



Spanish Immigration to the United States

Author(s): R. A. Gomez

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SPANISH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES *

IN our preoccupation with the Spaniards of earlier centuries and their subsequent impact on the history of the United States, we have tended to overlook the Spanish immigrants of modern decades. The presence of large numbers of Spanish family names in the United States, particularly in New York City and in western states, has obscured the fact that very few Spaniards have come to the United States directly from Spain.¹ It is the purpose of this paper to investigate the data on modern movements of Spaniards to the Americas in general, with special emphasis on the United States, and to consider the pattern of Spanish settlement in the United States that resulted from these movements.

The emigration of great numbers of Spaniards from Spain during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century was significant enough to place Spain among the most active migratory peoples of Europe, ranking behind the United Kingdom and Italy and ranking closely with Austria-Hungary and Germany.² So great was the exodus that much Spanish literature has been concerned with the subject: official reports, university studies, generally distributed books, and occasional treatment in regional novels.³ The tenor of some of this writing is sufficiently soul-searching in its nature to place it in the general category of the introspective writing of the "generation of 98." By the turn of the twentieth century enough attention had been focused on the problem that legislation was soon passed attempting to prevent unnecessary emigration and to lessen some of the evils of it.

* The author is indebted to the American Philosophical Society for a travel grant which greatly facilitated research in the United States and Spain. This paper is intended as a framework for a book on the subject.

¹ The terms "Spaniard" and "Spanish," when used hereafter in this paper, refer to Spaniards who have come directly from Spain or who have come after only reasonable transitory movement through other countries.

² League of Nations, International Labor Office, *Migration In Its Various Forms* (Geneva, 1926), pp. 7-9. Prepared for the International Economic Conference, 1927.

³ Some representative titles: Vicente Borregón Ribes, *La emigración española a América* (Vigo, 1952); Ramon Bullón Fernández, *El problema de la emigración. Los crímenes de ella* (Barcelona, 1914); José Casais y Santaló, *Emigración española y particularmente gallega a Ultramar* (Madrid, 1915); Domingo Villar Grangel, *La emigración gallega* (Santiago, 1901); Eduardo Vincenti, *Estudio sobre emigración* (Madrid, 1908); and special publications of the Consejo Superior de Emigración such as *La emigración española transoceánica, 1911-1915*.

Even today there exists official machinery for emigration since Spaniards still leave, although in far lesser numbers than forty years ago. Under the Ministry of Labor is found the Spanish Institute of Emigration provided with provincial offices throughout the country where information and assistance are made available for prospective emigrants. Spain has long demonstrated an interest in the broader problems of European migrations and has been an active member of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migrations.⁴ The Church has often expressed its concern for the many spiritual and moral problems connected with emigration to foreign places; in Spain, where the Church is an exceptionally active institution, this has meant close coordination between the Church and official agencies.

STATISTICS ON SPANISH EMIGRATION

It is impossible to be precise as to the number of Spaniards who left Spain or as to the number arriving in any particular country.⁵ Official Spanish figures are not precise for reasons Spanish officials themselves have pointed out: the difficulty represented by large numbers who left the country illegally; the practice of keeping records on only third-class passengers leaving Spanish ports (in accordance with the legal definition of "emigrant"); the lack of distinction, for some years, between Spaniards and aliens who emigrated from Spain; occasional confusion as to whether figures include emigrants to Africa and European countries; and, finally, the problem of tallying immigrants coming back into Spain. Also, the figures of receiving countries in the Americas offer many complications.

From 1882 to 1947 it is reasonably adequate to place the total number of Spanish emigrants at approximately 5 million.⁶ However, during this

⁴ The most recent meeting was held in Madrid in September, 1961. See *ABC*, Madrid, for September 19, 23, and 30, 1961.

⁵ The problem is difficult for any migratory movement. In 1922 the International Labor Office tried to assist with *Methods of Compiling Emigration and Immigration Statistics*.

⁶ The figures on Spanish migration presented in this and following paragraphs represent a comparison of those found in the following sources: (1) Spanish official figures from *Estadística de la emigración e inmigración de España* from 1891 through 1923 (but covering from the year 1882), published in nine volumes by the official Spanish statistical agency known from 1891 to 1919 as Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico; also, *Anuario estadístico de España*, 1960. (2) U. S. figures taken from the *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor* for 1923 and 1924. (3) Argentine figures from Dirección General de Inmigración, *Resumé estadístico del movimiento migratorio en la República Argentina, 1857-1924*. (4) Cuban figures from U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Cuba. Population, History, Resources, 1907* and Republic of Cuba, *Censo de 1943*.

period, approximately 3.8 million returned to Spain. A useable figure for net emigration, then, might be 1.2 million. The great bulk of this emigration took place in the quarter-century from 1900 to 1924; roughly two-thirds of all Spanish emigration from 1882 to 1947 (approximately 700,000 net) took place during that short period.

