Shared Experiences: Connections Between New Mexico, México, and Los Angeles

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After the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the U.S.-Mexico border crossed sixty-thousand *nuevomexicanos* that had to make a difficult decision.[1] They could remain on their family's land, become United States citizens, and risk the possibility of violent expulsion like the *tejanos*, or they could leave their homes and repatriate to farmland in Chihuahua offered by the Mexican government. Their descendants' collective memory, shaped by historiography, is that attitudes and identities drifted apart on both sides of the border with U.S. acculturation and the Mexican Revolution. A century later, a generation of young adults migrated from rural New Mexico and México to the post-war industrial boom in Los Angeles. This article examines the migration narrative and contributes an alternate path to broaden the Latino experience by acknowledging the role of migrant U.S. citizens in a transnational kinship network. In mid-twentieth-century Los Angeles, migrants from New Mexico and México had a complex relationship but were united by shared experiences as wage laborers and intertwined kinship networks.

Histories are selective, and this work aims to recover silenced Latino migrant voices to fill a gap in historical scholarship. This article examines the reductive myth that Latino Los Angeles is an immigrant-only story. This research relies on the literature but extends the described experiences to all U.S. citizens of Mexican descent, both birth-right and treaty citizens. Another intervention challenges an assumption that migration is

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[1] José Angel Hernández, *Mexican American Colonization during the Nineteenth Century: A History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 97-134, 168. The term *nuevomexicano* (New Mexican) signifies a regional identity that is still in use today, much like *tejano*, and refers to the descendants of people living in the Spanish colony established in 1598 near Santa Fe, New Mexico.

always North across the border to recognize that migration is historically regional and circular.

Three dimensions of shared experiences are examined to intentionally break down myths that make distinctions between *nuevomexicanos*, Mexican immigrants, and their Mexican American children: neighborhoods, employment, and social life. The layered methodology includes a top-down demographic analysis of census data and a bottom-up approach to add voices and lives to the historical record using newspapers and oral interviews.

Historical Context and Historiography

To understand modern *nuevomexicano* identity requires comprehending that the people joined U.S. society "involuntarily, not as immigrants, but as a people conquered in war."[2] Historian José Angel Hernández's transnational scholarship questions the clean nation-state divisions between imagined political communities. Hernández reverses the immigrant narrative by explaining that after 1848, an estimated 25% of Mexicans in the Southwest repatriated to México.[3] Most of the migration from Texas and California was under duress, but the repatriation was voluntary in New Mexico, where Anglos remained a minority. When the Southwest changed hands, the *nuevomexicanos* who repatriated to Chihuahua left relatives, and their family networks extended transnationally.

Hernández counters the directionality of the current Latino migrant discourse, which paints U.S. citizenship as a treasure so valued that many are willing to risk death crossing North. The archival gap of *nuevomexicano* repatriates rejecting U.S. citizenship and moving South avoids tarnishing the prize and echoes the concept of silencing history as "unthinkable."[4] Diverse rationale and agency add historical complexity to the conventional

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[2] Laura E. Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2018), 2.

[3] Hernández, *Mexican American Colonization during the Nineteenth Century*, 137, 225.

[4] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press,1995), 72-107.

unidirectional immigration narrative. Some saw repatriation as an opportunity, while others feared becoming victims of the violent displacement underway in Texas and California.[5]

Historian Sara Deutsch uses the term "kinship webs" to discuss the vast geographical community along migration routes across the southwestern states and México when explaining the fluid southern border before the 1930s.[6] Hernández documents that *nuevomexicanos* recognized the fate of *tejanos* and fled south where "familial networks were better grounded."[7] This paper historicizes the regional kinship web to encompass Los Angeles as a hub where parallel migrations of *nuevomexicanos* and Mexican nationals met.

