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Michoacanos in Los Angeles: U.S.-Mexican Transnational Culture

1920-1970

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in History

by

Alvaro Ochoa-Serrano

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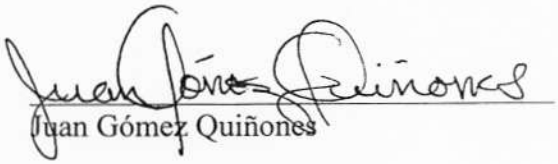

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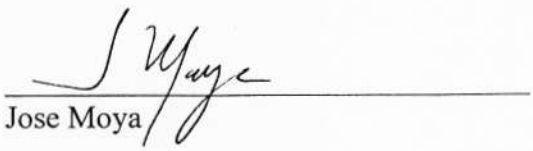

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1998

This dissertation is a tribute to migrants who returned to their homelands, and to those who long to return.

I also dedicate this work to Genoveva and Jesús Covarrubias, Isaac Gallegos, Jesús Negrete, Anita Serrano, María and Salvador Serrano, Salvador Sotelo, and María Vázquez.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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This study focuses on a cultural and historical inquiry into housing, clothing, food, leisure activities, and symbols as well as how these cultural traditions developed reciprocally in Los Angeles and in Michoacán. The majority of western Mexican migration to southern California was from Michoacán. In the dissertation I examine migration dynamics and aspects of daily life in Mexican and Chicano families, and their old and new ways of living.

Exploring cultural change among migrants over time involves studying popular traditions, migratory circuits, golondrinos or seasonal migrants, Michoacán food, "Mexicana alegría" and other cultural manifestations within Michoacán migration flows.

Rancheros or Criollo farmers, Indigenous and Mestizo peasants represent the wide variation within the Mexican population. Michoacán culture is just as socially, ethnically, nationally, multiculturally diverse. However the migration process tended to homogenize this diversity in the United States.

The methodological approaches include archival research coupled with oral interviews and some demographic analysis. Individual-community relations were studied within one specific 1920-1970 period. Considering that culture has been a relevant factor in migration, this work illustrates the process of how Michoacanos shaped culture and identity and how it is replenished through constant interchange in Michoacán and Los Angeles.

INTRODUCTION

Purépecha is an indigenous word in
Michoacán and it means both those who
visit and those who conquer a place to live.

This study traces migrants to find out how and to what extent their native culture plays a role in the migration process. Specifically I have conducted research on the movement of people and culture between Michoacán and California during the period 1920 and 1970. Demographic, sociological and anthropological studies of migration have been conducted in Mexico as well as in the U.S. I propose to study Michoacán migrants in Los Angeles, concentrating on topics such as housing, clothing, food, leisure activities, signs and symbols. These elements represent the migrants' immediate living considerations. In exploring manifestations of cultural change involving migrants over time, I focus on such concepts as tradition, migratory circuits, golondrinos (seasonal migrants), Michoacán food, "Mexicana alegría" and other cultural manifestations of this migrant flow. I relate these concepts to gender, geographical origin and labor patterns.

The data I have selected traces and explains the significance of daily life and the symbols that migrants shared in Los Angeles and Mexico from 1920 to 1970. This period was chosen because the author considers these years have comprised a significant historical term in Mexican migration. Postrevolutionary actions in Mexico since 1920, including the Cristero revolt and the agrarian reform, involved peasant participation and induced migration to the U.S. The year 1942 marks the beginning of the Bracero Program, which ended in 1964, and which resulted in an increased flow of Michoacano

migration to U.S. This program, agreed to by the United States and Mexican governments through the Second World War and the Korean War impacted the lives of people dramatically. Immigration Reform laws implemented during the late 1960's changed or intensified previous patterns. Thus 1970 is a benchmark in the history of contemporary Mexican migration to the United States.

The cultural representations and manifestations of Michoacano migration to the United States are of major importance. These issues are central to advancing our understanding of US-Mexican migration because of the numbers of people, the length of time of the process, and the complexity of social aspects involved currently. Michoacán leads in the top ten states in Mexico to send migrants to the United States. The contemporary and historical preponderance of Michoacanos in the U.S. surely has significant cultural ramifications on both sides of the border. I here examine cultural manifestation as it is transmitted from its departure point to its destination in the United States and I follow this reciprocity back to Michoacán. My research, which is based on a cross-border study, emphasizes the Mexican side because of diversity of sources, research findings, and the migrants' point of departure.

Individuals and families from the localities of northwest Michoacán such as the Bajío Zamorano, Ciénega de Chapala, Cotija, Purépero, Cañada de los Once Pueblos, the southwest, as well as several Michoacanos from the Purépecha region comprise the basis for this study. My work focuses mainly on some municipalities and parishes of the north central and northwest portions of Michoacán. The Mexican municipality or *municipio* involves a head locality and a territorial and administrative jurisdiction, more or

less, equivalent to the county in the United States. The author conducted a survey of several of these municipalities from the period of 1849 to 1940 in *Emigrantes del Oeste* (Emigrants from West Mexico).(1) The continuities and changes of cultural traditions were analyzed historically as well as through semiotics and generational theories.

My sources are varied. I have conducted oral interviews to understand a wide and diverse group of families. I asked predominantly about change in cultural choices and expressions. To analyze daily life, I have utilized published work and a variety of primary documents. Primary sources include family letters, oral testimonies, directories, photograph albums, newspapers, censuses, marriage records, and particularly family collections of cook books, song books, music records, and movies. My research, scrutinizing a previous period, contributes to the current historiography of Mexican migration. I consulted the follows: the Mexican Consulate Archives and the passport application section located in the Secretary of Foreign Relations and the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City; state archives in Morelia, the capital city, and municipal and parish archives in Michoacán, as well as personal and special collections.

Literature of the contemporary Michoacán migration is nowadays becoming extensive. However, a brief review of it is here displayed. Armstrong (1949) emphasized the cultural determinations of migration in Chavinda. His work is chronologically the first on approaching Michoacán migration; Belshaw (1961) accented development and migration in his book on Huecorio, a rural town in Lake Patzcuaro region; Cockroft (1982), in the case studies, studied migrant communities around Morelia; Fonseca and Moreno (1984) focused on Jaripo, in the Villamar municipality. López Castro (1986)

approached the family issue on Gomez Farias, in the Municipality of Tangancícuaro. Ina R. Dinnerman (1974) highlighted women role in migration process, as Gail Mummert does currently. George Foster studied on Tzintzuntzan, an Indigenous town Lake Patzcuaro region; Luis Miguel Rionda (1996) Copandaro. Devra Weber (1996), a historian, focused on Angamacutiro migrants. Raymond E. Weist since 1970 has been working on Acuitzio. Celestino Fernandez studied Santa Inés, in the municipality of Tocumbo, his parents' hometown. Uribe and Ochoa (1990) established historical background of migrants from west Michoacán.

In spite of an enormous distance, more than fifteen hundred miles away from each other, California and Michoacán are related closely by migratory cultural links. The first connections were established in the 19th century, when California was still a part of Mexico. Later, free workers, exiled Michoacán men and women entered California between 1904 and 1929. Such relations were intensified during the Bracero Program (1942-1964). This workforce agreement, which allowed Mexican workers to labor in U. S. industries and fields, was signed by the United States and Mexican governments. World War II and the Korean War were the primary reasons for the migratory movement in this period.

Indeed, between Michoacán and California there was a sort of ancient and much-transited road. Migrants also came by way of the Pacific Ocean. Before the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty in 1848, Alta California was known as the destination for Michoacano vagrants. Both the state government of Michoacán and the Mexican federal authorities tried to induce migration to the Province of the Californias.(2) The

Gold Rush also attracted many people to California, Western Mexico inhabitants among them. Michoacano men in different occupations, chiefly muleteers, traders, field servants and artisans arrived to work in California, in the states of the Great Lakes (Minnesota, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio), and in the southern states during the 1920s, due to rapid industrialization and internationalized work processes.

The transcontinental railroad as well as the eastern and northern railroads in Mexico built at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century further integrated Mexico into the international market, and destroyed old regional trading networks. Local transportation services such as mule-driving were undercut by cheaper and more efficient transportation means which increased the migration of the muleteers themselves, trading men, artisans, sharecroppers to the U.S. Paradoxically, former muleteers displaced by trains in Mexico worked in laying tracks in the United States (Southern Pacific, Santa Fe Railway, Union Pacific, Pacific Electric Railway), alternating sometimes in agricultural activities. The U.S. offered incentives to Michoacán migrants. Wages in Mexico averaged twenty five or fifty cents per day while workers received the equivalent of two and a half or four gold "pesos" a day for the day's work in the U.S.(3)

Besides the great attraction in pay, migrants searched for a way to raise standards of living in Mexico. A spirit of adventure, escape from the law and political exile also moved men to go beyond the border. From 1910 to 1921 Mexican population decreased while Mexican immigrants in the U.S. increased. According to censuses of population Mexico had mostly a million population loss in 1921 while 486,418 Mexican immigrants came to the United States in the same years. The Maderista rebellion of 1911,

the de la Huertista rebellion of 1923, and the Cristero revolt of 1926 forced many Mexicans to abandon their homelands and protect their lives. Guanajuato, Jalisco and Michoacán were significant as Cristero contestants, and Michoacano men and women intensified noticeably their presence in California.(4) Mexican consulate records in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Diego, as well as news in local daily papers and migrant family testimonies corroborate this migration flow.

The 1929 crisis in the United States compelled thousands of Mexicans people to return home. The presence of Mexicans in the U.S. declined from 640,741 in 1930 to 377,433 in 1940. The agrarian reform brought back Michoacán men at the beginning of the 1930s. However, being land insufficient for peasant petitioners; and local conflicts, political oppression, cyclical agriculture crises, floods in the fields, the Coalcomán earthquake in 1941, the eruption of the Paricutin volcano in 1943, and demographic increase caused workers and peasants to leave Michoacán again. Another factor for immigration was the United States participation in the World War II. Wartime industries offered new job opportunities for men and women from Michoacán, as did the need for agricultural workers.

Some works examine culture in Mexican migrants and can be seen in the studies of Pedro Castillo and Antonio Rios-Bustamante, Albert Camarillo, and George J. Sanchez.(5) Culture has always been a factor in migration and the purpose of this work is to illustrate the process of how Michoacanos have involved their culture in Los Angeles by replenishing it through constant interchange.

Notes.

1.- Uribe and Ochoa. 1990. J. Alcalá. 1981. Ochoa and G. Sánchez. 1985.

2.-*El Astro Moreliano*, November 2, 1829. *Apuntes biográficos de D. Juan Alvarez*.1854. Morelia: Reimpreso por Ignacio Arango, p 13.

3.- Uribe and Ochoa. 1990.. See M. González Navarro. 1954.

4.- ~~Mexico.~~ Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informatica. 1985. U.S. Census of population. 1920, Mexican immigrants born in Mexico. Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores-GE. Informe del Consulado de Los Angeles. *La Opinión*. 1940. Interview with Jesús Covarrubias Magaña, Montebello, Ca., November 24, 1994 conducted by Alvaro Ochoa Serrano.

5.- P. Castillo. 1989. A. Camarillo. 1979. G. J. Sanchez. 1993.

CHAPTER 1

SETTING THE STAGE

The location, chronological and cultural settings are in two geographic regions: southern California and central western Mexico. The latter will deserve more our attention, considering it as a round trip departure site. The two regions were in contact by navigation in the Pacific Ocean, connected by telephone lines, communicated by a large international bridge on the Pacific Railroad, by the Morelia-Guadalajara-Tijuana highway, and by the Guadalajara-Tijuana and Los Angeles-Guadalajara flights. The particular focus is on the living space of Los Angeles county and the neighborhoods to which Mexican migrants adapted over time.

Los Angeles and California

Nuestra Señora Reina de Los Angeles was founded in 1781 by Criollos, Negroes, Mulattos, Indians and Mestizos, and thereafter an ethnically mixed population developed and multiplied. Most of these early settlers migrated from western and northwestern Mexico, formerly New Spain. The Angelinos made their living by agriculture and livestock raising. After being a pueblo in colonial and independent Mexico, a century later, in 1881, it became the second largest city in California, due to increased immigration and the transformation of landownering Californians and farm workers into urban people. At the same time, La Placita and the east side were converted into a Mexican neighborhood.(1)

A community survey of eleven districts made in Los Angeles City by 1917 indicated out of the total population 30.1% were Mexican origin, while 24.9% were Anglo American and 45% were of various nationalities. Mexicans inhabited predominately in six of the eleven districts. San Pedro Town was not accounted for in the survey because it "was so remote that it had to be given up." However, the Los Angeles census in 1920 showed a considerable number of Mexican neighbors in San Pedro. Two districts achieved, each one, more than 50% and another two districts a one-third consisted of Mexican residents. Those areas included: Palo Verde in Ellysian Park on the North, Cleveland, Adobe and Hill streets on the West; River to Humboldt street on the East, and North Main and Alhambra on the South; Main street on the West; Alhambra road on the North; River on the East, and First street on the South. The latter two were located along St. Louis street on the West, Brooklyn avenue on the North, City limits and Belvedere on the East, and Fourth street on the South; River on the West, Fourth street on the North, Ezra to Hollenbeck, to Rosalind on the East, and Ninth street on the South.(2)

The city grew thanks to intensive agriculture and livestock raising, real estate development, industrialization, and urbanization. Romo, a historian states, "The impact of the interurban network on residential dispersal was already evident in 1910". Some neighborhoods doubled their population in a decade. The trolley played an important role in the growing city. In the 1920s, the trolley lines extended to San Pedro and Santa Monica in the west, to Balboa and Santa Ana on the southern coast, to La Habra, Covina and Glendora in the east, and to Glendale and Mount Lowe in the north. Henry E.

Huntington, the promoter of the trolley system planned the route to the east side, an itinerary that extended to Boyle Heights and Maravilla. It was observed that

> The lines to these outlying areas started the massive exodus of Mexicans from the Plaza to the east side. Many of them were workers who depended on inexpensive public transportation to get from their new residences on the east side to jobs in the urban industries.(3)

A majority of the Mexican population of Los Angeles moved to East Los Angeles, between the Los Angeles River and Boyle Avenue, and to Compton during the twenties. Residential locations were directly related to living space and interurban transportation. As well, Pasadena, Long Beach and Santa Monica labor camps were occupied mainly by Mexican workers and their families who labored very intensively for low wages while in other parts of southern Califonia.(4) More than a million people of Mexican origin inhabited the city of Los Angeles in the 1930s. Octavio Paz, a Mexican writer perceived it in those years.

> At first sight, the visitor is surprised not only by the purity of the sky and the ugliness of the dispersed and ostentatious buildings, but also by the city's vaguely Mexican atmosphere, which cannot be captured in words or concepts. This Mexicanism --delight in decorations, carelessness and pomp, negligence, passion and reserve-- floats in the air. I say "floats" because it never mixes or unites with the other world, the North American world based on precision and efficiency.(5)

California is a 158,693 square mile region located in the western part of the United States. This state has great contrasts in geography and climate. For instance, Mount Whitney is one of the highest peaks in the United States, and southeast of this mountain is Death Valley. Climatic variation typifies the region. Livestock, fishing, agriculture and industry constitute the main economic activities. Agriculture is carried on in the San Joaquin, Napa and San Fernando Valleys. Beginning in the thirties, as a result of development, California increased its population dramatically in less than forty

years. 6,907,387 inhabitants lived in the state in 1940, 10,586,223 in 1950, and 15,717,204 inhabitants in 1960. There were 19,953,134 people living there in 1970. Inhabitants multiplied respectively each decade at a rate of 22%, 53%, 48% and 27% (6)

The Mexican migration to California also increased along with US population rates in the same period. In 1940 there were 134,312 Mexicans registered in the census; 36,840 of them --almost a quarter-- lived in Los Angeles. At the end of 1960, migrants from different regions of the world entered the state. Some figures of 1955-1960 show that 16,718 arrived from Mexico, 8,481 were Canadians, 5,932 from the United Kingdom; 4,200 Germans; 1,996 from Japan; 1,430 Chinese including those from Formosa; 884 Irish; 847 Italians; 384 from Poland, and 200 Cubans. The immigrants came mainly from the two neighboring countries, Mexico and Canada. On the one hand, 2,148,255 people entered California between 1955 and 1960, while on the other hand, 938,455 of them moved out. Overall, 1,209,800 newcomers to Los Angeles were accounted for in the census.(7)

Between 1943 and 1955, according to passport application records, Michoacán immigrants in California preferred destinations in Santa Barbara, Stockton, San Diego, Sacramento, San Francisco, Salinas, Nestor, Riverside, Orange County, Daly City, Lindsay, Tracy, San Luis Obispo, Santa Anna, Hammet, Cutler (Tulare County), Kinisburg, and over all in the San Bernardino and the Los Angeles Counties (including Asuza, Compton, Fullerton, Huntington Beach, Inglewood, city of Los Angeles, Los Nietos, Montebello, Pasadena, Redondo Beach, San Fernando, San Pedro, Santa Monica, Venice, Whittier, Wilmington). Several Michoacán families remained in downtown, but

most of them moved to South Central, Compton, and East Los Angeles, particularly Belvedere and Boyle Heights.(8) (See Map of Los Angeles Area).

Compton is located in a central plain, ten miles south from downtown Los Angeles. One of the oldest communities in Southern California which changed more drastically since the beginning of the century. By 1920 the Mexican Barrio of Compton was firmly established by growing urbanization. Nearby Watts-Willowbrook comprised other area of Mexican demographic significance. However, the Mexican families of Compton remained relatively secluded in the community until 1940.(9)

In 1940, in Los Angeles alone there were 1, 504, 277 inhabitants predominantly "Americans, Mexicans, Canadians, English, Germans and Japanese" in an area of 450.74 square miles. Prior to 1950 the city had its first freeway, Arroyo Seco Parkway, to which ran from one side of the city to the other. Los Angeles also had an airport. Local radio stations flourished. Industrialization increased employment opportunities (4,835 jobs in industry in 1940). In the fifties, Los Angeles became the fourth most populous city in the United States, the first and biggest one of "Mexicanos de afuera", and due to many thousands of cars it also became "the world's largest parking lot".(10) Automobile and tire companies replaced the trolley system down.

One of the 58 counties in California in 1970, Los Angeles lies between seashore and hills. Known before as the Queen of the Cow Counties, Los Angeles has turned into the most important development center in the state as well one of the most important in the country. San Pedro pier had a great deal of activity. In the 1960s, in comparison to the northern rural part of the state, 37 out of every hundred Californians lived in Los Angeles County.(11)

Michoacán

In Nahuatl, Michoacán means the place of lakes and fishermen. Its location is in the central western part of Mexico and is one of the three main states contributing migrants to the United States during the first half of the 20th century. Besides unfavorable social and economic conditions geographic events also induced the migration process. The Coalcomán earthquake in 1941 and the Parícutin eruption in 1943 which affected the Purépecha region coupled with floods in the Panindícuaro and Chapala areas caused mainly middle class Michoacán peoples to migrate to the U.S. The majority of these migrants left areas in the central and northwest valleys which were relatively fertile

Since the Colonial era, the Catholic church influenced the state and the daily lives of Mexico people. The Morelia archdiocese and the bishopric of Zamora were within the limits of what is now Michoacán before 1920,. The two dioceses included local parish jurisdictions (similar to municipalities). Prior to 1920 the diocese of Zamora used to be on an extended jurisdiction encompassing the northwest and southwest areas of the state until the Tacámbaro diocese was built in 1920, and the Apatzingán diocese was created in 1960.

Mountains cover most of Michoacán, except the northern valleys, the Tepalcatepec Plain and Balsas Basin. According to administrative and natural geographic regional studies, the state was usually divided into four parts during the fifties: I.- Ciénega de Chapala and Bajío, II.- Montañosa Central, III.- Tierra Caliente, and IV.- Montañosa Costera. Luis González, a Mexican historian, classified eight specific regions: Bajío Zamorano, Morelia, Queréndaro and Maravatío Valleys, Central Balconies, Purépecha Region, Tepalcatepec Plain, Balsas Basin, Southwestern Mountain,

and the Coast. (See Map of Michoacán). González considers the Ciénega de Chapala as part of the Bajío Zamorano.(12)

Located in the northwest part of the state, the Ciénega de Chapala and Bajío regions in 1960 included these municipalities: Ecuandureo, Ixtlán, Jiquilpan, La Piedad, Pajacuarán, Régules, Sahuayo, Tanhuato, Venustiano Carranza, Vista Hermosa, Briseñas, Chavinda, Villamar, Yurécuaro and Zamora. On a former damp land, the Zamora Valley and the Ciénega are considered very fertile ground and as is true of other neighboring areas recently opened to cultivation. (See map of the Ciénega de Chapala and Bajío). In the early 1900s the Ciénega experienced a great demographic change due to the influx of laborers who participated in the draining project promoted by the Manuel Cuesta Gallardo and Brothers Company. However the floods of 1926, 1935 and 1955 undermined agricultural potentials in the region thus this became strong area of expulsion of migrants.(13)

Characteristics of the Bajío and Ciénega reveal several socioeconomic and cultural details. Jiquilpan and Sahuayo, precolonial sites in the Purépecha expansion to the west, developed as Mestizo localities in the colonial and National period. Zamora was conceived primarily as a village for Spaniards and Criollos "villa de españoles" and later became see of the diocese in 1864. The inhabitants of the three vicinities worked mainly in agricultural activities, and the Sahuayo and Zamora families involved themselves trading. Navigation on the Lake Chapala, and on the Lerma and Duero Rivers was very important during the last century. The region was integrated to the Central Mexicano Railroad, to vecinal roads and to the Guadalajara-Morelia-México highway. The Bajío and the Ciénega still in 1970 remained agriculturally the most productive, in spite of the agricultural

techniques used by peasants: high mechanization technology in the districts of irrigation, and utilization of mules or oxen as power to plough in the seasonal areas of the ejidos.