A certain pattern of movements to and from Spain from 1882 to 1947 is observable as follows:

- 1882-1898: Heavy net emigration to Argentina and Cuba
- 1899-1900: Decline (Spanish-American War)
- 1901-1913: Heavy net emigration; beginning of substantial movement to the U. S.
- 1914-1918: Net immigration (World War I)
- 1919-1930: Heavy net emigration but virtual disappearance of emigration to the U. S. after 1921
- 1931-1947: Decline; net immigration 1931-1934 (depression); followed by Civil War, World War II

SPANISH MOVEMENT TO LATIN AMERICA

Quite naturally, Spaniards flocked to Latin America in exceptionally great numbers, especially to Argentina and Cuba. Cuba was, of course, a Spanish colony until the end of the Spanish-American War and it served, therefore, as an outlet for Spaniards wishing to go to familiar surroundings in the western hemisphere. Furthermore, inducements were being extended to agricultural workers.⁷ Argentina was a much greater attraction, having made a determined bid for immigrants.⁸ Argentina, indeed, in the records of international migration, ranks second only to the United States in terms of immigration, both gross and net.⁹ To a much lesser extent stood Brazil, Mexico, and Uruguay as attractions for Spaniards wishing to emigrate to Latin America.

Argentina has accounted for as much Spanish emigration as all other countries combined (and more, if the entire movement from the 1850's is considered). A comparison of Spanish and Argentine reports indicates that approximately half of the entire number of Spaniards emigrating from 1882 to 1947 is clearly attributable to Argentina's powerful attraction—about 600,000 net, with the possibility of a higher figure approach—

⁷ On the attractions of Cuba, see Consejo Superior de Emigración (Spain), *Emigración transoceánica, 1911-1915*, pp. 135-136. Also, J. M. Álvarez Acevedo, *La colonia española en la economía cubana* (Habana, 1936), *passim*.

⁹ In *Anuario Estadístico Interamericano*, 1942, immigration totals from 1820 to 1924 are given as follows: U. S. A.—33,188,000; Argentina—5,486,000; Canada—4,520,000; Brazil—3,855,000. All of these are gross figures, not accounting for departures.

⁸ Indeed, the preamble of Argentina's Constitution of 1852-1853 extended equality of treatment for aliens.

ing 60 per cent.¹⁰ Another 25 per cent or so went to Cuba, probably about 300,000 net. The remaining emigrants from Spain to the Americas (perhaps 15 per cent) would be distributed among Brazil, Mexico, the United States, Uruguay, and others.

Three great geographical areas of Spain have furnished all but a small percentage of emigrants: the Cantabrian and Atlantic coasts from the Basque provinces near France to Galicia near Portugal, with special emphasis on Galicia; the Mediterranean coast of Valencia and Murcia; and Andalucía in the southwestern corner. Some attention must also be given to the Canary Islands as well. The great central tableland contributed comparatively few emigrants; Catalonia, with its center of population in Barcelona, has not been as great a contributor as its importance suggests. Taking the years 1910-1915 as a representative period, the twenty most active provinces were as follows (the figures representing the gross number of transoceanic emigrants):

1. Coruña	61,560	11. Barcelona	15,682
2. Pontevedra	53,106	12. Valencia	12,230
3. Orense	52,745	13. Santander	11,837
4. Lugo	51,883	14. Alicante	10,911
5. Oviedo	47,652	15. Granada	10,770
6. Almería	36,722	16. Málaga	8,676
7. Canarias	30,270	17. Burgos	8,512
8. Leon	29,415	18. Murcia	7,978
9. Salamanca	20,969	19. Logroño	7,735
10. Zamora	19,087	20. Vizcaya	7,709

Total for all 49 provinces: 602,081¹¹

Speaking in the largest possible terms of Spanish geography, two great currents of migratory movement are represented: a northerly-to-westerly flow from Cantabrian and Atlantic provinces, adding northern Leon and the northern part of Old Castile (Burgos, Logroño, Santander); and a southerly-to-westerly flow out of Andalucía, the Levantine coast, and the Canary Islands. Employing the traditional regional terms, the order would be as follows:

1. Galicia (Coruña, Lugo, Orense, Pontevedra)	219,294	36.4%
2. Leon (Leon, Salamanca, Zamora)	69,471	11.5
3. Andalucía (Almería, Granada, Málaga)	56,168	9.3
4. Asturias (Oviedo)	47,652	7.9
5. Levant (Valencia, Alicante, Murcia)	31,119	5.2

¹⁰ Estimates for the longer period from 1857 place the number at about one million, as does *Anuario estadístico de España, 1960*, p. 48.

¹¹ Consejo Superior de Emigración (Spain), *Emigración transoceánica, 1911-1915, passim*.

6. Canary Islands	30,270	5.0
7. Old Castile (Santander, Burgos, Logroño)	28,084	4.7
8. Catalonia (Barcelona)	15,682	2.6
(Vizcaya omitted from this grouping)		

It is to be noted that Galicia stands clearly in front as the most substantial contributor to Spanish emigration. If we speak of the regional groups in larger terms, nearly two-thirds (63.1 per cent) are northern provinces (Galicia, Leon, Asturias, Old Castile, and Catalonia representing the regional groupings of these); of these, the northeastern regions dominate (55.8 per cent) in the picture (Galicia, Leon, Asturias); and Galicia, by itself, accounts for 36.4 per cent. These patterns may be safely employed as representative of the Spanish emigratory experience in general.

Special attention, then, should be paid to the massive movement of Spaniards from Galicia to American countries. This movement was so spectacular that much of the Spanish literature on emigration is focused on it. Most of the *Gallegos* went to Argentina and settled in Buenos Aires and vicinity. In 1953 one estimate stated that there were over 700,000 *Gallegos* in Buenos Aires, thus making it quite easily the largest Galician city of the world.¹² In addition to Buenos Aires, large groups of *Gallegos* are to be found in Caracas, Havana, and Montevideo. The *Centro Gallego* is a widely known mutual benefit organization in Latin American cities.

