

A FEATURE CELEBRATING
NEW MEXICO'S DIAMOND JUBILEE

A PROFILE *of* BLACKS *in* NEW MEXICO *on the* EVE *of* STATEHOOD

by Monroe Billington

NEW MEXICO HAS LONG BEEN NOTED FOR ITS cultural diversity. General histories of the territory and state invariably include much material on New Mexico's three major ethnic groups: Anglo, Indian, Hispanic. Indeed, these groups have received so much attention that many people write of New Mexico's "tricultural heritage" as if no other cultural groups existed in that region.[1] Omitted from the attention directed toward New Mexico's ethnic heritage have been its blacks.[2] Furthermore, New Mexico's blacks and their history have been virtually invisible in studies of blacks in the American West.[3]

Despite this neglect, blacks—while not numerous—have been present in New Mexico for centuries, and they have been important in the region's society, culture, and economy, especially after the United States acquired the territory. The first black to set foot within the boundaries of present-day New Mexico was Estevancio (also referred to as Estevanico, Estaban, Estevan, or Stephen), a dark-skinned north African Moor and slave of An-

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dres Dorantes, who accompanied a Spanish exploring expedition into the area in 1539.[4] Over the years other blacks accompanied Spanish explorers and settlers in New Mexico. Most of these individuals were assimilated into the Hispanic and Indian cultures, and for over 300 years their visibility was not great.

In 1850, the year New Mexico was organized as a formal Territory of the United States, 22 free blacks were identified as living within its boundaries, and a decade later the numbers had increased to 64.[5] In 1859 the territorial legislature passed an elaborate slave code, indicative of the influence of southern political leaders in the Territory preparing for the growth of slavery there.[6] However, the Census Bureau reported no slaves living in New Mexico in either 1850 or 1860, although other sources indicate that some slaves either lived in or passed through the Territory between 1846 and 1865.[7] In 1857 the southern-dominated government passed a law regulating free blacks then living in New Mexico and preventing others from migrating to the Territory.[8] This law was repealed in 1866.[9] In 1870 the free black population stood at 172.[10]

Between 1870 and 1890 New Mexico experienced a great growth in mining, and many blacks—mostly ex-slaves—migrated there to work in the mines and at other occupations in the mining communities. The 1880 census reported a black population of 1,015 while 1,956 blacks were reported in 1890, a significant number residing in the counties with booming mining operations.[11] The blacks who went to New Mexico in the decade surrounding the year 1880 were a part of the first large-scale voluntary migration of blacks out of the American South. Contemporaries called it the "Great Exodus."[12] When the New Mexico mining industry fell on hard times in the mid-1890s, a slower in-migration plus an out-migration reversed the growth trend so that by 1900 black numbers in New Mexico had declined to 1,610.[13] During the next decade the Territory's black population increased ever so little, the Census Bureau in 1910 reporting 1,628 blacks.[14]

This essay is a statistical analysis of those blacks residing in New Mexico in 1910, two years prior to statehood. Such a study will help toward an understanding of the black presence in territorial New Mexico, as well as set the stage for that particular racial minority's role in the history of the state of New Mexico.

Of the 1,628 black residents of New Mexico in 1910, only 410 were born

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in New Mexico. Those born in the United States, its territories (excluding New Mexico), or abroad numbered 1,184. None was born in the nation's outlying possessions, while 34 were reportedly foreign born. Excluding 16 persons who did not report the states of their births and one American citizen born abroad, Table 1 shows the divisions and states of the nation in which were born the non-native New Mexico blacks living in the Territory in 1910.[15] These statistics reveal that New Mexico black residents were born in 36 of the 48 political subdivisions. Apparently New Mexico's attractive

TABLE 1
Divisions and states of origins of non-native blacks living in New Mexico
Numbers of non-native blacks living in New Mexico

