Alicia E., interview by the author.

100. Walker, Waking from the Dream, 7; de la Calle and Rubio, Mexico, 38.

101. Advertisement for Regent Homes, La Noticia, November 7, 2007, 41V.

102. Advertisement for Fleetwood Homes, La Noticia, July 13, 2005, 7V.

103. Advertisement for Adams Homes, La Noticia, July 19, 2006, 11V.

104. Doris Cevallos, interview by the author.

105. Celia Estrada, interview by the author.


107. Doris Cevallos, interview by the author.


109. Data is from Zillow.com.

110. This echoes earlier battles over black home ownership in white neighborhoods, which also equated consumption with citizenship and identity. Holt, Problem of Race in the Twenty-First Century, 73–75. It also draws on Perla Guerrero’s concept of “acts of spatial illegality,” which she defines as “any instance where Latinas/os do not break laws, customs, or social norms of the community yet their activity is constructed as objectionable and illicit, where their mere presence is a violation of community.” Guerrero, “Impacting Arkansas,” 258.

111. Kruse, White Flight; Lassiter, Silent Majority; HoSang, Racial Propositions.


113. On the historical construction of the illegal immigrant, see Ngai, Impossible Subjects.

114. Wil Neumann, interview by the author.


118. For an account that pins anti-immigrant sentiment on southern particularities, see Sabia, “Anti-Immigrant Fervor in Georgia,” 73. For arguments against southern exceptionalism in the civil rights era, see Kruse, White Flight; Lassiter, Silent Majority.
120. Deeb-Sossa and Mendez, “Enforcing Borders in the Nuevo South.”
121. William Gheen, telephone interview by the author.
122. NCListen, “Contact.”
124. William Gheen, telephone interview by the author.
125. Dustin Inman Society, “No to Georgifornia!”
126. On the white racial subtext of “taxpayer” identities, see HoSang, Racial Propositions, 167.
127. Anti-Defamation League, “Immigrants Targeted.” For more on these discourses, see Leo R. Chavez, Latino Threat, and Deeb-Sossa and Mendez, “Enforcing Borders in the Nuevo South.”
129. This is in contrast to older, inner southern suburbs, where neighborhood identities structured discourse on Latino newcomers. Winders, Nashville in the New Millennium, 56–58, 169, 233–34.
132. Terry Lewis e-mail to Wil Neumann, March 6, 2009. Courtesy of Wil Neumann.
133. Tish Huss e-mail to Wil Neumann, April 14, 2009. Courtesy of Wil Neumann.
139. “Gaston County Board of Commissioners Meeting.”
141. “Gaston County Board of Commissioners Meeting.”
142. Ibid.
143. Mecklenburg County, North Carolina Board of County Commissioners, “Meet

144. “Mecklenburg County Commissioners Meeting.”


146. Angelica C., interview by the author.

147. Focus group with Mexican immigrant women, Monroe, N.C., August 12, 2011.


152. Jess George, interview by the author; Angeles Ortega-Moore, interview by the author.


154. Angeles Ortega-Moore, interview by the author.


161. On Evangelical outreach efforts, see Pastor José Torres, interview by the author; Clark, “A Mission of Hope: Hispanics Helped through Baptist Church,” *Charlotte Observer*, June 26, 1988; Stowe, “Churches Reach out to Hispanics,” *Charlotte Observer,*
September 8, 1991; “Se Expanden Servicios de Iglesias en Español,” La Noticia, January 11, 2006. A Spanish-language service at First Baptist Church of Indian Trail was listed in a 2009 directory (http://www.ihclt.org/resources.php?cat=50) but by 2014 no longer existed according to the church’s website (http://www.fbcit.org/our-history) and a phone call to its office placed by the author on November 19, 2014.

162. On Charlotte Catholics’ Hispanic ministries, see Sister Andrea Inkrott, interview by the author; and “Colabore con la Campaña de Recolección de Fondos para Construir el Centro Católico Hispano,” La Noticia, October 10, 1997. On inconsistent Catholic responses in exurban counties, see Father Frank Cancro, interview by the author; Father José Antonio Juya, interview by the author; Angelica C., interview by the author.


164. Tom Stinson-Wesley, interview by the author. Alex and Anne Smythers recounted a similar reluctance toward Latino outreach in their Methodist church in Mint Hill, at Mecklenburg County’s eastern edge. Alex and Anne Smythers, interview by the author.


166. Robert C. Smith, Mexican New York, 284–85; FitzGerald, A Nation of Emigrants.

167. Consular Assistance and Protection Cases handled in the Mexican consulate in Raleigh, N.C., 2001–9 and 2010–12, acquired via “Infomex” Mexican government public records request, in author’s possession. I am grateful to Louise Walker for facilitating the completion of this request in Mexico City.

168. Edith H., interview by the author.

169. Angelica C., interview by the author.

170. Ana Hernández, interview by the author.

171. Jess George, interview by the author.

172. For more on the ways space constrains political activism among southern Latinos, see Odem, “Latino Immigrants and the Politics of Space in Atlanta.”

173. Edith H., interview by the author.

174. Norma C., interview by the author.

175. Angelica C., interview by the author.

176. For more on the role of fear in limiting the political claims of adult undocumented immigrants, see Abrego, “Legal Consciousness of Undocumented Latinos.”

177. La Noticia mentioned a march in Gastonia on April 1, 2007, but I was unable to corroborate this from other newspaper sources. Gastonia’s Catholic priest, an immigrant advocate, asked around for information in response to a request. He wrote in an e-mail that “there was a protest but no one remembers who sponsored it—local ministers were involved and possibly the council of churches. No one from [the Catholic church] was present nor do they think the protest itself was well attended.” Father Frank Cancro, e-mail to the author, October 22, 2013.

182. Ernesto Chávez, “Mi Raza Primero!,” 47–48; García and Castro, Blowout!.
184. Angelica C., interview by the author.
185. Mercedes R., interview by the author.
186. Edith H., interview by the author.
187. Cahn, Direct Sales and Direct Faith in Latin America; Cahn, “Using and Sharing.”
188. Nathel Hailey, President of Union County NAACP, interview by the author; Annie Young, President of Gaston County NAACP, interview by the author.

Conclusion

2. Winders, Nashville in the New Millennium, 127.
4. Robert C. Smith, Mexican New York; Smith and Guarnizo, Transnationalism from Below; FitzGerald, A Nation of Emigrants.
5. For more on these modernist promises, see Deborah Cohen, Braceros.

Appendix

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