The historiography of the identity transformation in Texas and New Mexico is extensive.[8] By 1880, Anglos in Texas and California had violently run off the relatively small populations of Mexicans, but the demographic dominance of *nuevomexicanos* forced political, economic, and linguistic accommodations from incoming Anglo migrants. Charles Montgomery, Rosina Lozano, John Nieto-Phillips, Laura Gómez chronicle the evolution of *nuevomexicano* identity after Anglos arrived in significant numbers via the railroads in the 1880s.[9] The U.S. wrestled for

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[5] Hernández, *Mexican American Colonization during the Nineteenth Century*, 73, 75-77.

[6] Sara Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 153-156.

[7] Hernández, *Mexican American Colonization during the Nineteenth Century*, 73-80.

[8] A small representative sample of this literature includes the following works: Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1997). David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987). Charles Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption: Heritage, Power, and Loss on New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande* (Berkley, California: University of California Press, 2002).

[9] Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 88-89. Charles Montgomery, "Becoming 'Spanish American': Race and Rhetoric in New Mexico Politics, 1880-1928," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 20, no. 4 (2001): 69-71. Rosina Lozano, *An American Language: The History of Spanish in the United States* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018), 109. John M. Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American*

sixty years over granting statehood to a territory with a majority population that was Mexican, Catholic, and spoke Spanish. The *nuevomexicano* elites controlled enough property, the popular vote, and market power to prevent a complete conquest by Anglos. Montgomery concludes "Mexicans" of New Mexico were rebranded "Spanish-American" during the bid for statehood as an English language accommodation between Anglo and *nuevomexicano* elites in their self-serving pursuit of political and economic power.[10] Lozano uses the history of language to narrate the successful struggle by *nuevomexicanos* to become the only bilingual state admitted to the Union and the subsequent erosion of bilingualism in the twentieth century.[11] Nieto-Phillips details the political history and concludes that "Spanish American identity offers a sometimes discomforting glimpse into the making of whiteness."[12] Historians of 1880 to 1930 have used a variety of lenses to narrate how *nuevomexicanos* negotiated their identity with Anglo society to maintain legal rights, land, language, and culture.

The perspective of Laura Gómez's legal history is adopted to recenter the foundational Chicano narrative on "treaty citizens" in New Mexico as the starting point of Mexican American history. Gómez uses the term "treaty citizen" to describe the 115,000 Mexicans living in the Southwest, the majority in New Mexico, who became citizens in 1848.[13] She speaks directly of the silencing of treaty citizens in Chicano historiography, writing, "I intend this book to be an antidote to collective amnesia about the key nineteenth-century events that produced the first Mexican Americans."[14] This analysis adopts Gómez's use of "Mexican" to conform to historical use in the archive and to reflect their mestizo racial heritage.[15] The

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Identity in New Mexico, 1880s–1930s (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 135.

[10] Montgomery, "Becoming 'Spanish American,'" *Journal of American Ethnic History* 20, no. 4 (2001): 69-71.

[11] Lozano, *An American Language*, 100-110, 153-160.

[12] Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood*, 11.

[13] Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 17.

[14] Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 6.

[15] Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 13.

nuevomexicanos discussed herein are Mexicans descended from treaty citizens, and this work spurns the terms "Spanish," "Spanish American," "Hispanic," and "*hispano*" as negotiated labels of concession. Mexican national, Mexican American, and Chicano are used to distinguish citizenship explicitly. The ahistorical term Latino is purposely used to locate this transnational story within the broader hemisphere of Latin American history.

Mid-Twentieth-Century Circular Migration Into Los Angeles from New Mexico

My analysis (see Appendix, Table 1) estimates 7,000 to 11,000 *nuevomexicanos* living in Los Angeles County in 1940. The published 1940 U.S. Census reports that 59,250 people living in L.A. County were born in México.[16] Thus, in 1940 there was one *nuevomexicano* migrant for every seven Mexican immigrants. These *nuevomexicano* families would provide a stable foothold for the 1950s migrants.