New England — 3	
Maine	1
New Hampshire	0
Vermont	0
Massachusettes	2
Rhode Island	0
Connecticut	0
Middle Atlantic — 17	
New York	9
New Jersey	1
Pennsylvania	7
South Atlantic — 166	
Delaware	1
Maryland	7
District of Columbia	1
Virginia	54
West Virginia	5
North Carolina	20
South Carolina	11
Georgia	56
Florida	11
Mountain — 49	
Montana	0
Idaho	0
Wyoming	0
Colorado	45
Arizona	2
Utah	0
Nevada	2
East South Central — 284	
Kentucky	73
Tenessee	67
Alabama	89
Mississippi	55
East North Central — 57	
Ohio	17
Indiana	13
Illinois	21
Michigan	0
Wisconsin	6
West North Central — 133	
Minnesota	3
Iowa	9
Missouri	73
North Dakota	0
South Dakota	1
Nebraska	5
Kansas	42
West South Central — 439	
Arkansas	26
Louisiana	43
Oklahoma	30
Texas	340
Pacific — 19	
Washington	1
Oregon	1
California	17

features had been spread throughout the nation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Also this Table points up the fact that the great majority of the migrants to New Mexico came from the South. Defining the South as 16 states plus the District of Columbia, the Census Bureau identified 889 southern blacks residing in the territory in 1910. Table 2 lists those states in descending order of numbers. No doubt the increased rise of tenancy, deteriorating economic conditions, and the growing rigidity of a segregated society in the southern states played as influential a role in this migration as New Mexico's attractive qualities.[16]

The Census of 1910 lists 439 of the Territory's 1,628 black residents as mulatto,[17] a statistic which does not necessarily mean that significant commingling of the races had occurred in New Mexico in the past. Since 75 percent of the resident black population had been born outside New Mexico, no doubt also most of the Territory's mulatto citizens were born elsewhere.

TABLE 2
Southern states of origin of non-native blacks living in New Mexico
Numbers of non-native blacks living in New Mexico

Texas	340	Arkansas	26
Alabama	89	North Carolina	20
Kentucky	73	South Carolina	11
Tennessee	67	Florida	7
Georgia	56	Maryland	7
Mississippi	55	West Virginia	5
Virginia	54	Delaware	1
Louisiana	43	District of Columbia	1
Oklahoma	30		

Some blacks born in New Mexico moved away. In fact, in 1910 more New Mexico-born blacks lived outside the Territory (531) than in it (410). Many of these were born in New Mexico in the 1880s or 1890s and had left the Territory with their parents or as young adults when the mines in Mora and Grant counties had shut down or cut back. Also, other unemployed and underemployed blacks became disenchanted with the Land of Enchantment. Table 3 indicates where those people went. Many returned to the states of their nativity (Texas, Virginia, Illinois, Missouri), while the optimists who clung to their belief in the ultimate reality of the American dream moved on northward to Colorado, Kansas, and Utah or westward to Arizona and California. It is a mystery why so many moved to New York when so few had gone to New Mexico from that state earlier.[18]

TABLE 3
States in which New Mexico-born blacks lived
Numbers of New Mexico-born blacks living in other states

Texas	115	Utah	20
Colorado	85	Illinois	18
California	51	Missouri	18
New York	37	Arizona	16
Virginia	27	All others	118
Kansas	26		

Table 4 indicates the number of blacks in each of the Territory's 26 counties in 1910, as well as the number of blacks in cities with at least 2,500 total population. Of the 1,628 blacks (891 males, 737 females), 795 (49 percent)

were urban dwellers, living in ten census-defined cities.[19]

