

A Look at Race and Ethnicity in Colorado (1860-2005): Census Definitions and Data

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INTRODUCTION

Current population estimates from the U.S. Census show that Colorado's minority populations continue to increase their share of the total population. Among them, Hispanics continue to grow as the state's largest racial or ethnic minority group. Census 2000 figures showed that Hispanics made up 17.1 percent of the population, followed by African Americans, who made up 3.8 percent.¹ Recently released figures from the Census Bureau's American Community Survey show that in 2005, Colorado's household population was 19.5 percent Hispanic and 3.6 percent African American.² The Census Bureau currently considers Hispanics to be an ethnic group rather than a race, so individuals are either Hispanic or not and can be of any one race or combination of races.

Currently, the groups include six racial categories (White, Black or African-American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, and Some Other Race) and one ethnic category (Hispanic or Latino). However, statistics from 1970 and earlier can be confusing and frustrating, and attempts to show growth trends for certain racial and ethnic groups can quickly fall apart. In 1970, for instance, there were a variety of tables and reports with data on the number of persons of Spanish ancestry, Spanish origin, Spanish surname, Spanish language, and Spanish language or Spanish surname, all of which show different totals for the state of Colorado.

This article examines racial and ethnic categories used by the Census Bureau since the first

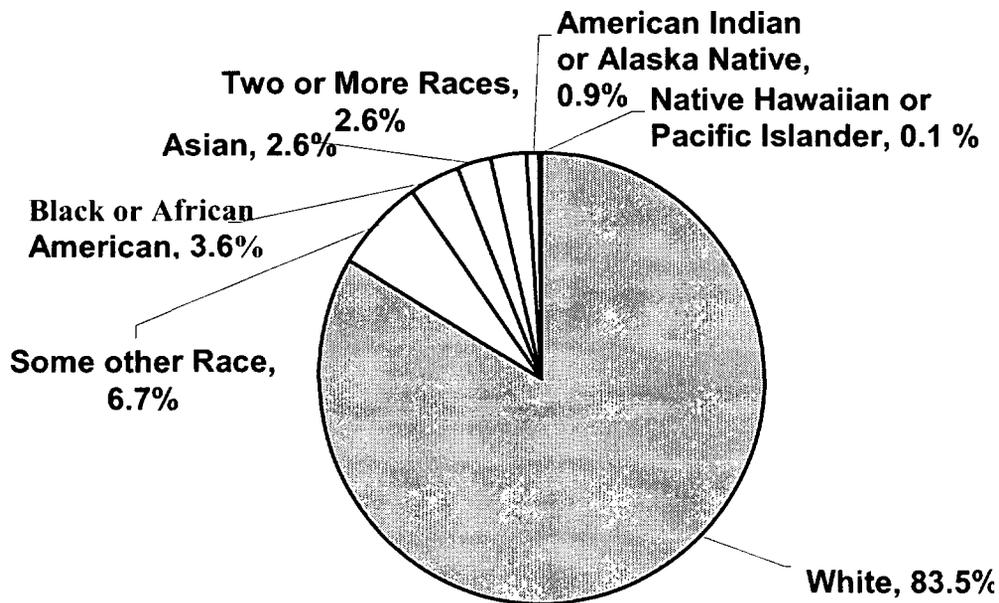


Figure 1. Colorado Racial Makeup, 2005. (Source: American Community Survey (Population in Households))

On the whole, Colorado is becoming more diverse. Although a large majority of the population of Colorado consists of non-Hispanic Whites, that majority is shrinking, dropping from 74.5 percent in 2000 to 71.0 percent in 2005.³

Finding current and recent Census data to illustrate Colorado's racial and ethnic makeup is simple. Since 1980, through the decennial censuses and now with the American Community Survey, the Census Bureau has gathered data and reported on essentially the same broad racial and ethnic groups.

decennial census taken in 1790 and will focus on data for Colorado from the 1860 Census to the present. It attempts to fit the various categories and labels used throughout into current Census Bureau race and ethnic groups. The difficulty of using the decennial censuses to follow growth trends in population groups will become evident through an analysis of the continuous evolution of the Census Bureau's definition and understanding of race and ethnic

groups.