The *Gallegos* came from all vocational groups with especially large numbers of agricultural laborers, sailors, fishermen, waiters, and small shopkeepers. In many cities of Latin America they became middle-class merchants and their children have moved into professional classifications. Galicians, among the Spanish stereotypes, have long been known for their shrewdness and have been said to possess more of the qualities necessary for successful businessmen than most other Spaniards.¹³

THE MOTIVATIONS FOR EMIGRATION

The reasons for Spanish emigration offer no new source for the contemplation of international migrations. Largely, the motivations

¹² *Faro de Vigo. Número especial conmemorativo del centenario, 1853-1953*. Two contributors to this issue write about Galicia in Argentina: Antonio Lozano, pp. 92-93; Salvador Lorenzana, pp. 172-173.

¹³ General Franco, Spain's Chief of State, is a Galician. It is sometimes said that his native shrewdness has provided him with the necessary qualities to achieve success militarily and politically. Recently, in *ABC* (Madrid), in the special twenty-fifth anniversary issue honoring Franco's accession to power, October 1, 1961, José Maria Pemán of the Spanish Royal Academy, referred to this *prudencia gallega*.

appear to be centered on economic pressures or desires. Some doubt exists as to whether or not so much emigration was justified by the existing economic conditions. An old popular song dating from before the turn of the century speaks for one point of view:

A las Indias van los hombres,
a las Indias por ganar:
las Indias aquí las tienen
si quisieran trabajar.¹⁴

Certainly Spaniards were "west-minded" and naturally so. Long before the Germans, Russians, Austrians, Poles, and even the Italians formed very widely distributed desires for a westward movement, the Spaniards had already established a sort of national highway to it. And even though the independence movement in Latin America largely erased the colonial system, Spaniards were likely to look to the Americas quite as naturally as the frontiersmen of early North America considered the western lands beyond the mountains.

The situation in agricultural areas represented an almost constant pressure for emigration. In the first place, the seasonal character of agricultural employment aroused desires to seek employment elsewhere for part of the year. Thus arose the fantastic *golondrina* movement by means of which thousands of Spaniards annually attempted to gain the advantages of working in two growing seasons: one in the spring-summer of Spain and another in the spring-summer of South America, mainly Argentina, where the warm season extended from November to April.¹⁵ The *golondrinas* were not, properly speaking, emigrants, but they were so recorded in the official records of embarkation. The Italians engaged in this swallow-like movement between Italy and Argentina to an even greater degree than the Spaniards. A lesser but still significant temporary emigration to the Americas was also to be found in other than annual agricultural movements. Many were the Spaniards who emigrated to Argentina, Cuba, or the United States only long enough to gain sufficient savings at general skilled labor or mercantile activity, after which one lived in Spain at a rather higher level than before the venture. Indeed, there were Spaniards who "commuted" between Spain and somewhere in the Americas over a long period of years, usually maintaining a principal household in Spain.

Another pressure to emigrate, with an agricultural base, resulted

¹⁴ Quoted by J. M. de Pereda in "A Las Indias," a short story in the volume entitled *Escenas montañesas*.

¹⁵ See Mark Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampa* (New York, 1926), pp. 182 ff.

from population pressure on the land. In southern Spain, in the sugarcane and fruit regions of Andalucía and the Levantine coast, population pressure was that of an excessive supply of labor on large plantations. In Galicia, in the north, the pressure was largely of another kind: the *minifundio*, or excessively divided land into plots too small for subsistence.¹⁶ So scrupulously were lands divided among children that there were parcels of land no larger than the few square feet necessary to surround a tree. In the cases where, as sometimes in the interior of Galicia, lands were kept larger by primogeniture, the result would be the same—the other sons would have to move on, either to lands available through their wives or out of the area entirely. Since Galician families tend to run very large, the problem of pressure on the land was often acute.

Not always primarily economic in nature, but very strong in effect, was the attraction provided by the letters from relatives and friends already in residence in the Americas. Once a settlement of Spaniards was established there was a natural follow-up of relatives and friends from the old country. It might be pointed out that most Spaniards were literate and thus encountered no difficulty in communicating with their friends. In Cuba, for example, in 1907, it was reported that as many as 74 per cent of the “foreign whites” were literate; nearly all of these were Spaniards.¹⁷ In addition to appeals from abroad, the Spaniards who returned to their cities and villages after some years’ absence, perhaps with savings sufficient to mark them as among the more affluent of their communities, were appealing advertisements for the Americas.

It appears that the military draft laws were to some undeterminable extent influential in causing emigration. Since emigration statistics show that males in the age group from 15 to 55 constituted the bulk of emigrants (outnumbering females by about three to one),¹⁸ it is obvious that thousands of prospective draftees were among them. Indeed, reports of port inspectors cited the desire to avoid military service as a common inducement to emigrate.¹⁹

It is said that many Spaniards emigrated solely out of the desire for adventure, although it is likely that this number is not significant. Gali-

¹⁶ Vicente Borregón Ribes, *La emigración española a América* (Vigo, 1952), pp. 155-156.

¹⁷ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Cuba*, p. 206.

¹⁸ United Nations. Department of Social Affairs. Population Division, *Sex and Age of International Migrants: Statistics for 1918-1947* (New York, 1953), pp. 261 ff.