In 1850, 64 percent of New Mexico's black population was urban, all of these urban-dwellers living in Santa Fe. Still the Territory's only city with at least 2,500 total residents in 1860, Santa Fe was the home of 42 percent of all blacks in the Territory in that year, and in 1870 the black urban-dwellers dropped to 20 percent of the population, all of them living in Santa Fe. Most of the blacks who moved into New Mexico in the 1870s settled in small towns or rural areas, continuing to lower the Territory's percentage of urban-dwellers. By 1880 the urban percentage had dropped to 10, with Santa Fe claiming all of the Territory's urban numbers.[20] In 1890 Albuquerque had almost as many total residents as Santa Fe (5,518 to 6,185), and it had more blacks (181 to 93). In that year the combined urban black population in the Territory's two cities amounted to 14 percent of the total black population. By 1900 New Mexico had six cities (the four new ones being Gallup, Las Vegas City, Raton, and Silver City), and 35 percent of the Territory's blacks lived in these six cities. Thus, New Mexico's urban population continually declined from 64 percent in 1850 to a low of 10 percent in 1880; then it began to climb until it reached 49 percent in 1910.[21] Except for a slight

TABLE 4

County	Numbers of blacks
Bernalillo	311
Chaves	233
Colfax	225
Curry	6
Dona Ana	65
Eddy	56
Grant	164
Guadalupe	10
Lincoln	27
Luna	11
McKinley	66
Mora	5
Otero	24
Quay	25
Rio Arriba	2
Roosevelt	4
San Juan	7
San Miguel	122
Sandoval	7
Santa Fe	128
Sierra	8
Socorro	45
Taos	5
Torrance	8
Union	42
Valencia	22

City	Numbers of blacks
Albuquerque	244
Roswell	165
Raton	89
Clovis	2
Las Cruces	51
Silver City	60
Tucumcari	12
Las Vegas City	94
Las Vegas Town	9
Santa Fe	69

decline in the 1920s, this upward trend continued unabated. In 1980, fully 94 percent of the state's black population lived in the urban areas.[22]

Living in rural communities or in the open countryside in 1910 were 833 blacks, 51 percent of the population. About a quarter of these blacks lived in counties with considerable mining activity, the others being widely scattered across the land. The rather high figure for Chaves County in the southeastern quadrant of the Territory revealed the increased recent migration of blacks from nearby Texas, as well as from other southern states.

One might expect that these rural blacks mainly lived on farms, but the census data indicate that only 48 persons operated farms. Assuming these farmers were married and had an average of two children each, only 192 out of 833 rural blacks lived on farms. Forty-one of these 48 farmers owned the farms on which they lived, three worked as tenants, and four were farm managers.[23] These figures emphasize that the farm tenancy of the South was not transplanted to New Mexico. The great majority of blacks who had migrated to New Mexico took up jobs other than farming.

New Mexico's 48 black-operated farms were scattered across the vast Territory, with a significant concentration in one county. Table 5 reveals that at least one black farm existed in 18 of the Territory's 26 counties, while 11 (nearly one-fourth of the total) were in Chaves County alone.[24] Near the west Texas border where the High Plains run out and with the Pecos River flowing south through the middle of it, Chaves County was the natural center for black farming in New Mexico.

The figures concerning the farms these blacks operated tell much. Their 48 farms averaged 242 acres each, of which only 32 acres were improved. The average value of the farm land, livestock, buildings, and implements and machinery was $7,178. The land averaged $3,775 (less than $16 per acre), the livestock $2,861, the buildings $376, and the implements and machinery $166.[25] Of the total 11,633 acres comprising these farms, 5,040 were in one farm in Colfax County, this farming unit significantly affecting the averages. However, only 25 of its acres were improved, making that farm's improved acreage near the average. The 14 farms in Chaves and Doña Ana counties averaged 63 acres of improved lands, indicating that these were likely the most profitable black-operatd farms in the Territory. Unfortunately, fully one-fourth of the farms had fewer than ten acres of improved lands, and one farm in Guadalupe County reported no improved acreage.[26] By any standard, black farms in New Mexico Territory just prior to statehood were small, ill-equipped, not very valuable, and not too productive or profitable.

