

Title: Boosting the West: Using Full Count U.S. Census Data to Explore Migrant Sources and Sectoral Shift in Southern California

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Abstract: By the early 1900s, boosterism of Los Angeles and the nearby inland counties of San Bernardino and Riverside had transformed the region into one of the most populous and wealthiest areas of the United States. Scholars have analyzed the effects of boosterism on the geographic sources of Southern California's migrant population and economy, drawing on summary statistics to support their hypotheses. This paper uses full count U.S. Census data between 1870 and 1930 to reassess claims about boosterism's impacts. The paper confirms prior claims that Los Angeles' population had a lower percentage foreign-born due to boosterism's explicit aim of attracting Anglo-Saxon migrants from rural areas of the Midwest. The paper also provides a more precise timing of the Midwestern and later Southern migrant "waves" to the region, and it shows that there was geographic variation in the timing of these waves between Los Angeles and the inland counties. Finally, it argues that internal migration was pivotal to the region's sectoral shift away from agriculture, which may have begun earlier than previous studies suggested. This analysis not only refines our understanding of Southern California's demographic and economic evolution, but also highlights the underappreciated role of internal migration in reshaping regional economies beyond the agricultural sector.

1. Background

Between 1860 and 1930 Los Angeles was transformed from a small frontier town into the fifth-largest city in the United States. The impulses behind this exponential growth have been the subject of many historical studies, which have drawn from newspapers, letters, and promotional campaigns to emphasize the impact of boosterism. Historical sources were supplemented with summary statistics of the regional population to highlight the effects that boosterism had on Anglo-American settlement of Southern California.

With new advances in census record digitization, scholars have access to more detailed information on who migrated and what they did when they arrived. The Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, or IPUMS, has released digitized decennial U.S. Census records for the entire population from 1850 through 1950, except for 1890.¹ These full count data can be used to shed more light on historical themes and to aid in the analysis of areas that have been less represented by primary sources.

In this paper, I use the IPUMS full count digitized versions of U.S. Census data to reassess hypotheses about boosterism's effects on the Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and Riverside County population and economy from 1860 to 1930. The choice of 1930 as the end

¹ The 1890 individual-level records were lost to a fire in the Commerce Building in Washington D.C. in January 1921.

date of the study is made because that is when California's center of population shifted from San Francisco/Northern California to Los Angeles/Southern California.

These data provide a detailed quantitative account of Anglo-American settlement of the region. I am able to construct a more precise timing of migrant waves and their impact on the economy. For example, while several scholars have argued that an initial primary wave of Northeastern migrants into Los Angeles County was followed by influxes of Midwestern migrants, I find Midwesterners were the primary source of the county's Anglo-American settlement from the 1870s through 1910. This was also true in the inland counties (San Bernardino and Riverside) from 1870 through 1900. I find that after 1900, a larger amount of Southern-born migrants arrived in Southern California, especially the inland counties.

Regarding the region's workforce, I argue that internal migration was pivotal to the shift of the workforce from agriculture into services-based industries that started between 1880 and 1900. San Bernardino and Riverside County's workforce also transitioned out of agriculture around this time, but the process was slower than in Los Angeles. Prior to 1930, neither region (Los Angeles nor the inland counties) had a substantial manufacturing workforce base.

2. Data and Method

In this paper I use full count individual-level data released by IPUMS (Ruggles et al. 2024a; Ruggles et al. 2024b). The datasets are digitized records of individual-level entries in the original decennial U.S. Censuses, 1860-1930, excluding 1890. The datasets contain personal information about each respondent including age, sex, marital status, and birthplace, among others. I use variables in the IPUMS dataset to construct summary-level information about residents, migrants, and workers in Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and Riverside County.

A benefit of using Census data is that all areas are represented equally. Historical scholarship tends to be biased toward areas that have more primary sources – in the context of this study, that would refer to Los Angeles County. Areas represented by fewer historical archives – such as San Bernardino and Riverside County – receive less attention. Thus, the IPUMS data “level the playing field”, providing a balanced analysis of both areas.

A drawback of using the IPUMS datasets is that the analysis will be limited by what can be coded and quantified. Motivations and impressions of migrants cannot be easily captured with these data. For these reasons, it is important to limit the research questions one asks to those that can be most easily answered in a quantifiable manner.

For example, even the definition of a “migrant” must be altered to work within data constraints. Ideally, 1-year migration counts could be generated, as they are today, based on direct questions to the respondent about whether they moved in the previous year and from where. But this information is not available in the U.S. Censuses from this time: the Census did not ask if people migrated in any reference frame of time. Thus, I classify a resident of a county as an internal migrant if they reported being born in a different state. For example, if a resident of Los Angeles County in 1880 (indicated in the full count IPUMS dataset by a record's “stateicp”

and “countyicp” codes) was born in New York (indicated in the data by their “bpl” code), this person is inferred as an internal migrant.

While acknowledging the drawbacks of using the IPUMS data, it is also true that comparing residence to birthplace is an effective method of measuring internal migration and has been used in other historical studies.² For example, historians have used this method to describe the urbanization and industrialization of the Northeast in the antebellum period (Field 1978). State birthplace has also been used elsewhere to study Southern California’s migrant origins, but this work is drawn on statistical abstracts rather than individual-level data (Mirkowich 1941; Cady 2005).

Since some inferred migrants might later return to their original birthplaces (or any other state), the approach in this paper measures net rather than gross population flows. For example, if we find that 100 of an area’s migrants were born in New York state in year T and 120 in year T+10, the 20-person increase does not mean that 20 new migrants arrived in that decade. Rather, it means that the number of new migrants who arrived from New York minus the number of migrants born in New York who left the area between T and T+10 equals 20.

The IPUMS datasets also include information on a respondent’s industry of employment. The codes are based on a standardized classification system from 1950 (variable name “ind1950” from IPUMS). In addition to providing codes for specific industries (for example, code 406 is meat processing/canning, code 696 is jewelry stores, and code 806 is advertising), I separate the codes into major industrial categories such as Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate (or “FIRE”; codes 716-756), Transportation, Communication, and Utilities (codes 506-598), and so on.

In the analysis, I begin by using the industry codes to create cross tabulations of the workforce by twelve major groups: 1. Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing, and Mining; 2. Construction; 3. Durable Manufacturing; 4. Nondurable Manufacturing; 5. Transportation, Utilities, and Communication; 6. Wholesale and Retail Trade; 7. Finance, Insurance and Real Estate (FIRE); 8. Personal Services³; 9. Business and repair services; 10. Arts and entertainment services; 11. Professional services; 12. Public Administration (Public Sector).