During the 1950s, Northern New Mexico farming declined 67.3% in only five years.[17] The farmers could no longer compete commercially and turned to wage labor to survive. *Nuevomexicanos* lost land due to unpaid property taxes, and the young had to migrate to send money back home so their families could continue living. A 1963 Taos County Planning Commission report detailed the motives of these young adults.[18] During the 1950s, the Northern New Mexican rural population declined from 92,977 to 83,651, and with 25% of the state's population at the start of the decade, the seven northern counties only had 14% at

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[16] 1940 Census of Population: Volume 2. Characteristics of the Population. Sex, Age, Race, Nativity, Citizenship, Country of Birth of Foreign-born White, School Attendance, Years of School Completed, Employment Status, Class of Worker, Major Occupation Group, and Industry Group, Part 1, Page 564.

[17] Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *Roots of Resistance: A History of Land Tenure in New Mexico* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 124-126.

[18] "New Survey Tells Us Facts About County And Ourselves," *The Taos News*, May 16, 1963, 4.

the end of the decade.[19] Of this 11% decline, 20% were between 20 and 40 years old, while this demographic increased 86% statewide. Mora County experienced a 100% proportional increase in the 65 and older age group. Rural counties lost young adults who were migrating to find jobs.

The charts in the Appendix explore the census population statistics between 1940 and 1980 to demonstrate the population loss and age demographics. This analysis concentrates on seven Northern New Mexico counties in the historic center: Bernalillo, Santa Fe, Rio Arriba, Taos, Mora, San Miguel, and Sandoval. Bernalillo County contains Albuquerque and represents an urban center. Chart 1 compares Northern New Mexico county populations as a percentage of the state and clearly shows the shrinking rural areas. Charts 2 thru 4 use the age distribution groups reported in the U.S. Census publications to determine who was leaving. The data is normalized to the state age distribution and plotted for the twenty-year intervals 1930, 1950, and 1970. Concentrating on the working-age populations (20 to 54) of urban Bernalillo County was drawing workers into Albuquerque from the other rural counties in 1930; this continued with young adults joining older workers in 1950, and the families stabilized by 1970. Rural Taos and Rio Arriba counties track each other tightly and have a discernible U-shaped curve growing in 1950 that deepens by 1970. To summarize, these charts illustrate how working-age adults drove the population loss in rural counties and left the young children and grandparents at home.

Young adults left the farms of Northern New Mexico, and many *nuevomexicano* families were living in Los Angeles, ready to help them when they arrived. Nelson Gonzalez explained that after getting married, "we looked for work, in Santa Fe, in Taos, and there weren't any jobs available, you know. And so luckily, her sister Estefanita, the oldest one, one of the oldest in the family, she and her husband welcomed us to California. That's why we moved over there. For jobs."[20] Three trains traveled daily from Santa Fe to Los Angeles with $25 one-way tickets to travel in

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[19] Dunbar-Ortiz, *Roots of Resistance*, 124-126.

[20] Nelson Gonzales, Interview by author, El Rito, New Mexico, October 27, 2021. Audio, 6:52-7:15.

"low-cost Santa Fe chair cars."[21] It was even less expensive to travel by Greyhound bus at only $17.75 in 1951.[22]

One of the significant changes for 1950s *nuevomexicano* migrants was that it became commonplace for young adults to own a car. On September 17, 1950, two newspaper ads were looking for passengers to share the cost of gasoline to Los Angeles.[23] It is noteworthy that there were only two ads, both going to Los Angeles. Two years later, Lee's ad only cost him twenty-five cents to say he was "going to Los Angles" and "can take 3."[24] In yet another ad, a "careful driver" looking for three passengers was "driving to Los Angeles, via Rt.66" in a "large, comfortable car."[25] Passengers who did not own a car knew there were no available local jobs, and they could quickly earn enough in Los Angeles to buy one.

Shared Experiences – Neighborhoods

The *nuevomexicanos* that migrated to mid-twentieth-century Los Angeles lived in the same neighborhoods as other Latinos. By 1940, 80% of the Latino population was concentrated in East and Central Los Angeles. There was a large community in Watts, and the rest lived in diverse "scattered communities."[26] The dominant factor in choosing a neighborhood was to live close to work. Agriculture drew Mexican workers to Pasadena, El Monte, and the San Fernando Valley in the 1930s.[27] Mexican celery

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[21] Santa Fe Railway Ad, *Santa Fe New Mexican Newspaper*, October 25, 1954, 11. Santa Fe Railway Ad, *Santa Fe New Mexican Newspaper*, October 30, 1956, 21.