THE CENSUS AND THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

The United States Constitution lays out the method by which the House of Representatives is apportioned:

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct.⁴

holds were included on the census schedules. The first census was taken under the direction of George Washington by marshals who returned the results to the President. Between 1800 and 1840, under the direction of the Secretary of State, households were again enumerated by marshals who then transmitted their returns to the Secretary of State rather than to the President.

Following the mandate of Article 1, Section 2 of the Constitution, the 1790, 1800, and 1810 Censuses enumerated free White persons, all other free persons excluding Indians not taxed, and the slave population. The censuses of 1820, 1830, and 1840 added a category for free Colored persons.

SEVENTH CENSUS (1850)

Beginning in 1850, the census was directed by the Interior Department, which was established a year earlier. It continued to direct the census through 1900. For the first time the individual, rather than the household, became the unit of enumeration. Two census schedules were used. Schedule 1, for free inhabitants, listed the name of every free

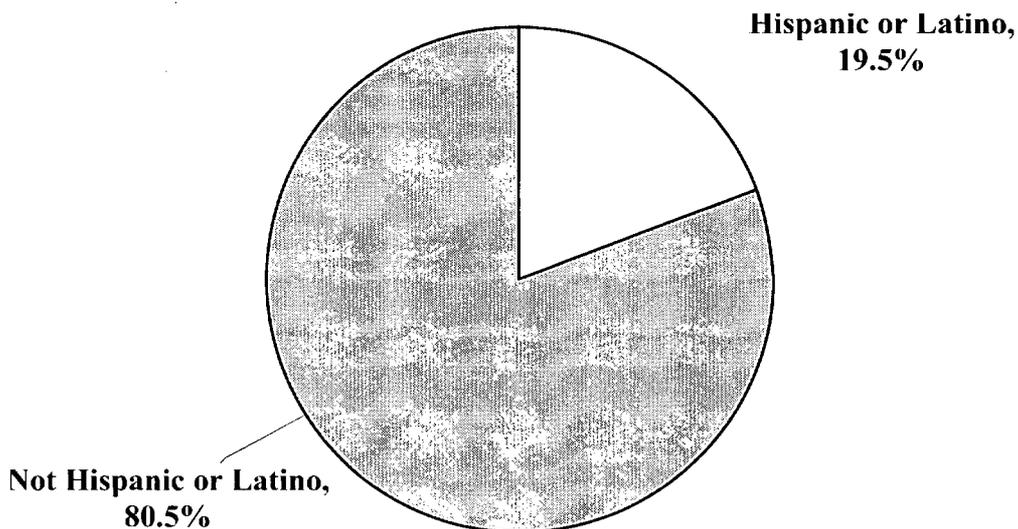


Figure 2. Colorado Ethnic Makeup, 2005. (Source: American Community Survey (Population in Households))

The “three fifths of all other Persons” clause was included in the section as a result of the “three-fifths compromise” between Northern and Southern delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 trying to determine representation in the House of Representatives.

FIRST THROUGH SIXTH CENSUSES (1790-1840)

The first six censuses (1790 – 1840) constitute the first phase of census taking by the United States government. The unit of enumeration was the household and only the names of heads of house

person and included a Color column, under which the enumerator would note B for Black and M for Mulatto. The column was left blank if the person was White. Schedule 2, for slave inhabitants, listed the names of the slave owners and also included a Color column under which the color of every slave, B for Black and M for Mulatto, was noted.

Although the census questionnaire did not inquire about the Indian population, the 1850 census did include a report on the Indian population of the United States. The one page report, “Indian Statistics of the United States – 1789, 1825, 1853” contains

estimates of Indian tribal populations not included in any census enumerations. The information, compiled by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at the request of the Superintendent of the Census, was extracted from *American State Papers* documents and Indian Office reports.⁵

EIGHTH CENSUS (1860)

On February 28, 1861, Colorado became a territory of the United States. A report in the Ninth Census (1870) includes the following:

Colorado – By Act of February 28, 1861, formed as a Territory with an area of 104,500 square miles consisting – 1st, of 14,000 square miles from the Territory of New Mexico; 2nd, of 29,500 square miles from the Territory of Utah; 3rd, of 16,035 square miles from the original Territory of Nebraska; and 4th, of 44,965 square miles from the Territory of Kansas.⁶