In the final stages of analysis, I combine a person’s workforce and internal migration information. First, I look within each industry and calculate the percentage of that industry’s workforce that is an internal migrant, i.e., an industry’s “internal migrant density”. This allows me to see which industries were most affected by Anglo-American settlement.

Second, I evaluate the change in the internal migrant workforce between two decennial census years by industry group. For example, suppose there are just two industries in the economy, A and B. In year T, 800 internal migrant workers were observed in Industry A and 600

² Another strategy is to link records across censuses and classify changes in residence as a migration event. This is more feasible with the IPUMS datasets, but linking is also a laborious and error-prone process, especially if I attempt to apply it to millions of census records. Linking a sample of records to study outcomes from migration, like social mobility, is a fruitful area for future research.

³ May refer to services to private households such as maintenance staff, but more often it referred to hotels and lodging places or laundering and cleaning places.

in Industry B. Suppose in year $T+10$, 900 internal migrant workers were found in Industry A and 1,000 in B. Thus, $900-800 = 100$ new internal migrants worked in Industry A, on net; $1,000-600 = 400$ worked in Industry B. Thus, 20% of the total increase in net migrants worked in Industry A and 80% in B. These calculations imply that Industry B was an important destination for a majority of the region's new internal migrants.⁴

In summary, although quantitative data have their drawbacks, they also provide opportunities to construct more detailed estimates of regional demographic and economic change. These estimates can be used to evaluate previous findings and deepen our understanding of the historical themes. Since the data are representative of all areas of the U.S., they can also shed light on areas less represented by primary sources.

3.1 Exponential Population Growth and the Early Midwesternization of Los Angeles County

Between 1860 and 1930, Los Angeles' population grew from 11,000 to over 2.2 million. Carey McWilliams described this period in *Southern California: An Island on the Land* as "one continuous boom punctuated at intervals by major explosions" (McWilliams 1973). The major explosions refer to inflection points in Figure 1 below. They include the completion of the Southern Pacific in 1876, several real estate booms and booster campaigns in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the discovery of oil in the early 1900s, and a major real estate boom from 1921 to 1924 (Robinson 1942). Glen Gendzel identified three rushes of people to Southern California in the second half of the 1800s, all of which rivaled Northern California's Gold Rush in magnitude and impact: a "health rush", "land rush", and "citrus rush" (Gendzel 2008).

[Figure 1]

Figures 1 and 2 also show that Los Angeles' exponential growth was primarily driven by internal, rather than foreign, migration. The region's internal migrant density – the percent of the population born in another state – accelerated between 1870 and 1900, from 26.7% to 52.0% (Figure 1). The ratio of internal to foreign migrants also increased in the 1880s and 1890s (Figure 2). By 1930, there were 3.2 internal migrants for every foreign immigrant, and only 18.6% of Los Angeles County residents were foreign-born. The comparable statistic was higher in similarly-sized cities such as San Francisco (26.4% of the population was foreign-born in 1930), Chicago (Cook County, 26%), and Boston (Suffolk County, 30.7%).

[Figure 2]

It is well-known that Los Angeles elites lured migrants through booster campaigns and that they worked hard to keep out foreign immigrants (Zimmerman 1985). The campaigns were not indiscriminate. Historians have shown the campaigns targeted migrants who were economically independent (i.e., they owned land), White, Protestant, and born in the Northeast

⁴ This approach is not without weaknesses. First, if an internal migrant moves from Industry A to B, they will mistakenly register as a new migrant to B. Second, it does not tell us why (say) Sector B is more "popular" – is it because it offers higher returns than Industry A, or does Industry B offer higher economic returns in the migrants destination region than their origin?

and Midwest United States. Campaigns avoided the South and urban centers. Campaigns initially sought to attract older, affluent migrants, later turning to farmers from the Midwest (McWilliams 1973; Cady 2005).

Proving the effectiveness of the booster campaigns, Table 1 shows that a major shift in the amount and source of Los Angeles' internal migrant population occurred between 1870 and 1880. The percentage born in the South dropped from 37.9%⁵ to 23.6%, offset by increases in migrants born in the Midwest and, to a lesser extent, the Northeast. In 1880 one quarter of Los Angeles County's internal migrant population was born in one of the East North Central states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

[Table 1]

The East North Central states contributed a growing share of Los Angeles County's internal migrants until 1910, when one third of the region's migrants were born there. Starting in the 1910s, the geographic sources of the region's migrant population slowly began to shift South and West, especially from the Mountain region. Between 1910 and 1930 the proportion of internal migrants born in other Southwestern and Western states had more than doubled to 14.3%, and the proportion born in the South (especially the West South Central states of Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana) increased from 13.9% to 17.0%.

These findings differ from the canon literature on the Anglo-American settlement of Southern California in two important ways. First, several scholars have argued that the initial wave of Los Angeles migrants came from the Northeast: "moderately well-to-do people, many from urban areas and many from the eastern seaboard" (quoted in McWilliams 1946; see also Dumke 1942; Winther 1947). More recently, Cady (2005) referred to late-1800s Los Angeles as a "proto-Eastern metropolis", and Gendzel (2008) described an initial "health rush" to Southern California, sold by boosters promoting the region's Mediterranean climate as a cure for tuberculosis, attracting older, affluent Northeasterners (for the "health rush" thesis, see also Bauer 1959; Harnagel 1989).⁶

The statistics above suggest that Northeasterners may have been less influential on the region's population than previously thought, although many did likely come for health reasons. Starting in the 1870s, Midwesterners outnumbered Northeasterners. This pattern continued until 1910, when Western- and Southern-born migrants became more dominant. Northeastern-born migrants were never the dominant source of native-born settlement in the region. It is true that Northeasterners were older than the typical migrant, suggesting that many may have arrived for health reasons. Statistics show that in 1900 the average age of a Los Angeles County migrant born in a Northeastern state was 45 – 15 years older than Midwestern-born migrants.

The second way in which the results differ from the canon literature concerns the timing of the "Midwesternization" process. McWilliams (1946) argued explicitly that "[t]he second

⁵ According to Patterson (2014), the high percentage of Southerners early in Southern California's history can be attributed to migration from Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri after the Mexican-American War.