On a smaller scale, Jiquilpan figured as a political and administrative district during the Porfirio Diaz regime and as the center of an important municipality in the postrevolutionary era until 1970. Two presidents of Mexico had been born in the modest city, Anastasio Bustamante (1780-1853) and Lázaro Cárdenas (1895-1970), and as well as several prominent governors. The city played a significant role in the agrarian movement led by Cárdenas. In the region of La Ciénega living conditions were largely determinated by agricultural cycles, weather conditions and political circumstances.(14)

Similar ethnic and cultural conditions characterize the Tanhuato-Yurécuaro and Numarán-La Piedad corridors, and the people of these localities depended upon fishing, small industries and agricultural activities. The Lerma river served as a communication and transportation means and an important resource for irrigation. La Piedad and Yurécuaro, due to their strategic situation, developed important commercial networks. Railroads played a significant role in the social and economical integration of the northwest region to Guadalajara, the main city of western Mexico. Southern Pacific Railroad of Mexico ran from Guadalajara to Los Angeles in a four day journey.

On the other side, in a different landscape, Cotija and Purépero are clearly examples of Mestizo-criollo ranchero settlements. Cotija's founders established it on a foothill among "extensive and thick forests and near a lake situated seven leagues toward the east". A local author wrote last century that those founder families "seeking gold and better possessions of lands" rode to the ravines of Jilotlán and Santa María del Oro (S. Mary of Gold). In any case, Cotijans or Cotijeños were famous as excellent muleteers and

traders. Purépero, located on the border of Tlazazalca, came to life in the 16th century from a merced (a royal grant of land) for Francisco de la Cueva y Mendoza , who added "some lands and fields" which he bought from the natives of the nearby town of Tlazazalca. In an opposed process of concentration and expansion, the estate of Purépero in 1760 broke up without allowing the formation of latifundia in a few hands.(15)

Purépero turned into an establishment of muleteers, artisans and tradesmen in the 19th century. Stanislawski, a history geographer, assumes that the mule-driver "apparently took only enough land for the use of his family because his interest was mule transport and not landholding". Several alternatives were handled, exchanging cereals, groceries and crafts all over the far and near regions during part of the year, and raising cattle, cultivating some crops, and making handicrafts in the rainy season. This town along with those of Tangancícuaro, Zináparo, Churintzio, Cotija, Sahuayo, Puruándiro and Chilchota formed a significant supply network for the mines of the north, and for the agricultural and livestock estates of the south and for the international trade in the port of Manzanillo.(16)

Puruándiro is part of the latter mercantile connection and is located in the north central area of the state, in the Morelia region. The name of the region comes from being that of the capital city. This region had geological evolution similar to that of the Bajío Zamorano. Plains, volcanic mountains, the Lerma river and Lake Cuitzeo conform an 8,000 square kilometer surface. As an ancient settlement, Puruándiro acted as a natural Purépecha frontier adjacent the river. Agricultural activities were considerable in the estates of Zurumuato, Villachuato and others. Seasonal transit roads and railroads connected the territory with other states. Therefore the city acted as a relevant trade center during the last century.(17)

Zacapu and its Ciénega, connected to the national market through the Ajuno-Puruándiro branch of the Central Mexicano Railroad, experienced a great demographic impact due to the abundance of laborers who participated in the drainage project promoted by the Noriega Company during the first decade of the 20th century. Agricultural activities, and industry later, demanded supplementary workforce. Urbanization development and demographic increase of the place also improved as well as the industrialization intensified in the 1950s.

Chilchota is a native town and lies at the lower end of a small valley, la Cañada, at about 5,800 feet of elevation. The fertile soils, the flat surface for plow agriculture, water in abundance from nearby springs, good climate made easy life for settlers. The Indian communities of the slopes were moved by the Spanish onto the lowland, and ten settlements were established in the valley. Spaniards took up land nearby and installed mills. Spanish and Mestizo mule-drivers converted Chilchota into a way station on the route from Mexico City to the west of Mexico. The people of the Cañada de los Once Pueblos earn their living from agriculture and in some crafts: mule-driving was active before the Morelia-Guadalajara highway bypassed the valley and connected to the Carapan-Uruapan road.(18)

In the central mountains, the Sierra or Meseta Purépecha rest on a volcanic surface. Parangaricutiro and its surroundings were affected by the Parícutin volcano in February of 1943. San Juan Nuevo, south the former place, became the new settlement for Parangaricutiro people. (See Map of the Purépecha Region). Uruapan functions as a relevant junction for trade from the Sierra and the Hot Country. On the one hand, the city is the center of avocado production, on the other hand, it developed as an extension of commerce for the fertile Apantzingán Valley. As well former governor and president

Lázaro Cárdenas took the Tepalcatepec Basin Commission in charge in 1947, and established his headquarters in Uruapan. for implementing development in the region.(19)

Coalcomán lies at the foothills of the Sierra Madre del Sur. The Coast region comprises the southern limit; Low Land or Tierra Caliente (Hot Country) demarcates the southern boundary, with one river on each side: the Balsas on the east and the Coahuayana on the west. Its landscape includes mountains, ravines, cliffs and very few valleys. Mining and cattle raising were primary activities rather than agriculture. Cotija and Purépero mule drivers and modest entrepreneurs settled in a formerly native town in the second half of the 19th century.(20)

After this previously survey of the geographical scene, economic and social relationships and kinship networks as linkage mechanisms will be emphasized in other chapters. At this moment, consideration must be given to the means of communication. Innovations were made to the railways, trains and the steamboats, to allow a better mobilization of products and travelers. (See Map of railroads and highways). The old and imperfect system of highways, local roads and other unimproved roads was modernized and extended in a relative short period of time. This wave of modernization began with the paved highway México-Morelia-Guadalajara during the presidential administration of Lázaro Cárdenas, when another Michoacán leader, Francisco J. Múgica, directed the ministry of Communications. Previously, in 1929, Cárdenas himself, as governor of the state, had encouraged the building of gravel roads in the isolated southwest part, and in the northwest corridor of the state, close to the railroad routes. Moreover in 1960 great advances were made in paired roads and railroads. Government projected another road line

in 1960, with its corresponding economic study, from Cerro de Ortega to Acapulco, the present coastal highway of the state.(21)

Means of communication and transportation were improved even before 1940, as in the 882 kilometers of the railroads México-Guadalajara, Yurécuaro-Los Reyes, Maravatío-Zitácuaro, Pénjamo-Ajuno, Acámbaro-Uruapan and Calzonzin-Apatzingán; and the 3,648 kilometers of the highways México-Guadalajara, Quiroga-Pátzcuaro-Tacámbaro, Morelia-Moroleón, Carapan-Uruapan, Pátzcuaro-Ario de Rosales; and the flights from Morelia, Huetamo, Uruapan, Apatzingán, Arteaga and Coalcomán to Colima, Guerrero and Mexico City.(22)

In several parts of the state, horseback remained the only means of transportation and communication used during the rainy season, when gravel roads were difficult to travel between the rancherías and the towns. The railroad system continued to serve, as well as an acceptable network of roads, and telegraph web in the 1950s and the 1960s. Postal service expanded by horseback, train, bus, plane; letters brought good and bad news, and economic resources. The telephone intensified communication. Radio stations started to broadcast in the 1930s in Morelia, in the 1940s in Zamora and Uruapan. Better means of communication helped to get a better trade, and standard of living. The Guanajuato Power Company, the Compañía Hidroeléctrica de Chapala, the Eléctrica Morelia, Compañía del Duero and other local companies produced electricity for industrial, commercial and domestic facilities.(23)

In 1921, according to the official census, Michoacán numbered 939,849 inhabitants; and increased to 1,014,020 in 1930, including the Michoacán people who started to return home in response of the 1929 economic crisis in the United States. In spite

of slow increase, after 1940, Michoacán ranked fifth among the most populous states in Mexico, comprising 5.5% the total of the nation, after the Federal District, Jalisco, Veracruz and Puebla. In population density, Michoacán (24 inhabitants per square kilometer) ranked below several states, but it was above the national average of 13 inhabitants per square kilometer. Between 1940 and 1950 the population of the state rose from 1,182,000 inhabitants to 1,422,717. All of them were distributed in 6,094 localities, and 96% of these in small centers of a thousand inhabitants or less, concentrating more than 50% of the total population in ranches, rancherías, congregations and ejido settlements. This distribution was a phenomenon very "characteristic of those economies in which a high percentage of the economically active population works in agricultural activity".(24)

However, several municipalities of northwest Michoacán in 1921, 1930, 1940 and 1950 underwent demographic changes due to migration and modernization. In the thirties the decline in inhabitants of Purépero began to be noticed. By 1940 population had decreased to a little over 7,000 from the 1921 figure of 9,000. The decline continued through 1950. At the same time, Churincio, Numarán and Santiago Tangamandapio population, as that of other municipalities in the west, indicated intensive emigration during the Bracero program.(25)

In 1950, in the middle of the period under study, 1920-1970, there were 6,094 localities in Michoacán (ranging from the capital city to tiny ranches) in the 105 political demarcations or municipalities. As seen in Table 1, nearly half of the state population lived in small localities. There were some 113 municipalities in 1970. Morelia, Uruapan, Zamora, Villa Hidalgo, Zitácuaro, Zacapu, Puruándiro, La Piedad, Jiquilpan, Sahuayo, Pátzcuaro, Los Reyes, Angangueo were the most populated municipal seats in the state.(26)

The state of Michoacán and its people were regulated by state and municipal laws. The Political Constitution of the Independent and Sovereign State of Michoacán de Ocampo of 1917 was promulgated in January of 1918 during the administration of the engineer and colonel Pascual Ortiz Rubio. The new constitution ended definitively the system of prefectures or districts to give, in abstract, a stronger status to the autonomous municipality. Originally the Constitution stated in articles 17, 18 and 19 that: The State of Michoacán de Ocampo is comprised of the area which the Constitution of the United Mexican States determines. The Free Municipality is the base of the territorial division of the state. Every Municipality will maintain the extension and limits according to the Territorial Division law. The creation of new Municipalities would be determined by the prescriptions of the state Constitution.(27)

The constitution in 1960 stated that Michoacanos are those Mexicans born in the state, children of Michoacán parents born out of the state, and those who have resided continuously for a year in the state.(28) Particular political events and particular laws impacted directly or indirectly on the migration process, for example when the Almazanista political followers were repressed. These and other factors were prior to the opening of the Bracero Program in 1942.

After a coup d'état in 1920, military men ceased national power in the 1940s. General Francisco J. Múgica, governor from 1920 to1922, established new judicial districts and municipalities, heeded agrarian issues and undertook reforms to the public university. During his radical administration there were enacted a Labor Law in 1921 and the Tax Code of the state in 1922. However, this governor faced local and federal hostilities. At the deposture of Múgica, Sidronio Sánchez Pineda ended the preceding constitutional period.

He emphasized the Prostitution Regulations in 1923, as well in the reforms and amendments to the Civil Code, the Law on Family Relations, the law concerning the Elementary Education in the State, and the Law on Familiar Inheritance in 1924. Enjoying a favorable political situation, general Enrique Ramírez (1924-1928) promoted the establishment of the telephone lines in the state and the beginning of the Mexico-Morelia and Pátzcuaro-Tacámbaro roads. To the credit of Ramírez, the Law of Municipal Treasure in 1926 and a major labor law in 1927 were passed. Due to the Church-State conflict, the Cristero rebellion irrupted in central, southwest and northwest Michoacán practically in 1927. (29)

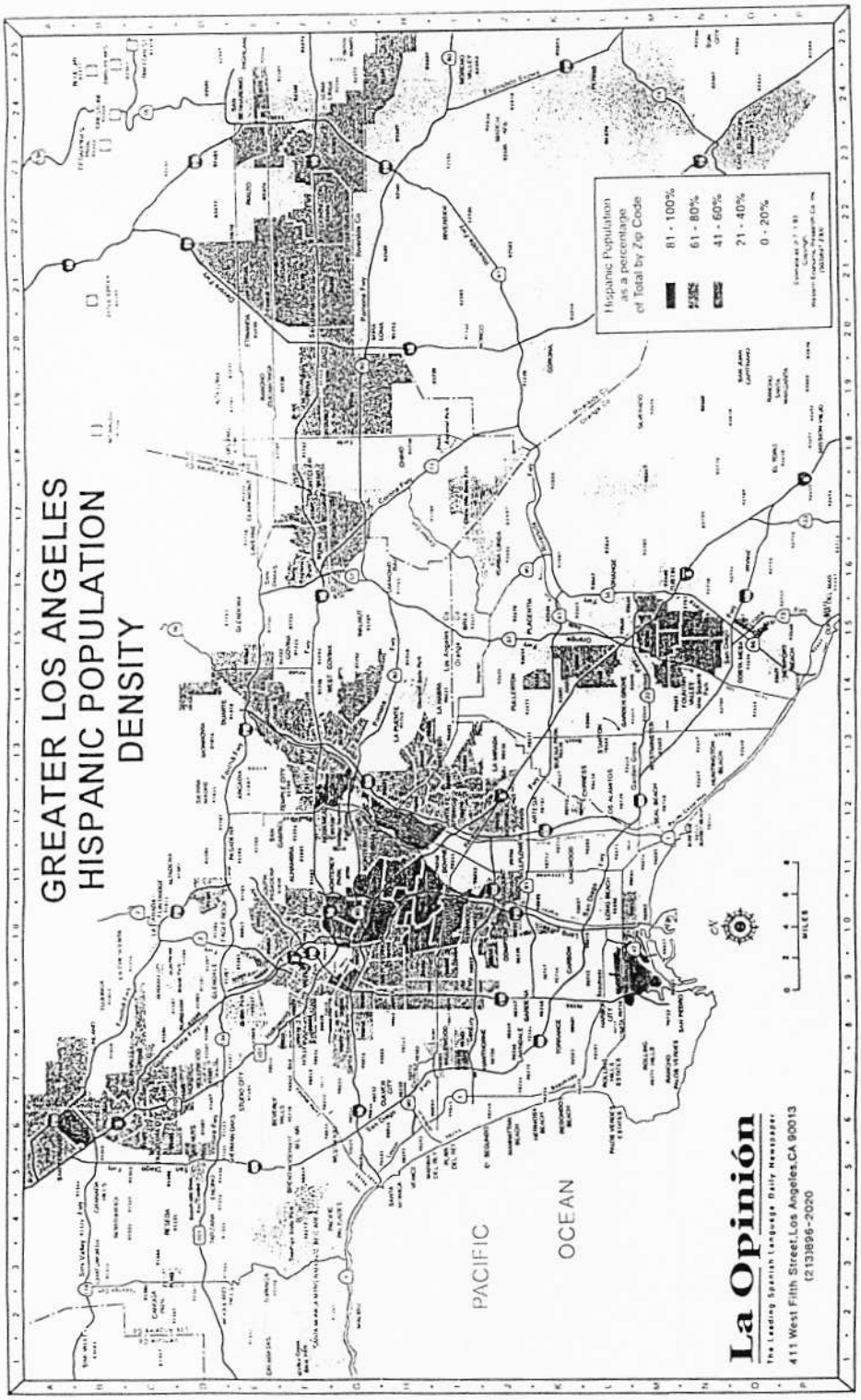
As governor of Michoacán Lázaro Cárdenas (1928-1932) paid more attention to the social justice issues. Cárdenas, a general of the army, encouraged agrarism and sought the cessation of the Cristero rebellion in the state in 1929. The governor regulated the Law of Idle Lands of the State in 1930, enacted the Law of Municipality Income Tax in 1930 and instituted a preliminary Statistics Bureau in 1930.

Gabino Vázquez, a lawyer secretary as acting governor while Cardenas was out of the state, reformed the organical Law of Elementary Education in 1931. Lázaro Cárdenas ended his governmental period enacting a Law of Protection and Conservation of Historical Sites and State Parks in 1931, and a Reglamentary Law of Public Education of the State in 1932. By that time schools and a high educational level meant reading, writing, arithmetic and geography, knowing about other places and countries, at least the north, the United States.(30) The importance of the United States loomed larger locally as greater number of Mexicans were repatriated and deported due to financial crisis. A sequence of interim governors succeeded from 1932 to 1936. In a different orientation from Cárdenas, general

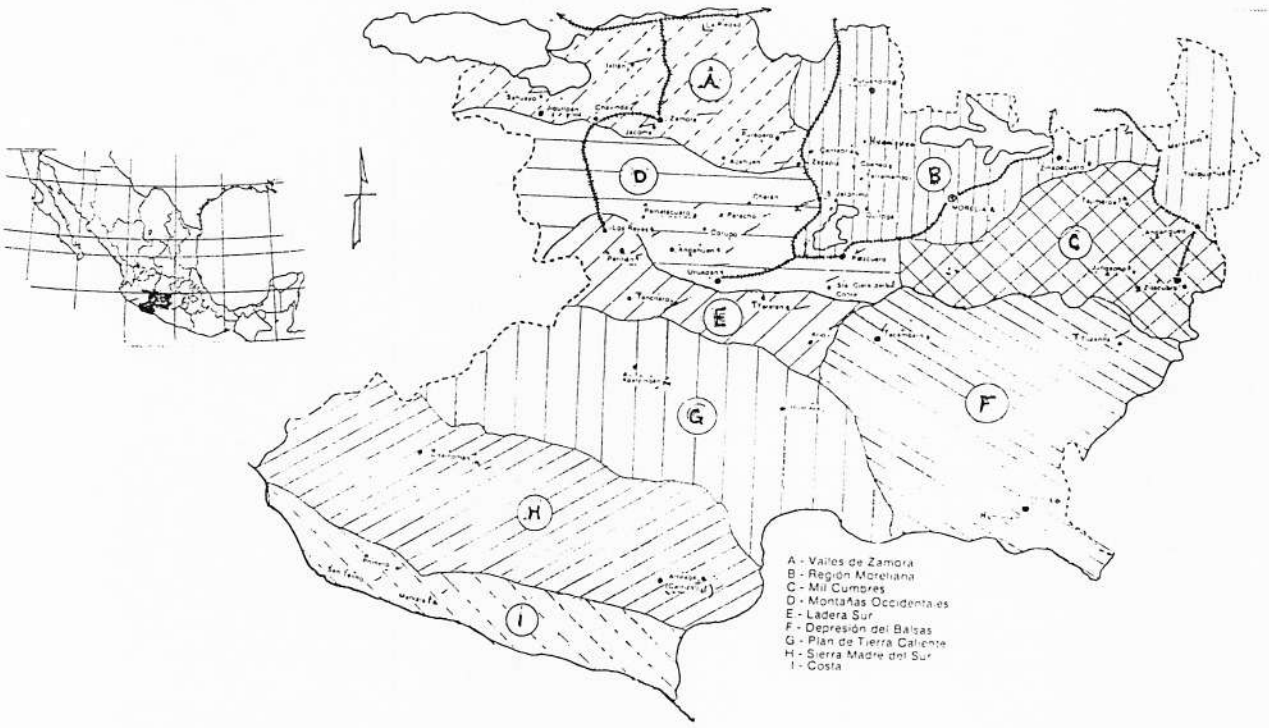
Gildardo Magaña, a one-time US schools student and a former Zapatista chief, protected farmers' association and regulated the real estate bureau in 1936. Magaña died while running for presidential candidate in 1939. His brother Conrado Magaña concluded the constitutional term, and accomplished the Transit Regulations for the roads of the State in 1940.(31)

Migration has a regional context involving multiple facts. Those municipalities in Michoacán which expelled great number of migrants are particularly salient. Most of the migrants moved in circuits from one region to another, and out of the sate, for instance, to Guadalajara or to Mexico city. Various municipalities sent labor force on the way to the North. Thereupon, and due to such an emigrating circuit stream, several of those municipalities of central, north central, northwest and southwest of the state started to reach economically, socially and culturally farther north, beyond the US border. By the means of communication and linkage of migration, California drew closer to Michoacán.