The 1860 Census again included two schedules, one for free inhabitants and one for slave inhabitants. Data on color was collected in the same manner as in 1850. Enumerators were to leave the column blank for White persons and mark B or M for Black or Mulatto persons. Census marshals were also asked to determine the status of Indian persons. If the marshal concluded that the person “had renounced tribal rule and exercised the rights of a citizen” the notation “Ind.” was made next to the name and that person was counted in the total population.⁷ 1860 Census reports include detailed data on the Indian population for some states and two

recapitulations for the states and territories. The first recapitulation includes data on those Indians included in the enumeration, and the second includes estimates of Indians “retaining their tribal character”.⁸ Although Colorado did not become a territory until 1861, 1860 Census reports, published in 1864, include data for the Territory of Colorado. Data is reported on the number of Whites, free Blacks, and free Mulattos. No Indians were counted in the enumerations but there was an estimated 6,000 Indians retaining their tribal character.

NINTH CENSUS (1870)

The Thirteenth Amendment (1865) abolished slavery, and the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) repealed the three-fifths compromise, which was written in to Article 1, Section 2 of the Constitution. Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment states:

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the

whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.⁹

As a result, the Census dropped labels such as free persons, free colored, or slaves. The 1870 Census questionnaire, used to enumerate all persons, included a Color column, under which enumerators were instructed to note W (White), B (Black), M (Mulatto), C (Chinese), or I (Indian). In reporting Mulattoes, enumerators were told to be “particularly careful” and that the “word is here generic, and includes quadroons, octoroons, and all persons having any perceptible trace of African blood.”¹⁰ In some states, enumerators had already begun to note Japanese persons.

The Census, which had determined that “Indians not taxed” referred to those maintaining their tribal relations and living on government reservations, began to question the methods of determining the status of a person of mixed parentage. The Superintendent of the Census, in his report of the Ninth Census, asks of such persons:

How shall these be treated? Shall they be regarded as following the condition of the father or of the mother? Or, again, shall they be classified with respect to the superior or to the inferior blood?¹¹

He then states how the status of Indians was determined in the 1870 census:

Where persons reported as “Half-breeds” are found residing with Whites, adopting their habits of life and methods of industry, such persons are to be treated as belonging to the White population. Where, on the other hand, they are found in communities composed wholly or mainly of Indians, the opposite construction is taken. In a word, in the

equilibrium produced by the equal division of blood, the habits, tastes, and associations of the half-breed are allowed to determine his gravitation to the one class or the other."¹²

For the Territory of Colorado, 1870 Census reports include data on Whites, Colored Persons, Indians and Chinese. According to the "Table of True Population" in the *Report of the Superintendent of the Ninth Census*, there were also an estimated 7,300 Indians "sustaining tribal relations."¹³

TENTH CENSUS (1880)

With respect to race, the 1880 Census was almost identical to the 1870 Census. The questionnaire again included a Color column. Instructions given to the enumerators regarding Indians stated:

Indians not in tribal relations, whether full-bloods or half-bloods, who are found mingled with the White population, residing in White families, engaged as servants or laborers, or living on wigwams on the outskirts of towns or settlements are to be regarded as part of the ordinary population of the country... and are to be embraced in the enumeration.¹⁴

The Census attempted to enumerate Indians living on reservations, but according to the 1889 *Report of the Superintendent of the Census*, the "investigation was stopped by the failure of the appropriation, and was not resumed."¹⁵

Colorado achieved statehood on August 1, 1876. Therefore beginning with the 1880 Census, data for the State of Colorado is reported.

ELEVENTH CENSUS (1890)

The race categories used in the 1890 Census were again similar to those of the 1880 and 1870 Censuses. The Color heading, however, was not used on the questionnaire. Japanese was added as a category for the first time on the questionnaire although data on the Japanese population was previously reported in some states. Enumerators were asked to "be particularly careful to distinguish between Blacks, Mulattoes, quadroons, and octo-rooms."¹⁶ In the published reports, the four divisions are listed under the heading Negro Descent. Instructions for counting Indians were similar to those given in 1880. However under provisions in the Census Act of 1889, a separate census enumeration was taken to count all Indians living within the United States, including those living on reservations. Based on the two enumerations, the Census published a number of full-scale reports on the Indian population

of the United States, including the 683 page *Report on Indians taxed and not taxed in the United States (except Alaska)*.