⁶ Note that Gendzel (2008) also identified a strong Midwestern wave driven by "land" and "citrus" rushes beginning in the 1880s, but the relative importance of these rushes is not clear.

great wave [of migration to Southern California], that from 1900 to 1920, was made up for the most part... of many from the rural areas in the Middle West” (pg. 209-210). According to McWilliams, the next wave started in the 1920s and was composed of “predominantly...lower middle-class elements, with the intermountain and southwestern states being heavily represented for the first time”. Cady (2005) was the first to argue that Southern migrants became a more significant source beginning in the 1910s rather than 1920s. The findings in Table 1 confirm Cady’s timing of the beginnings of “Southernization”. The percentage of migrants born in the Midwest first declined in the decade between 1910 and 1920, offset by increased in Western (Mountain Region) and Southern migrants, especially the Western South Central states that McWilliams had asserted became an important source only in the 1920s.

In summary, the exponential growth in Los Angeles County’s population between 1860 and 1930 was driven by internal, rather than foreign, migration. People primarily migrated from the Midwest between 1870 and 1910; after that, an increasing number came from the Mountain states of the West and the South. Scholars have overestimated the impact of Northeastern migrants on the region’s demographics in the last three decades of the 19th century, but many Northeasterners who did migrate were older and may have done so for health reasons.

3.2 Sectoral Change: Transition from Agriculture to a Services-Based Workforce

See Figure 3 below, which tracks the agricultural⁷ share of the workforce in Los Angeles County until 1930. Figure 3 shows that between 1860 and 1880, a majority of Los Angeles County’s workforce was employed in agriculture; it also shows that between 1880 and 1900, the composition of the workforce changed significantly. Due to the sheer increase in the workforce (from 10,500 to 55,800) the number of workers employed in agriculture increased, but the share in agriculture dropped markedly, from 52.7% to 23.2%.

[Figure 3]

The drop in the proportion working in agriculture was initially offset by increases in the transportation (5.3% to 9.2%), trade (10.1% to 16.6%), professional services (5.3% to 8.8%) and personal services (12.6% to 16.2%) industries. See Table 2. The manufacturing workforce share also increased, but at a much slower rate; durable and non-durable manufacturing combined employed about 9% of Los Angeles County’s workforce in 1900, much lower than other major cities (Davis, 1997).

[Table 2]

As capital migrated to Los Angeles County, manufacturing grew; by 1930, 18.3% of the workforce was employed in either durable or nondurable manufacturing. However, 18.3% is still a much smaller proportion than similarly-sized cities at this time. Where were workers employed instead? I find that between 1900 and 1930 white- and blue-collar service industry employment shares outpaced manufacturing significantly, “making 1920s Los Angeles the precocious forerunner of Daniel Bell’s 1960s ‘post-industrial society’” (Davis, 1997, pg. 358). In 1930, due

⁷ Note from Section 2 that the industry codes for agriculture, fishing, forestry, and mining have been grouped together. These will be referred to as “agriculture” throughout the text.

in no small part to the completion of the Port at San Pedro in 1907, one fifth of the County's workforce was employed in trade. Another 7.2% and 8.1% were employed in FIRE (Finance, Insurance and Real Estate) and professional services, respectively.

In summary, between 1880 and 1900 there was a sharp drop in the agricultural share of Los Angeles County's workforce. The drop was offset by gains in professional and blue-collar services such as trade. Eschewing traditional development models, manufacturing was never a significant sector of employment before 1930, with workforce shares trailing many similarly-sized cities in 1930.

3.3 Failure of City Elites and Promoters to Fully Achieve Workforce Objectives

The economic forces underlying Los Angeles' transition to services-based employment were pivotal, but it is also not an accident that the dramatic change in the sectoral composition of the workforce between 1880 and 1900 coincided with the first wave of internal migrants. This section explores the relationship between demographic and economic change in the county.

Recognizing natural resource endowments and capital were not sufficient for a dynamic economy, booster campaigns spearheaded by Los Angeles elites in the late-1800s and early-1900s were often designed to attract a specific kind of workforce (Zimmerman 1985; Davis 1997). Initially, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce crafted promotional materials appealing to Midwesterners skilled in commercial farming. Beginning in the early-1900s, the Chamber of Commerce worked with the City's Industrial Bureau to strengthen recruitment efforts to attract manufacturing workers.

Statistics from Table 3 suggest that city elites were only partially successful in bringing about the economic changes intended by their promotional campaigns. Between 1880 and 1900 the percentage of the workforce that was an internal migrant increased in all 12 major industries, but the largest increases were not in agriculture. In 1900, the internal migrant density of the agricultural workforce was 55.1%, up from 49.3% in 1880. Among the major Los Angeles industries in 1900, higher densities were found in FIRE (71.8%), Professional Services (also 71.8%), Construction (68.0%), and Transportation and Utilities (64.7%). Among the major industries by workforce share, the biggest changes in internal migrant density from 1880 to 1900 (final column) were in durable and nondurable manufacturing (+22.5% and +25.5% respectively), personal services (+29.3%), and trade (+19.8%).

[Table]

Data on flows of net internal migrants provide more evidence that new migrants were not attracted to agriculture or manufacturing. Table 4 analyzes net change in new internal migrants by industry between 1880 and 1900. During this period 17.3% of new net internal migrants worked in trade, more than any other industry. The next highest workforce shares of net migrant flows were agriculture (15.3%), personal services (15.3%), professional services (10.9%), and transportation (10.5%). Manufacturing (durable and non-durable) accounted for just 9.5% of the total new internal migrant workforce (4.9% and 4.6% respectively).

[Table 4]

Applying the analysis to the 1920s, Table 5 shows the major industries employing new internal migrants in this decade were Trade (20.7% of net internal migrants), personal services (11.3%), FIRE (10.0%), and professional services (9.4%). The total share of flows employed in durable and nondurable manufacturing was 16.9% - higher than in the 1880-1900 period, but not the leading industry. Agriculture declined to employing just 5.1% of all net new migrants in the 1920s.

[Table 5]

In summary, demographic forces played an important role in Los Angeles County's unique development pattern. While the Industrial Bureau recruited manufacturing workers, these efforts did not create a manufacturing-based workforce prior to 1930. Manufacturing did see a large increase in internal migrant density between 1880 and 1900, but most new migrants worked in other industries. Prior to the 1930s, trade and other blue-collar service sectors attracted a greater amount of migrants.