As for the homes of the black farm families, six were rented, 38 were

TABLE 5
Numbers of black-operated farms by County

Bernalillo	4	Otero	3
Chaves	11	Quay	2
Colfax	1	Rio Arriba	1
Dona Ana	3	San Juan	2
Grant	3	San Miguel	3
Guadalupe	1	Sandoval	3
Lincoln	1	Santa Fe	2
Luna	1	Torrance	1
McKinley	1	Union	5

owned free, three were owned with encumbrances, and the status of one was not clear.[27] The fact that the majority of the homes were owned free is significant. It pointed up the blacks' successful drive for property ownership (albeit small), which in turn stressed a modicum of permanency for the black farmer. Could it be that the small number of mortgaged homes was partly the result of banks being unwilling to loan money to blacks?

Black families in New Mexico in 1910 occupied 401 other than farm homes. Only 94 of these homes were owned by their residents—73 being owned free, 17 with encumbrances, and the status of the other four not clear.[28] Such statistics lead to the conclusion that the non-farming blacks of New Mexico owned little property and were probably as poor as or poorer than their farm friends.

In summary, New Mexico's 1,628 blacks in 1910 occupied 449 homes, of which 304 were rented. Clearly New Mexico's blacks in 1910 had a distance to go toward home ownership.

Among New Mexico's working blacks ten years of age and over, 132 (124 males, 8 females) were employed in agriculture-related occupations as listed in Table 6. Terminology probably accounts for the slight differences in the statistics for farmers in this Table and those mentioned earlier. Significantly, 43 persons admitted to being "working out farm laborers" as opposed to three who confessed to being farm tenants.[29] If these statistics are correct,

TABLE 6
Numbers of working-age blacks gainfully employed in agriculture related occupations

Farmers	39	Lumbermen	1
Farm foremen	2	Woodchoppers	3
Home farm laborers	11	Stockherders, drovers, and feeders	21
Working out farm laborers	43	Stock raisers	6
Gardners	2	Not specified	1
Laborers in gardens	3		

TABLE 7
Numbers of working-age black males gainfully employed in non-agricultural occupations

Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists	16
Bartenders	6
Blacksmiths	2
Bootblacks	5
Carpenters	2
Chauffeurs	1
Cleaners and renovators of clothing	5
Clergymen	7
Clerks, clerical service	4
Dealers, retail	5
Deliverymen	8
Dreymen, teamsters, and expressmen	13
Drivers, carriage and hack	1
Engineers, stationary	2
Firemen (except locomotive and fire department)	9
Hostlers and stable hands	1
Janitors and sextons	37
Laborers, porters, and helpers in stores	4
Laborers:	
Domestic and professional service	3
General and not specified in manufactures	51
Helpers in building and hand trades	1
Lime, cement, and gypsum factories	2
Public Service	6
Road and street building and repairing	2
Saw and planing mills	3
Steam railroad	21
Launderers, not in laundry	2
Machinists and millwrights	1
Mail carriers	3
Masons, brick and stone	2
Messengers, bundle, and office boys	1
Musicians and teachers of music	4
Operatives:	
Coal mines	78
Quarries	1
Physicians and surgeons	1
Plasterers	1
Plumbers and gas and steam fitters	1
Porters, not in stores	67
Restaurant, cafe, and lunch-room keepers	3
Sailors and deckhands	2
Salesmen in stores	1
Servants	87
Shoemakers and cobblers, not in factories	1
Soldiers, sailors, and marines	8
Switchmen and flagmen, steam railroad	2
Tailors	5
Teachers, school	1
Waiters	13
All others	46

most of the former southern tenants who were engaged in agricultural work in New Mexico had risen somewhat above their prior lowly estate.