[22] Greyhound Bus Ad, *Santa Fe New Mexican Newspaper*, October 23, 1951, 2.

[23] "Travel Information" Want Ad, *Santa Fe New Mexican Newspaper*, September 17, 1950, 14.

[24] "Transportation" Want Ad, *Santa Fe New Mexican Newspaper*, June 19, 1952, 14.

[25] "Personals" Want Ad, *Santa Fe New Mexican Newspaper*, April 24, 1955, 21.

[26] George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 73-77, 195-201. Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (Berkeley: University of Calif. Press, 1999), 19-20.

[27] Monroy, *Rebirth*, 158.

pickers resided in Venice and Culver City in April 1936 when they joined Japanese celery workers in a major strike.[28] By the mid-1940s, the scattered communities included Culver City, Venice, and Santa Monica.[29] During the 1950s, the defense industry drew workers to Lockheed Aircraft in Burbank and Douglas Aircraft in Santa Monica, Torrance, and Long Beach.

Shortly after being discharged from the Army in 1955, twenty-three-year-old Eddie Sisneros left for Los Angeles with his cousin Adoniz Archuleta from El Rito, New Mexico. After completing his service, Eddie spent only about ten days back in El Rito. When he arrived, Adoniz had already planned to come to Los Angeles with Valentín Jaramillo "because he had the car," and Eddie decided to join them.[30] Valentín was living in Los Angeles and was back in New Mexico visiting family but, as Eddie conveyed, "what happened is that he met this girl in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and they decided to get married at that time, so me and Adoniz were out! We didn't have a ride." That would not stop them, and they took a Greyhound Bus to downtown Los Angeles. They knew their friends were living somewhere in Santa Monica so they quickly found an apartment. Their friends had cars, and while driving by, they saw them walking to work. They all moved together in apartments close to Pacific Ocean Park in Santa Monica.

Despite the 1948 Supreme Court decision *Shelley v. Kraemer* prohibiting racial housing covenants, the *nuevomexicanos* discovered they could not live just anywhere. Celia Teyechea started working at the Beverly Hilton Hotel and soon got her roommates jobs there. Celia explained they saw a "For Rent" sign on a Beverly Hills apartment, so "we stopped at this place close to the Hilton and we asked if we could see the apartments and they told us they didn't rent to Mexicans."[31] When

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[28] Monroy, *Rebirth*, 142.

[29] Anthony Foster Macías, *Mexican American Mojo: Popular Music, Dance, and Urban Culture in Los Angeles, 1935-1968* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2008), 39.

[30] Eddie Sisneros, Interview by author, Los Angeles, California, October 22, 2021. Audio, 6:13-7:37.

[31] Celia Teyechea, Interview by author, Los Angeles, California, October 22, 2021. Audio, 29:54-30:48.

asked how she processed this racist rebuff knowing she was a U.S. citizen, Celia said, "the way I felt was that we were in a high society place, Hollywood, to begin with. So I figured, maybe they don't rent to Mexicans [pause], and we are Mexican so [laughs]!" There was unquestionably a racial divide back home, but this overt racialized housing was new for *nuevomexicanos*. Celia's experience and response reveal the fragile, shifting nature of belonging. *Nuevomexicanos*, Mexican-Americans, and Mexican immigrants all suffered the same forms of discrimination.

Nelson Gonzales explained, "When we first moved there, she [Esperanza] worked for a finance company, and … she was telling me the manager had two systems of the interest they charged for loans. It was a loan company. And for the white folks, it was a different rate of interest for the Mexicans, as all Latinos were called Mexicans. If you had a Spanish name, you were called a Mexican."[32] Esperanza was very upset about the rates, and they decided that with Nelson's salary, she should quit the job and resume her college education at Cal State LA.