¹⁹ Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico, *Estadística de la emigración de España, 1891-1895*.

cians are apparently constrained to cite this motivation by pointing out that they have occupied one of the *finisterres* of the world and that, as mariners, taking to the sea is natural to them.²⁰ It may well be that the number so motivated may be outnumbered in Spanish experience by “reluctant emigrants” who were compelled to emigrate with husband, father, or elder brother.²¹

A most significant force in encouraging emigration might be described as external to Spain, family, or friends: the inducements extended by American republics, by agricultural interest groups, and even by steamship companies. Argentina, Brazil, and Cuba extended inducements involving land and/or employment; sugar planters in Cuba and Hawaii²² and the Panama Canal enterprise were active recruiters. Agents were frequently sent to Spain to recruit such workers and perhaps to contract for their services before embarkation.

Special attention should perhaps be given to steamship companies and their activities in stimulating emigration. The literature of emigration and immigration is filled with usually condemnatory descriptions of their roles.²³ Some steamship companies apparently drummed up business without any particular concern for the welfare of the prospective passengers, even perhaps deceiving them as to their destination in some cases. Or, at the very least, this charge may be laid to the agents employed by such companies. There were, of course, perfectly legitimate and honorable enterprises of this kind, performing an adequate service without any skullduggery involved. Unscrupulous agents there were in good number, however, who cheated many emigrants; some, it was charged, were closely allied with local political chieftains.²⁴ Whatever the extent of these practices, it is a recognizable economic advantage for a steamship company, otherwise facing the possibility of returning with empty holds, to return with human cargo under third-class steerage arrangements—the best kind of cargo, since it frequently required no handling whatever. It was even possible to have the passengers carry on the cots and other furnishings necessary to their passages.²⁵

With respect to economic motivations, there has existed for some time a debate on the true economic effects of massive emigration: one

²⁰ Salvador Lorenzana in *Faro de Vigo. Número Especial*, pp. 172-173.

²¹ The author's father always maintained that he was reluctant to leave Spain and that he was tricked into leaving by his older brother.

²² See later paragraphs on the Andalusian migration to Hawaii.

²³ Ramon Bullón Fernández, *El problema de la emigración* (Barcelona, 1914), pp. 32 ff.

²⁴ J. Casais y Santaló, *Emigración española*, p. 9.

²⁵ J. M. de Pereda, “A Las Indias,” *Escenas montaÑesas*, has a description of this.

school of thought holds that emigration results in a loss of skilled or potentially skilled manpower which is necessary to a nation's economic health and growth; the other line of thought holds that massive emigration carries away an economic liability in the form of unemployable population and, in addition, may be the means for the introduction of new income from external sources. In the case of Spain, there is impressive evidence that new income in the form of savings earned abroad, and then introduced into the Spanish economy, by means of money orders sent back for the most part, has been a significant factor.²⁶

EMIGRATION PROCEDURES

Spain has been admirably supplied with sea ports for the transportation of emigrants. Indeed, such ready outlet to the sea may itself have been a very important spur to emigration. A glance at the map of Spain will confirm that there are major sea ports located very conveniently to all parts of the country—almost as if spaced by design for easy outlet. Beginning in the north and moving around the coast of Spain in a counter-clockwise direction, we find Bilbao, Santander, Gijón, Coruña, Vigo, Cádiz, Málaga, Almería, Alicante, Valencia, and Barcelona.

The Galician ports of Coruña and Vigo have been the busiest embarkation centers, carrying half or more of all the passengers involved.²⁷ These ports have serviced, in addition to Galicia, neighboring Leon and Asturias. The second busiest group of ports are in Andalucía—Almería, Cádiz, and Málaga, which have served southern Spain. Barcelona has been important as the embarkation point for passengers from Catalonia, Aragón, Navarre, and the Balearic Islands. Two other groups are worthy of mention: the Cantabrian ports of Bilbao, Gijón, and Santander (serving that area and some neighboring areas to the south) and the ports of Palma and Tenerife on the Canary Islands.

Until 1907 there was no substantial legislation on emigration procedure. There existed a scattered series of laws, royal decrees, and ministerial rules that pertained to the subject.²⁸ Central to all these was the established principle of free emigration to which Spanish policy had adhered for many decades. Probably the basic law was best expressed by the Royal Order of 1888 which placed the responsibility on the

²⁶ Vicente Borregón Ribes, *Emigración española*, discusses this.

²⁷ All official Spanish reports give details on ports of embarkation; see especially Consejo Superior de Emigración, *Nuestra emigración por los puertos españoles en 1917*.

²⁸ Eduardo Vincenti, *Estudio sobre emigración* (Madrid, 1908), pp. 26 ff. gives a good survey of law applicable until 1907.

governors of the maritime provinces and port inspectors. A prospective emigrant would have to contact the officialdom of the maritime province through which he proposed to leave. The law provided a delay of fifteen days to follow a request for clearance. These requirements, plus the ordinary hurdles in contacting governmental officials, worked most to the advantage of residents of maritime provinces. If one were to seek departure from a foreign port, the law required going through the governor of one's own province of residence and also the Spanish consul in the foreign port—a procedure that sometimes proved as convenient as leaving from a Spanish port. Emigration, therefore, if it were to be legally accomplished, had to be well planned and might involve considerable travel in Spain itself. In addition, all this had to be geared to the possibility of securing passage on a steamship. Also there existed the problem, in many cases, of either securing clearance from, or buying one's way out of, military service. The law provided for buying up one's service in the military at the rate of 2,000 pesetas.

For a large number of prospective emigrants, the aforementioned complications meant acting through agents of emigration who not only could handle the official complications but also could establish contact with steamship lines. Usually, in fact, the agents were actively engaged in the interest of a certain steamship company.