Working-age black males gainfully employed in non-agricultural occupations (548) are enumerated in Table 7. One of the most significant aspects of this table is the wide variety of jobs held by black males. They were employed in 48 of the 76 occupations listed in the census, with 46 men grouped into a category of unlisted jobs. As might be expected, black men filled many menial jobs; servants, porters, and janitors accounted for 191 of the total. Common laborers in several fields, including railroad work, constituted the next largest general group (93). Operatives in coal mines and quarries ranked third with 79. Table 7 also reveals that quite a few black men worked at jobs requiring a modicum of skill or intelligence: teamsters, delivery men, mail carriers, waiters, and so on. Some worked at skilled jobs: barbering, blacksmithing, carpentering, masonry, plastering, plumbing, shoemaking, and tailoring. A few were in business for themselves: five were

TABLE 8
Numbers of working-age black females gainfully employed in non-agricultural occupations

Barbers, hairdressers and manicurists	3	Laborers, general and not classified	1
Charwomen and cleaners	1	Laundresses, not in laundry	64
Dealers, retail	1	Midwives and nurses, not trained	5
Dressmakers and seamstresses, not in factory	5	Operatives, in laundries	1
Housekeepers and stewardesses	7	Servants	137
Keepers of boarding and lodging houses	6	Teachers, school	2
		Waitresses	2
		All other occupations	4

retail dealers and three kept eating places. Finally, New Mexico had 13 professional black men: one physician, one school teacher, four musicians or teachers of music, and seven clergymen.[30]

Working-age females gainfully employed in non-agricultural occupations (239) are enumerated in Table 8. The Census Bureau listed 19 non-agricultural jobs available to women, and one or more New Mexico black women were employed in 13 of the categories. Despite this variety of occupations, 84 percent of these black women worked as servants (137)—a generic term covering many menial tasks, including domestic service—and laundresses (64), jobs long associated with southern black women. Two waitresses, two housekeepers, and one laundry operative occupied what could be called semi-skilled positions. Eight had skilled occupations: three were hairdressers and five were dressmakers. Seven women were involved in profit-making ventures: one was a retail dealer, and six were keepers of boarding and lodging houses. Two were school teachers. Five served as untrained midwives. New Mexico's black females, like their black male counterparts, worked at semi-skilled, skilled, business, and professional occupations, as well as at menial tasks.[31]

What about the marital status and family life of New Mexico blacks? Of the 718 black males, 15 years of age and over, 357 (50 percent) were married, 61 were widowed, 14 were divorced, and the marital status of three was unknown.[32] Of the 520 black females 15 years of age and over, 305 (57 percent) were married, 90 were widowed, 17 were divorced, and the marital status of one was unknown. Differences in these figures suggest that the spouses of some of the married people did not live in New Mexico. Such an assumption is supported by the fact that a large number of black immigrants lived in the Territory. Apparently some 50 men had migrated to New Mexico without their wives, surely hoping to send for them when financially able. It is also possible that some black men had deserted wife and family and moved

to New Mexico. The census data only point to but do not reveal these kinds of human dimensions behind the statistics. The larger number and percentage of widowed females was a testimony to the shorter life expectancy of black males, undoubtedly related to the hard life and lack of health care available to them. The fact that 39 percent of the males and 21 percent of the females were single indicates that New Mexico Territory was a place more for married than unmarried people.

But that does not necessarily mean it was a place for children. In 1910 New Mexico had only 390 black children under 15 years of age, an average of less than one child per married, widowed, or divorced female. If one includes the 153 young people from the ages of 15 to 21 as part of the figures to obtain the average number of children in a family, the number of children per married or once-married female would be only 1.3, considerably lower than the national average for children in black families.[33] Perhaps the small black family stemmed from deliberate choice; more likely it was the result of harsh economic conditions, social mobility, high infant-mortality rates, and the generally unstable conditions in a developing region.

Of New Mexico's 1,628 blacks, 1,085 were 21 years of age or older.[34] The median age of the Territory's black population was 28.4, ranking New Mexico fifteenth out of 44 states and territories having at least 1,000 blacks in 1910.[35] The adult migrants apparently brought few children with them to New Mexico, and once there the task of surviving seemed to discourage having children.