TWELFTH CENSUS (1900)

The 1900 Census again included an enumeration of the general population and a separate count of Indians both on and off reservations. For the first time, the heading Color or Race was used instead of Color alone. The effort to categorize the Black population into four divisions was dropped and enumerators simply marked B for Black (Negro or Negro descent).

On the Indian population schedule, enumerators were asked to note an individual's purity of blood. If an Indian had no White blood, the enumerator wrote 0; if the person did have White blood, the enumerator would write $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{8}$, "whichever fraction [was] nearest to the truth."¹⁷

THIRTEENTH CENSUS (1910)

Between 1790 and 1900, censuses were administered by temporary census offices, which were established for and disbanded after each census. In 1902, the Census Bureau became a permanent institution by an act of Congress. The 1910 Census was, therefore, the first census taken by the new agency.

A person's race was once again noted under a column with the heading Race or Color. Racial categories used by enumerators were basically unchanged, except Blacks were once again subdivided into categories, Black or Mulatto. For the first time, an Other category was added, and enumerators were instructed to note the race of the person in the left-hand margin of the schedule.¹⁸

As in the two previous censuses, a separate enumeration of Indians was taken. A column marked Proportions of Indian and Other Blood was divided into three smaller columns marked Indian, White, and Negro. Enumerators were instructed to write "full" in the Indian column if the Indian was full-blooded; if of mixed blood, fractions showing the proportions of Indian and other blood were to be written in, the sum of which should equal 1.¹⁹ Based on the survey of the Indian population, the Census published a 285 page special report entitled *Indian Population in the United and Alaska*.

FOURTEENTH CENSUS (1920)

The 1920 Census was identical to that of 1910 with respect to race. There was no separate schedule for the Indian population, however, and enumerators were given no instructions on noting degree of Indian blood.²⁰ In its introductory remarks, the Census states that a "person of mixed blood is classified according to the nonWhite racial strain or,

if the nonWhite blood itself is mixed, according to his racial status as adjudged by the community in which he resides.”²¹

FIFTEENTH CENSUS (1930)

It can be argued that the 1930 Census includes the Census Bureau’s first attempt at considering and enumerating a Hispanic population that did not consist of immigrants and/or their children. In its 1960 report on *Persons of Spanish Surname*, the Census states:

Special recognition of the interest in the Spanish-American and Mexican-American population of the United States was first given by the Bureau of the Census through the collection and publication of data on “Mexicans” in the Census of 1930.”²²

In response to the growth of the Mexican population after 1920, the Census classified Mexicans, who were previously categorized as White, as a separate race category. Enumerators were instructed that “all persons born in Mexico, or having parents born in Mexico, who are not definitely White, Negro, Indian, Chinese, or Japanese, should be returned as Mexican.”²³ Instructions for reporting race were very specific:

A person of mixed White and Negro blood was to be returned as Negro, no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood; someone part Indian and part Negro also was to be listed as Negro unless the Indian blood predominated and the person was generally accepted as an Indian in the community. A person of mixed White and Indian blood was to be returned as Indian, except where the percentage of Indian blood was very small or where he or she was regarded as White in the community. For persons reported as American Indian in column 12 (color or race), columns 19 and 20 were to be used to indicate the degree of Indian blood and the tribe, instead of the birthplace of father and mother. Any mixture of White and some other race was to be reported according to the race of the parent who was not White; mixtures of colored races were to be listed according to the father’s race, except Negro-Indian.²⁴

The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 provided citizenship to all Indians born in the United States. The 1930 Census again included a supplemental schedule for the Indian population. Based on the

data, the Census published a 238 page special report titled *The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska: 1930*.

SIXTEENTH CENSUS (1940)

With regard to race the only change to the 1940 Census was that the Mexican race category was dropped and Mexicans were once again recorded as White.

With respect to the Hispanic population the Census, which had reported on mother tongue since the 1910 Census, gathered the data for the entire population. Tabulations on the White population of Spanish mother tongue were included in the 1940 Census, which provide an indicator of the Hispanic population. The 1960 report on *Persons of Spanish Surname* states that “although the statistics of Spanish mother tongue cannot be said to cover exactly the same segment of the population as was covered by the 1930 statistics on ‘Mexicans’, they would seem to do so to a considerable extent.”²⁵

SEVENTEENTH CENSUS (1950)

In 1950, the Census changed the column heading Color or Race to simply Race. Instructions to enumerators were unchanged. “American” was added to the term Indian on the schedule; however the Census continued to use the term “Indian” when reporting the data.