Unfortunately, the academic environment was not clear of racism either. Esperanza took a history class at Cal State LA and wrote a detailed term paper on an ancestor of Nelson's, a French fur trader named Jean Baptiste LaLande.[33] She invested a great deal of time researching at the Huntington Library. When the grades were posted, Esperanza saw that everyone, except her, received an "A." She met with the professor to discuss the paper, who greeted her curtly. He said, "'Well, I have a question for you.' He asked Esperanza, 'Who wrote this paper for you?' And she said, 'I wrote it!' And he said, 'No. Mexicans don't write this way.'" Esperanza did not let these negative experiences stop her, and she graduated with a degree in Mathematics while raising three children. They moved back to New Mexico in 1967, where Esperanza became a teacher and Nelson returned to Highland University to earn his Master's Degree.

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[32] Nelson Gonzales, Interview, 8:54-9:30.
[33] Nelson Gonzales, Interview, 18:56-21:08.

Shared Experiences – Wage Labor

The availability of jobs in the post-war economy of Los Angeles attracted migrants. A government report during WWII documents that over half the young men from New Mexico either joined the military or moved for defense industry jobs, mainly to California.[34] The report deals with "Spanish-speaking migrants" trained as welders, mechanics, and craftsmen in a federally funded program. During the 1950s, there were regular newspaper job advertisements for military contractors Douglas Aircraft Company and General Dynamics.[35] There were side-by-side ads in *The Albuquerque Tribune* for work in Los Angeles as diemakers, manufacturing supervisors, and production assistants. One job was even offering to pay relocation expenses.[36]

Nelson Gonzales worked at several jobs in Los Angeles as a machinist of precision aircraft parts, including Lockheed. After a week in Los Angeles, Eddie Sisneros found a job in Santa Monica with a company that finished aircraft control panels for defense contractors such as Douglas Aircraft. His cousin Adoniz retired after working decades for McDonnell-Douglas before returning to New Mexico. There were plenty of jobs, and the pay was good. After a month of walking back and forth to work, Eddie was able to afford a down payment on a car, and "that's when I got my Plymouth."[37]

Nelson Gonzales remembered he had good relations with the diverse Latinos at work. "There were a big percentage of Mexicans here. There were Cubans, Argentineans; you name it, from many different countries."[38] Nelson warmly recalled that his mentor was an expert machinist from México. Besides the *nuevomexicanos*, there were immigrants from several Latin American countries, but in the eyes of management, they were all

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[34] Charles P. Loomis, and Nellie H. Loomis, "Skilled Spanish-American War-Industry Workers from New Mexico," *Applied Anthropology* 2 (Oct.-Dec. 1942): 33–34.

[35] Employment Ad, *The Albuquerque Tribune*, November 24, 1956, 2. Employment Ad, *The Albuquerque Tribune*, June 3, 1957, 24.

[36] Employment Ad, *The Albuquerque Tribune*, June 3, 1957, 24.

[37] Eddie Sisneros, Interview, 10:29-11:15.

[38] Nelson Gonzales, Interview, 30:18-30:40.

Mexicans. "If you were Gonzalez and dark-skinned like me, you're a Mexican in their eyes."[39]

Eddie was promoted quickly and became the plant foreman. One reason for his success was smoothly moving between English and Spanish to translate for the Anglo managers. Eddie remembered his bosses never understood he was not from México, even after working with them for years. "Every year when I used to tell them at work that I was going to go on vacation to New Mexico. They would say, 'Oh, you are going to Mexico.' They wouldn't know the difference [between] México and New Mexico. You would tell them, 'No! It's New Mexico. New Mexico became a state in 1912!' And they were surprised."[40]

Shared Experiences – Social Life

Eddie worked with several Mexican nationals, including two co-workers who lived nearby that soon became good friends. Eddie was still single and fondly recalled they often went to each other's apartments to eat, drink, and play cards. Many of these young adults soon got married and began to have kids. The families typically socialized within their kinship network. Celia recalled that four families from New Mexico rotated homes to get together after church and spend the afternoon talking, making dinner, and eating together every Sunday. Couples often returned to New Mexico to get married or to attend weddings. Wedding announcements were frequent in New Mexican newspapers, and they often included *nuevomexicanos* in Los Angeles.[41] The links back to New Mexico were strong, and families made a point to visit home at least once a year. Celia explained, "I promised it to myself, OK, that I'm going to visit my mom every year on my vacation, and I'm going to take my children over there."[42]

Anthony Macías' monograph on popular culture, *Mexican American Mojo*, is one of the few works that cover the

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[39] Nelson Gonzales, Interview, 30:55-37:39.