Clandestine emigration was very common.²⁹ One form of this centered on departure from a foreign port. Gibraltar and Bordeaux, convenient to the south and north respectively, were very extensively used for that purpose. Agents were very important to this procedure since one had to make passage connections through a distant port in a foreign country. The emigrant, choosing this route, simply left Spain as a temporary visitor and boarded ship under the general direction of the agent, and without bothering to clear through any officialdom. This was occasionally begun as a contract arrangement, the agents in these negotiations often being paid so much per head. Agricultural workers by the thousands took this route to the Americas. By this method of emigration one could avoid complications at home or succeed where the legal route had failed him; and, in addition, he might have employment promised him.

In using the clandestine channels, the emigrant might be taking a great risk, especially when involved with an unscrupulous agent. He might find himself stranded in a foreign port, either the victim of a

²⁹ Consejo Superior, *Emigración, 1911-1915*, is quite candid about the subject.

deception or the victim of having a longer time to await passage than his financial position allowed. Even today the offices of the Spanish Institute of Emigration display colored posters warning against placing one's self in the hands of agents who conduct clandestine emigration procedure.

The precise number of clandestine emigrants can never be determined. A comparison of figures published by Spain and receiving countries for the same years indicates, however, that clandestine emigration in some years may have approached 40 per cent of all departures; Spanish figures for 1911-1915 indicate at least 25 per cent.³⁰

Whether legal or clandestine, the emigration procedure frequently brought about distress. At many points along the way hardships might be encountered. It might start at home with the difficulty of raising the money necessary to make all the arrangements; this might require submitting to usurious rates for loans, perhaps as high as 30 per cent,³¹ or otherwise suffering financially. Frequently an unnecessarily high commission would be paid for the services of various people involved—perhaps even an occasional public official. Later, in the port, awaiting transportation, there were the preying sharpsters of all kinds. Upon embarking the emigrant might find the third-class passage overcrowded, unsanitary, and poorly fed. The journey might take weeks (as for example the Andalusians who went to Hawaii) with fatalities along the way. Upon arrival there might be unemployment and for many the loneliness of separation from one's home and friends.

The Church has long been distressed by not only the possibilities of the miseries aforementioned but also by the fact that religious devotion appears to decline among the newly-arrived in foreign places. Therefore the Church has tried to prevent as much unjustified emigration as possible and also to hold foreign communities of Spaniards more closely to their old religious habits. A very prominent effort for a time was the organization of the Association of San Rafael, several chapters of which were in evidence by 1913.³² Through this organization attempts were made to remedy the adverse religious, moral, and economic effects of emigration, particularly in some of the ports.

With the passage of a comprehensive emigration law in 1907, new administrative machinery was provided: a Superior Council of Emigration, local juntas, and machinery for tighter inspection in the ports

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

³¹ Consejo Superior, *Nuestra emigración*, p. 468.

³² *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* (Barcelona), XIX, 985.

of embarkation, including medical care.³³ Clandestine emigration was attacked not only by the tighter machinery but also by the attempt to offer more accessible assistance in all the provinces. Clandestine emigration was not halted by these approaches, however.

MODERN SPANISH IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES

If it were not for the presence of very large numbers of Spanish-speaking people of Mexican and Puerto Rican origin, Spanish family names in the United States would be as scarce as Turkish names and would be much scarcer than Finnish names.³⁴ Although Spain is numbered among the most migratory nations, only a comparatively small number of Spaniards came directly to the United States.

In the nineteenth century the number of Spaniards who came to the United States was quite insignificant, only approximately 42,000 reported by official U. S. figures from 1820 to 1900, an average of about 500 per year.³⁵ This was negligible when compared to the considerable numbers of other Europeans coming during the same period. In much of the reporting of that time, Spain usually appeared in the "all others" category. The census of 1900 shows only 7,050 Spaniards among the foreign-born out of a total of 10.3 million foreign-born of all origins.³⁶ They were largely resident in four maritime states: New York, Louisiana, California, and Florida (in that order of significance).

The overwhelming majority of the Spaniards who came to the United States did so in the quarter-century from 1900 through 1924, particularly beginning in 1903 and with especially large numbers in 1917, 1920, and 1921.³⁷ Indeed, 30 per cent of them arrived in the last three years mentioned. Thus, Spanish immigration actually concentrates, and then falls to negligible numbers, in the short space of five years before the passage of the first quota legislation in 1921. Somewhat over 174,000 Spanish immigrants came in the years 1900 through 1924; over 52,000 of these came in the years 1917, 1920, and 1921; in 1922, as a result of the Quota Law of 1921, the number dropped to 665.

³³ Biblioteca Legislativa de la Gaceta de Madrid, *Ley y reglamento provisional para la aplicación de la ley de emigración de 1907* (Madrid, 1908).

³⁴ Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are not subject to quotas.

³⁵ *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1923, appends a detailed chart for the years 1820-1923.

³⁶ See table on "Foreign-born Population by Country of Birth" in *Historical Statistics of the U. S.*, p. 66.

³⁷ *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1923 and 1924.