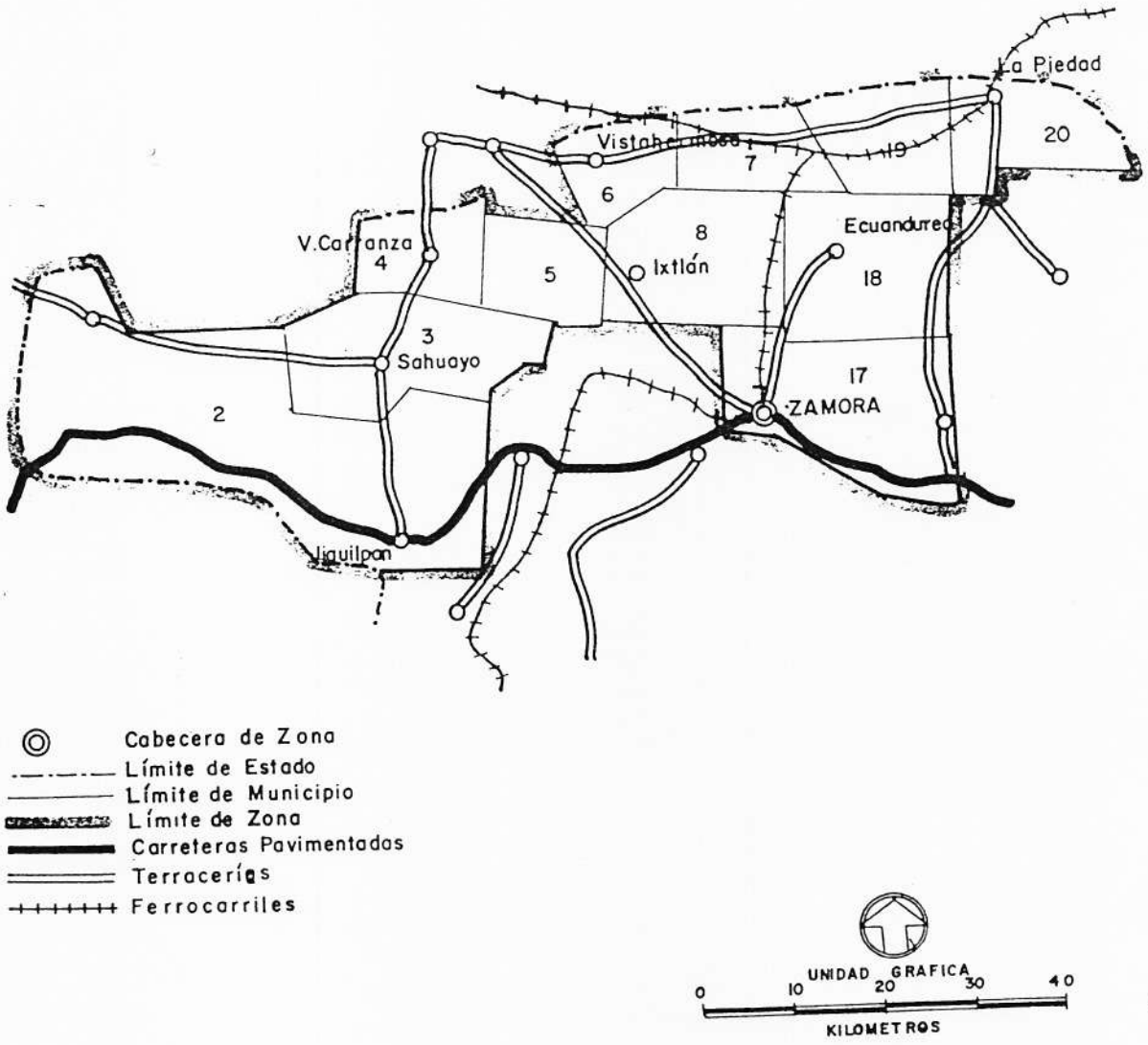
Map of the Los Angeles Area. Spanish Language Population.



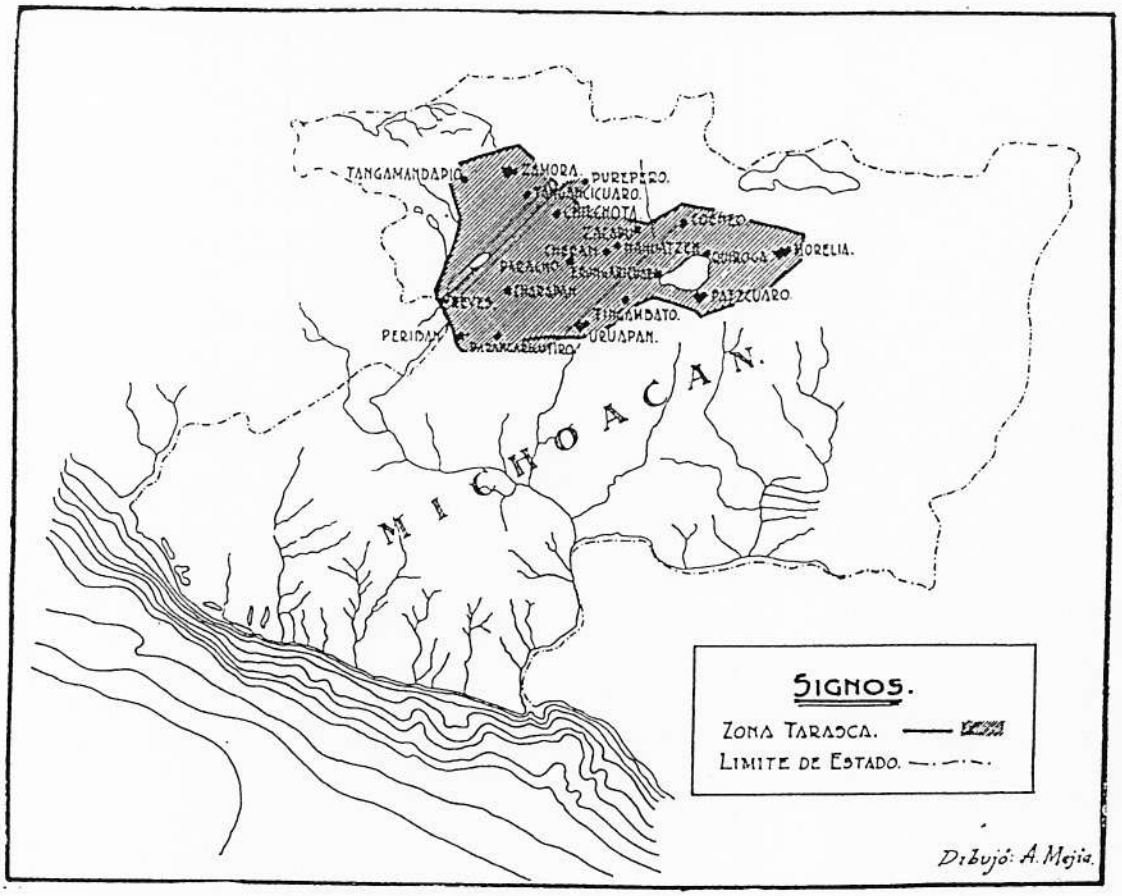
Map of Michoacan. Regions.



Map of Ciénega de Chapala and Bajío Zamorano



Map of the Purépecha Region.



Map of Michoacán. Railroads and highways

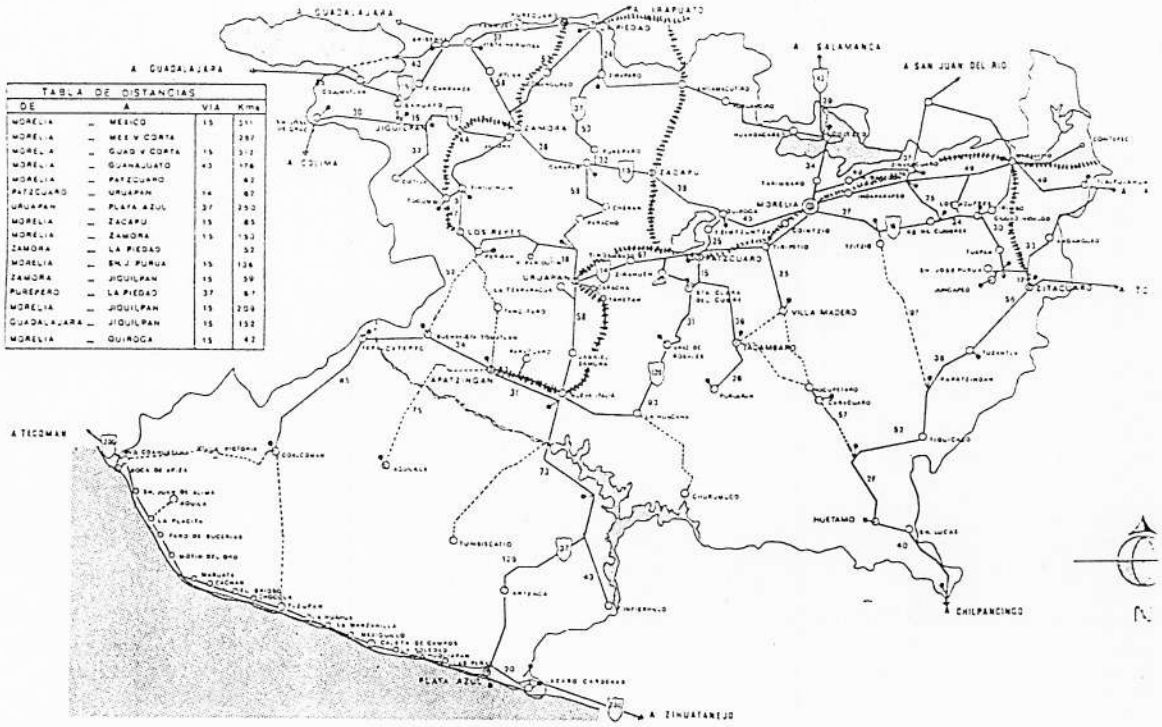


Table 1

LOCALITIES AND POPULATION

Groups	Localities		Population	
1 to 99	3, 861	63.4%	132 725	9.3%
100 to 499	1,714	28.1%	383 343	26.9%
500 to 999	293	4.8%	199 531	11.0%
1 000 to 2 499	162	2.6%	245 225	17.2%
2 500 to 4 999	38	0.6%	135 131	7.9%
5 000 to 9 999	16	0.3%	113 013	6.7%
10 000 to 19 999	7	0.1%	95 687	
20 000 to 29 999	1		23 397	
30 000 to 39 999	1		31 420	
40 000 and more	1		63 245	
Total	6 094	100.0	1 422 717	100.0

Source: *Programa de Gobierno del Estado de Michoacan* Proyecto 1958

Notes

1.- Romo. 1988, p 68

2.- Commission of Immigration and Housing of California. 1919. A Community Survey... Los Angeles Census. 1920.

3.- Romo. 1988, p 69

4.- Romo, *loc. cit.* Los Angeles 1920 Census. G. Sanchez. 1993. Bancrof Library. Manuel Gamio Collection, Z-R 2:18

5.- O. Paz.1985, p.13

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13.- AMZ Fomento. 1906. A. Ochoa. 1986. Briseñas. L. González. 1980. Comisión Nacional de los Salarios Mínimos. *Michoacán. Ciénega de Chapala.* 1963.

14.- A. Ochoa. 1997. A. Ochoa. 1978.

15.- F. Toor. 1934. C. García. 1994. A. Uribe and A. Ochoa. 1990, p. 23-24

16.- D. Stanilawski. 1950, p. 65, 70.

17.- González, 1980. Ortiz Ybarra and González. 1980.

18.- Stanilawski, 1950, p 59.

19.- Rees. 1961. Stanislawski. 1950, Arciga. 1981. Uribe and Ochoa 1990. Guerrero. 1976.

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21.- Secretaría de Obras Públicas. 1960

22.- Secretaría de la Economía Nacional. Censo 1940., p. 9.

23.- *Programa de Gobierno 1958*, p. 39-41.

24.- *Ibid.*, p. 41

25.- Stanislawski.1950, p. 67. M. Marquez Durán. 1944, p. 18. R. Avila Treviño. 1941, p. 35

26.- *Programa de Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán*. 1958. Gobierno del Estado. 1981.

27.- *Constitución Política del Estado Libre y Soberano de Michoacán de Ocampo.* 1926.

28.- *Constitución Poltitica del Estado Libre y Soberano de Michoacán de Ocampo* con sus adiciones y reformas. 1968.

29.- A. Ochoa Serrano. 1995.

30.- *Ibid.*

31.- *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 2.

THE DYNAMICS OF WESTERN MEXICAN MIGRATION: MICHOACÁN.

Most of the children in the Ciénaga de Chapala before the 1960s, held an idea of the North as the place of no return. Several generations had been raised knowing that men during the 1920s used to work, not in the local fields, but farther beyond the border or in the Bracero program. Fathers left taking the bus or the train at night in order not to disturb children's sleep. Elders told relatives and acquaintances stories of the migrants who never came back. Thus when the head of household died, particularly a person with migrating experience, the orphan would said to the other children: "my dad didn't die, he went away to the North."(1)

The migratory phenomenon in Western Mexico is as ancient as the presence of Tecoecha and Purépecha ethnic groups in Michoacán. Traditional accounts tell of Tecoecha moving from the Lake Chapala region to settle in the central uplands, and the Chichimecans migrating back and forth from north central Michoacán to the present Florida and Texas states. There were reports of migrants in the Colonial era as well. During the 18th Century muleteers from Tangancícuaro in the northwestern part of the state went to trade in the north of the former New Spain, in what is now New Mexico.(2)

Martínez de Lejarza, a representative of the Michoacán Congress, wrote in 1822 about the emigrations that "are constantly and periodically noted in certain regions" where men moved abroad in search of food and better facilities even in the most extreme weather,

For instance, the author pointed out that the true cause of increasing and decreasing population in the northwest District of Jiquilpan was due to

> an itinerant mass of people, rather in trading or in vagrancy who travel from town to town,
> because of their interests, because of their needs, or because they are in transit to other neighboring lands of diverse jurisdictions.(3)

Lejarza noticed that those migrations, periodical in certain regions, turned out to be common in every part of the country.(4)

Some Cotijeños --servants, muleteers and traders of Cotija-- who were very familiar in the Jiquilpan District, as well in the west segment of Mexico, reached California by sea during the Gold Rush. Crescencio García, a resident of Cotija, recorded in 1872 how he came to know migrants working as domestic servants who, after working in Northern California a short time, had learned to wear other clothes as well as new skills that allowed them to live decently and independently there. Several of the Cotijeño muleteers returned to achieve a better status in their home town.(5) Steamer companies navigated from Central and South America to California, as an old Mexican song expressed

> Sailor hoisted a flag
> I do not know which ship may be
> If the one arriving from San Francisco
> If the one coming from Panamá (6)

Steam boats of Mala del Pacífico, Compañía Mexicana Internacional de Vapores del Pacífico y Golfo de California, Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and Hamburg American Packet Company docked in Acapulco, Manzanillo and San Blas, then continued to San Diego and San Francisco. Also following 1868, before railroads came on scene, the Lake Chapala and Rio Grande Steam Navigation Company began doing business in the

Jalisco and Michoacán area. After the steam era in navigation, gasoline engine boats sailed from Manzanillo to San Diego, San Pedro and San Francisco in the beginning of the 20th century.(7)

However, the United States' crisis of 1873, and civil wars such as the Religionero revolt in 1874 had disturbed momentarily the march of economic development. This religious war caused the destruction by fire of villages in several areas of Guanajuato, Jalisco and Michoacán. It left people dead, ranches and estates paralyzed everywhere, while the peasants, so as not to die from hunger, filled the ranks of the rebels. Other people who did not join the insurrectionists moved either to other villages or out of the country to save their lives. The governor of Jalisco wrote in May to the general in chief of the fourth division of occident that the rebels

> have taken new encouragement thanks partly to some favorable encounters to them although of little importance... and mainly to the resources of men, money and weapons which their directorios in Mexico, in Morelia and in this city [Guadalajara] provide them.(8)

At the same time, the governor requested sections of federal troops to be deployed along the borders of Michoacán, so the military forces of Jalisco could suppress "other groups that begin to raid in the State."(9) Nevertheless, alliances with Religionero rebels permitted Porfirio Diaz to gain power in 1876. Later due to these campaigns of pacification, Diaz officially would be considered "Hero of the Peace." Diaz enhanced foreign investments and accelerated the modernization of Mexico.(10)

Railroads entered the scene in Central Mexico in the 1880s to connect Manzanillo, on the Pacific Coast, and El Paso, on the United States border. Traveling began to be easier and faster. Ramón Sánchez, a member of the administrative staff of the District,

recounted his trip from Jiquilpan to Chicago in 1893. First crossing the Lake Chapala by steamboat, it took five and a half days by train from Ocotlán to reach Chicago. Later he wrote also about his shorter trip from Maravatío, Michoacán, to San Antonio Bejar, Texas.(11) Generally speaking, during the Porfirio Diaz administration the means of transportation were improved.

Otherwise, material conditions in Mexico, such as the development of national infrastructure, did not match social and economic development. While a few families held most of the national income, other sectors of the society went out to look for better opportunities. Michoacán was not an exception. Estate owners, who complained about journeymen refusing to work for them, asked for government assistance. Several fields were not cultivated in the Zamora district because of journeymen "going to be rich in the North instead"(12)

Examples of how Michoacán migrants in California improved their status can be found in records the beginning of the 20th Century documenting various business transactions between Purépero people. José L. Flores bought a house in the town from Miguel Ortiz, a resident of Los Angeles, California, in 1905. The two hundred peso sale was sent by Mr. Rafael Avalos from La Piedad in railroad express. Mexican consular records in Los Angeles registered seven journeymen and one farmer from Michoacán in 1901 and 1903. Another instance refers Benito Canales, a famous rebel in the Madero revolution, who after committing a crime in the Puruándiro district, had stayed in Los Angeles in 1909, living on Main Street in the downtown area. A process to extradite him

took place in the Mexican consulate. Finally, after returning by himself to Michoacán to join the revolution, Canales was executed in Zurumuato in 1912.(13)

Prior to the violent period in the state, census records in 1910 indicated that several cases of differences in the number of population were reported in the west of Michoacán. In Tlazazalca, the loss of 563 inhabitants from the data of 1900 was due "to the emigration to the United States"; while in Chilchota "a thousand individuals had left from the whole municipality to the United States." In the case of the Purépero, there was an increase in 1910, despite an outflow of the workforce. The mayor of the municipality pointed out in 1911 that "more than 2.000 men have emigrated to the United States of America in search of work." The municipality of Ixtlán, in the Ciénaga de Chapala, had the identical situation as Purépero.(14)

Society in convulsion.

Michoacán, like a large portion of the country, endured the effect of the contradictions and the inequitable programs of a government that protected the foreign investors and ignored urgent political issues. The dictator Porfirio Díaz reinforced his power from the capital of the country to the farthest corner of the states. Turner wrote "The president, the governor and the political prefect are three classes of officials who represent the whole power in the country; in Mexico there is a single governmental power: the Executive. The other two political powers only figure by name and no longer exists in the nation either a single position of popular election..."(15)

Aristeo Mercado, the governor who ruled Michoacán from 1891 to 1911, also created the administrative and political vice-prefectures in 1906. This system, aside from being an economic burden for the state treasury, extended caciquism throughout the state, as each prefect and vice-prefect began taking advantage of their authority, thus constituting on affliction of the towns they governed. In order to legitimize the situation, the local government issued decrees, instituted regulations and laws designed to suppress robbery, control the freedom of printing and prohibit artisans and journeymen from using "instruments or iron tools" outside working hours.

Social and political demonstrations took place in several parts of the country between the international financial crisis in 1907, and the national agricultural crisis of 1909. Discontentment came from the popular classes and from some government sectors in search of better positions. In 1909, the governor of Michoacán faced the shortage of corn. Mercado had written Díaz to inform him that the corn was worth to five pesos the hectoliter, an "extremely high price" in comparison with that of previous years. He also observed "certain uneasiness [in the state] if the immoderate price rising continues."(16)

Furthermore, wages were not improved. Although local government recommended "the children of Michoacán" not to emigrate looking for fortune in other lands, they did not attend the call. In fact, due to the crisis of 1907-1909 the emigration of Michoacán workers increased, either going to the estates of southeastern Mexico for one peso per day, or to the United States expecting to earn two pesos and fifty cents or four pesos per day.