[40] Eddie Sisneros, Interview, 35:22-35:46.

[41] "Mabel Zamora Is Betrothed," *Santa Fe New Mexican Newspaper*, May 3, 1953, 18. "Miss Sarah Baca, W.P. Kropp Wed," *The Albuquerque Journal*, December 16, 1955, 46.

[42] Celia Teyechea, Interview, 44:57-45:21.

social life of the period. Macías' primary focus is on music, but an intimate look at Los Angeles Latino culture using neighborhoods, nightclubs, and fashion is threaded throughout his cultural history. Examples of people relocating between Los Angeles, New Mexico, Texas, and México pepper the narrative and highlight the regional kinship web.[43]

Nuevomexicanos have always loved to dance. Celia Teyechea said from the time she moved to Los Angeles, "Every weekend we would go dancing … we went to Zenda's (Ballroom), which was right across from the Statler Hotel, downtown. And then we went to the Sombrero, and then we went … in Hollywood, [to] the Palladium. Oh my God! That was beautiful."[44] Macías describes all three of these "Latin dance" clubs in detail, and the dialog between his monograph and the voice of a regular dancer at the clubs paints a vivid portrait of 1950s Los Angeles.[45]

Conclusion

This work narrates the relationships between *nuevomexicano* migrant and Mexican immigrant communities in mid-twentieth-century Los Angeles to highlight their shared experiences as migrant wage laborers and chronicle their extension of the regional kinship network. They lived in the same neighborhoods, were co-workers, and socialized together. This narrative adds historical complexity and broadens the heterogeneity of the Latino experience to counter myths that drive today's Latino immigrant discourse. Bringing these Latino families into the historical record restores voices ignored by Mexican American historiography: both Chicano and *hispano*. New transnational families continue to weave the kinship web with shared experiences in the twenty-first century. Their children are the most recent extension of the regional kinship network spanning Los Angeles, New Mexico, and Mexico.

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[43] Macías, *Mexican American Mojo*, 156, 167-169, 215, 219, 233, 234.
[44] Celia Teyechea, Interview, 49:25-50:50.
[45] Macías, *Mexican American Mojo*, 232, 234. 242, 252, 260-265.

Appendix

Table 1-Estimate of Number of *Nuevomexicanos in Los Angeles County in 1940*

Surname	Total	Frequency (1:x)	Estimate
Romero	120	152	18,240
Chavez	269	116	31,204
Trujillo	59	193	11,387
Lucero	99	215	21,285
Baca	117	239	27,963
Gallegos	45	248	11,160
Virgil	6	263	1,578
Jaramillo	61	395	24,095
Archuleta	12	467	5,604
Armijo	26	649	16,874
Maestas	11	646	7,106
Padilla	67	285	19,095
Montoya	99	176	17,424
Aragon	24	466	11,184
Cordova	21	468	9,828
	1036		**15,602**
	Sum		**Mean**

Estimate #2 based on Surname Frequency (seems too high)

Estimate #3 is an Average of Estimate #1 and #2: 11, 726

Estimated Range of 7,000 to 11,000

The Ancestry.com geneology database is used to perform searches on the 1940 U.S. Census enumerator sheets.
The surnames above were selected from Nostrand's Table 1.1 of "Distinctively Hispano Surnames"
Ancestry.com search for people born in New Mexico living in Los Angeles County in 1940. The total was 18,255
Ancestry search for people born in New Mexico living in Los Angeles County in 1940 surnamed Lucero.
The total is 99 as shown in the table above.