The figures so far mentioned are those representing gross immigration. Account has to be taken of the numbers of Spaniards who returned to Spain after their arrival in the United States. Official U. S. figures indicate that from 1908 through 1940, approximately 72,000 Spaniards returned to Spain from the United States.³⁸ Not all of these are actually chargeable to the period from 1900 through 1924, of course, but it is only realistic to view the returnees in terms of the full flow since a high percentage of them, certainly, are chargeable to the period. This experience of emigration of Spaniards from the United States is a significant 41 per cent, if taken as a ratio of 72,000 to the gross number 174,000; and, even if considered as the emigratory effect over a longer period, the percentage would be very high. Many returned during World War I or in the slump years immediately following that conflict; an extremely large number returned after the first impact of the great depression of the 1930's.

The net immigration of Spaniards to the United States, then, from 1900 through 1924 (but using the 1908-1940 figures for the returnees) would approximate 102,000. Certainly 110,000 would be a reasonably safe figure to employ, allowing for various contributions to the uncertainty of the official records. This small number of Spaniards formed the foundation of the impact of modern Spanish formed the foundation of the impact of modern Spanish immigration to the United States.

The Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924 cut off Spanish immigration almost to the vanishing point.³⁹ The Quota Law of 1921, which geared the number of immigrants from European countries to a ratio of three per cent of the number of each country in the United States as of 1910, provided a Spanish quota of 912. The Act of 1924, however, which was aimed at reducing severely the influx of southern and eastern Europeans, based on two per cent of 1890 numbers, brought the Spanish quota down sharply to only 131 per year. This quota was revised upward to 252 in 1929.

A few thousand Spaniards have come to the United States since 1924 in addition to the small quotas provided. Some came as non-quota immigrants in accordance with provisions allowing relatives to join residents in the United States. A very small number have been admitted through private bills passed in the Congress.

³⁸ No figures available before 1908.

³⁹ Charles Gordon and Harry N. Rosenfeld, *Immigration Law and Procedure* (Albany, 1959) gives a good brief survey of U. S. immigration legislation, pp. 5 ff.

Spaniards for a few years benefited through special legislation. Acts passed in 1954, 1955, and 1956 provided for the admission into the United States of a total of 1,135 shepherders, a labor specialty in critically short supply at the time.⁴⁰ Although the Acts did not single out Spaniards specifically, the effect was to admit Spanish and French Basques for the most part. The numbers admitted, however, were chargeable to national quotas and the result was to mortgage the Spanish quotas entirely through 1960 and partially for a few years thereafter. This special legislation was not renewed in 1957 due to the recommendation of the Committee of the Judiciary of the House of Representatives in a report delivered in February, 1957.⁴¹ The report charged that the provisions of the three bills had been subject to abuses. It was charged that some shepherders brought over were actually engaged in other kinds of work; some were not filing alien address cards; some were violating the provisions of the Selective Service Act; and some, it was charged, were brought over in the first place who were not shepherders at all. Since those admitted under the special bills were considered permanent residents, and not temporary workers, some outrage had been expressed at the abuses.

The following table will serve to show the general pattern of settlement and migration of Spaniards in the United States:

States in Order of Number of U. S. Residents Indicating Spain as Country of Origin 1860-1950									
1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
La.	La.	N. Y.	N. Y.	N. Y.	Cal.	N. Y.	N. Y.	N. Y.	N. Y.
N. Y.	N. Y.	La.	La.	Haw.	Fla.	Cal.	Cal.	Cal.	Cal.
Cal.	Cal.	Cal.	Cal.	Fla.	N. Y.	Fla.	N. J.	Fla.	N. J.
			Fla.	Cal.	Haw.	Pa.	Fla.	N. J.	Fla.
			La.		Ida.	N. J.	Pa.	Pa.	Pa.
					Tex.	Haw.	Haw.	Haw.	Ohio
					Ariz.	W. Va.	Ohio	Ohio	Ida.
						Ida.	W. Va.	W. Va.	Mich.
						Ohio	Mich.	Ida.	Conn.
						La.	Nev.	Mich.	Nev.
						Conn.	Ida.	Nev.	W. Va.
						Nev.	Ill.	Ill.	Ill.
						Tex.	Conn.	Conn.	Mass.
						Ariz.	Tex.	Tex.	Tex. ⁴²

Since only states have been included that show any significant number of Spaniards at the time of each census, the first service the table per-

⁴⁰ 85th Congress, 1st Session, House Report 67 (1957).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Compiled from U. S. Bureau of the Census. *Census of 1950.*

forms is to show the light distribution geographically until the census of 1920. In addition, the following observations, in chronological order, appear significant:

1. Until 1890 the Spaniards in the United States were largely centered in two natural settings: New York City, the major port of entry for most shipping lines, and the centers of the old Spanish colonial influence in California and Louisiana.
2. With the census of 1890 we find recorded the first modern settlement of Spaniards in Florida, a center of concentration that is still important today. To some extent Florida had been a Spanish interest from colonial days but had not furnished an attraction similar to that New Orleans provided for Louisiana.
3. The census of 1900 brings into the picture the beginning of one of the most spectacular movements of Spaniards into the United States—Andalusian sugar workers who went to Hawaii in very large numbers. Hawaii appears significantly in the censuses of 1890 through 1940, although a movement to California began shortly after their arrival and continued until most had gone to the mainland by 1920. The California flow was so strong that California out-ranked New York as a “Spanish state” in the census of 1910.
4. In the years from 1900 to 1910, a new pattern is introduced in the mountain West and Southwest. Spaniards began turning up in the great grazing lands, particularly in Idaho.
5. Finally, the censuses of 1920 and 1930, and continued with little change in 1940 and 1950, show a movement greatly influenced by the expansion of heavy industry following World War I. The New York contingent expands out into New Jersey and Connecticut; appreciable numbers are discovered in such industrial states as Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania; in West Virginia are found Asturian coal miners and metalworkers.