In 1910, 155 (74 percent) of New Mexico's 210 black children between the ages of six and 14 were attending school. This compares favorably with the 76 percent of New Mexico's white school-age population attending school.[36] For those black children from six to nine years old, 68 (66 percent) were in school, and for those from ten to 14 the number was 87 and the percentage was 82. In addition, for those from 15 to 20 the number was 59 and the percentage 39.[37] These figures are all surprisingly high in a land where one might have assumed that children were required to go to work at an early age. Also surprising was that three persons over 21 years of age were still in school.[38]

The number of boys and girls in school in part reflected the black adults' internalized belief that education was important for their children's future. In addition, those impressive numbers stemmed from New Mexico's school laws. In 1887 the territorial legislature passed a law requiring parents to be responsible for educating their chidlren in either public or private schools "or at home at least three months each year."[39] Four years later the legislature passed an act which came to be called "the original school statute

of 1891" establishing common school in the Territory and providing for financing and an elaborate administrative system.[40] In 1901, the legislature passed a law penalizing any public school teacher or administrator "who shall refuse to receive any pupil at school on account of race or nationality...."[41] While this act was directed toward discrimination against Hispanic pupils, blacks and other minorities received its benefits. In 1903 the compulsory school-attendance statute was reasserted and strengthened.[42] By 1910 New Mexico had a better-than-average common school system.

The laws governing schooling paid off for New Mexico's black population. Black illiteracy in 1910 was low. Out of 1,344 blacks who were ten years of age or older, only 191 could not read or write. Thus, black illiteracy was only 14 percent (13 percent for males, 16 percent for females), while New Mexico's total illiteracy rate was 20 percent. The black rate was slightly lower than that for native whites (15 percent), about one-half that for foreign-born whites (31 percent), and about one-sixth that for Indians (82 percent). The 1910 black illiteracy rate of 14 percent was somewhat lower than the 1900 percentage of 19, and considerably lower than the 1890 percentage of 46.[43] These declining rates not only attest to New Mexico's schools, but also reflect the out-migration of illiterate blacks, particularly in the economically-depressed decade of the 1890s.

On the eve of statehood, New Mexico's black population, while not large, was an important part of the Territory's landscape. In the next decades of the twentieth century that black population was to grow along with the general population, playing a significant role in the state's labor force, economy, society, and culture. As more is learned and written about this group, perhaps future researchers and writers will stress New Mexico's multicultural heritage rather than just its tricultural tradition. ★

NOTES

1. See Warren A. Beck, *New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries* (Norman, Okla., 1962); Marc Simmons, *New Mexico: A Bicentennial History* (New York, 1977); Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1911-17), 5 vols.; Frank D. Reve, *History of New Mexico* (New York, 1961), 3 vols; Erna Fergusson, *New Mexico: A Pageant of Three Peoples,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1964); Myra Ellen Jenkins and Albert H. Schroeder, *A Brief History of New Mexico* (Albuquerque, 1974).
2. See Lyle Saunders (comp.), *A Guide to Materials Bearing on Cultural Relations in New Mexico* (Albuquerque, 1944); Maurice Garland Fulton and Horgan (eds.), *New Mexico's Own Chronicle: Three Races in the Writings of Four Hundred Years* (Dallas, 1937); Carol J. Thomasson, *et al.* (comps.), *New Mexico History Bibliography for the General Reader* (Albuquerque, 1966); Frances Leon Swadesh (comp.), *20,000 Years of History: A New Mexico Bibliography* (Santa Fe, 1973).
3. See W. Sherman Savage, *Blacks in the West* (Westport, Conn., 1976); William Loren Katz, *The Black West,* rev. ed. (Garden City, N.Y., 1973); Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *The Negro on the American Frontier* (New York, 1971); John M. Carroll (ed.), *The Black Military Experience in the American West* (New York, 1971); William H. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West* (Norman, Okla., 1967); Arlen L. Fowler, *The Black Infantry in the West, 1869-1891* (Westport, Conn., 1971);

Philip Durham and Everett Jones, *The Negro Cowboys* (New York, 1965); James deT. Abajian (comp.), *Blacks and their Contributions to the American West: A Bibliography and Union List of Library Holdings Through 1970* (Boston, 1974).