Internal workforce flowed in more than one direction. Families from Jalisco came to work in the Cuesta Gallardo's draining project of the Ciénega de Chapala. In the district of Apatzingán, rice croppers recruited laborers of the Bajío Zamorano, even offering them a wage "between 50 and 75 cents per day," while in Huetamo there were enough workers who earned 37 cents. Also in 1910, the United States rejected Mexican workers for a number of reasons: the cessation of operations in the copper mines and railroads, and because of a general financial crisis. The contractors transported the unemployed workers to the border, where they received assistance from the Mexican authorities. But other Mexicans, activist laborers and political exiles, returned with weapons in hand, where they contributed to overthrow Porfirio Díaz. An industrial and estate owner who attended schools in Europe and in the US, Francisco I. Madero, began the national movement. (17)

Maderismo and its Plan de San Luis, which addressed political and agrarian issues, had immediate repercussion in Michoacán. Small landowners, leaseholders, sharecroppers, employees of second level, small merchants, artisans, and activists, some of them former outlaws-- all of them were people affected in their patrimony by the economic politics of the Porfirista regime, and participated in the rebellion. A few leagues from lakes Zirahuén and Pátzcuaro, in May of 1911, Salvador Escalante, a landowner in bankruptcy and vice-prefect of Santa Clara del Cobre, started the movement in Michoacán proclaiming: Free the vote and No reelection! If this political turbulence were not enough, in June of 1911 there was an earthquake.(18)

The rebellion in the state increased; José Rentería Luviano, a landowner in Huetamo, Marcos V. Méndez, a small businessman in Peribán, Eduardo Gutiérrez, a trader

in Puruándiro, and artisan Miguel Regalado in the region of Zamora followed Madero and his Plan of San Luis. However, after having overthrown the dictator Díaz, the Maderista winners were not concerned about keeping their promises regarding agrarian reforms, but with seizing the political power. Orozquistas and Zapatistas, including Gutiérrez, the Pantoja brothers, Simón Beltrán, Benito Canales and others disenchanted with Madero rebelled against him. Eduardo Gutiérrez returned to the United States where years later he died.(19)

Moreover, the coup d'état by Victoriano Huerta caused the fall and death of Madero in February of 1913. Meantime, the volcano of Colima erupted, spewing ashes over the fields of southeastern and northwestern Michoacán causing significant crop destruction. Although precise figures were not available, "a large number" of Michoacán people continued to leave the state in search of work. The local and general governments persisted their recommendations against peasants emigration to the US considering this drift "detrimental for the interest of the country and for our workers."(20)

Gertrudis G. Sánchez, a Coahuila chief of the Maderista garrison in a district of the state of Guerrero, directed the revolution in the region, and as a revolutionary governor unified the rebels against the Huertista forces. The Balsas basin was the general headquarters and served the armed civilians from Guerrero, Coahuila, Zacatecas and Michoacán in advancing to Huetamo and Tacámbaro. After being defeated Victoriano Huerta, Sánchez took office in Morelia, the capital of the state. However, another violent bloody phase continued as struggles occurred between competing local factions. Convencionistas, Villistas, Carrancistas, Zapatistas and nonpartisan groups erupted

everywhere. In the meantime in Europe, on the other side of the Atlantic, the First World War exploded.

On one hand, Villistas under the command of José I. Prieto came out of Guanajuato and stormed into Morelia on March 3 of 1915, at the same moment that Gertrudis G. Sánchez left from Morelia. On the other hand, Alfredo Elizondo, Joaquín Amaro and other former subordinate men of Sánchez had been going to battle on the side of Obregón. Alvaro Obregón, by then Carranza's ally, defeated Villa in the Bajío during April, when Sanchez also was executed in Huetamo. Elizondo then returned to govern Michoacán. As well former rebels and other migrants departed from US to Michoacán. Parish records in 1915 recounted migrants from Atacheo, Ixtlán, Jacona, Pajacuarán, Purépero, Puruándiro and Tangancícuaro. According to the records, Atacheans Gabriel Cuadra, Marcos Morales and José Dolores Enriquez had been previously working in Los Angeles before returning. These events occurred within the larger political backdrop of the US recognition of the national government of Carranza.(21)

The governor pursued the destruction of the Villista guerrillas around Tancítaro and in the Bajío Zamorano, although without much success. In 1916, Michoacán Villistas joined the Felicista faction, headed by Félix Díaz, Porfiro Díaz's nephew. Michoacán Felicistas had economic support from entrepreneurs and conservative sectors in the United States, apart from their trade in rice and hides in the Barra de Zacatula for weapons in California.(22) Meanwhile Elizondo organized the elections for representatives to the Constituent Congress. Over all, Elizondo faced an economic and social crisis which brought devaluation, circulation of worthless money, shortage of corn, scandalous price

inflation of basic articles of consumption, various calamities in the countryside, outbreaks of typhus and social agitation.

In 1916 and 1917, the disturbed social and economic conditions compelled small traders in bankruptcy, downwardly mobile farmers, journeymen, bureaucrats, artisans, carpenters, mechanic, impressers, female servants and exiles to leave for north of the border. For their protection while traveling, migrants requested official certificates that did not discuss participation in active political matters, or state that they were "emigrating to the United States in search of a better job to support their family".(23)

After the passage and enactment of the General Constitution in February of 1917, Elizondo's governmental administration came to an end. Pascual Ortiz Rubio took office from Rentería Luviano after being elected. In 1918 there were droughts, leading to large losses of crops and livestock; the spectrum of famine appeared in spite of the imported and subsidized corn. As a result social unrest increased in the countryside. Aside, the Spanish influenza caused population loss in central and western Mexico. As the United Sates entered World War I, Braceros crossed the border attracted by jobs and high salaries. Michoacans continued migrating to the North in alternative seasons. In addition, several local rebels were granted amnesty from the government. Several of those revolutionaries left for the North.(24)

In July 1918, Mariano de Jesús Torres, a journalist from Morelia described parts of Michoacán as desolate and infested with persistent rebels, e.g. Jesús Síntora in the west, Gordiano Guzmán in the south. Inés García Chávez was reported "leaving in every place he passes, a trail of blood and an atmosphere of terror and fright." The journalist commented

on the tragic scene of Villa Morelos set on fire and destroyed, and described the inhabitants of Puruándiro and La Piedad in constant fright. Torres provided voice to the popular sentiment of governmental impotence, despite government reassurances of control and stability:

> there is no revolution, and the trains are shot and the communications constantly off! There is no revolution and the countryside properties are ransacked and not labored; It has not remained either a grain of corn, neither an animal of farm, and the deserted and uninhabited ranches, and... there is no revolution!(25)

Michoacán in transition.

Spanish influenza, among other factors, ended with the activity of the Michoacán main rebels between 1918 and 1919. The disastrous financial situation subdued, but the conflict for power increased. Governor Ortiz Rubio followed the Plan of Agua Prieta to overthrow president Carranza in May 1920. A new political era started in Mexico. Lázaro Cárdenas, an Agua Prietista, took in charge of military maneuvers, and conciliated governmental business in the state. After an impugned election, Francisco J. Múgica took office as governor of Michoacán in September, 1920.

There were 939,849 people in Michoacán in 1921 according to the official census, therefore 52,000 inhabitants less than the 991,880 registered in 1910. Due to the business depression in the United States, according to Mexican Statistics, more Mexican emigrants returned in 1921 than leaving instead. Otherwise, a local newspaper in 1920, the annual 1921-1922 report of the governor and church records included references on migrants out of the state. A great number of Michoacans were working either in US farms, factories and railroads, for the petroleum companies in Veracruz and Tamaulipas or in Mexico City.

Migrants who headed north legally, applied in the US consulates of Guadalajara, Aguascalientes, and San Luis Potosi, paying two pesos per person, and proving a minimum of literacy.(26)

A sample of the 1920-1923 consular and passport records display applicants mainly from small cities as Zamora and Uruapan, the mining town of Angangueo, and Zacapu where the Noriega Company promoted a desiccation project; as well migrants from Erongarícuaro, Zinapécuaro, Santa Ana Maya, Maravatío, Purépero, Penjamillo, La Piedad, Panindicuaro and Puruándiro applied.(27) However, changes in U.S. immigration policy made Mexican migration more difficult. Notwithstanding their own penurious, illegal migrants challenged problems with Coyotes who offered their services to facilitate crossing the border. A nonfiction account pointed that after getting off the train,

> Coyotes directed Braceros to an unsanitary lodging, speculating in combination with the owner of it. In complicity with money exchangers, the Coyotes obtained a percentage from the amount of gold pesos that the laborers gave in order to acquire dollars. They made the workers remain locked in their rooms forcing them to stay there. As worker traffic was their business, collecting from four to twenty dollars for person, coyotes tried their victims not to grieve either separate. They walked with the Braceros at night to the chosen ford where coyotes abandoned them; only when in accord with the American Coyotes, they prompted the Braceros cross the river. It happened frequently that the Border Patrol shot sometimes children and women, and the Braceros could not even perceive their siblings due to the darkness and because the current dragged the bodies. Once passing the River, the laborers were exploited by the North American coyotes who took them also into unsanitary places, mistreating them, they hide them of the authorities, and took as much money as they were able to from the Braceros, whom coyotes provided of false or useless documents with and put them in hands of the Companies that agreed with such coyotes.(28)

In Michoacán, political instability marked the early part of the 20th Century. Governor Múgica, due his radical politics, had conflicts with the clergy, politicians, farmers.

And without the support of president Obregón he was ousted from office. The migrant farmer and protester, Pablo Landeros, exemplified the Zamora district rebels. Múgica was forced from office in 1922. The local representative Sidronio Sánchez Pineda took office and faced the military rebellion headed by Enrique Estrada in western Mexico. Two thirds of the military forces defied Obregón's regime. Estradista rebels fought in Numarán and Palo Verde in January of 1924 to take Morelia momentary. No popular either peasant presence supported the dissident movement which was short-lived. Under different conditions, peasant participation in the Cristero revolt resulting from the church-state conflict in 1926 was widespreading.(29)

However, revolutions and agrarian struggles impelled men and women to continue going northwards. On the one hand, in 1925 a large number of passport applications were issued for petitioners from Morelia, Jacona, Los Reyes, Yurécuaro, Cojumatlán, San José de Gracia, Pátzcuaro, Taretan, Tlalpujahua; nature came to scene also in floods in la Ciénega de Chapala and along the Lerma River, north of the state, to drive migrants out of Michoacán. On the other hand, Mexican government appointed in 1926 "not repatriating Mexican laborers, as previously did for thousand of them, upon being jobless and in an afflictive situation in the United States, due to many of them have returned later to the neighboring country without showing grievance."(30)

Besides farm jobs in California, Texas and the Midwest, the mines of coal in Colorado, the Great Lakes industries had also become destinations for Michoacán workers. By then, roads and highways were improved in central Mexico. Highways connected most of the important settlements. The trucks have spelled out definitively the mule trains of

Cotija, Purépero, Churincio, Zináparo and Chilchota. Many mule-drivers "accustomed to movement and to strange places, went to California to work in the steel plants of Torrance, California or Pittsburg." Peasants and artisans went working on fields, and in the construction industry; other muleteers got work laying tracks either alternating with the agricultural activities. In Los Angeles, Mexican women and men were employed in a variety of industries; as well the city housed railroad workers and seasonal unemployed agricultural laborers.(31)

The personal experience of Salvador Sotelo Arévalo insights an example of migration dynamics. Born in a small village which was involved in agrarian conflicts, Sotelo still a teenager departed from Zamora in 1922, accompanied by some relatives. One of them had previously been in the United States. After paying an eight dollar tax, he passed to labor in the fields of San José California. Later he worked in the Southern Pacific Railroad. With his first earnings, he paid off the mortgage on his mother's house in Michoacán, the mortgage that had been taken out to pay his fare and the migration tax to the U.S. From an acquaintance he knew his brother's address in Los Angeles. His brother, Cipriano, had emigrated when the Revolution of Madero began. Salvador met his brother, and moved to Los Angeles, where other relatives of his lived.

In response to a US governmental prohibition, the smuggling of liquors was developed. Cipriano was devoted to that illegal activity and invited him to become a smuggler. He detested such idea, and tried to go out of his side. Since his brother had been a bricklayer in Mexico City and in Zamora, he better endeavored his former occupation. Both of them looked for work in the constructions, and the young learned the masonry.

Each one earned eight dollars per day. Their wages also allowed them to buy a car, and a lot in Maravilla Park. Salvador attended night school in order to learn English. Due his hard working, he sent money to his sisters, a widow with three children and another who lived in Guadalajara with two sons. Salvador stayed for four years in Los Angeles, and finally returned to Zamora.(32)

Although not all the migrants returned home, a general financial crisis in the United States affected Mexicans both sides of the border for several years after 1929. Severe conditions took back thousand of migrants to the sending regions. Michoacán recovered population by repatriating Michoacans who were deported, others were attracted by the Cardenista agrarian reform. The state population mainly made their living from agriculture. According to the census, 1,048,381 people lived in the state in 1930. The population active economically represented 327,996 inhabitants (20.66% from the total), 259,868 people –a 6.37 per cent--, devoted to agricultural activities, and 53,698 inhabitants (5.12%) were ejidatarios.(33)

Moreover, inhabitants kept on an irregular distributing on the state. Villages revealed demographic loss such as the former Cristero Coalcomán and Cotija, Jacona, Pajacuarán, Purépero, Puruándiro, Villa Victoria, Villachuato and Zamora, but dramatically decreased in Churincio, Jiquilpan, Sahuayo and Tangamandapio; on the contrary, peasants moved from ranches to municipality heads in Angamacutiro, Apatzingán, Chavinda, Cherán, Ecuandureo, Ixtlán, Tangancícuaro, Tanhuato, Tocumbo, Uruapan, Villamar, Vista Hermosa, Yurécuaro and Zináparo; while Chilchota, and Panindícuaro did not modify their number of population in 1930. Nevertheless, migratory flow continued circulating out of

the northwestern. On June 26, 1933, the mayor of Zamora communicated the General Secretary of Michoacán that several laborers "have left recently from this region to the United States, by being apprised there is work, according to their information."(34)

Beyond demographic and migration issues, new regimes made economic and political adjustments in the country. On the one hand, the federal government destined more expenditure in welfare, on the other hand, Plutarco Elías Calles, the maximum head of the Agua Prieta group, founded the Revolutionary National Party (PNR) in 1929 to control the military men. The peasant sector was a majority in name but not in the taking of decisions. Sequel of the Cristero revolt and of that of 1932, artisans and small landowners supported the Sinarquista movement in the capital of the state, and at east and west of Michoacán in search of establishing a nationalistic order in 1937. Former candidate Almazán headed political opposition in 1940, and his followers were repressed, several of them retreated in Los Angeles. By then, Cárdenas was the president who emphasized the practice of the agrarian reform nation wide. In fact, there were problems in allotment of lands and consequently conflicts of land tenure, as well the exercise of the local power did.(35)

National Unity and Development in Stability.

World War II began in 1939. Mexicans and children of Michoacans, those formerly deported who returned U.S., took part in it since 1942. As well Mexican government declared war to Axis Berlin-Tokio-Roma, and implemented a national unity plan under a continuos centralized model. The year 1942 marks the beginning of the

Bracero Program, a labor contract, which ended in 1964, and which resulted in an increased flow of Michoacán migration to US. The Bracero Program, agreed to by the United States and Mexican governments through the Second World War and the Korean War impacted the lives of people.

The acceleration of economic development in Texas, Colorado, Arizona and California and the increasing population pressure from rural areas in Mexico, reflected in high figures of Mexican migrants in the United States. A growing number of Mexican Braceros and migrants tended chiefly to settle in California. The Federal District, Michoacán, Guanajuato, Durango, Chihuahua and Zacatecas provided more Braceros than any other states. According to governmental statistics, 5,045 Michoacán braceros returned from US in 1947, meanwhile 10,035 left; in next year, 460 returned and 550 were leaving. Furthermore demographic records of 1950 showed that almost half of the Michoacán Braceros were under fifteen.(36)

Workers signed up for contracts in Irapuato, Empalme, Tlaxcala, Guadalajara, Mexico City and Uruapan. Prior to Uruapan, Irapuato was mainly Michoacán Braceros departure. Contractors advised Michoacán Braceros to declare different geographic origin, due to quota, only when arriving to the fields in the US were to say the truth in case of an emergency. Several Michoacán migrants were not included in the Bracero Program (37)

Migrants departed by train or, as soon as roads were ready during the dry season, by bus. Some Michoacán migrants in the 1920s had used to sail from Manzanillo to California. But usually they traveled by train or on foot. Years later departure was possible by plane. Other Michoacanos took advantage of the modern transportation means and the

primitive one. A migrant from Coalcomán accounted that in 1942 he flew from his town to Colima, took a train to Guadalajara and Santa Ana, Sonora, and then traveled to Puerto Peñasco by bus to continue by train to Mexicali. He then walked from Mexicali to Los Angeles crossing the desert illegally through Conchella.(38) Over and above, traveling turned to be faster, and flights became common in Mexico after WW II. Guadalajara airport was opened to business in the 1950s.

In April of 1947 --during the anti-aftosa campaign, when hoof-and-mouth decease affected livestock, and consequently agricultural activities--, the recruit of Braceros occurred in Uruapan. In order to qualify, the applicants should be under age forty five, Michoacanos, not ejidatarios, being in perfect health, residents in municipalities of the state. Although the Bracero Program was not officially oriented on ejidatarios, restless economic, political and social conditions compelled ejidatarios, as well small landowners and journeymen to leave the countryside.(39)

In the northwest of Michoacán and under normal weather peasants lifted two harvests in a year. In the rainy season, poverty accentuated particularly on the journeymen whose income was low during the 1940s. Also in time of sowing, the peasants needed to borrow from the Ejidal Bank or from a moneylender certain amount of seed or cash, returning them in the crops, plus the profit. Several peasants emigrated to the U.S. in search of work in order to pay the debts. Even there were numerous abandoned parcels, which were not granted to whom could work them because of political reasons.(40)

During the continuation of agrarism, violence came out to villages and fields. Homicides ranged third top in eight main causes of death in the state from 1940 to 1950. It was

a time when caciques, who seized political and economic power, set terror in ranches and villages. Under pressure, opposite people, those who committed crimes, small traders in bankruptcy and landowners had to emigrate either to the cities or to U.S. In general, private property was not respected. Villages, which recovered hardly from the destruction of revolutions, decayed completely.(41)

Nature displayed itself once again in the state. An earthquake occurred in 1941 in the Coalcomán area. As well the Sierra or Meseta Purépecha was damaged by the Parícutin volcano in February of 1943 up to 1952 when the volcano stopped to eruption. Its ashes affected agriculture in several parts of Michoacán, as far as in Numarán and in San José de Gracia. Volcaneños (men and women of the volcano region, as they were popularly called) had to leave home and head to other places. The municipalities of Numarán and Peribán had population loss due the migration of Braceros to the United States. Peasant families moved to other points of the state, to Jalisco, Guanajuato, and Mexico City or they enrolled as braceros. In 1943, Michoacán was the top second state in sending braceros. Morelia became an attractive population city, and a departure point for migrants to the United States.(42)

On the one hand, a consequence of the World War II and the Korea war was that Michoacans and children of Michoacans, who avoided conscription, returned to the state. On the other hand, those wars brought economic advantages to several villages; artisans supplied more than ever the U.S. markets with their products. Likewise thousand of people left for the United States in order to look for a better standard of living and returning home provided of enough means to work for their own. Parts of the state achieved differences in population. According to the 1950 census Tanhuato, Tlalpujahua and Villamar municipalities had

considerable loss of population, while Uruapan, Zacapu, Zamora, Zináparo and Zitácuaro increased theirs.(43)

A large number of migrants from Guanajuato, Jalisco and Michoacán kept on leaving North. Some sectors of Mexican society disagreed this worker migration. In June of 1946, former president Lázaro Cárdenas considered the exit of Mexican laborers as "a damage to our country". Nevertheless, a total of 4,395,622 Mexican braceros went beyond the border from 1951 to the end of the Bracero Program in 1964. 567,514 (12.91 percent of the total) left from Guanajuato, 465,396 (10.59%) from Jalisco and 463,811 (10.55%) of Michoacán origin. A resident of the Ciénega de Chapala noticed in those years

> Thousand of people never returned home. Hundred of women remained long time crying the separation of their husbands. Several parents were left without children. Many children never saw their fathers again or never met them.(44)

In 1950 there were 25,791,000 inhabitants in Mexico, 28.9 percent of the population were registered officially urban people (considering them in a nuclei of ten thousand people or more) while 71.1 percent were considered rural. In 1960, the tendency of the 34,923,129 inhabitants indicated 65.5 percent rural while 37.5% urban. In 1970 relatively the rural population diminished, 54.7% from 48 million and fraction. In 1970, the residents of larger towns than ten thousand inhabitants each represented the 45.3 percent urbanized. In a centralized development model it was obvious this attracting and centralized tendency, and it was very evident that Mexican population grew dramatically in the seat heads taking in peasants and work force from the countryside.(45)