The census of 1950 sets forth the following states with appreciable numbers of residents who claimed Spain as country of origin.

New York	14,705	Michigan	890
California	10,890	Connecticut	886
New Jersey	3,382	Nevada	815
Florida	3,183	West Virginia	712
Pennsylvania	1,790	Illinois	714
Ohio	1,141	Massachusetts	659
Idaho	985	Texas	604

Total: all states 45,565⁴³

⁴³ *Ibid.*

New York City Area. Close to half (41 per cent) of all those Spaniards who claimed Spain as country of origin in 1950 lived in the area of New York City—that is, in New York City itself and nearby Connecticut and New Jersey communities. This urban settlement is characteristic of the later waves of immigration in general. The 1950 census shows Spaniards still largely urban with only California, Idaho, and Nevada indicating any appreciable rural settlement.

Spaniards in New York gathered at first in a number of tenement districts, especially in Brooklyn. These clusters were fairly compact in their Spanish identity with close associations socially and with wide subscription to mutual benefit societies.⁴⁴ Laborers, restaurant workers, cigar salesmen, seamen, and small shopkeepers they were for the most part, with very large representation from Galicia. The next generation moved out into the general flow of American life and most of the settlements had lost their compactness by the late 1920's and early 1930's.

Today Spaniards are to be found scattered in all parts of the greater New York area with some special concentrations in northern New Jersey and Greenwich Village. On any fine day one can find groups of them in the vicinity of Columbus Circle. New York furnishes a very widely distributed Spanish language newspaper, *La Prensa*, which is especially evident today due to the greater circulation brought about by the arrival of a very considerable community of Puerto Ricans. In New York City may be found offices of the Casa Galicia and the Centro Vasco Americano, among other more broadly defined organizations.

California. Ranking next to New York is a large concentration of Spaniards in California—about 24 per cent of the 1950 total. These are found largely in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas although appreciable numbers are settled in the rich agricultural valleys.

The San Francisco area has a sizeable group from all parts of Spain. There is a special quality of Spanish representation, however, in that there are many Andalusians, most of whom came from Hawaii (see following section). San Francisco also has a distinctive Basque touch; in the area of Broadway and Columbus Avenue are a number of Basque restaurants and hotels. The Unión Española de California, the Unión Española Benéfica, a Basque club, and others, provide social and mutual benefit programs. Spanish picnics are held fairly frequently under the sponsorship of one or more of such organizations.

⁴⁴ See Prudencio de Pereda's novel, *Windmills in Brooklyn* (New York, 1960) for a delightful description of a fictional Spanish group based on the author's youth in Brooklyn.

In the Los Angeles area the emphasis is more on northern Spaniards who have been attracted to the heavy industry such as those in Fontana, the location of a Kaiser steel mill. The Sociedad de Beneficencia Mutua is prominent in the area with an office in Los Angeles. An organization of great significance to Spanish cultural interests is also located in Los Angeles: the Del Amo Foundation. The Foundation, founded by Dr. Gregorio Del Amo, is engaged in maintaining cultural exchange programs between Spain and southern California; its secretary is Eugenio Cabrero who came to the United States from the province of Santander.⁴⁵

The Andalusía-Hawaii-California Migration. One of the most numerous groups of Spaniards in the United States came from the sugar and fruit plantations of Andalusía to work in Hawaii.⁴⁶ Although a number had arrived earlier, most came in six shiploads in the years 1907, 1911, 1912, and 1913. This migration is one of the more spectacular clandestine emigrations from Spain, for Spanish records carry no official enumeration of it. The ships sailed from Gibraltar after contacts were made through agents for the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association. For the most part, the recruiting took place in the provinces of Almería, Cádiz, Granada, and Málaga in Andalusía although some were contacted in Murcia. All together in the six shiploads involved were transported 7,735 workers. The long journeys took their toll in lives and sickness.⁴⁷ The inducements were however, great: free transportation, free housing, and guaranteed employment at a wage stipulated in advance.

Shortly after the first movements to Hawaii, the sugar workers became interested in moving on to the mainland, to the city of San Francisco and vicinity. Many went to work as laborers in the task of cleaning up the city after the earthquake and fire of 1906. World War I attracted more of them and by 1920 most of the original workers had made the move, settling in the city or in other Bay cities such as Leandro, Hayward, and Crockett. Many settled in nearby agricultural communities such as Mountain View and Sunnyvale where they owned, or worked on, fruit acreage.

⁴⁵ Mr. Cabrero contributed the section on Spain in F. J. Brown and J. S. Roucek, *Our Racial and National Minorities* (New York, 1937), pp. 388-394.

⁴⁶ See George F. Schnack, *Subjective Factors in the Migration of Spanish from Hawaii to California*, unpublished M. A. thesis, Stanford University, 1940; also, *Hearing on Immigration into Hawaii Before Committee on Immigration*, U. S. Senate, 67th Congress, 1st Session.

⁴⁷ In Bullón Fernández, *Emigración*, Appendix, p. 76, there is a reprint of a news story that appeared in *Noticiero universal* (Barcelona), March 7, 1912; it states that forty children and three adults died on the *Willisden* en route to Hawaii.

Once these settlements had been established, later contingents of Andalusians came directly from Spain to California to join relatives and friends.