4.1 Demographic Change in the Inland Counties, 1860 - 1930: Southernization

Both San Bernardino County and Riverside County serve as important comparison points to Los Angeles. The comparison is natural. The "Inland Empire", as the area encompassing the two counties became known in the early 1900s, was connected to Los Angeles by rail, making it as easy to get to from other parts of the United States. San Bernardino County harbored stops along the Southern Pacific through the cities of Colton and San Bernardino in the 1870s and 1880s. In the 1880s, the competing California Southern Railroad was built northward from San Diego through the cities of Riverside and San Bernardino, among others, in a line to Barstow, California (Dumke 1994).⁸ Both the Southern Pacific and California Southern lines were linked to the Central Pacific and Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe systems respectively, helping connect the region to the rest of the United States.

The inland region played a significant role in Southern California's Anglo-American settlement history. The city of San Bernardino was one of the region's first settlements, established in 1851 by Mormons from Salt Lake City. The City of Riverside, incorporated in 1870, is the origination point of Southern California's identification with the navel orange.⁹ San Bernardino County cities such as Redlands and Ontario were notable "boom towns" of the 1887 real estate bubble and continued to thrive afterward (Dumke 1944; Gentilcore 1960). Riverside County was not established until much later in 1893 (when it broke off from San Diego County), but around that time, its citrus industry made it one of the wealthiest areas of the United States (Patterson 2014). The novel *Ramona* (1884) by Helen Hunt Jackson is argued by many to have

⁸ Dumke notes that the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe were initially sued by the Southern Pacific for crossing the latter's rail line, but that the Southern Pacific ultimately lost their case and the California Southern was permitted to be built.

⁹ The story is that citrus was not viable in California until two navel orange seeds were sent to L.C. Tibbetts of Riverside, in 1873. Tibbetts planted them with his wife Eliza; their cultivation spawned the boom in citrus (Dumke 1994). Tibbetts was one of the founders of Riverside Colony in 1870, along with Judge John W. North.

attracted thousands of migrants to Southern California, and the city of Hemet in Riverside County has hosted an annual play based on the novel for over a hundred years (Gendzel 2001).

With this history in mind, it is not surprising to learn that between 1860 and 1930 the inland counties also grew exponentially. Absolute levels of population never reached Los Angeles County's, but the areas shared similar patterns of demographic development. For example, like Los Angeles, inland counties' growth was driven by internal migration and not foreign migration. Internal migrant density in the Inland Empire rose above 50% in 1900 and remained there through 1930. In 1930, the ratio of native- to foreign-born migrants was 3.0, slightly under Los Angeles' 3.2 in the same year. See Figures 4 and 5.

[Figures 4, 5]

With a few exceptions, migrants to San Bernardino and Riverside County also came from the same parts of the United States. See Table 6. Like Los Angeles, Midwesterners were the dominant source of migrant flows after 1870, but unlike Los Angeles, this lasted only until 1900. At that point, 59.3% of the Inland Empire's migrant population was born in the Midwest, and a majority (34.4% of all migrants) from the same Eastern North Central states as found in Los Angeles. The proportion of migrants from the Midwest declined, albeit slightly, between 1900 and 1910, to 58.9%. In the same decade the percentage of migrants born in the Northeast also dropped, from 24.4% to 19.4%.

[Table 6]

The decline in Midwest- and Northeast-born migrant shares in San Bernardino and Riverside Counties was offset by gains in the Southern-born migrant share, which rose from 11.2% to 14.7% between 1900 and 1910. The Southern-born share increased further in the 1910s and 1920s; by 1930, 23.5% or close to a quarter of the Inland Empire's migrant population had been born in the South. The share of Western-born (especially Mountain-region-born) migrants also increased, from 5.2% in 1900 to 13.9% in 1930.

Many scholars have implicitly argued that Los Angeles' history is broadly equivalent to Southern California's, but the statistics above reveal important differences. The earlier Southernization of the Inland Empire suggests that Southern cultural influence in the region might be extended earlier into the 1900s, rather than starting after World War I as Cady (2005, 2006) has argued. Regarding the Midwesternization of Southern California, Section 3.1 has already shown that it began to wane in the 1910s in Los Angeles. In the Inland Empire, it began to wane in the first decade of the 1900s.

4.2 Sectoral Shift and Internal Migration in the Inland Counties

This section discusses the shift of San Bernardino and Riverside County's workforce from agriculture to services and the role internal migration played in that process. Like Los Angeles, the percentage of the inland region's workforce in agriculture attained its peak in 1880 at 58.8%, but it declined much more slowly. In 1900, 45.5% of San Bernardino and Riverside County's workforce was employed in agriculture (compared to 23.2% in Los Angeles), and in 1930, the share was 30% (compared to 8.1% in Los Angeles). See Figure 6.

[Figure 6]

Sectoral shift in the Inland Empire's workforce clearly was not as sudden as it was in Los Angeles. But the decline between 1880 and 1900 was significant and it coincided with increases in the workforce shares of two growing sectors: transportation (from 5.2% to 10.4%) and trade (7.0% to 10.4%).

Overall, Los Angeles and the Inland Empire were surprisingly similar in their workforce transitions. Like Los Angeles, the Inland Empire's workforce transitioned directly from agriculture to services, largely skipping manufacturing. By 1930, only 10.4% of Inland Empire jobs were in either durable or nondurable manufacturing. See Table 7. There were differences: less trade employment was located inland, which is expected, and lower workforce shares in most services (business, professional, and personal); these were offset by higher workforce shares in agriculture.

[Table 7]

The biggest difference in the two regions was the significance of their agricultural workforces. It is unclear exactly why the Inland Empire's workforce remained rooted in agriculture for longer, but the greater availability of land likely played a role. Historically, the citrus industry was arguably more strongly identified with the inland region, especially in Riverside, which was thought to contain over half of Southern California's citrus trees in 1882 (Patterson 2014).

The colony system of settlement, prevalent beginning in the 1860s and 1870s, might also explain the enduring significance of agricultural employment. In colony settlements, groups of families migrated and settled together, identified by a common religion or other identity. Two of the earliest colonies in Southern California were in San Bernardino (founded by a group of Mormons) and Anaheim (German families from San Francisco), and during this time many other examples arose and flourished (Winther 1953). Colony promotional organizations operating in the region included the California Immigrant Union (1869), Southern California Colony Association (1870), Cucamonga Homestead Association (1872), Slover Mountain Colony Association (1873, Colton), and the Chicago Colonization Society (1886).