Statistics indicated 4,823,901 people in primary activities in 1950, mostly the fifth part of the total population (18.7%), who in 1960 were 6,143,540, but not in 1970, when number

lowered to 5,103,517 due the lack of incentives to retain peasants in the fields and intensive migration. In that dynamics, the transformation and construction industries, and third activities attracted 224,512 people to the foremost Mexican cities in 1950; the worker attraction increased to reach 408,279 in 1960, and 571,006 in 1970.(46)

Mexico City, Guadalajara and Morelia concentrated more population from the displacement of peasants magnetized by the charm of living in metropolis during the development in stability. On the other hand, workers, employees and domestic servants left from the cities for the North, regardless of the Bracero Program ending in 1964. After the peso devaluation, several people were disappointed of the official and paternalistic promise not kept, and headed the fields and cities of U.S. A Mexican song expressed

> I'm tired and bored, mamma
> of living so in such misfortune;
> why don't we sell everything we have
> and go to the other side [USA].(47)

In the demographic flow, main cities attracted and expelled population. In round figures, Mexico City in 1950 mostly duplicated its previous population of 1940 with 3,137,599 inhabitants. In 1960 the city increased its population to five million, and to 8,700,000 inhabitants in 1970. Guadalajara grew from 440,500 inhabitants in 1950 to locate 851,155 inhabitants in 1960, and 1,491,085 in 1970. Under different conditions, less attraction, Morelia stretched out hardly 63,245 in 1950, and 100,828 in 1960, and 161,040 inhabitants in 1970.(48)

Focusing on a smaller dimension, including head of municipalities in the Ciénega de Chapala, the Bajío Zamorano at all, as central, northeast and southwest Michoacán, comprised a constant back and forth movement of population. Droughts between 1950 and

1954, shortage of corn in 1951, the peso devaluation in 1954, floods in 1955 forced Michoacans going out from several parts of the state. As well Acuitzio, Brisenas, Chilchota, Chinicuila, Coalcomán, Contepec, Jiquilpan, Madero, Morelos, Tingambato, Tinguindín, Tlalpujahua decreased their population between 1960 and 1970. After Korea War ended, Operation Wetback deported undocumented Braceros in 1954. Nevertheless men and women from Michoacán enrolled in the industrialization process in the US, where laborers were needed in the ports, railroads, fields and factories. Immigration Reform laws implemented during the late 1960's changed or intensified previous migration patterns. Seasonal migration (Golondrino) turned to be normal in Michoacán. These Golondrinos eluded also to spend the winter in the U.S. It is when "Northerners" began to flow to their homeland.(49)

Circuit and cycle migration kept on establishing networks. The Serrano family is an example of it. From Jalisco origin, formerly a servant muleteer, the head of household worked in Veracruz, and in the desiccation labor in the Ciénega of Chapala in 1910 as well Married in 1921 to a low level employee's daughter, he settled down in Briseñas, an important estate located in a migrant attraction and expulsion region as well. Eight children were raised, one of them died in the very early childhood. The head of the family worked in the construction of the national highway due the floods in 1935. He bought a small land and some cattle and raised it in the Ciénega. He became an ejidatario during the Cárdenas Agrarian Reform. Tragically died in 1944, as well as his elder son in 1945. The widower supported the family and took care of the lands with her male children's assistance.

Since the deportations and repatriations, the elders Serrano children heard about people returning from the North. Their immediate and personal contact with the migratory

flow to United States started in 1958 when the minor daughter, engage to a migrant, left for Los Angeles. The youngest motivated her siblings to emigrate from Michoacán. Her widow sister and two brothers (who had been previously Braceros) emigrated in the early 1960s. While living in East Los Angeles, the Serrano women worked in tailoring in the downtown area and men in factories in South Central. A second generation of the family from Michoacán continued the migratory chain in the circuit to Los Angeles.

Notes

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4.- *Ibid.*

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9.- *Ibid.*

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11.- R. Sánchez. 1893. R. Sánchez. 1894

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13.- AMZ Gobernación. 1905. Papeles sueltos. AHEE. Relaciones. 1911, exp. 11. SRE-GE, 18-23-27, 18-23-158, 9-9-3.

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22.- A. Ochoa Serrano. 1989. SRE-GE 11-6-133, 17-16-214. E. Cusi. 1969, p 224-225.

23.- AMZ Justicia 1917, exp 31.

24.- Uribe and Ochoa. 1990. AMZ Estado 1918, exp. 7. P. Ortiz Rubio. 1919, p 13. AGN Gobernacion. Periodo Revolucionario C 281 exp. 47

25.- *El Centinela*. Morelia, July 28, 1918. 2ª. Epoch, Num. 45.

26.- AMZ Estado 1921, exp 17. ACE, XXXVIII Legislatura, Informe del Gobernador Interino Sidronio Sánchez Pineda September 16, 1922, p 44. Departamento de la Estadística Nacional. 1925. Censo 1921. Michoacán. AP Coalcomán, Jacona, Jiquilpan, Purépero, Tangancícuaro, Zináparo. El Clarinete, Morelia, March, 24, 1920, I:3. P. Taylor. 1930, I: 250.

27.- SRE-GE 36-9-87, SRE-P 1920, AMZ Estado 1921, exp 17).

28.- AMZ, Gobernación 1924, exp 29. Interview with Leovigildo Hernández, Uruapan, Michoacán, October 21, 1995, conducted by Alvaro Ochoa Serrano

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38.- Interview with Jesús Negrete. Atacheo, Mich. Interview with Jesús Covarrubias. Montebello, Ca. October 14, 1994 conducted by Alvaro Ochoa Serrano. Secretaría de la Economía Nacional. 1940. Censo de Michoacán, p. 9.

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CHAPTER 3

MICHOACAN PEASANTS AND LOS ANGELES WORKERS.

The fourth article of the Michoacán constitution enacted in 1918 stated that Michoacans are those: I.-Born in any part of the state, of Mexican parents, natives or residents in it. II.- By chance, born out of the state, of Michoacán parents, provided that the parents have not lost their state residency. III.- Mexicans who are naturalized in the state according to particular laws. IV.- Mexicans with no less than a year of residence in the state. The fourth article ammended in 1960 stipulated that "Michoacanos are those Mexicans born in the state, children of Michoacán parents born out of the state, and those who have resided continuously for a year in the state."(1)

The constitution provided both legal and civil definitions. However, Michoacanism, regionalism or matriotism as a cultural issue encompasses ways of living, artifacts, signs and symbols, people producing and reproducing at home, as well as sharing in individual-community reciprocal relations. Nationalism and regionalism as forms of resistant mechanisms flourished abroad. Luis González y González a Mexican historian, conceptualizes Matriotism (associated to mother as patriotism to father) as a primary feeling held by individuals belonging to the place where he/she was born or raised.(2)

Michoacanos born between 1904 and 1918 and who sojourned to the United States contributed to acculturation in the U.S and in Michoacán. Matriotism for this generation might be synthesized as "My home is wherever I can make a good living." Michoacanos born in the first quarter of the century had grown up in an atmosphere of violence,

poverty, injustice, hatred, fear, and suspicion. According to González y González their childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood

> had been filled with calamities, and, upon reaching the age where they had a voice in the matter, they set out to obtain for them and their families the freedom and happiness heralded by the radio, the movies, and the magazines which had been almost their only teachers...Some had the enterprise to go to the city in search of a new life. Almost all those who stayed behind signed up as braceros, hoping to come back from the "States" with enough money to take up the bourgeois existence they aspired to.(3)

Other Michoacanos, born between 1920 and 1934, were impacted by the Paricutin volcano eruption. Their existence was affected the national unity plan and development programs. Having previous experience with migration, members of this generation were quick to move from the countryside to the city and beyond the border. Mexican writers have accused this generation of having little respect for traditions. Other accusations directed at them include their propensity for fame and inclination for material goods and money. A sense of community has declined while individualism is on the rise among them. They have seen more of the world than their elders. They recognize no authority – neither patriarchal, nor civil. They are rebels in attitude, but not in deed.(4)

The ethnic background of Michoacán migrants is diverse. Mestizo-Criollo rancheros dwell along the corridor on Zináparo, Tlazazalca, Purépero, Tangancícuaro, Cotija and its extension in the southwest of the state. Prior to the 1920s, mule-drivers from Purépero, Cotija, Churincio and Zináparo went into and across the Hot Lowlands Tierra Caliente del Balsas and south through Mexico, Acapulco, even into Guatemala. After migrating to the U.S. muleteers and craft men labored as workers in steel plants and railroads. Ranchers usually held small portion of lands and alternated activities. Some raised cattle while others were sharecroppers. Small landholders produced dairy products.

They also cultivate honey and lime in dry season. Lime was used in construction, and was important to prepare nixtamal, the boiled corn for making masa. Male children assisted their parents in cutting the wood for the production of lime. In the foothills sugar is harvested and sold on Sundays in the plaza.(5)

Indigenous peoples comprise the dominate population in Ciénega de Zacapu, Purépecha uplands and Lake Pátzcuaro region, in central Michoacán. Land is held communally. Indigenous peasants alternate activities in artisanry and trade. Mestizaje occurred in the Cañada de Chilchota in relation to the proportion of the Indigenous population. The Tarascan or Purépecha language has practically disappeared "except for a few old folks," but Indian ways and attitudes have not entirely been forgotten. Some have continued intact, and others have become part of a new "dual character" society.(6)

The population in La Ciénaga de Chapala and the north central valleys is primarily Mestizo. Sahuayo, Jaripo, Guaracha, and other rancherías in the Morelia valleys had a strong African descendant population. Trapper, herding, domestic servants, artisan, muleteer, and petty traders were occupations that allowed Afromestizos freedom of movement. Farm workers, sharecroppers and mainly ejidatarios constitute the active population. Ejido land is held in common by community members, who have the right to use the land but not to sell it. Ejidatarios cultivated the land but credit and technical assistance were lacking to put the land to its full potential. During the harvest season families are able to support themselves but during the rainy season the ejidatario and his/her suffer financially.(7)

The passports and visas which Michoacanos applied for during the 1920-1955 period provide personal and social information on migrants. Most of migrants left from

central, north central, northeast and northwest localities of the state in the period between 1920 and 1930. Applicants from Zamora, Puruándiro, Zacapu, Erongarícuaro, Santa Ana Maya and Zinapécuaro chose Los Angeles as their point of destination. (See Map Michoacán 1920-1930). The migrants' age ranged from under 20 to over forty. In a sample of forty migrant applications 23 migrants ranked in the age ranges of 20-30, ten in the range of 31-40, and 3 migrants over 40 in the same period. This pattern and proportion scheme coincides with samples of Michoacán migrants in 1929-1930, 1945 and 1955. (See Table 2). Migrants composed peoples in the most productive age range. The predominant occupation listed was migrant worker. According to the applications, most of migrants left in the first half of the year. From the months January to June migrants left for the United States when they had the highest economic resources due to the harvest months. (See Table 3).

A sample of 6 Michoacanas and 96 Michoacanos in Los Angeles during 1929 and 1930 provides their names, municipalities from which they came, age, civil status and occupation. Many of the names were taken from the Catholic calendar. María was the most common name for women; José, Antonio, Jesús and Francisco being the most common name for men. Numerous people proceeded from Puruándiro, secondarily from La Piedad, Tlazazalca, Purépero, Tangancícuaro, as well Churincio, Villa Morelos, Zamora, Huaniqueo, Panindícuaro, Tanhuato, Villa Jiménez. and other municipalities of central and northwestern. Outside the most frequently named regions of migration, Pichátaro (Tingambato) and Tecario (Tacámbaro) in central part of the state, and Villa Hidalgo and La Era (Tuxpan) in the eastern part of the state were also represented in the migration stream to the United States. The age of these migrants in Los Angeles varied

from 19 to 75. According to the report, one of them was under the age of 20; while 41 were in the 20-30 age range, 31 in the 31-40 age range, and 31 over the age of forty. A majority of the 24 single migrants ranged from the age of 20-30 while 25 married migrants ranged from the ages of 31-40; three widowers were over the age of 40. Four of the six women were married, and their occupation listed was attending their homes.(8)

Agricultural activities and industries in California and Los Angeles attracted workers and peasants during the 1929 depression period. A large number of migrant workers in the United States worked in the agricultural fields. This served to perpetuate rural customs among a relatively large segment of Michoacan migrants. Women performed domestic duties (haciendo pie de casa) and also enhanced Michoacán traditions. A 1929-1930 sample of the migrant population identifies 83 journeymen, 5 farmers, 3 workers, 2 cooks, a trader, an employee, one gardener, one mechanic, and one blacksmith. (See Table 4). Last names and geographic origin of Michoacán migrants suggest strong family ties and other social relations from ranchería people. Family connections played a significant role for migrants. Relatives and siblings of the migrant population in Los Angeles also shared a migrant background.(9)

These patterns of a rural migrant tradition among the Michoacán population in Los Angeles is demonstrated in the following example. Born in 1904, Salvador Sotelo, a Michoacán migrant immigrated in 1922 to the United States accompanied by some relatives. The family enrolled in an enganche for San José California. He was denied employment because of his age. However he quickly learned English and was given a job as a water carrier for field labor. Later, he worked in the Southern Pacific Railroad. as many other Michoacán migrants did.

Living in the United States, was hard for Sotelo at the beginning. After working, he would cook, wash dishes, put firewood in the stove and sweep the cart-house. Sotelo did laundry on every Sunday and also washed other people's clothes in order to earn extra money. Sotelo joined his brother who previously had emigrated in 1910 and moved to Los Angeles. Sotelo and his brother worked in the construction business. Sotelo learned the masonry and attended night school in order to improve his English. He met first girlfriend in the United States while visiting his relatives. Noviazgo or courtship is an important initiation period for marriage. In Michoacán it encompasses a ritual which serves to formalize a relationship. According to church records Michoacán male migrant generally tended to marry Mexican woman from Mexico.(10)

Several Michoacán families entered in United States before the Depression years. Between 1927 and 1928, 101 men and 48 women emigrated from the Zamora valley. Among this group was 14 families, one couple, 5 siblings and friends from the Zamora municipality, and a four member family from Jacona. 67 percent came from the head municipality and 33% from the rancherías. Six migrants from Zamora headed to Los Angeles.(11)

During the depression a large percent of the Mexican immigrant population repatriated or were deported. Those who returned to Mexico during and after the depression took ideas, techniques, skills, and some economic resources to improve their lives in their homelands. Due to agrarian reform, among other factors, Michoacán peasants did not leave for the U.S. throughout the 1930-1940 period which coincided with the Cárdenas' governmental and presidential administration.(12) A Michoacan migrant from Los Angeles wrote his brother in February 28, 1940: "We long to return to Mexico

some day although just visiting. Over all, we long to visit our siblings whom we have not seen long time ago"(13)

The official political party led agrarian reform in line with its original goals. However the reality revealed that the official party was far from meeting the original goals of the revolution. Lands in Michoacán were generally well watered due to the water draining from the rivers and lakes. However, productivity of crops was unstable due to inadequate agricultural and irrigation systems.(14) Furthermore, regional trading and industry activities were scarce. Peasants became captive voters for the official party (PNR, PRM, PRI). They participated in civil acts which failed to address immediate concerns. Poor social and living conditions of ejidatarios were captured by several reports taken in the early 1940s. Food and housing conditions were less than minimal. Natural disasters exacerbated these conditions. For example when the Parícutin volcano erupted in 1943 big clouds of dust turned the sunlight into darkness for several days in Numaran, a hundred and fifty kilometer away.(15)

The Bracero Program, an agreement between the United States and Mexican governments at the beginning of the United States participation in World War II, became a valve of escape for Michoacán peasants, artisans and low level employees. Michoacán along with the Federal District, Guanajuato, Jalisco. Durango, Chihuahua and Zacatecas provided more Braceros than any others. Prior to the ending of this War, Michoacán people went to the United States as braceros; but after 1945 when worry of being drafted into the war no longer existed, there was an increase in short-term emigration. The Korean War also impacted the lives of Michoacán people dramatically. The head of a Michoacán family wrote his sibling on October 9, 1950: ya le vino carta a [mi nieto]

Raúl para la guerra, y mi hija Rosa ha estado los más a llore y llore, lo mismo que Josefa [su abuela]. Later, he wrote in another letter on October 5, 1954

> In regards to your nephews, Raúl will be coming on the 15th of this month. He is already in Los Angeles and has completed his 2 year term. About the others I do not have any information because they do not visit us; those are Lupes's children, the daughter of mine who died, and Mike's, two boys and two girls born when he returned from World War II.(16)

According to demographic records of 1950, almost half of the Michoacán Braceros were young migrants. From the total of emigrants, 43% were under 15, and 41 or 57 percent were adults.. At the beginning of the Bracero program most of the Michoacán migrants were from the villages; later it was the men from the rancherías who predominated. In the early years, the larger part were young men of the middle and upper classes; but as time went on, most of them were people from the lower economic sectors. The migrants' literacy level was low.(17)

As seen in Table 4, most of the Michoacán migrants were peasants and they used to work in fields of California and Los Angeles in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Personal accounts and passport applications during the 1940s and 1950s indicate a diversity of occupations: traders, farmers, journeymen, workers, artisans, employees, students, few men in industrial activities and women in house duties. In spite of Operation Wetback and the decreasing opportunities of the Bracero program, Michoacanos continued emigrating beyond the border. Several traders emigrated due to the 1954 devaluation which affected Mexican trade,(18) although the economic situation on both sides was difficult. A Michoacán migrant complained from Los Angeles on January 1957: "está la cosa dura que ni es tan siquiera como pensé. I did not have any cents and neither work; it is so hard that I did not even imagine as I thought" However,

farms, constructions and industrial work still attracted migrants to California. Michoacán women mainly joined the garment industry in Los Angeles. Former peasants became blue-collar workers, as well as former artisans and low level employees who also tertiary jobs in restaurants and hotels. Before ending the Bracero program, a large number of Michoacán migrants moved to the cities. Los Angeles continued to be point of arrival for Michoacanos.(19)

Migration Localities to the United States 1920-1930.

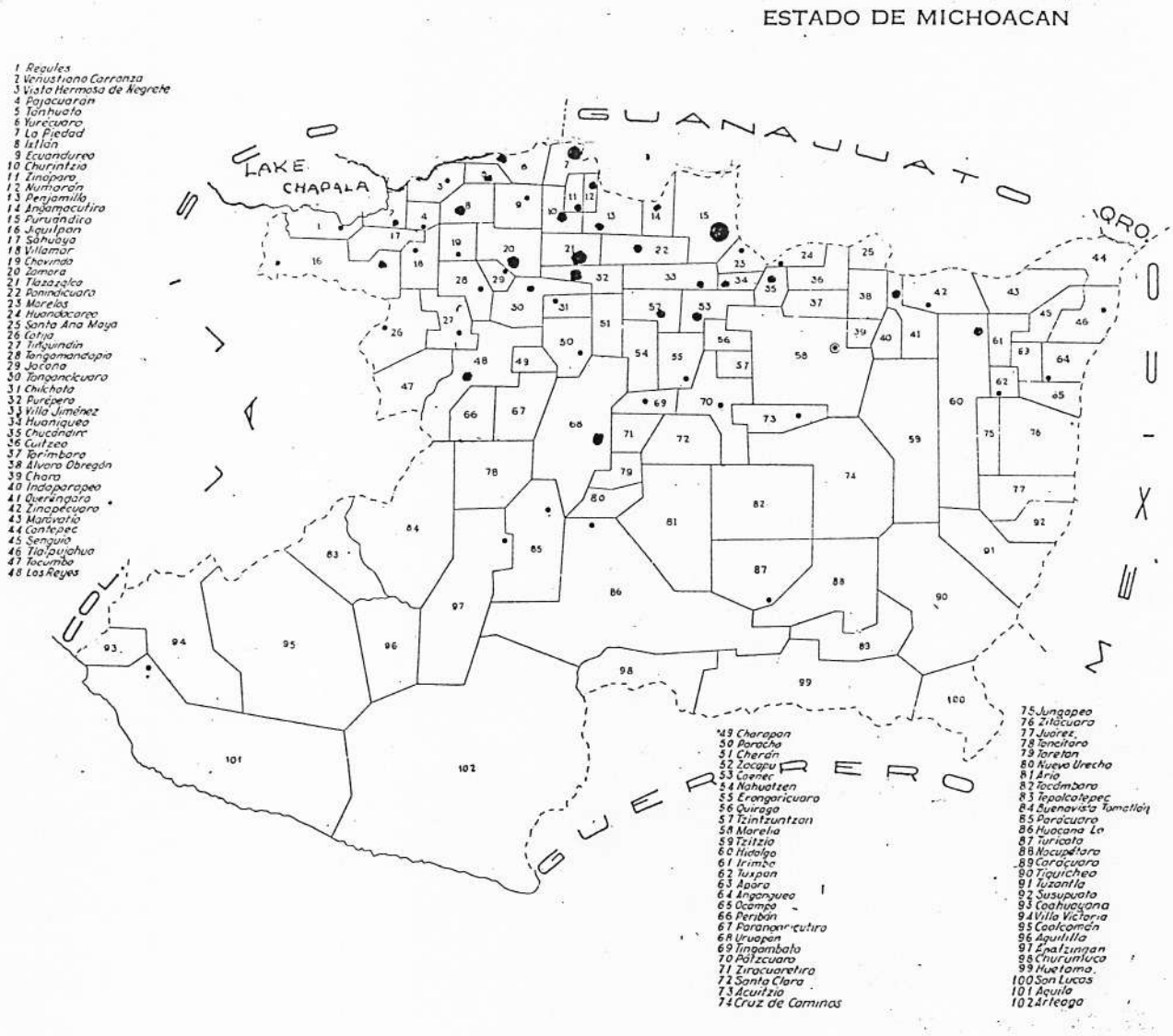

Table 2

104 Michoacán Migrants. Age Ranges. 1929-1930

Under 20	/	1
20-30	//	41
31-40	//////////////////////////////	31
Over 40	//////////////////////////////	31

44 Michoacán Migrants. Age Ranges. 1945

Under 20	/////	5
20-30	//////////////	14
31-40	//////////////	12
Over 40	//////////////	13

60 Michoacán Migrants. Age Ranges. 1955

Under 20	////	4
20-30	//////////////////////////	26
31-40	//////////////	14
Over 40	/////////////////	16

Source: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Archivo Histórico. Archivo Histórico del Poder Ejecutivo de Michoacán. Pasaportes.