METHOD #1: The first method was to review 50 consecutive names and count the number of Spanish surnames. Estimate #1: 7,850.
Results using 10 groups of 50 ... 21..5 on average were Spanish Surnamed =43% ... total is 7,850
METHOD #2: Determine the number of New Mexicans living in LA County by Surname.
Use the frequency of the surname in New Mexico to estimate. Estimate #2 15,602.
The frequency of names in New Mexico is provided at the following website:
https://forebears.io/united-states/new-mexico/surnames

Chart 1- Historical Population Growth: Northern New Mexican Counties as Percentage of State

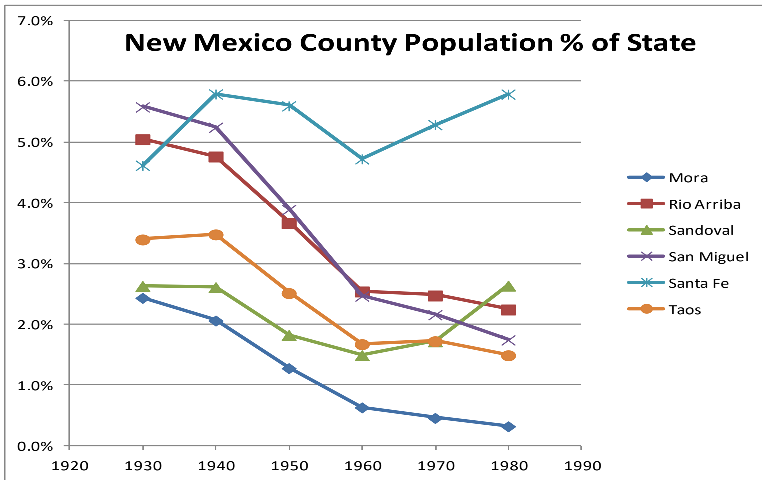

Chart 2-Age Distribution of Urban vs Rural Relative to State in 1930

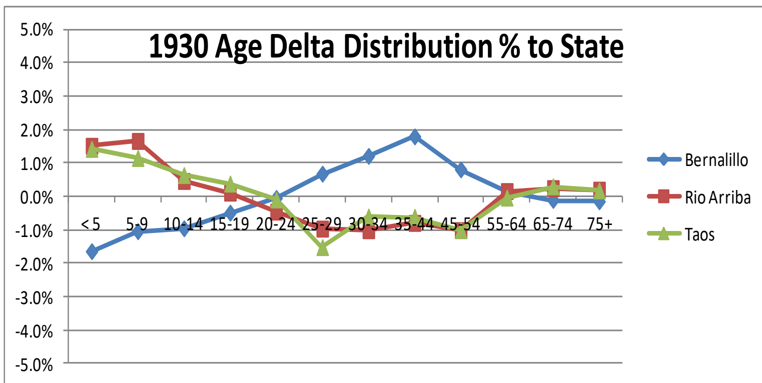

Chart 3- Age Distribution of Urban vs Rural Relative to State in 1950

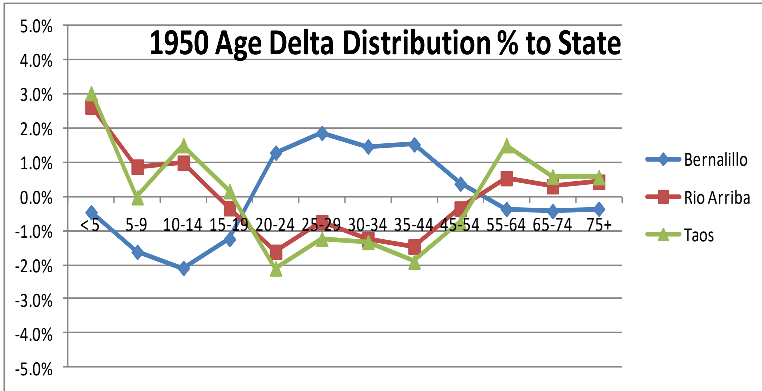

Chart 4- Age Distribution of Urban vs Rural Relative to State in 1970