Since colony settlements were more homogeneous than those found in bigger cities like Los Angeles, the political economies produced by them were centered on the middle class. An example of this can be seen in the Western San Bernardino County colonies of Etiwanda, Ontario, and Upland in the 1880s. William and George Chaffey founded these areas and sold plots of land which were joined with stock in a mutual water company. The smaller plots of land ensured a more egalitarian distribution of wealth, and the institution of joint land and water rights promoted self-sufficiency and productive agriculture (Winther 1953; Gentilcore 1960). While the success of the colony model depended on basic skills in farming and some capital to afford the land, it was not out of reach for many Midwestern farmers, and the model became a popular approach to regional economic development. The Chaffey Brothers gained international fame for their ideas and sought to apply their model to other parts of the United States and even Australia.

By promoting small-scale farming and landownership, the colony system represented an articulation of the American dream and attracted many farmers to Southern California. The Chaffey brothers' success with the model awarded them international fame; it was also adopted in other "boom cities" of the 1880s in San Bernardino County such as Redlands.

Supporting this thesis is the fact that internal migrants composed a greater percentage of the agricultural workforce in the Inland Empire than in Los Angeles. In 1900, 60% of the agricultural workforce in the inland counties was an internal migrant, compared to 55.1% in Los Angeles. Also, between 1880 and 1900, 42.0% of the net flows of new internal migrants to San Bernardino and Riverside County were employed in agriculture; the comparable statistic was 15.3% for Los Angeles County. See Table 8. Thus, the statistics clearly prove that prospective agricultural workers and farmers were more strongly drawn to the Inland Empire than Los Angeles.

[Table 8]

The attraction of landownership and farming continued, albeit at a slower rate, into the early 1900s. See Table 9, which shows that while new Inland Empire migrants had shifted their attention to trade and other service industries in the 1920s, 15.3% of new net migrants between 1920 and 1930 were still employed in agriculture; the comparable statistic Los Angeles was 5.1%.

[Table 9]

In summary, the Inland Empire's workforce mirrored Los Angeles' in the fact that both leapfrogged over manufacturing, but the former had a higher concentration of agricultural workers in 1930. The significance of agricultural employment in the Inland Empire stemmed from a combination of land availability and the historic roots of a colony-based settlement pattern which represented the American dream of land ownership, economic opportunity, and social mobility.

5. Discussion and Crystallization

Southern California experienced some of the most rapid demographic growth in United States history. Largely drawing on summary statistics and primary sources, historical scholarship has identified the themes of the region's demographic and economic change. New advances in digitization of census records help shed more light on the historical themes.

This paper qualifies some of the central theses of the scholarship on Southern California's Anglo-American settlement. First and foremost, Northeastern-born migrants were never the primary source of the region's Anglo-American settlement. Beginning in the 1870s with the completion of the Southern Pacific to Los Angeles, Midwestern-born migrants to Los Angeles County outnumbered migrants from other areas. This pattern remained until 1910; in the inland counties of San Bernardino and Riverside, it remained until 1900. Midwesternization was replaced by migration sources from the South and West, with the most notable statistic being that in 1930 one quarter of all internal migrants in San Bernardino and Riverside Counties was born in the South.

Second, internal migration was intricately linked with developments in the region's workforce. Here, the most remarkable finding is the early shift in workforce shares away from agriculture toward services. Between 1880 and 1900, the fraction of Los Angeles' workforce employed in agriculture declined considerably; a smaller but noticeable drop occurred during the same time frame in the inland counties as well.

The rise of both professional and blue-collar service employment shares in Los Angeles County, such as in trade and transportation, might not be surprising, given the completion of the San Pedro Port in 1907. However, the fact that barely 20% of the region's workforce was ever employed in manufacturing is noteworthy. It shows that the region eschewed typical economic development patterns of agriculture -> manufacturing -> services sectors, an observation that has been noted by other scholars but is still nevertheless surprising when quantified.

Third and finally, this paper provides a data-driven analysis of the "Inland Empire", which has received much less attention in the historical scholarship due to the lack of primary sources. It is hoped that these findings will encourage future scholars to study the area in great depth and sensitive to the differences between it and Los Angeles County.

Tables and Figures

	1860	1870 ¹	1880 ²	1900 ³	1910	1920	1930
Northeast	27.3	27.0	30.8	26.2	23.1	20.5	16.2
New England	10.8	10.9	12.2	8.9	6.7	5.4	4.1
Middle Atlantic	16.5	16.1	18.6	17.3	16.3	15.1	12.2
Midwest	28.6	29.8	40.7	55.7	57.1	56.2	52.5
East N. Central	16.0	16.1	25.1	33.7	34.1	32.1	26.5
West N. Central	12.6	13.7	15.7	22.0	23.0	24.1	26.1
South	40.3	37.9	23.6	12.9	13.9	14.4	17.0
South Atlantic	11.6	9.3	6.3	3.9	3.9	3.5	3.2
East S. Central	16.5	13.2	9.7	4.5	4.8	4.6	4.2
West S. Central	12.3	15.4	7.6	4.4	5.2	6.3	9.6
West	3.8	5.4	4.9	5.2	6.0	8.9	14.3
Mountain	3.6	3.7	3.2	3.6	4.5	6.8	11.0
Pacific	0.2	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.5	2.2	3.2
Total	1,859	4,062	11,207	89,304	295,247	549,452	1,322,912

^{1, 2, 3}: Lost territory to Kern County, Ventura County, and Orange County respectively
Due to rounding, percentages do not always add up to 100.
Source: Flood et al. (2023).