Table 3

111 Michoacán Migrants to U.S. Application Date. 1944

January	////////////////////////////////////	37
February	//////////////	13
March	//////	6
April	//////	6
May	///////	7
June	//////////////	13
July	////////	8
August	///////	7
September	///	3
October	/	1
November	//	2
December	///	3

60 Michoacán Migrants to U.S. Application Date. 1955

January	//////////	10
February	/////	5
March	//////////////	14
April	//////	6
May	/////	5
June	///////////////	15
July	/////	5
August		0
September		0
October		0
November		0
December		0

Source: Archivo Histórico del Poder Ejecutivo de Michoacán. Pasaportes.

Table 4

Michoacanos in Los Angeles 1929-1930

Name	Origin	Age	Civil Status	Occupation
Vicente Magaña	V. Guadalupe	26	S	J
Gumersindo Martínez	Puruándiro	30	M	J
Inocencio Ramírez	Yurécuaro	43	M	J
Antonio Pérez	Acuitzeramo	28	S	J
Francisco Urbina	La Piedad	50	M	J
José M. Figueroa	Tecario	36	S	J
Lauro Rodríguez	Morelia	24	M	J
José M. T. Yepiz	La Piedad	32	M	J
Refugio Duarte	V. Guadalupe	33	M	J
Tomás López	Panindícuaro	34	M	J
Juan Barrera	Acuitzeramo	37	M	J
Margarito Toledo	Marijo	43	M	J
Ramón Ixta	Etúcuaro	40	M	J
Bartolo Aguilar	Endeparacuaro	27	S	J
Marcelino Meza	Surumuato	22	S	J
Fidel Maya	Surumuato	29	S	J
Juan Ruiz	Panindícuaro	41	W	J
Inés Ramírez	Paguamo	31	M	House
Abundio Solorio	La Piedad	39	M	J
Fortino Hernández	Lerla	37	S	J
Agustín Tapia	Marijo	28	S	J
Espiridión Ochoa	Pajacuaran	35	S	J
Luis Magdaleno	Panindícuaro	30	M	J
José Solorio	Acuitzeramo	44	M	J
Moisés Reyes	V. Morelos	37	M	J
Jesús Espinoza	Purépero	25	M	J
Timoteo Blanco	Periban	39	S	J
Bernabé Maldonado	V. Hidalgo	48	M	J
Ezequiel García	Zapote	24	S	J
Gregorio Cerda	Purépero	31	M	J
Patricio Zárate	Numarán	48	M	J
Emilio Rosales	Queréndaro	42	W	J
Antonio Custodio	Tlazazalca	69	M	J
Francisco Solorio	Acuitzeramo	37	M	J
Francisco R. Fajardo	La Luz	29	S	Cook
Esteban Guzmán	Uruapan	31	S	Cook
Secundino Zavala	Tres Mezquites	48	M	J
Ponciano Pérez	Puruándiro	27	S	J
Cornelio Meza	Huaniqueo	43	S	J
David Olivares	Edo. de Mich.	29	M	J
Felipe Juárez	Coeneo	39	M	J
Tranquilino Cano	Puruándiro	28	M	J
Jesús Frausto	Puruándiro	42	M	J
Luis Magdaleno	Puruándiro	54	M	J
Antonio Robles	Queréndaro	38	M	J
Francisco Tirado	Yurécuaro	43	S	J
Genaro Arenas	Zurumuato	30	M	J
Daniel Luna	Los Reyes	25	M	J
Antonio Castillo	Tangancícuaro	26	M	Farmer
Antonio Ayala Torres	La Piedad	34	S	J
Ramón Guillén	Purépero	23	S	J
Francisco Torres	Zamora	38	M	Smith
Bonifacio Villalobos	Chilchota	26	S	Farmer

Luis Reyes	Pátzcuaro	54	M	Trader
Doroteo Espinosa	La Noria	31	M	J
Mateo Gutiérrez	S. J. de Gracia	31	M	J
Jesús Zavala	Puruándiro	23	S	J
Santos Ponce	Tierras Blancas	27	M	Farmer
José Esquivel	Ancihuácuaro	28	S	J
Andrés Chávez	Purépero	27	S	Mechanic
Tranquilino Soto	La Piedad	27	M	J
Antonio Contreras	Galeana	24	M	J
Enrique Martínez	Acuitzeramo	30	M	Worker
David Heredia	La Piedad	20	S	J
Vicente León	La Piedad	46	M	J
Eduardo García	Caurio de Guad.	30	M	J
Jesús del Río	Zamora	30	M	Railroad Work
Alberto Comparán	Tlazazalca	22	M	J
Luis Jiménez	Miraflores	21	S	Employee
Pilar Torres	Puruándiro	38	M	J
Ignacio G. Hernández	Ixtlán de los H.	27	M	J
Tomás Barajas	Tendeparacua	46	M	J
Telésforo de la Cruz	Pichátaro	29	S	J
David Campos	Puruándiro	49	M	J
Victoria Alonso	Los Reyes	31	M	House
Magdaleno Estrada	Zamora	65	M	J
Atilano Vega	Purépero	40	M	J
José Díaz	Puruándiro	37	M	J
Onésino Aguilar	Puruándiro	45	M	J
Félix Vega	Purépero	38	S	Trader
Anastasio Campos	Huipana	45	M	J
Juan Lomelí	La Piedad	53	M	J
José Cruz	La Piedad	21	S	J
María Silva	Puruándiro	50	S	House
José Coria	V. Morelos	43	M	J
María P. de López	Uruapan	42	M	House
José R. Covarrubias	Tanhuato	75	W	Farmer
María C. de Trujillo	Tanhuato	31	M	House
María R. Covarrubias	Tanhuato	28	S	House
Eligio Murillo	Coeneo	39	M	Worker
Anselmo Ordaz	Chapitiro	29	S	J
Antonio Zavala	Puruándiro	49	S	J
Margarito Manzo	Michoacán	38	M	J
Pablo Murillo	Churincio	44	M	J
Ignacio Murillo	Churincio	22	S	J
José Murillo	Churincio	19	S	J
Pablo R. Coria	V. Morelos	46	M	Farmer
Jesús Gutiérrez	Acuitzeramo	38	M	J
Delfino Andrade	Puruándiro	42	M	J
Salvador Andrade	Puruándiro	21	S	J
José Anguiano	V. Morelos	35	M	J
Octaviano Guzmán	Michoacán	36	M	J
Fidel Alejandre	Michoacán	28	S	Gardener
Benito Velázquez	Michoacán	51	M	J

Source: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Archivo Histórico. IV-103-6.
Notes: S single; M married; W widower, J journeyman.

Notes

1.- *Constitución Política del Estado de Michoacán.* 1926.

2.- L. González. 1973, p 18.

3.- L. González. 1974, p. 226.

4.- *Ibid.*, p. 252.

5.- D. Stanilawski. 1950, p. 67. L. González. 1974. Interview with Jesús Covarrubias. Montebello, Ca. November 24, 1994. Interview with Crispín Saucedo, Purépero, Mich., September 31, 1980. M. Carreras de Velasco. 1978.

6.- Stanilawski. 1950, 63-64. L. Mendieta y Nuñez. 1940. G. Aguirre Beltrán. 1952.

7.- L. González. 1979. A. Ochoa Serrano. 1997, p 79. Gallegos. 1984. Miranda Godínez. 1984. Serrano Gómez. 1943, p 35.

8.- SRE-GE,IV-103-6. A previous and smaller example in AMZ Gobernación, 1917, exp. 48.

9.- SRE-GE,IV-103-6. S. Sotelo Arévalo. 1996. I. Gallegos. 1984. R.M Becerra. 1988. Woman's social role in migration process. Manuel Gamio Collection Z-R 5, 2: 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18. The film *Mi Familia*, directed by Gregory Nava, is based on a Michoacano experience.

10.- S. Sotelo. 1996, p 29-32. . I. Gallegos. 1984. AP Información Matrimonial: Churincio, Coalcomán, Jacona, Jiquilpan, Purépero, Puruándiro, Tangancícuaro, Tlazazalca, Zamora, Zináparo.

11.- AMZ Ayuntamiento 1927, 1928 Certificates for passport applications.

12.- SRE-P and AHEE, Passports and visas records.

13.- AOS Nares Collection. Letter from Miguel Nares to Benito Nares, Los Angeles, Ca. February 28, 1940

14.- Galindo. 1943, p. 31.

15.- R. Castillo Garza. 1941. Marquez Duran, 1944, p 18 Rees. 1961. L. González. 1974.

16.- AOS Nares Collection. Letters from Miguel Nares, Los Angeles, Ca. October 9, 1950 and October 5, 1954. Previously Nares had written: quien sabe si se lleven a Raul, 19, a la guerra. July 2, 1950. Uribe de Gomez.. 1998.

17.- Programa de Michoacán. 1958 AOS Alfonso Andrade Collection 1947. L. González. 1974, p. 239.

18.- AHEE, Pasaportes 1955.

19.- AOS, Nares Collection. Letter from R. Pena Zamora to Benito Nares, Los Angeles, January 25, 1957. Interview with Cleofas Ceja, Jiquilpan July 11, 1996. Ceja, a tailor, alternated tailoring at home while working in a hotel in West Los Angeles.

CHAPTER 4

HOUSING, CLOTHING, AND FOOD

Home and house

Beyond the essential functionality of protection and shelter, home signifies a physical designation and dwellers. Home is the house and the occupants, it is the conception of a living space. Initially this space is conceived as an assembly of four walls with tiling in which dwellers placed the images of the saints or the altars. The rural house in Michoacán draws on Spaniard, African and Indigenous influences. The center of the home among the most humble, as in ancient times-- was the vent or the place of for the fire (fogón, hogar). Fire, in Spanish, is the root word for Home. Meanwhile vent was the image, the incarnation of the old god, the god of the Fire among ancient cultures in Mexico.(1)

At the end of the Cristero rebellion, Agrarian Reform was intensified in Michoacán. Several new localities were created as towns (i.e. Briseñas, Vista Hermosa), or reinforced due to the break up of estates during the agrarian reform. Socio-economic change was mainly noticeable in house construction and reconstruction. Repatriados who had returned from the United States brought resources and skills and constructed well built homes. For example, half of the number of total houses built in Cojumatlán were constructed during the 1930s. They were made of brick and tile, and measured five meter high. Forty per cent of the homes were constructed of adobe houses and were built before the 1926 Cristero revolt. Ten per cent of houses in the outskirts and rancherías were made of wood and straw, consisting of one or two huts for the bedroom and kitchen.(2)

Home improvements also took place due to economic bonanza of the Bracero program, and the governmental stimulated program of home improvement. The regions of Jacona and Jiquilpan experienced housing development as a result of construction of the Mexico-Morelia-Guadalajara highway. According to Mexican population censuses and statistics, a great improvement of housing occured throughout the 1950s. Violence decreased in rural areas and urban population increased in those years.(3)

The social and economic conditions of the house occupant determined its construction, furnishing and interior atmosphere. The houses for ejidatarios, small landowners, low level employees, artisans and several peasants' were distributed throughout the town. Although artisan were well delimited in certain small cities. Landowners, merchants, high level employees built their houses around the plaza where the church, city hall, cinema and stores stood. People from the lower level sectors of society inhabited the outskirts, and the journeymen lived in isolated rancherías. A general description of houses during the 1940s in Tanhuato, Penjamillo, and Angamacutiro follows:

Houses were made of brick walls in the downtown area. Some have roofs of vault bóveda, while others have tile roof. Floors of cement, several wide and spacious rooms, wide doors and big windows distinguish one from another. Houses have yards, orchard and a portal. Upper middle class people dwell in houses located around the plaza. Middle class people live in homes made of brick wall. Their houses consist of tile roofs and brick floors, lacking windows. A small number of families in Angamacutiro lived in hygienic and acceptable house conditions. These families had previously lived in the United States or in Mexico city. Most of the middle class houses of these towns had corrals where cows, horses or pigs were kept.

Other houses consist of adobe walls, tile roofs and dirt floors. Some homes contain only a couple of rooms while others contain only one which serves as living room, dining room and bedroom. The kitchen is always separated from the rooms, even in single room homes. Some rooms are without window or have the kitchen located inside the one main room. The kitchen has a stone blaze and the combustion fills the single or double room homes. Seed is stored in a corner of the house when harvest takes place. Furniture consists of a few chairs, some boxes for drawers and a petate mounted on wood charts which serves as a support for boxes or as a bed. House conditions in the rancherías are dismal. People live in close proximity to animals. The huts have dirt floor.(4)

Houses in the Ciénega de Chapala are adobe, brick or stone built. Houses in downtown have smoothed lime mixture or plastered walls and have doors and wooden windows. Some windows are grated. These houses have roofs made of vault or terrado. Some houses have overhang tiled roof and tapanco (attic to keep grain); as well mosaic, wooden stave, cement or brick floor. Few houses have several rooms. The kitchen is apart from the house and has a brick or mosaic vent. Some families have electric or tractolina stoves in their kitchens. Their houses also have patio, corridors and a corral. Three two story houses existed in Villamar in the 1940s.

Most of the ejidatario houses have adobe walls, tapanco and tile roofs. The room and the corridor floor is made of brick, stone or ground. The walls of the rooms are made with lime. Houses consist mainly of two rooms, with shutter windows. During the harvest, corn, wheat or chickpea is stored in a corner of the room or in the tapanco. These houses have no dining room, and the corridor is adapted for it before the rainy and winter season. The vent

is made of adobe where firewood and cobs are burned. The rising smoke infiltrates the home. These houses also have adjacent corrals.

Houses in the town outskirts and in the rancherías consist of single room homes. They are adobe or stone built. The adobe walls are recovered with a mixture of mud and manure of cow, finished with lime grout. These houses have dirt floors and tiled roofs. The tapanco stores corn and other seeds. The kitchen is located adjacent to the room. Animals are kept in nearby corrals. General speaking, the houses are overcrowded and insufficient living spaces for the occupants.

In the ranchería and outskirts of the town, poor people live in jacales, a single room huts of adobe walls, field stone walls or bamboo and reeds walls, straw roofs and dirt floor. The hut has no windows, and its door is very narrow. The kitchen is a vent of cooked mud located out of the hut, most likely under a tree. Some times the kitchen is located in the hut. This rustic house has no corral so the animals live in the open space of the hut. (5)

In the southwest and the Cotija-Purépero-Tlazazalca corridor, adobe houses are common. Houses are plastered and whitewashed, and have wood windows. The floors are made of brick. All of the houses even the most humble have tiled roofs which contains a tapanco. The more substantial homes have a patio and corral. The patio is used to hang clothes or contains a bathroom space. The corral is also a waste depository. It serves as a place to raise pigs and poultry.(6)

The typical house in the Purépecha region located in the countryside. The wealthy families have some commodities in their several room homes. The adobe houses have tejamanil overhang roof. The *tapanco* at the attic is used to store grains, and occasionally as a bedroom. Besides adobe constructions, the *troje* constitutes most of housing in the region.

It consists of a room of several thick wooden slates that can be easily dismantled. Tejamanil covers the four side pyramidal roof. The floor is half a meter high from the ground. A small portal sustained by wooden pillars protects the front with a small door attached. Sometimes the troje serves as granary and the family sleeps in the kitchen on a bed made from tables or on petates.

The poorest families, peons and journeymen use one room in which they cook, eat and sleep in. They are built of wood and adobe and the center of the room is the parangua where the oven vent is located. The floor is made of dirt. (7)

During harvest season ejidatarios have the resources to improve their homes. During the rainy season the poorly built homes are effected. Once again the amount of furniture correlates with the number of rooms. In several villages of the northwest, who can afford to do so build their own houses of brick or adobe.(8)

The return of Michoacán migrants brought resources and skills for better housing. The home improvements were reflected in the inside as well as the outside. Migrants brought modern electrical appliances. Radio sets and tv sets became part of home atmosphere. Braceros during the period of 1942 and 1964 brought manual mills, openers, can openers, phonographs, radios, record player, and others devices to Michoacán(9)

The interior decoration of homes also reflected the influence of United States culture and increased modernization and urbanization. Migrants used rugs bought in the United States to decorate the walls The rugs had pictures of horses, grand landscapes and forests. Mexican style decorations or adornments decorated Michoacanos' houses in Los Angeles. Religious icons, family photos, signs and symbols crossed both sides of the border.

The majority of the migrant workers in Los Angeles worked on the railroad and agriculture fields. Los Angeles downtown area hosted migrants who temporarily came to protegerse, a invernar. Michoacán migrants who stayed and made roots in Los Angeles occupied the areas of Maravilla and Belvedere mostly. Part of the decision to stay included purchasing a home to avoid renting perpetually. The house property also become a symbol of migrants' economic status.(10)

Home renovations in Michoacán continued in the fifties and sixties. Migrants modeled their homes after the local homes of the rich. During the 1970s California style house (using aluminum and azulejo) set the pattern for Michoacán migrants. Due to migration, real estate property values went up in several towns and small cities of the state. Currently in Michoacán migrants avoid preferencing certain styles. Instead they build their homes with the intent of giving them an expensive appearance.

Cloth and tailoring.

Clothing styles also were influenced by United States models. During the 1940s Michoacanos continued to wear calzón and camizola, faja or ceñidor, sandals, and palm and straw hats. The wide brimmed hats were useful for carrying items. Local patterns of dress continued despite the prohibition of local authorities. These prohibitions on peasant clothing date back to the Porfirio Diaz administration. Peasant workers carried an extra change of clothing when they entered cities and towns. Before 1962 sandals, Mexican shawls (rebozo) and hats were common items seen in the plazas and churches. The Catholic Concilio Vaticano II allowed women to attend services without covering their heads. After the

1960s women's use of the rebozo declined. Peasants acquired new clothing or estreno during harvest season during the hometown festival.(11)

Dramatic changes in dress occurred in the late 1920s. Some people began substituting calzón and manta shirt with suits. Overalls also became in use in the late 1920s. Michoacán migrants recount that they would take their best clothes and shoes with them to the United States. Immigration officials bathed the migrants and steamed their clothing. The migrants were also disinfected. At the end of this process the clothing and shoes were sometimes ruined. Ramona Bravo Torres de Cholico in 1928 carried a bundle of male clothing to take to her brother who resided in California.(12)

Generally most of men had two changes of clothing, work and leisure clothing. New clothes were bought each season. Mostly clothing was home tailored as in the ranchero corridor and Ciénega de Chapala region. The calzón trousers were used solely as undergarments when other clothes became adapted. Migrants acquired more clothing in the United States. In the region of Tanhuato inhabitants frequently used jeans, jackets and popelina shirts. Leather shoes began to replace the traditional sandals (kakil tejidos a mano). After the 1960s traditional style hats such as "Charro" and "Paracho" were used less frequently.(13)

Traditional clothing was maintained in the Purépecha region. Generally women went barefoot, others wore traditional boot. [1941]. Underwear consist of a ribbon of embroidered blanket from 5 to 6 meter long on which set the skirt of knitted wool 5 and 10 meters long, plisada in accordionlike form. Both underwear and skirt are tied by several embroidered bands of wool. Women wear a short sleeves shirt or guanengo and rebozos. The woolen skirt or "rollo" in black is common and the dark blue is used less frequently.