In an effort to gather data on the Hispanic (Spanish-American and Mexican-American) population in the Southwest the Census compared surnames of the White population in five southwestern states – Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and California – to a list of about six thousand Spanish surnames compiled by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in 1936.²⁶ As part of a series of special reports, the Census published the 70 page *Persons of Spanish Surname* in 1953.

EIGHTEENTH CENSUS (1960)

Census questionnaires were mailed out to every household in the United States in 1960. For the first time, the population was asked to fill out the survey and then wait for the enumerator to visit. Rather than filling in a column for Color or Race, the respondent simply answered the question, “Is this person – White, Negro, American Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Part Hawaiian, Aleut, Eskimo (etc.)?”²⁷

If the question had not been answered when the enumerator came to pick up the form, the enumerator would complete the question by observation. Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, or other persons of Latin American descent were to be classified as White unless they were definitely Negro, Indian, or

some other race. Persons from Southern Europe and the Near East were also classified as White.²⁸

The Census once again gathered data on the Hispanic population of the Southwest by comparing respondents' surnames to a list of Spanish surnames. By the 1960 Census, the list had been expanded to about seven thousand Spanish surnames.²⁹

NINETEENTH CENSUS (1970)

The 1970 Census was taken using a self-enumeration questionnaire for 100 percent of the population. 80 percent of households completed a short form, which included eight items, including Color or Race. The form included choices for White, Negro or Black, Indian (Amer.), Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Korean, and Other. Individuals marking the Indian (Amer.) category were asked to print the name of their tribe, and those marking Other were asked to print their race.

The remaining 20 percent of the population received one of two longer forms. One questionnaire, sent to 15 percent of the population, included an item asking about "mother tongue" or the language a person spoke at home as a child, from which data on "persons of Spanish language" was published. Five percent of the population were asked their "origin or descent" and was given the choices of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, Other Spanish, and "No, none of these". Again, in 1970, the Census gathered data on the Hispanic population of the Southwest by comparing respondents' surnames to a list of about 8,000 Spanish surnames.³⁰ Based on the variety of data gathered, the Census published tables and reports for persons of Spanish surname, persons of Spanish language, persons of Spanish language or Spanish surname, and persons of Spanish origin.

TWENTIETH CENSUS (1980)

In 1976, Congress passed Public Law 94-311, which called for the collection, analysis, and publication of economic and social statistics on persons of Spanish origin or descent. In 1977, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) issued Directive No. 15, *Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting*. As a result, the 1980 Census was required to collect and report data on four race categories, White, Black, American Indian or Alaska Native, and Asian or Pacific Islander; and an ethnic category, indicating Hispanic origin.³¹

Beginning with the 1980 Census, every person and household was asked about race and ethnicity. Like the 1960 Census, instead of using column headings for race and ethnicity a question beginning with "Is this person..." was asked in both

cases. Options for race included White, Black or Negro, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Vietnamese, Indian (Amer.), Asian Indian, Hawaiian, Guamanian, Samoan, Eskimo, Aleut, and Other. American Indians and persons choosing the Other category were once again asked to specify tribe or race. Options for Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent included Not Spanish/Hispanic, Mexican, Mexican-American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Other Spanish/Hispanic.

TWENTY-FIRST CENSUS (1990)

The 1990 Census used the category Race as a heading once again. Race categories were identical to those used on the 1980 questionnaire except for the addition of "Other API" (Asian or Pacific Islander). Persons marking American Indian, Other API, or Other Race were asked to write in their tribe or race. Examples of Other API groups included "Hmong, Fijian, Laotian, Thai, Tongan, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on."³² The ethnicity item was again asked as a question, "Is this person..." Categories were the same as in 1980, with examples of other groups given for those marking "other Spanish/Hispanic" and writing in their group. Examples included "Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on."³³

TWENTY-SECOND CENSUS (2000)

In 1997, the OMB revised the Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting, first issued in 1977. The two major revisions included the splitting of the Asian and Pacific Islander category into two categories – Asian and Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander – and the changing of the term Hispanic to Hispanic or Latino. The Census was now required to report on five major race categories instead of four.³⁴

For the 2000 Census, no category headings were used on the questionnaire. Every data item was collected as a response to a question. Race categories listed were similar to those listed in the 1980 and 1990. Aleut and Eskimo were not listed; instead, Alaska Natives were asked to print the name of their enrolled or principal tribe or tribes. The category Other Asian was also added. Other terminology and formatting changes included the spelling out of "American" instead of "Amer." for the American Indian and Alaska Native category, adding "African Am." to the Black or Negro category, adding "Native" to the Hawaiian category, and adding "or Chamorro" to the Guamanian category. Most significantly, for the first time respondents were allowed to choose one or more race categories.