<u>Table 2: Industrial distribution of Los Angeles County's Workforce (%), 1880-1930</u>					
	<u>1880</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>
Agriculture + mining	52.7	23.2	13.9	11.5	8.1
Construction	4.2	7.6	11.6	8.3	9.2
Durable manufacturing	2.4	4.2	7.1	11.3	9.6
Nondurable manufacturing	3.5	4.8	6.3	8.5	8.7
Transportation + Utilities	5.28	9.2	11.4	10.0	7.7
Trade	10.11	16.6	19.5	18.4	20.0
FIRE ¹	0.70	3.9	4.6	4.5	7.2
Business and repair services	1.95	3.8	2.2	3.4	3.2
Arts and Entertainment services ²	0.21	0.7	1.0	2.9	3.4
Professional and related services	5.33	8.8	6.7	7.0	8.1
Personal services	12.62	16.2	13.9	11.3	11.6
Public sector	1.01	1.24	2.0	2.9	3.1
Total workforce	10,469	55,827	205,157	380,608	919,242

<u>Table 3: Internal Migrant Density by Industry (%), Los Angeles County, 1870, 1880, and 1900</u>				
	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>Δ1880-1900</u>
Agriculture + mining	52.9	49.3	55.1	+5.8
Construction	63.6	56.6	68.0	+11.4
Durable manufacturing	38.2	37.7	60.2	+22.5
Nondurable manufacturing	32.9	32.3	57.8	+25.5
Transportation + Utilities	54.5	56.1	64.7	+8.6
Trade	29.7	38.2	58.0	+19.8
FIRE ¹	75.0	50.7	71.8	+21.1
Business and repair services	46.5	49.0	63.5	+14.5
Arts and entertainment services	8.3	27.3	65.1	+37.8
Professional services	57.4	69.9	71.8	+1.9
Personal services	19.6	22.5	51.8	+29.3
Public sector	44.1	57.5	73.8	+16.3
¹ : Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate. Source: Flood et al. (2023).				

Table 4: Distribution of and Change in Internal Migrants by Industry, Los Angeles County, 1880-1900				
	<u>1880</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>Δ 1880-1900</u>	<u>Δ Share of Total (%)</u>
Agriculture + mining	2,723	7,118	4,395	15.3
Construction	246	2,866	2,620	9.1
Durable manufacturing	93	1,422	1,329	4.6
Nondurable manufacturing	120	1,531	1,411	4.9
Transportation + Utilities	310	3,325	3,015	10.5
Trade	404	5,379	4,975	17.3
FIRE1	37	1,549	1,512	5.3
Business and repair services	100	1,348	1,248	4.3
Arts and entertainment services	6	239	233	0.8
Professional services	390	3,515	3,125	10.9
Household services	297	4,678	4,381	15.3
Public sector	61	512	451	1.6
Total	4,787	33,482	28,695	100
<i>Notes:</i> Table shows the raw totals of internal migrants in the workforce by industry. The last column calculates the change in each industry as a share of the overall change in the internal migrant workforce. For example, there was a +4,395 increase in internal migrants working in agriculture. This amount represents $+4,395/28,695 = 0.153$ or about 15.3% of all new net internal migrants. <i>Source:</i> Flood et al. (2023).				

Table 5: Distribution of and Change in Internal Migrants by Industry, Los Angeles County, 1920-1930				
	1920	1930	Δ 1920-1930	Δ Share of Total (%)
Agriculture + mining	22,169	41,583	19,414	5.1
Construction	21,149	55,968	34,819	9.2
Durable manufacturing	28,240	59,961	31,721	8.3
Nondurable manufacturing	19,999	52,803	32,804	8.6
Transportation + Utilities	25,107	49,807	24,700	6.5
Trade	44,343	123,019	78,676	20.7
FIRE1	12,984	50,830	37,846	10.0
Business and repair services	9,267	22,242	12,975	3.4
Arts and entertainment services	7,468	21,868	14,400	3.8
Professional services	19,477	55,128	35,651	9.4
Personal services	26,263	69,406	43,143	11.3
Public sector	8,261	22,448	14,187	3.7
Total	244,727	625,063	380,336	100.0
<i>Notes:</i> Table shows the raw totals of internal migrants in the workforce by industry. The last column calculates the change in each industry as a share of the overall change in the internal migrant workforce. For example, there was a +4,395 increase in internal migrants working in agriculture. This amount represents $+4,395/28,695 = 0.153$ or about 15.3% of all new net internal migrants. <i>Source:</i> Flood et al. (2023).				