Single women wear red rollo while married women wear black rollo. Black rollo means respect to la persona. The black rollo is easier for tanning teñir. Families use the rollo as blanket in bed.(14)

The typical style dress for men consisted of shirt y calzones manta, a woolen faja, sandals, palm hat and a woolen blanket or gabán. The gabán is the most luxurous garment masculina due to its variety of adorns and brillantes colors. Several men wear jeans, dril or pana trousers and tailored shirts or camisolas. Blanket is used either day or night.(15)

Clothing also became a symbol among migrants. Flowered and colorful shirts were worn by braceros back home. A Michoacán migrant accounted in Los Angeles: Sunday was an occasion for dress up in suit, tie and good shoes. There were many retail shops specially on Broadway. Victor's Clothing Company was a frequented business as well as the Los Angeles store. New and used clothing was sold. Suits cost more than one hundred dollars and included slacks, a shirt and jacket. Shoes cost ten or fifteen dollars. Work clothing cost four or five dollars for a shirt and jeans. Cackies were also used. It is to notice that migrant women mainly worked in clothing factories in California.(16)

Michoacán at the Table.

Into the first half of this century people in rural areas still used wooden spoons or a fold piece of tortilla to eat their food. Soup was sipped directly from the bowl. Peasants who had been accustomed to sitting on have meals on the ground while eating began using tables and other furniture. Migrants in the United States acquired new food and drinking habits. For example Doña Genoveva drank raw milk while living in the rancho and had hardly accustomed to drinking pasteurized milk in Los Angeles. According to Catholic

calendar and possibilities, mostly migrant women cooked the same food as that of Michoacán. As well tortillas, Mexican vegetables and dulces mexicanos were common in Los Angeles markets. Several Michoacán migrants began eating hamburgers and seafood. However other migrants missed their traditional meals.(17)

In Michoacán, rancheros had mainly meals based on dairy products as jocoque, requesón, minguiche, panela, and meat. Ejidatarios during the harvest season had enough money to buy meat and pasta. After the harvest they began to consume the corn and beans they previously cropped. The typical meal of the peasant consists of tortillas, beans, rice, pasta and chile. When lacking beans, peasants ate tortilla and chile

> I think it's better to eat tortilla with chile
> than eating hot dogs.

Some times eggs, milk, meat supplemented peasants diet. More rarely people consume red meat or pork. In towns and rancherías close to the river people consumed fish, carpa and catfish. Fruit during particular seasons in the northwest region included guava, oranges, papayas and mangos. Sugar cane was also consumed. Vegetables and fruit were seasonal. Nuts, yams, cacahuate and other vegetables are cultivated to a lesser decree.(18)

Several towns in the Bajío Zamorano and Purépecha region had no permanent building for their markets. On Sundays vendors sold fruit and vegetables from temporary stands in the main plaza. In general the towns have grocery stores which sell food, alcohol and other miscellaneous items.(19)

Corn, beans, and wheat bread are staples in Parangaricutiro and region in general. Vegetables are infrequently consumed due to scarcity except on market days. People prefer

pork prepared in a variety of ways although beef is sometimes in demand for churipo. Fish is difficult to acquire due to transportation but dry fish is brought from rivers nearby.(20)

Food established connections and rituals among peasants as well. Braceros and migrants brought canned food and other material culture elements from the United States while tortilla and tamales became familiar on both sides of the border. Over all, the taco is one the basic food eaten in Mexico and Michoacán, in a dominant maize culture. It is also a custom and a ritual. Armida de la Vara describes the taco operation.

> Holding the "newly cooked" tortilla in the left hand, with the edge of the right hand give it a soft karate blow, without tearing it, but making a kind of a hollow where one puts frituras of beef or of buche, longaniza, sóricua, tongue, brains, cheek, ear, cracks of "stuffing chili," cheese, potato, mushrooms, flower of pumpkin or whatever. Then shaking one's hand, sprinkle quickly onion, and a hot spicy red or green sauce, with cilantro and a small amount of lettuce or cabbage. Once all these things are in the tortilla, the right hand makes a "pass" which rolls over, being careful not to tear it so that the taco remains well done. Afterwards you take it with the right hand (with the other if lefthanded) and set it comfortably between the thumb and the middle finger, pressing it a little with the index finger, while the pinkie finger lifts its "end," so that the sauce is not thrown. The grace of the taco is in the correspondence of the fingers to the structure of the same, and the form in advancing the head to give the first bite without spoiling the clothes.(19)

Notes

1.- V. M. Ortiz. 1984, p 41, 45.

2.- I. de la Cajiga. 1944. R. Hernández Valencia.1940, p 37.

3.- D. Stanilawski. 1950, p 63. Mexico.1952. Mexico. 1963. Mexico. Anuario Estadístico 1950 and 1960.

4.- Martinez de Escobar, 1946, p 35. Galindo Guarneros. 1943, pp. 21-22. J. A. Figueroa Juárez. 1944, p. 33.

5.- G. Serrano Gómez. 1943, 20-22. L. Velasco Vargas. 1945, p. 20-21. L. Meza Chávez. 1943, p. 31-32. Armostrong. 1949, 173-176.

6.- S. Castro Estrada. 1938, p. 61-62. Stanislawski. 1950.

7.- Beals. 1944. L. Mendieta y Nunez. 1940. J. Zepeda Barceló. 1940, pp. 31-32.. A. Garcia Camberos. 1941, p. 43.

8.- G. Serrano Gómez. 1943. Villamar, p 35. Armostrong. 1949, p 178. Interview with Angel Estrada, Briseñas, Michoacán, July 3, 1996, conducted by Alvaro Ochoa Serrano.

9.- Taylor, 1930. Sotelo. 1996. Sanchez. 1993. Romo.

10.- Sotelo. 1996. AOS Nares Collection. Miguel Nares to Benito Nares, Los Angeles, Ca., June 5, 1950 and July 2, 1950. Armostrong. 1949, p. 172.

11.- AMZ Justicia 1920 exhortos. Interview with Maria E. Serrano, Los Angeles, Ca. March 31, 1996. L. Velasco Vargas. 1945, p 12.

12.- Sotelo. 1996, p 29. Interview with Jesus Negrete. Atacheo, Mich. December 14, 1996. AMZ. Ayuntamiento. Zamora 27 nov 1928. Interview with Alberto Vázquez Cholico, Tangancícuaro, Mich. November 4, 1997.

13.- Interview with Jesus Negrete. Atacheo, Mich. December 14, 1996. O. Martínez de Escobar. 1946, p. 21.

14.- Garcia Camberos. 1941, p 45-46. L. Mendieta y Nunez. 1940. Interview with Marina Rico Cano. Morelia. September 29, 1997.

15.- Garcia Camberos. 1941, pp 45-46. L. Mendieta y Nunez. 1940.

16.- L. Gonzalez. 1974, p 374. Interview with Jesus Covarrubias, Montebello, Ca. November 24, 1994.

17.- Compadre García. Jesus Covarrubias. Cleofas Ceja, Jiquilpan. Gamio Collection. Z-R 5, 2:18 Fernando Hernandez, Uruapan. January 3, 1997. M. J. Vanderman. 1973.

18.- G. Serrano Gómez. 1943, p 35 Galindo Guarneros. 1943, p 29-32

19.- J.A. Figueroa Juárez. 1944, p 43. Drinking water is filltered through porous rocks. People avoid to boil the water to purify it due to adquiere otro sabor. Each ranchería has its own spring or well.

20.- Zepeda Barceló. 1940, pp. 41-43.

21.- A. de la Vara. 1985, p xxv. L. González. 1996. L. González and Armida de la Vara. 1984. Corn is used to make atole, enchiladas, pozole, sopes, toqueras, tostadas a large variaty of tacos

CHAPTER 5

LEISURE ACTIVITIES AND SYMBOLS

> Any occasion for getting together will serve, any pretext to stop the flow of time and commemorate men and events with festivals and ceremonies. We are a ritual people... Octavio Paz.

Recreation and celebration

Leisure and recreation activities in the homes and localities of Michoacán reveal a diversity of patterns of gender, age, class and ethnic patterns. The 1921-1970 censuses described Michoacán society as mainly Catholic and decreasedly rural. Religion and religious institutions played an important role among the Michoacanos, while music was central to rural cultural celebrations and activities. Leisure activities of the Michoacán rural population are responding to daily experiences, seasonal and annual cycles, and individual and community relations.

Music occurs during the celebration of marriage either among Mestizo or Indigenous people. In comparison, baptism is an equal important event that unites parents and godparents in compadrazgo bonds in extended rural family networks. However there is no music used in this ritual. The ritual which uses music is the funeral of a child. Children are socialized in schools, community and family recreational activities. Grandparents also participate in reinforcing cultural patterns for grandchildren.

Women while working at home sing Mexican songs "para sentirse a gusto" (to feel good). At weekends children had activities of leisure playing amateur sports. Baseball was popular among the male Mestizo population while basketball was preferred by Indigenous men and women. Sunday ends the workweek and marks an important day for socio-

cultural activities such as serenatas, traditional Sunday-evening band concerts, and groups of young people strolling around the plaza, or along the streets.(1)

Musical instruments, phonographs or radios create an atmosphere of relaxation after work journeys or in family parties. House parties are distinguished from fiestas in that the latter involves the community and are a significant means of building and strengthening community spirit. For example fiestas reinforced religious ritual linkages and often improved trading between cities and villages. In small villages and rancherías, several members of the family played music at home, at church festivals, fiestas and birthday parties.(2)

Seasonal and annual cycle of village fiestas mainly correspond to agricultural activities. Religious fiestas devoted to patron saints were transformed into fairs as a result of regional trade; Zacán and Peribán exemplified early these transformations in the late 18th century. These events also congregated migrants (hijos ausentes) and people from neighboring towns and rancherías. Most of the town fiestas in Michoacán take place at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the year during the harvests in the valleys. Other fiestas occurred in the temperate zone of the mountains during the rainy season. Church services, fireworks, games, music, and alcoholic beverages permeate fiestas. All the families participate in them. In addition is the opportunity to wear the "estreno" (brand new clothes worn only in the fiesta). Visitors arrived to town from several parts setting up lotteries, carrousels, booths to sell food and sodas.(3)

Before 1937 the people of San Francisco Jiquilpan used to commemorate San Francis on October 4. However, as president Lázaro Cárdenas established November 20, the anniversary of the Mexican Revolution, as the main fiesta in his hometown. It was the

most important fair in the northwest region up until 1970, when Cárdenas died. Jaripo, in the Villamar municipality, is a good example of how migration has changed the fiesta calendar. Formerly the fiesta occurred every year in February. The Virgin Guadalupe, traditionally celebrated on December 12, moved during the 1930s to the February harvest season. But due to strong seasonal migration nowadays people of Jaripo return to celebrate it in January. Sahuayo, the most important trading city in the region, celebrates Virgin Guadalupe as well.(4)

In Tanhuato, the typical fiesta of the Santo Cristo is celebrated on May 3. Local families participate on adorning streets with decorative arches. As in several town fiestas in Michoacán, people set off castillo and torito fireworks. Castillo, a survival of the former Danza of Moors and Christians, is a towerlike framework of bamboo that cause a dramatic display when lit. Apart of attending religious services, the inhabitants of the town attend the cinema, engage in dancing and sports. In Purépero, in June, it was chiefly the artisans that organized the fiesta. Several dances such as the Bakers occur. One of the characters of this dance represents the coal for the baker's oven. Another dance depicts the Reboceros, the local artisans of textile craft. (5)

Parangaricutiro celebrated the fiesta of Miraculous Christ on September 14th. It was a well known fiesta in the state before the Paricutin volcano erupted in 1943. No less than fourteen thousand people congregate every year on that and the following days. Later, south in a new settlement, this fiesta resumed in San Juan Nuevo. Prior to the fiesta bands of musicians strolled the streets playing. Booths for trading were displayed in the plaza and every available space, where

> people bargain; rebozos were the attractive merchandise. Candy from Colima, dishware made of clay, wax candles, cotton cloths, were offered at the booths. Some women sold food. However, those who did better business were the gamblers and the barmen. Also prostitutes would arrive.(6)

Other leisure activities responded to migration. After working very intensively in factories and fields in the U.S., braceros returned home-town with hundred of dollars. But migrants looked for social prestige and ways to decompress. Young braceros organized "gallos" (early a.m. street singing), drinking beer and hiring banda de música to perform. It is reflected in an account of the 1940s

> A few months later, the wealthy "northerners" were pobretones, but even so, upon the arrival of the "portentous" jukebox to town, just for the pleasure of listening to those songs that exalt the drunkard, "with his 45 gun, his courageous, his sadness, etc." they left the last cent in taverns.(7)

People in the Purépecha region started up bands (brass groups) and orchestras (música de cuerdas). Rural Mestizo people usually performed orchestras in fandangos. A capella singing occured in coamiles or ecuaros (fields), during sowing, cropping, and in work breaks. José J. Nuñez and Domínguez, a folklorist, recounts the spontaneity of peasants to tell stories and legends, and to sing ballads while working. Nuñez writes: "It is a variety of popular songs, songs that involve marvelous topics, sentimental or loving adventures."(8)

After harvesting, fiestas allowed several peasants to alternate musical activities in the villages. They would become Mariacheros, part of the big harp groups, and travel to towns and small cities. Musicians performed sones, songs, valonas and corridos. They wore costumed palm hats, red bandanns knotted to the neck, cotton blanket shirt and calzón, and a ceñidor around the waist. Mariacheros played in the taverns, in the plaza, in

the market, or they would stroll behind the customers so everybody could see them. The musical groups continued arriving concomitant with the crops of corn and of bean.(9)

Pastorela and Pastores are performed during Christmas Eve up to the Candelaria, from December 24 to February 2. Pastorela represents the peasants' view of the Christmas reenactment of the Holy Family, and it is one the older and more popular theater forms in Mexico. Charrería and Mariaches constitute other peasants' entertainment. Charros and Mariacheros had a common origin in countryside sharing both African and Spaniard influences. Herding activities, horse back riding by African descendants, Criollos and Indomestizos, and Fandangos were familiar in central Mexico since Colonial time. The charrería was created on herding by horse riders. Words as *Rodeo, jaripeo* and *herradero* are related to Charrería as work and amusement(10) Charreada, the Charro exhibition, still preserves the ranchero amusement.

However the rhythm of urban life transformed peasants' social relationships and modified rural costumes and customs of migrants. Michoacán peasants in Los Angeles adopted urban activities of leisure. Jesús Covarrubias Magaña, a ranchero from southwest Michoacán, used to ride horses and calves, circle the town plaza on Sunday watching the girls, and go hunting during the 1920s. His amusements changed in Los Angeles. He used to go around on Sundays with a "group of buddies" with whom he worked making tubs of cement. Covarrubias recalled for the 1940s: "We had good times together. There was a boy who had a car, and he drove us anywhere to have dinner, or going to dance." Saturdays were main days for men attending dancing clubs and brothels.(11)

Other Michoacán migrant accounts in 1924 concurring the patriotic parties that the Mexican colony celebrated every year at the Lincoln Park. In addition several social and

civic activities took place at Belvedere and Maravilla Park: a "Gallo" strolling the streets in the early morning, and a Serenata starting at eight p.m. at Brooklyn and MacDonald corner. A Baile Publico took place at Belvedere at eight p.m. Castillo and other fireworks set off at Lincoln Park and Belvedere at 10 p.m. Other amusements were the theater, the cinema, and sporting events. The Caballero Yurecua, from Michoacán, was matched as a boxer in late 1920s. Salvador Sotelo recalls Mexican singers, Maria Greever and political exile Adolfo de la Huerta performing at the Mexico Theater, on Main street. In Los Angeles, some friends invited him to attend services at their Baptist church.(12)

The Mariache as an identity.

Mexican peasant music has old roots in California. Music accompanied the west Mexican migrants and settled to Los Angeles. Mariacheros, Mariache performers arrived from the small cities and towns of Jalisco and Michoacán to Boyle Heights in East Los Angeles.

Mexican identity was reinforced by music. Through migration Mexican peasant music was infused and transmitted from generation to generation in a give-receive process. Dance was another west Mexican tradition that informed popular culture in Los Angeles Indian, European and African background, during three Mestizo steps in the Mariache dance in which each ethnic element conferred rhythm, flavor and color.(13) Finally, and by means of mass media, Mariache penetrated the popular cultural arena. Thus reinforcing west Mexican traditions and contributing to cultural formation in Los Angeles.

Examining the changes and continuities of this dynamic process of musical cultural infusion in Los Angeles is one aspect of the Michoacán migratory process. Understanding the

process of the Mariache diffusion, its expansion in Mexico and in southern California is revealing about the signs and symbols elaborated, accepted and shared by a significant number of Michoacán migrants.

Mariache constitutes a social context which incorporates fiesta, music, musicians, dance, dancers and spectators. Mariache was known as fandango prior to the mid nineteenth century. Fandango is a Bantu African word meaning chaos, among the Mandinga connotes an invitation to a party. Fandango and Mariache in National Mexican society include the music but also the various type of instruments used to create the music such as string, percussion or tambora and brass instruments.(14)

Initially and historically Fandangos or Mariaches were rural phenomena. Urban spectator often commented on the orchestration, tone, rhythms and costumes of the performers. In Guadalajara, Jalisco, in 1888, the residents of the city complained of an itinerant theater company who bothered them with "a noise of a worthless and ridiculous mariachi in the street, all the day long, and the tambora is heard a hundred meters far around."(15)

Mariaches were viewed by authorities as being disruptive and threatening to the populace. Authorities forbade estate owners to allow mariaches or fandangos to be performed. They were considered unsafe amusements. In Michoacán, at the beginning of the 20th Century, the local government warned prefectures to prohibit, in several small villages, estates and ranches, "particularly in those of lowlands during the rodeos and herraderos, dances which peasants denominate *mariaches* and in other places *fandangos*, to which people of rude manners concur." (16)

Frequently due to the consumption of chinguirito, tepache, charanda, mezcal or tequila tragic events occurred in Mariaches or Fandangos. Moreover, a tamborazo of Mariache –a paradoxical music of love and war--, took part in the great Mexican rebellion. Revolutions impelled people to migrate, and consequently transformed communities' cultural values. Migrants and politicians of the occident during those years appealed to the rural traditions to strengthen the Mariache presence in the cities.

In the 1920s the name Fandango is officially changed to Mariache through efforts by the government. The process of urbanization and peasant migration modified its patterns. Several Mariache musicians stayed in the countryside, others moved to the cities where they were hired by entertainment companies. Eventually Mariache music in the cities will be transformed by the mass media.(17)

Mariache music arrived to Southern Californian with migrants who proceeded from central and western Mexico. Peasant music invigorated the daily life of migrants and thus influenced identity. Traditional music was reinforced by public auditions of orquestas típicas in the Los Angeles. The use of the guitar, the phonograph and, consequently, the RCA or Columbia 78 rpm records at home reinforced such tradition as well. Migrants purchased phonographs by making small down payments. Credit facilitated migrants to purchase phonographs. While Mexicans in the U.S. decorated their homes, people in the Mexican countryside could not acquire them. However, repatriated and *braceros* transported such devices to Mexico. Migrants took to Mexican song books to the United States which reinforced reciprocal, cultural musical bonds.(18)

Beyond the border, the lyrics of Mariache were protracted in printed song books, the music in 78 rpm records; also in the rhythms performed by the orquesta típicas and

orchestras that livened up dance rooms in Southern California. Later, the Mariache musicians dressed standard charro costumes were incorporated in show business. Silvestre Vargas and his group conducted performances in a tour in Los Angeles in 1940. Other groups performing in Los Angeles included Reyes de Chapala. Full time Mariache music performers were ntegrated later. Mariache performers departed from such points as Ocotlán, the tourist center of Chapala, the old Carrillo Square in Morelia, the Market of San Juan de Dios in Guadalajara and the Garibaldi Plaza in Mexico City.(19)

Mariacheros from the Mexican countryside were also drawn to the music scene in Los Angeles. In the 1940s and even before there were Mariache performers who settled in the capital city. Street Mariache groups without tambora and frequently without harps, strolled in fair towns and barrio festivals. Musicians playing in unsafe spaces in the brothels of La Barca, Guadalajara, Morelia, Ocotlán, Tamazula, Uruapan, Zamora, Zapotlán in central and western Mexico were drawn to perform in bars taverns, restaurants and theaters. In Los Angeles workers searched for amusements in bars, saloons, dancing rooms, drive-in cinemas, theaters.(20)

In the 1950s due the accelerated industrialization, the attractive Los Angeles with million and a half people in 1940, ranked among the four top urban concentrations in the United States. Los Angeles became the first city with the largest Mexican population outside of Mexico. The city was rejuvenated by immigrants of central and western Mexico.

In Mexico, the Compañía Mexicana de Luz y Fuerza Motriz, the Eléctrica Chapala, Eléctrica Morelia, Hidroeléctrica Occidental, the Compañía del Duero, and the Compañía Hidroeléctrica Guanajuatense, provided power for the populations in central and west Mexico.