4. More has been written about Estevancio than has been written on all other blacks in New Mexico; a recent biography is John Upton Terrell, *Estevancio the Black* (Los Angeles, 1968).
5. Bureau of the Census, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, 1853), pp. 990-91; Bureau of the Census, *Population of the United States in 1860; the Eighth Census* (Washington, 1864), p. 568.
6. *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico Passed by the Legislative Assembly, Session of 1858-9* (Santa Fe, 1859), pp. 64-80.
7. See Allan Nevins, *Fremont: Pathmarker of the West* (New York, 1939, 1955), 129, 304, 320-21; David S. Lavender, *Bent's Fort* (Lincoln, Neb., 1954), 171, 266, 313, 319; Alvin R. Sunseri, "A Note on Slavery and the Black Man in New Mexico, 1846-1861," *Negro History Bulletin*, vol. 38, no. 7 (Oct.-Nov. 1975), 457-59; Martin Hardwick Hall, "Negroes with Confederate Troops in West Texas and New Mexico," *Password*, vol. 13 (Spring 1968), 11-12; Martin H. Hall, "Historical Notes," *ibid.*, vol. 13 (Fall 1968), 104-105.
8. *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico Passed by the Legislative Assembly, 1856-67* (Santa Fe, 1857), 48, 50.
9. *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico Passed by the Legislative Assembly, Session 1965-66* (Santa Fe, 1866), 90.
10. Bureau of the Census, *The Statistics of the Population of the United States from the Ninth Census: 1890* (Washington, 1872), 608.
11. Bureau of the Census, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census: 1880* (Washington, 1883), vol. I, 402; Bureau of the Census, *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, 1895), pt. I, 422.
12. A large number of these "exodusters" who were fleeing from southern poverty settled in Kansas. See Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (New York, 1976) and Robert G. Athearn, *In Search of Canaan: Black Migration to Kansas, 1879-80)* (Lawrence, Kan., 1978).
13. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900* (Washington, 1901), pt. I, 549. For a brief account of New Mexico's rising and declining mining fortunes, see Paige W. Christiansen, *The Story of Mining in New Mexico* (Socorro, N.M., 1974).
14. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910.* Vol. III, *Population* (Washington, 1913), 171. See also an official volume, filled with useful information, which is readily available and much easier to use than the cumbersome regular census reports: Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population, 1790-1915* (Washington, 1918; reprinted, 1969). Hereafter cited as *Negro Population.*
15. *Negro Population*, 76-79.
16. Charles S. Johnson and others, *Collapse of Cotton Tenancy* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1935); Arthur F. Raper, *Preface to Peasantry* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1939); C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd rev. ed. (New York, 1974).
17. *Negro Population*, 218.
18. *Ibid.*, 82.
19. *Ibid.*, 100, 821-22.
20. Lucille Boyle, "The Economic History of Albuquerque, 1880-1893" (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1948); F. A. Ehmann, "The Effect of the Railroad on New Mexico," *Password*, vol. 8 (Summer 1963), 62-63.
21. Percentages in this paragraph were derived from the official population censuses: *1850*, 993; *1860, Population*, 568; *1870, Population*, 206, 608; *1880*, Vol. I, *Population*, 402, 422; *1890*, pt. I, *Population*, 397, 469; *1900*, pt. I, *Population*, 549, 629; *1910*, vol. III, *Population*, 171.
22. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population.* Vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population.* Chapter B: *General Population Characteristics*, pt. 33, *New Mexico* (Washington, 1982), 9.
23. *Negro Population*, 588, 608.
24. *Ibid.*, 660.
25. *Ibid.*, 592-93.
26. *Ibid.*, 660.
27. *Ibid.*, 469, 489.
28. *Ibid.*, 469.
29. *Ibid.*, 515.
30. *Ibid.*, 519.

(Notes continued on page 90.)