Figure 1

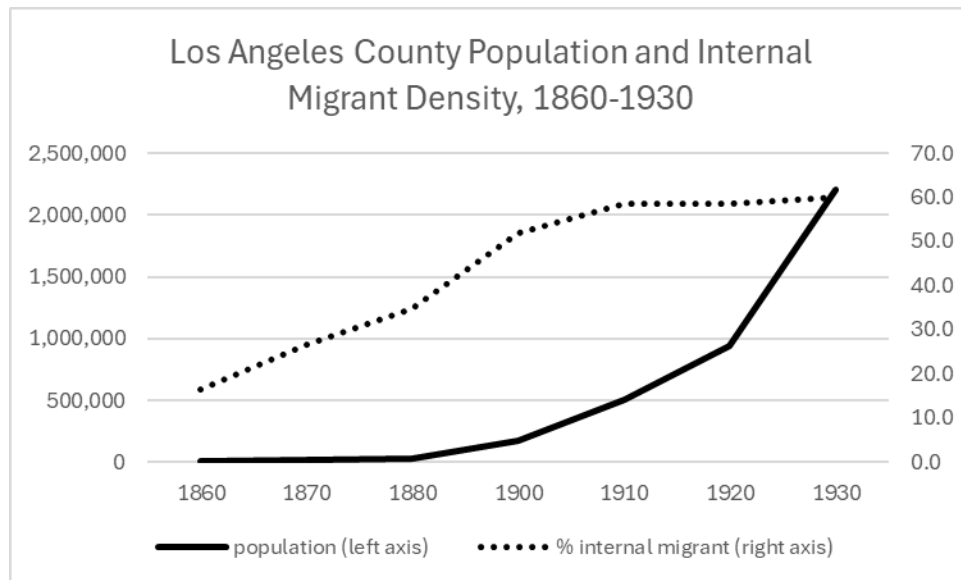


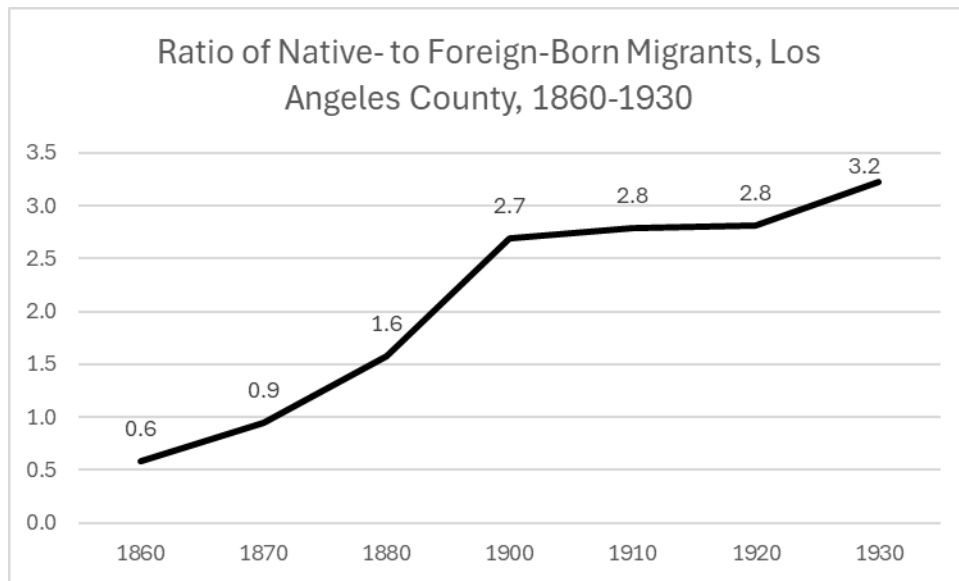
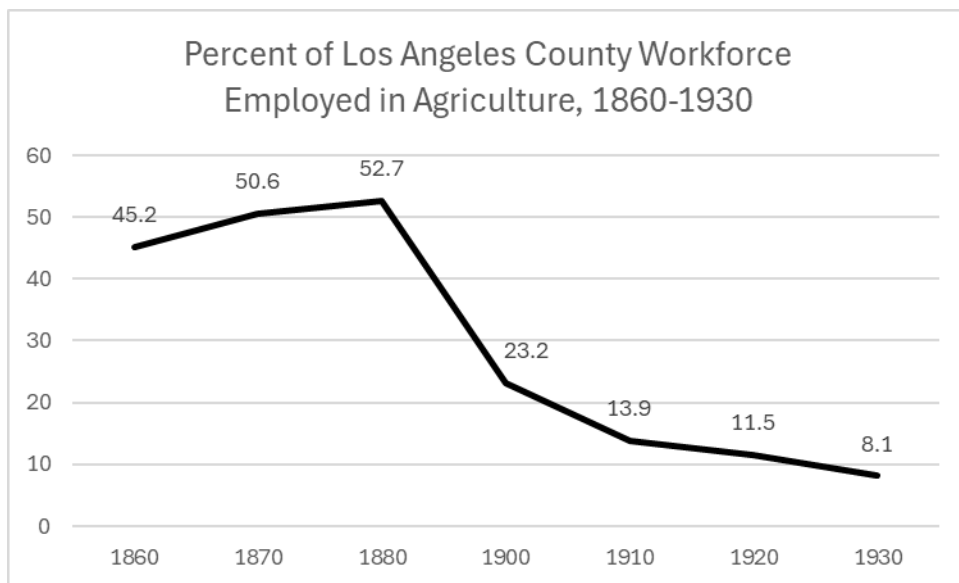
Figure 2Figure 3