Florida. Florida has long been a center for Spaniards, particularly in Tampa and vicinity. This movement has been influenced by the proximity of Cuba and the cigar industry. The *tabaqueros* of Spain—almost all of whom were Asturians originally—migrated to Cuba in considerable numbers during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Eventually some of the cigar-makers established themselves in Key West; in 1886, following labor difficulties, a number of establishments moved to Tampa with thousands of employees. The concentration of Spaniards in this vicinity has remained strong since that time with a population from 3,000 to 5,000. Ybor City, a district east of Tampa's business section, has been the center of the Spanish community, featuring such organizations as Centro Asturiano and Centro Español.⁴⁸

Mountain West. In the mountainous range country of the western United States are to be found appreciable numbers of Spaniards engaged in sheep and cattle ranching along with some engaged in servicing industries in the towns and cities of the area. This clustering of Spaniards is especially characterized by a concentration of Basques in the sheep country of the northern Rocky Mountains, centering chiefly in Idaho and Nevada with some distribution in neighboring California, Oregon, and Washington. Basque sheepherders, and to some extent Spaniards from other Spanish sheepherding provinces, began coming to the United States about 1910. In some ways this has constituted one of the most distinctive of Spanish migrations. Spain is one of the nations that has been continuously engaged in sheep-raising for hundreds of years back into antiquity. It is carried out in its most spectacular fashion in the mountains of northern Spain—the Basque provinces, Santander and Navarre: a region of incredibly steep pasturelands of green grass, rounded off into pinnacles by deep valleys. To see a herd of sheep under the care of a Spanish shepherd in the mountains of Idaho is one of the most ancient of old-world scenes, transferred to an American setting.

Boise, as the urban community in the center of the Idaho-Nevada sheep ranges, has become the Basque capital of the United States, as some have described it. There is a sort of Boise-San Francisco axis in

⁴⁸ In *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, in the volumes for 1937, 1938, 1939, and 1941, appear a number of articles on the Spaniards in Tampa, written by Ralph Steele Boggs and others.

Basqueland U. S. A. with San Francisco serving as a great recreational capital for Basques in many states.

Industrial Midwest. In the heart of the industrial empire of the United States—in the midwest along with Pennsylvania and West Virginia—a few thousands of Spaniards have settled in the employment patterns presented by heavy industry. In 1950 there were 5,157 Spaniards resident in the industrial states of Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. The most compact group consisted of a concentration of Asturian coal miners who settled in West Virginia decades ago in such numbers as to rank that state as sixth or seventh “Spanish state” in the censuses of 1920, 1930, and 1940. In addition to these, there were also metalworkers in other West Virginia locations, such as Clarksburg. In the steel cities of Ohio and Pennsylvania can be found Galicians and Vizcayans; in the rubber factories of Ohio are others of the same regions.

Assimilation. The descendants of Spanish immigrants have, of course, moved into the general courses of American life and, except for an occasional gathering such as a Spanish picnic, they are roughly cross-sectional of the citizenry of the United States. The number of Spaniards who came as immigrants, and who stayed permanently, had dwindled to 45,456 according to the census of 1950,⁴⁹ largely by virtue of the deaths of the earlier arrivals. This number will undoubtedly diminish very speedily to a very small number by 1970. Thus, the alien Spaniards coming in such tiny quotas in the last forty years will be unable to keep alive the Spanish identity in the United States.

Spaniards have demonstrated a decided tendency to cling to their Spanish roots, as indicated by the high percentage of them that have remained aliens. In the twenty-year period from 1923 through 1942, only 20,722 Spaniards became naturalized citizens of the United States.⁵⁰ A few months later, in early 1943, there were still 39,670 Spanish aliens according to the alien registration (which had just begun its now annual enumeration).⁵¹ This figure approximated 70 per cent of all Spaniards then in the United States who claimed Spain as country of origin; further, it approximated 35 per cent of the whole net number of immigrants to the United States from Spain in modern decades. With the coming of World War II, and to some extent in the late 1930's, many

⁴⁹ *Historical Statistics of the U. S.*, p. 66.

⁵⁰ See *Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1950*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

thousands of Spaniards did become citizens, however, and in 1960 there were only 17,526 registered Spanish aliens.⁵²

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Speaking most broadly, the foregoing paragraphs furnish a foundation upon which to build a number of generalizations about the numerical and social impact of Spanish immigration to the United States.

In spite of the prevalence of Spanish family names in some parts of the United States, a small number of Spaniards came directly to the United States. The net number (arrivals less departures) in the period from 1900 through 1924, the period which brought most of them, would probably number less than 110,000. For the most part they came in the few years before the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 and their numbers have been negligible since that Act.

Spanish immigration to the United States has been but a very small part of Spanish immigration as a whole. Most Spanish migrants went to Latin America, particularly to Argentina and Cuba with some smaller numbers to Brazil, Mexico, and Uruguay. Spanish immigrants to the United States are perhaps ten per cent or less of the total.

The settlement of Spaniards in the United States has resulted in five major regional concentrations: the New York City area, California, Florida (particularly Tampa), the Mountain West, and a scattered pattern in the industrial midwest. There are vast areas of the United States where few would be found, particularly the grain-producing plains states, the rural midwest, and most of the south. The settlement pattern has been largely urban with substantial rural settlement only in California and the range country of Idaho and Nevada. There are very few Spanish communities in any compact sense today; Tampa, Boise, and Gary (West Virginia) offer some aspects of this.

R. A. GOMEZ

*University of Arizona,
Tucson, Arizona*

⁵² Courtesy of Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, by letter.