The question on ethnicity, which had been placed three questions after race on the 1980 and

1990 questionnaires, preceded the race question in 2000. Testing by the Census Bureau showed that many non-Hispanics skipped the ethnicity question when it followed the race question because they felt they had already answered the question.³⁵ The question also included the term Latino for the first time. Based on the changes to the race and ethnicity questions between the 1990 and 2000 Censuses, the Census Bureau cautions:

Data on race from Census 2000 are not directly comparable with those from the 1990 Census and previous censuses due, in large part, to giving respondents the option to report more than one race. Other factors, such as reversing the order of the questions on race and Hispanic origin and changing question wording and format, also may affect comparability.³⁶

BEYOND 2000

With the introduction of the American Community Survey (ACS), the Census is changing the way it gathers data on the population of the United States. The survey, which is mailed to a sampling of households every month and whose data is compiled and released annually, will provide the public with more current information about the population. The ACS questionnaire includes questions on race and ethnicity, and the placement, wording, and format of

the questions match that of the 2000 Census survey. The comparability of data on race and ethnicity from 2000 and beyond may be less problematic due to the consistency in the gathering of the data.³⁷ That is not to say, however, that the Census Bureau will not continue to change and expand its definition and understanding of race and ethnic groups. For example a White person is currently defined by the OMB as "having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa."³⁸ In its 1997 "Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity", the OMB discusses a number of issues, including the addition of an Arab/Middle Easterner ethnic category and allowing multiple responses to the Hispanic origin question.³⁹

The following two tables summarize the changes of Colorado population and its composition over the years based on the census data.

NOTES

¹U.S. Census Bureau, "Colorado," American FactFinder Fact Sheet for Colorado (2000), <<http://factfinder.census.gov>> (accessed September 17, 2006).

²U.S. Census Bureau, "Colorado," American FactFinder Fact Sheet for Colorado (2005), <<http://factfinder.census.gov>> (accessed September 17, 2006). Note: American Community Survey data from 2005 and before are limited to the household population and exclude the population living in institutions, college dormitories, and other group quarters.

Table 1. Colorado – Race: 1860-2005

Census year	Total population	Race							
		White	Black or African American	American Indian or Alaska Native*	Asian	Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	Other race	Two or more races	
2005**	4 562 244	3 809 054	165 729	40 062	117 506	4 476	306 399	119 017	
2000	4 301 261	3 560 005	165 063	44 241	95 213	4 621	309 931	122 187	
1990	3 294 394	2 905 474	133 146	27 776	57 122	2 740	168 136	-	
1980	2 889 964	2 571 498	101 703	18 068	28 315	1 601	168 779	-	
					Asian or Pacific Islander				
1970	2 207 259	2 112 352	66 411	8 836	11 540	-	8 120	-	
1960	1 753 947	1 700 700	39 992	4 288	8 175	-	792	-	
1950	1 325 089	1 296 653	20 177	1 567	6 255	-	437	-	
1940	1 123 296	1 106 502	12 176	1 360	3 258	-	-	-	
1930	1 035 791	1 018 793	11 828	1 395	3 775	-	-	-	
1920	939 629	924 103	11 318	1 383	2 825	-	-	-	
1910	799 024	783 415	11 453	1 482	2 674	-	-	-	
1900	539 700	529 046	8 570	1 437	647	-	-	-	
1890	413 249	404 534	6 215	1 092	1 408	-	-	-	
1880	194 327	191 126	2 435	154	612	-	-	-	
1870	39 864	39 221	456	180	7	-	-	-	
1860	34 277	34 231	46	-	-	-	-	-	

*See article text for discussion on estimates of and attempts to enumerate American Indians on reservations in 1860, 1870, and 1880.

** American Community Survey data, which does not include persons living in group quarters (dormitories, nursing homes, prisons, etc.)