Figure 4

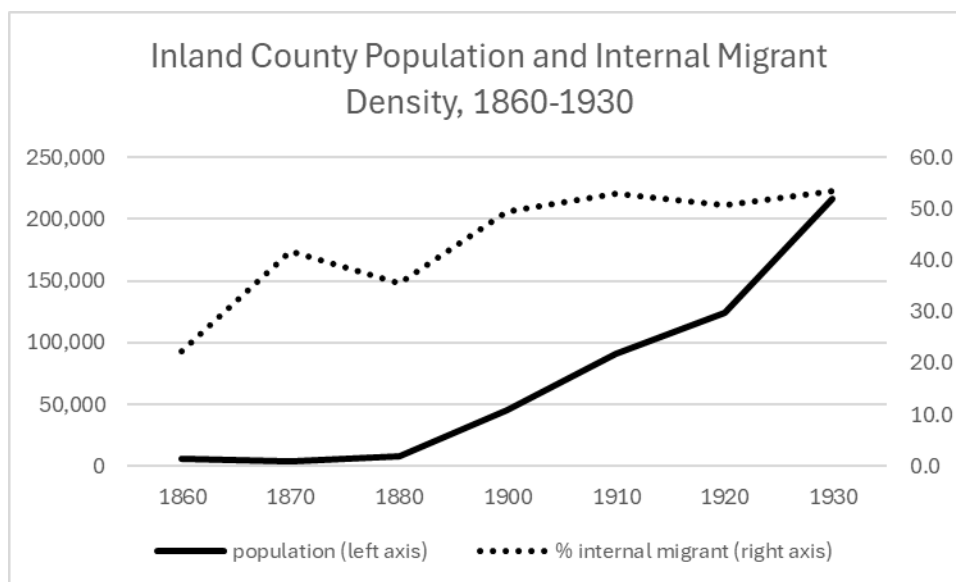


Figure 5

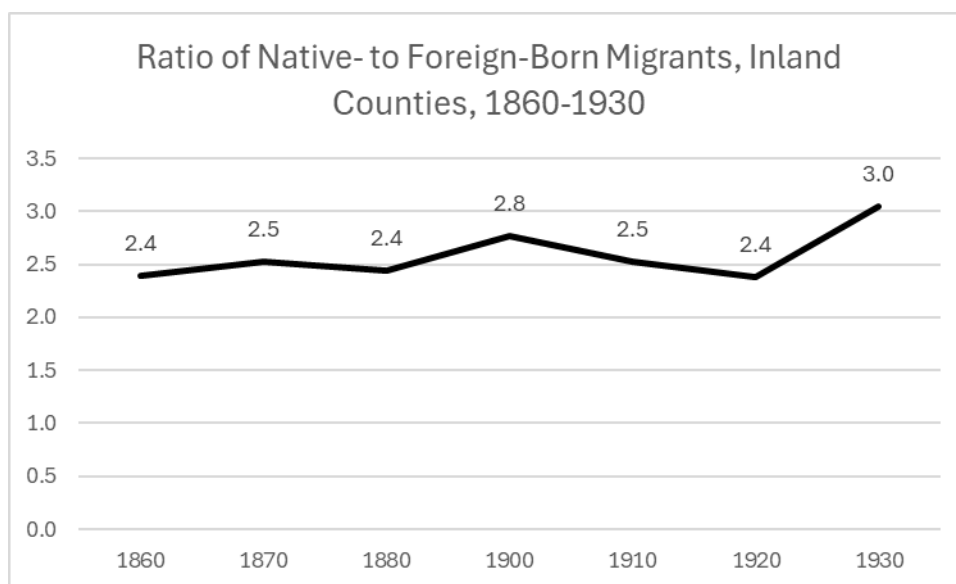


Table 6: Source of Internal Migrants to San Bernardino and Riverside Counties (%), 1860-1930							
	1860	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920	1930
Northeast	21.1	22.1	31.5	24.4	19.4	15.6	11.0
NE	5.8	4.9	14.1	9.3	6.6	4.8	3.2
MA	15.2	17.2	17.4	15.1	12.9	10.8	7.9
Midwest	37.9	34.9	40.1	59.3	58.9	56.8	51.5
ENC	24.2	18.8	24.8	34.4	32.5	29.3	22.9
WNC	13.7	16.1	15.2	24.8	26.4	27.4	28.6
South	19.9	26.0	16.3	11.2	14.7	18.7	23.5
SA	6.3	5.8	4.3	3.7	3.6	3.4	3.1
ESC	10.2	10.7	7.9	3.9	5.2	5.4	5.5
WSC	3.4	9.5	4.2	3.7	6.0	9.8	15.0
West	21.1	17.0	12.2	5.2	6.9	9.0	13.9
MTN	21.1	15.8	10.8	3.8	5.2	6.9	11.4
PAC	---	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.7	2.1	2.6
Total	1,234	1,667	2,799	22,522	48,456	62,719	115,280

Table 7: Industrial distribution of Inland Counties' Workforce (%), 1880-1930					
	1880	1900	1910	1920	1930
Agriculture + mining	58.8	45.5	37.0	36.5	30.2
Construction	4.7	5.9	7.9	4.7	7.7
Durable manufacturing	3.2	3.6	5.5	5.0	5.4
Nondurable manufacturing	2.9	2.6	4.2	5.6	5.0
Transportation + Utilities	5.2	10.4	13.9	16.8	11.4
Trade	7.0	10.4	11.9	10.7	14.5
FIRE ¹	0.7	1.3	1.6	1.7	2.8
Business and repair services	2.0	2.7	1.7	2.5	2.3
Arts and Entertainment services ²	0.3	0.2	0.9	0.6	0.8
Professional and related services	5.0	6.1	5.2	6.1	8.9
Personal services	9.7	10.1	8.9	6.9	8.2
Public sector	0.5	1.3	1.3	2.9	3.0
Total workforce	10,469	55,827	205,157	380,608	919,242

Figure 6

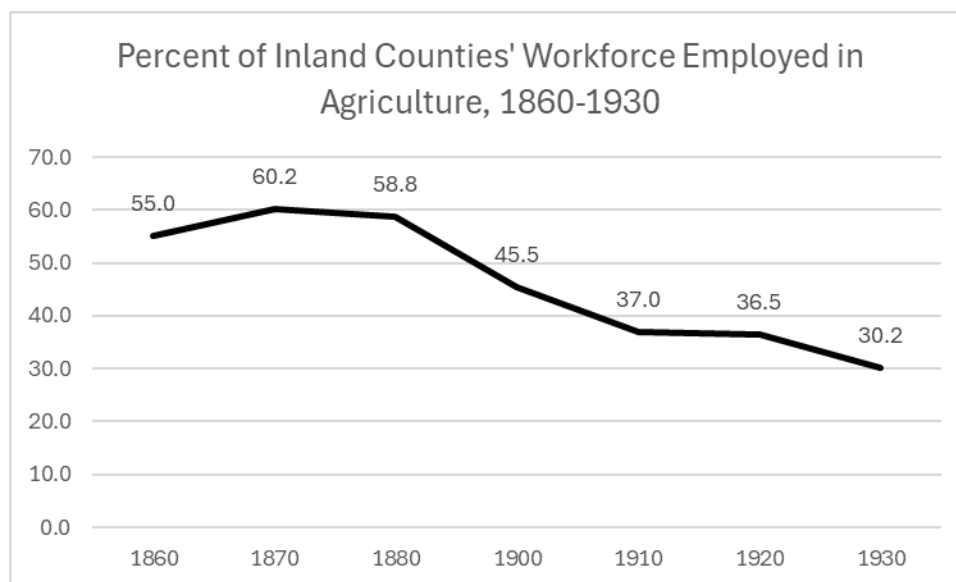


Table 8: Distribution of and Change in Internal Migrants by Industry, Inland Counties, 1880-1900

	<u>1880</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>Δ 1880-1900</u>	<u>Δ Share of Total (%)</u>
Agriculture + mining	783	3,845	3,062	42.0
Construction	76	582	506	6.9
Durable manufacturing	36	294	258	3.5
Nondurable manufacturing	39	237	198	2.7
Transportation + Utilities	71	866	795	10.9
Trade	92	931	839	11.5
FIRE ¹	12	142	130	1.8
Business and repair services	23	245	222	3.0
Arts and entertainment services	0	12	12	0.2
Professional services	104	631	527	7.2
Personal services	80	707	627	8.6
Public sector	10	124	114	1.6
Total	1,326	8,616	7,290	100.0

Notes: Table shows the raw totals of internal migrants in the workforce by industry. The last column calculates the change in each industry as a share of the overall change in the internal migrant workforce. For example, there was a +4,395 increase in internal migrants working in agriculture. This amount represents $+4,395/28,695 = 0.153$ or about 15.3% of all new net internal migrants.

Source: Flood et al. (2023).

Table 9: Distribution of and Change in Internal Migrants by Industry, Inland Counties, 1920-1930

	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>Δ 1920-1930</u>	<u>Δ Share of Total (%)</u>
Agriculture + mining	9,150	13,116	3,966	15.9
Construction	1,392	4,548	3,156	12.6
Durable manufacturing	1,472	2,721	1,249	5.0
Nondurable manufacturing	1,581	2,805	1,224	4.9
Transportation + Utilities	4,268	5,805	1,537	6.2
Trade	3,301	8,534	5,233	21.0
FIRE1	631	1,787	1,156	4.6
Business and repair services	803	1,398	595	2.4
Arts and entertainment services	172	423	251	1.0
Professional services	2,061	5,147	3,086	12.4
Personal services	2,040	4,647	2,607	10.4
Public sector	1,006	1,917	911	3.6
Total	27,877	52,848	24,971	100.0

Notes: Table shows the raw totals of internal migrants in the workforce by industry. The last column calculates the change in each industry as a share of the overall change in the internal migrant workforce. For example, there was a +4,395 increase in internal migrants working in agriculture. This amount represents $+4,395/28,695 = 0.153$ or about 15.3% of all new net internal migrants.

Source: Flood et al. (2023).

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