Villages and several small Michoacán localities had electricity. Electricity made possible entertainment at home, in theaters, cinemas, radio stations, and television studios.

Industrial and technical development made possible an accumulating of radio and televisions. Phonographs, radio victrolas, battery and alternate current radios continued to be brought by laborers between 1942 and 1964. However, in September of 1944, the RCA firm established stores in Mexico City, and agencies in Guadalajara and Morelia among other cities to sell and fix AM radio and television sets. 10,000 out of 42,000 requested television sets were imported to Mexico in 1950. From data acquired in the censuses of 1950 and 1960 it is known that 186,975 white and black TV sets were made in Mexico in 1965 and 373,897 sets in 1970.(21)

Television programs catered to large audience in Los Angeles and Mexico. "Así es mi tierra," was a popular radio program on Mexican music in the early 1960s. In 1965 KMEX-TV channel 34 transmitted in Spanish in Los Angeles. Channel 34 covered Los Angeles and Orange counties, the West part of San Bernardino and Riverside, and the east of the Ventura. The "Noches Tapatías" program (Guadalajara Nights) and the television novels, several of them on rural topics for example, entertained the Los Angeles television viewers. The consoles (radio record player) had demand; 72,819 sets were produced in 1965 increasing to 157,906 in 1970. On the other hand, the production of radios diminished; lowered the series from 851,068 to 668,044 due partly the previous import from U.S. that laborers made and to the amount of radios for automobiles that increased from 62.700 to 164,674.(22)

The record player or portable phonographs, registered as products Made in Mexico were counted 42.350 in 1965 and 64.294 in 1970. The production of records also increased. Still in 1950 there were 78 rpm records for phonographs and jukeboxes in fondas, restaurants,

bars and taverns; in the following years the 45 rpm 7 inches records, as well the LP 33 1/ 3 rpm 10 inches appeared; in 1958 the LP 33 1/ 3 rpm 12 inches already were in the market in Mexico City and in the whole country.(23)

During this period the countryside elite suit or imitation charro, sarape and hat costumed the Mariache performers. The rural music by means of urban arrangements is softened, sones, *ranchera* songs, corridos (Mexican ballads), malagueñas, gustos, huapangos, bolas and valonas. Due to the request of the "public," boleristas began to sing ranchera, country music, accompanied by Mariache groups in the countryside-city concerts.

Mariacheros created controversy among a variety of sectors of the Mexican population. The National Charro Association in Mexico City protested the use of Charro among Mariacheros clothes. Professional musicians complained because the ranchero music, encouraged and diffused by the media and the musical review theaters, expanded "uncontrollably." The rural Mexican popular musical tradition has old and rich roots but they argued "its current monstrous proliferation more by publicity, in which songs and music for dancing are its best allies."(24)

However, presentations and recordings cultivated "a tearful feeling or exalting boasts of machismo" but sometimes they allowed "melodies and rhythms of languid or assertive beauty". City and countryside people conserved Mexican music in dilettantes' memory, in records, and in song books. Song books became very popular in home entertainment. The Picot song book was very familiar in Michoacán and in Jalisco.(25)

Apatzingán, Chapala, Guadalajara, Morelia, Tlaquepaque and Uruapan offer spectacular presence of groups, outside of Mexico City. The appeal of Mariache music is illustrated by U.S. interest in recording the Mariache tradition. In February 1954 Sam Eskim

recorded Mariache music in Garibaldi Square, Apatzingán and Erongarícuaro; Joseph Raul Hellmer, who left deep print in the field research of folklore, undertook his study before 1956. In 1960 Charles and Martha Bogert also recorded "the street music" *in situ* in Chapala, the ancient Meca of Mariache groups. The Bogerts noted

> Mariachi bands play for money, for weddings and for fiestas. The music they make is peculiar to Mexico.(26)

In central and western Michoacán before 1960s it was common to see Mariache performers in taverns and in brothels. Also the radio stations from Morelia, Zamora and Uruapan broadcasted Mariache music. Both Radio Gallito and Radio Rancherita in Guadalajara, as well in XEW, the Voice of Latin America from Mexico City, and in KFOX, KFVD, KMTR, KGFJ, KGER and KWKW radio stations from Los Angeles aired Mexican music. Radio stations encouraged the talent contests.(27)

Commercialization of other popular forms continued in Mexico. Other musical forms such as the carceleñas, corridos and old colonial songs as charaperas or coamileras influenced musical arrangements by composers and "artistic directors" in Mexico City during the 1950s. The market opened up and the showbusiness companies profited from it. Standardization of instruments and tools also began. In the cities show business companies replaced the costumes and appearance of Mariache performers to make them more like the Ranchero elite or the old typical orchestras' costumes. Propaganda and publicity influenced in forging the Mariache symbol starting from the alteño Charro model. Meanwhile, jarabes and several sones went out of musical repertories, arrangements of few sones and songs were made (mainly adaptations and abbreviations of them due to economic and technical reasons). The recordings passed through the borders. Also cantadoras, musicians and Mariache performers

from central and west Mexico started to leave for California during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.(28)

The Padilla Sisters exemplified a typical case of such emigration of musicians to reside in California. They were part of cantores and cantadoras tradition in Michoacán involving entire families to be proficient in singing and playing cord instruments. Born in Tanhuato, Margarita and María Padilla emigrated to Los Angeles during the Cristero revolt. Steven Loza registered that both sisters

> began their musical career singing at fundraising benefits for local churches during the 1930s. Their first formal recognition came when they won first prize in a talent contest held at a park in Pico Rivera, a suburb just east of Los Angeles. Soon afterward, they appeared on the Los Angeles-based radio show of Ramón B. Arnaiz. During the Bracero program of the 1940s, the Mexican Consulate, which provided Mexican entertainment for the workers, asked the Padilla sisters to sing at the fields.(29)

Nati Cano, a performer from Guadalajara, previously played with Mariache Chapala in Mexicali. He accounted his experience in Los Angeles in 1957 working in a tavern

> a dollar a song, another dollar, another song, and if the customer wanted the same song ten times, we played the same song, and if somebody wanted a polka in order to dance, we played a polka in order to dance.(30)

The movie industry also played a role (i.e.. "The Land of the Mariachi," a Mexican movie of 1940 showing "legitimate regional songs, music and pretty women") in transforming the popular tradition. The modalities of the "artistic caravans" or variedades made their appearance in theaters, cinemas, bullfight rings in Mexico and beyond the border. In Los Angeles well known artists such as Felipe and Rosa, Hermanas Padilla, Ricardo Fierro, Adelina García, David Duval, Trío Durango, Trio Calaveras, Lalo Guerrero, Dueto Azul, Quinteto los Tequileros, Mariachi Mexico and others performed at the California, Azteca,

Mason and Maya theaters during the 1940s and 1950s. Several of them, including Rosa Michoacana, Mariachi los Reyes de Chapala and Mariachi Los Camperos performed in the 1960s at the Million Dollar Theater as well. The Mariache tradition was nourished by "variedades" in palenques in Mexico during the 1970s and in jamaicas or kermesses, barrio fiestas, school festivals, talent contests, and popular fairs.(31)

In the 1970s, the Jilguerillas of Numarán continued the Michoacan tradition chartered by Hermanas Padilla to sing at the fields of California and in Mexican fiestas. As well as Banda music became a part of Mexican musical entertainment. Los Angeles population encouraged its own Típica orchestras and Mariache groups as Mariachi San Juan, Los Camperos and Los Galleros. Other groups proceeded to come to Los Angeles such as Mariachi Jalisco, Mariachi de la Ciudad del Niño, Mariachi de Chuy López and the Mariachi Imperial of Gabriel Leyva.(32)

Furthermore, other cycle of Mariache tradition continued to be performed in the cities. Instrumentation consisted of four violins, guitarrón, harp, vihuela, guitar of six strings, trumpets, and the musicians evenly uniformed "from head to feet." The Mariache has become a significant element of identity, particularly in 5 de Mayo and 16 de Septiembre. A Mexican fiesta meant listening to homeland music. According to a bracero information, the immigration authorities came to use the Mariache music to catch undocumented Mexican workers in dances or parties during the operation wetback.(33)

Mexican women in Los Angeles while working at home played Mexican music "porque la música da energía." In Los Angeles neighborhoods weekends are days to spend time in the Mexicana alegría when the Mariache music is essential to. Daily or exceptionally Mexican people share symbols related to music. The generation of Linda

Rostandt's father enjoyed Lucha Reyes', Pedro Infante's, Jorge Negrete's, the Zaizar Brothers' or José Alfredo's songs. Popular consumption of Mariache music was evident in the 1980s.(34) The film *El Mariachi* by Chicano filmmaker Robert Rodriguez revealed meaningful significance. Mariache festivals dedicated to Santa Cecilia in Boyle Hights accrued First and Lorena Street to become a popular site to audition musicians for the Mercadito. The Mariache Plaza and the Museum of Mariache project in East Los Angeles gives testament to a peasant musical tradition that has a long historical presence which has penetrated the fibers of regional and national identity in the Mexican community of Los Angeles.

Notes

1.- L. González. 1980. Interview with Juana Serrano León, Jiquilpan, February 12, 1991. Conducted by Alvaro Ochoa Serrano. Interview with Manuel Méndez Ramírez, Jiquilpan, June 8, 1991. Misiones Culturales de la Secretaría de Educación Pública spread sports in Mexico. Migrants emphasized on practicing baseball.

2.- L. Mendieta y Nuñez. 1940, p 144-145. García. 1994, p 187.

3.- L. Velasco Vargas.1945, p 12.

4.- A. Ochoa. 1978. L. Velasco Vargas.1945, p 12. *Los Angeles Times*. February 8, 1998.

5.- . Martínez Escobar. 1946, p. 21. Stanilawski, p. 67. Arciga. 1981.

6.- C. Lumholtz.1902, II: 375-376. M. Gamio. 1930, p 217. L. Mendieta y Nuñez.1940, p 149, 163.

7.- M. Márquez Durán. 1944, 49-50. Charanda, tequila and beer were common in saloons in possession of a jukebox. Youngsters started smoking marijuana in several towns. In fact, district and local authorities complained of migrants' misconduct since the beginning of 20th century. AMZ Gobernación 1907, exp 221.

8.- L. Mendieta y Nunez. 1940. J. Nunez y Dominguez cited in A. Mejía. 1928. Interview with Juan Pérez Morfín, Nueva Italia, Mich., October 8, 1992.

9.- J. Gudiño Villanueva. 1974, p. 123-131.

10.- Ibid., p. 130-131. L. González. 1974. *Rodeo,* gathering and recounting of the livestock, place where counting the births, marking the breeding and selecting the breed destined for reproduction or for sale. *Jaripeo*. Exertion consisting in running a horse to throw the reata to the feet of the cattle. *Herradero,* place where marking the breeding with burning iron.

11.- Interview with Jesús Covarrubias, Montebello, Ca., November 24, 1994. Gamio Collection Z-R 5, 3: 12. UCB Bancroft Library.

12..- Sotelo. 1996, p 23, 33-34 *La Opinion* September 16, 1926. Gamio Collection Z-R 5, 2:8, 3:12. Popular artist Romualdo Tirado used to play El Peladito.

13.- A. Ochoa Serrano. 1994.

14.- Ibid., 1994, 79-81

15.- *El Litigante*, Guadalajara, Jal., January 10, 1888.

16.- A. Ochoa Serrano. 1994, p. 82

17.- Ibid., p 85-86. F. Toor. 1934.

18.- *La Opinion* 1930, Advertisement Section. Interview with Enrique Navarro. Los Angeles, Ca. June 1981. Conducted by Alvaro Ochoa Serrano.

19.- *La Opinión*, May 5, 1930. Salvador Sotelo. 1996. Interview with Jesús Covarrubias. Montebello, Ca., November 24, 1994.

20.- A. Ochoa Serrano. 1997, p. 162-163.

21.- INEGI. 1985,I. *La Opinion*, August 20, 1950.

22.- J. A. Lane. 1966. INEGI. 1985, I. Interview with María Vázquez, Los Angeles, Ca. May 22, 1995. Conducted by Alvaro Ochoa Serrano.

23.- INEGI. 1985, I. Interview with María Socorro Morales, vendedora de discos, Zamora, Mich., January 1994.

24.- *Revista Mexicana de Cultura*. México, November-December 1956, Num. 8: 58-59

25.- Ibid. Taylos Collection PQ7260 C6. UCB Bancroft Library. Interview with Salvador Serrano, Los Angeles, Ca.. November 25, 1995. Author's personal memories.

26.- C. and M. Bogert. 1960. Mariachi Aguilas de Chapala, Folkways Records, LP FW 8870. S. Eskim. 1954. Mariachi Music of Mexico, Cook Records, LP 5014. J. R. Hellmer. Sones of Mexico, Sung by Trio Aguilillas. Folkways Records, FW 6815

27.- *Michoacán*, Morelia, January 1954, I:3. La Opinion, May 1940.

28.- A. Ochoa Serrano. 1997, p. 167. *La Opinion*, 1930, 1940, 1950.

29.- S. Loza.1993, p. 34-35. T. Mirón. 1982. On cantadoras, see reference in M. T. García. 1994, p 187.

30.- *La Opinion*, November 21, 1993. Espectaculos.

31.- *La Opinion*, social life section from the 1930s to 1970s

32.- *La Opinion* 1960, May 5, 1970.

33.- S.R Pearlman, pp. 61-62. Interview with Enrique Navarro. Alhambra, Ca. November 21, 1981. Conducted by Alvaro Ochoa Serrano. Interview with Juana Serrano León. Jiquilpan, Mich., October 14, 1989.

34.- Interview with María E. Serrano Los Angeles, Ca. March 31, 1996. Conducted by Alvaro Ochoa Serrano

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Beneath the surface of the constant Mexican migration towards the Unites States, with its highs and lows and variable distribution, is the personal reality of the migrant. The demand for a workforce in the United States has been one of the factors of attraction. Geography undoubtedly is another factor that must be taken into account give the proximity of the two countries. The job networks established since last century between west Mexico and California, as well as old family ties continue functioning. On the other hand, the illusion of realizing a dream, the perception of a challenge among the young or to fulfill a desire of knowing other lands play a decisive role in migration. There are those in Michoacán who sell all that they to emigrate to the North.

The used statistics do not distinguish the geographic or regional origin of the Mexican migrants in the U.S. The distinctions are acknowledged by the migrant groups themselves in their social interactions and cultural manifestations. The Mexican migration has become one of the largest in the United States. Some general data used in an article by Los Angeles Times on January 1, 1998 counted more than 7 million Mexican-born people now residing in the United States, with the vast majority of Mexican migrants arriving after 1970. "Natives of Mexico outnumber the next largest immigrant group, Filipinos, by almost 6 to 1, and account for more than one-fourth of all foreign born U.S. residents."

However Mexican immigration to the United States has flowed for more than a century. Michoacanos have been present throughout this process, and have been coming

to California since the Gold Rush. California primarily, as well Texas and Mid West have been destinations for them.. A significant number of Michoacanos flowed in during the Bracero Program. Michoacanos have settled in the countryside and cities of the state. Jalisco, Michoacán and Zacatecas migrants were ranked top in Los Angeles' Mexican population. According to Mexican consulate records, Michoacanos followed after those of Jalisco in Los Angeles. A sample taken between June and December of 1992 indicates that the predominant origins of the migrants from northwest Michoacán are Jiquilpan, Zamora, Villamar, La Piedad, Purépero and Sahuayo. This information, in some ways, reaffirms the stability of these very old patterns of migration.

History and biography were both linked in this work to give account on of the lives of Michoacanos as they moved between Los Angeles and Michoacán. What was considered important was the material culture as well as the signs and symbols they shared. Michoacanos are more than a simple work force or a source of dollars sent in money orders to the homeland. Michoacán migrants create, recreate signs, and symbols that interchange reciprocally between these two disparate places where they live, in their work and in their leisure activities. Michoacán migrants are involved in a dynamic process that will continued as long as migration continues between their homeland and the land of the North.

APPENDICES

Glossary

Aftosa: hoof-and-mouth disease.
Aguardiente: "burning water". The cheapest and more inferior of distilled liquors, made from the juice of sugarcane.
Atole: a sweet gruellike corn drink.
Barrio: any one of the quarters of a town or city.
Birria: roasted calf, goat or sheep.
Cacique: a local political boss.
Calzón: the white, pajamalike cotton trousers formerly worn by Mexican peasants and artisans.
Capirotada: bread cubes dipped in batter and deep-fried, served with a cinnamon sauce and pine nuts.
Carnitas: tender pieces of fried pork, used as a filling for tacos.
Castillo: a towerlike framework of bamboo, on which an elaborated fireworks display is mounted.
Charanda: an *aguardiente* from Michoacán (a Purépecha word).
Charreada: a Charro exhibition.
Charro: the traditional Mexican horseman.
Chicharrones: cracklings; crisp bits of pork remaining after the lard is rendered.
China: a former cast system name for African descendants; girl attired in the traditional *china poblana* costume.
Chongo: a lump of sweet, cheeselike pudding, served with syrup and cinnamon
Churipo: a spicy soup based on vegetables and meat (a Purépecha word).
Compadrazgo: the bonds uniting parents and godparents.
Corrido: a traditional and typical Mexican type of narrative popular song.
Corunda: small tamal made of corn meal wrapped in cornhusks (a Purépecha word).
Criollo: a person of Spanish blood born in America.
Cristero: a member of the "Army of Christ" rebelled against the Mexican anticlerical legislation.
Ecuaro: a plot of ground cleared for planting (a Purépecha word). It is the equivalent of the Náhuatl *coamil.*
Ejido: land handed over to farmers when the large estates were broken up at the time of the Agrarian Reform. It is held in common by *ejidatarios* who have the right to use it but not to sell it.

Guitarrón: a six-string bass guitar.
Huaraches: leather sandals.
Jacal: a hut, countryside house.
Jarabe: a brisk, intricate dance perform by a couple.
Jocoque: the curd of raw milk.
Mariache: a Mexican type of strolling musical group; formerly a fandango which included a wooden board, musicians, dancers and spectators.
Metate: a rectangular mortar of pitted stone for grinding corn for tortillas.
Minguiche: curds or sour cream mixed with cheese and chiles.
Mole: a thick sauce for meat or poultry, made with chili, spices, and sometimes unsweetened chocolate.
Paisano: a person from the same town or district as oneself.
Paliacate: a bandanna.
Panela: a soft white cheese, made in small discs.
Paranguas: stones placed as base to put span and cook on (a Purépecha word)
Petate: a large straw mat.
Posadas: the traditional Christmas reenactment of the Holy Family's search for lodging, often performed by children.
Pozole: a spicy soup of pork and hominy.
Ranchera: a kind of lively "country" music, usually performed by singers accompanied by a Mariache band.
Ranchería: a cluster of houses in the country.
Ranchero: a landowner.
Rancho: rural propriety of more than 10 and less than 1,000 hectares.
Rebozo: the traditional Mexican shawl.
Requesón: a kind of cottage cheese.
Serenata: the traditional Sunday-evening band concert, with groups of young people strolling around the plaza.
Sopes: snacks made of tiny tortillas topped with refried beans, shredded cheese, and sliced radishes.
Tapanco: an attic, used for storing grain and fodder.
Tascal: a basket made of corn bulk or bamboo to keep tortillas (a Náhuatl word).
Toquera: small tortillas covered with crumbled sausage and cheese.
Torito: a figure of bamboo and paper in the shape of a bull, strung with small rockets. A man puts it over his head and shoulders and chargers through the crowd, spouting fire and scattering spectators.
Torreznos: bits of crisp bacon.

Tostadas: crisp-fried tortillas topped with refried beans, shredded cheese, ground meat, lettuce or cabbage, sliced onions, chiles, and nearly anything else.
Valona: popular songs or compositions made up of recitatives accompanied by musical chords (Arpa Grande).

Source: Luis González. 1974. Trans. John Upton.

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AHEE Archivo Histórico del Ejecutivo del Estado. 289 López Rayón Street. Morelia, Michoacán.

AMZ Municipal Archive of Zamora. 196 South Hidalgo Street. Zamora, Michoacán.

AP Parish archives in Michoacán. Churches of Atacheo, Briseñas, Churintzio, Coalcomán, Cotija, Ixtlán, Jacona, Jiquilpan, Purépero, Puruándiro, Sahuayo, Tangancícuaro, Tlazazalca, Villamar, Zináparo.

APD Porfirio Díaz Archive. Main Library. Universidad Iberoamericana. Mexico City.

LAC Mormon Temple (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints). Los Angeles, Ca. Los Angeles Census 1920.

SRE-GE Secretary of Foreign Relations. Historical Archive. SRE-P Passport Records. Plaza de Tlatelolco. Mexico City.

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