Observations –

1. Colorado population currently 133 times that of 1860.
2. During 1870, Colorado experienced the fastest population influx (387%). On average, the growth rate is 56% every ten years.
3. Asian and Pacific Islander is the fastest growing group, followed by African American.
4. From 1980 to 1990, Asian population more than doubled its size.

Beginning with 2006 data, the American Community Survey will include household and group quarter populations.

³U.S. Census Bureau, "Table P8. Hispanic or Latino by Race." American FactFinder Census 2000 Summary File 1 (2000), <<http://factfinder.census.gov>> (accessed September 17, 2006); U.S. Census Bureau, "Table B03002. Hispanic or Latino Origin by Race," American FactFinder 2005 American Community Survey (2005), <<http://factfinder.census.gov>> (accessed September 17, 2006).

⁴U.S. Constitution, art.1, sec. 2.

⁵U.S. Census Office, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1853), xciv.

⁶U.S. Census Office, *The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1872), 579.

⁷Margaret M. Jobe, "Native Americans and the U.S. Census: A brief historical survey," *Journal of Government Information* 30 (2004), 66-80. Science Direct, <<http://www.sciencedirect.com>> (accessed August 12, 2006).

⁸U.S. Census Office, *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1864), 596-597, 605.

⁹U.S. Constitution, amend. 14, sec. 2.

¹⁰U.S. Census Bureau, *Measuring America: The Decennial Censuses from 1790 to 2000*

(Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2002), 13-14.

¹¹U.S. Census Office, *The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1872), xii.

¹²*Ibid.*, xiii.

¹³*Ibid.*, xvii.

¹⁴U.S. Census Bureau, *Measuring America*, 18.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 48.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 56.

²⁰U.S. Census Bureau, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, vol. 2, General Report, Statistics by Subject* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933), 27.

²¹U.S. Census Bureau, *Fourteenth Census of the United States taken in the year 1920, vol.3, Composition and characteristics of the population by states* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1922), 10.

²²U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), viii.

Table 2 Colorado – Hispanic or Latino Origin: 1930-2005

Census year	Total Population	Hispanic or Latino origin (of any race)
2005*	4 562 244	891 614
2000	4 301 261	735 601
1990	3 294 394	424 302
1980	2 889 964	339 717
1970	2 207 259	225 506
		Spanish language: 255 994
		Spanish surname: 211 585
		Spanish language or surname: 286 467
1960	1 753 947	Spanish surname: 152 039
1950	1 325 089	Spanish surname: 118 715
1940	1 123 296	White population of Spanish mother tongue: 92 540
1930	1 035 791	Mexican: 57 676

*American Community Survey data, which does not include persons living in group quarters (dormitories, nursing homes, prisons, etc.)

²³U.S. Census Bureau, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, vol. 2, General Report, Statistics by Subject* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933), 27.

²⁴U.S. Census Bureau, *Measuring America*, 59.

²⁵U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), viii.

²⁶U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Special Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), 5

²⁷U.S. Census Bureau, *1960 Censuses of Population and Housing: Procedural History* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), 189-190.

²⁸U.S. Census Bureau, *Measuring America*, 72.

²⁹U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), viii.

³⁰U.S. Census Bureau, *1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), v.

³¹"Directive No. 15, Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting," (Office of Management and Budget, 1977), <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/race/Directive_15.html> (accessed September 17, 2006).

³²U.S. Census Bureau, *Measuring America*, 91.

³³*Ibid.*, 91.

³⁴"Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity," (Office of Management and Budget, 2000), <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/fedreg/1997standards.html>> (accessed September 17, 2006).

³⁵Jorge Chapa, "Hispanic/Latino ethnicity and identifiers," in *Encyclopedia of the U.S. Census*, ed. Margo J. Anderson (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2000), 245.

³⁶"Questions and Answers for Census 2000 Data on Race," (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), <<http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/2001/raceqandas.html>> (accessed September 17, 2006).

³⁷American Community Survey data from 2005 and before are limited to the household population and exclude the population living in institutions, college dormitories, and other group quarters. Beginning with 2006 data, the American Community Survey will include household and group quarter populations.

³⁸"Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity," (Office of Management and Budget, 2000), <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/fedreg/1997standards.html>> (accessed September 17, 2006).

³⁹*Ibid.*

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