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MAP O. I . Map of Spain

INTRODUCTION

ANA VARELA-LAGO AND PHYLIS CANCELLA MARTINELLI

In his book *Our America: A Hispanic History of the United States*, historian Felipe Fernández-Armesto challenges the conventional narrative of American history. “Instead of looking at the making of the United States from the east,” he explains, “we see what it looks like from the south, with Anglo-America injected or intruded into a Hispanic-accented account.”¹ Echoing the title of Jose Martí’s celebrated essay, Fernández-Armesto’s volume represents an important addition to a growing body of literature that illuminates the rich and complex history of the United States, where the Anglo-Saxon heritage is one among many. As the director of the Spanish foundation that sponsored the project asserts in the foreword, this is also “a book on the presence of Spain in the history of America.”²

Attention to the legacy of the Spanish past in the United States, building on the pioneering work of nineteenth-century scholars such as Herbert Howe Bancroft and Herbert Eugene Bolton, is not confined to the realm of academia. It also plays a significant role in the present-day interactions between the two nations, as a 2013 visit to the United States by Felipe

de Borbón (then Crown Prince of Spain) and his wife illustrates. The royal tour included two of the states most associated with the Spanish presence in North America: California and Florida. In California, the delegation stopped at the Huntington Library to see the Junípero Serra exhibit, commemorating the tercentennial of the birth of the Spanish Franciscan and his role in the construction of the network of Catholic missions in California, two of which were also visited by the royal couple. In Florida, Prince Felipe observed the quincentennial of the landing of Juan Ponce de León in 1513, noting in his speech: “We cannot imagine today’s United States without its Spanish legacy.”³ In 2015, a year after his proclamation as King of Spain, Felipe VI returned to Florida to commemorate the 450th anniversary of the founding of the city of Saint Augustine, the oldest European settlement in the United States, by the Asturian Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.

This book, too, examines the relations between Spain and the United States. The contributors, however, focus not on the *conquistadores* and *padres* of yore, but on more recent arrivals—Spanish immigrants who reached American shores in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Immigrants such as Salustiano Sánchez Blázquez, who as a teenager left his village in the province of Salamanca and went to Cuba to work cutting cane in the island’s sugar fields. In 1920, he moved to the United States, toiling in the mines of Kentucky and Pennsylvania before settling at Niagara Falls in the early 1930s. Sánchez Blázquez’s story received media attention because when he died, in 2013, he was believed to be the world’s oldest living man.⁴ Thousands of his compatriots followed a similar path, but their names seldom graced the pages of the newspapers.

Although research on Spanish migration to the United States has increased in recent decades, it remains in its infancy. In Spain, studies of emigration to the Americas have concentrated primarily on Latin American countries, which received the bulk of the Spanish exodus in the period of “mass migration” (1880–1930).⁵ Still, in the past few years Spanish scholars have produced a number of regional studies, complementing the original work by Germán Rueda on the recent migration of Spaniards to the United States.⁶ Bieito Alonso, Nancy Pérez Rey, Ana Varela-Lago, Juan Manuel Pérez, Carolina García Borrazás, and Francisco Sieiro Benedetto investigated the migration of Galicians to New York, Florida, Louisiana, and the Panama Canal.⁷ Luis Argeo documented the migration of Asturians to the mines of West Virginia, and

Carlos Tarazona Grasa that of Aragonese shepherds to the American West.⁸ María José García Hernandorena, Joan Frances Mira, Teresa Morell Moll, and Enric Morrió have studied the migration of Valencians to New York.⁹

In the United States, too, despite important contributions, the study of Spanish migration has lagged behind that of other communities. Basques have been the group more widely and systematically studied on both sides of the Atlantic, thanks in part to the formidable work of the Center for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada, Reno, and the support from the Basque government.¹⁰ Yet, to Rosendo Adolfo Gómez's 1962 pathbreaking article "Spanish Immigration to the United States," we can now add a collection of journal articles, encyclopedia entries, master theses, doctoral dissertations, and video documentaries that enhance our understanding of this phenomenon.¹¹ The most recent addition to this list is an extraordinary collection of over 300 images of Spanish immigrants. The result of years of work and dedication by James D. Fernández and Luis Argeo, with the collaboration of local immigrant communities, this photographic archive is just one aspect of an ongoing project that seeks to recover and document the richness of the Spanish immigrant experience in the United States.¹²

Hidden Out in the Open is the first book-length study, in English, of the modern migration of Spaniards to the United States.¹³ It represents an attempt to fill the gap in the research literature on this group, so intimately linked to the history of the Americas and of the United States. The essays cover a period (1875–1930) defined by the crucial transformations of the Progressive Era in the United States, and by similarly momentous changes in Spain following the Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy under Alfonso XII. These include the wars of independence in Cuba, the loss of the last remnants of the Spanish empire in 1898, and social and political mobilizations that culminated in the fall of the monarchy and the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic in 1931. The defeat of the Republic, after the 1936 military coup that led to the Spanish Civil War and General Francisco Franco's victory in 1939, falls outside the scope of this collection. Readers interested in the response of Spanish immigrant communities in the United States to these events can consult a diverse and growing body of research on the subject.¹⁴

The chapters in this volume are geographically wide-ranging. They reflect the transnational nature of the Spanish diaspora in the Americas, encompassing networks that connected Spain, Cuba (and a number of Latin American

countries), the United States, and American-controlled territories in Hawai'i and Panama. The diversity of locations also reveals the variety of jobs the immigrants engaged in, from construction gangs in the Panama Canal and the Florida Keys to mining crews in Arizona and West Virginia. In Hawai'i, Spaniards planted and cut cane in sugar plantations. Farming remained their main occupation as they moved from the islands to the fields and canneries of California at the turn of the twentieth century. In Brooklyn, and in Tampa, Florida, Spaniards toiled in a peculiar combination of craft and industry. In factories large and small, the sound of the *chavetas* (cigar knives) mixed with the voice of the *lectores* (readers) as workers, seated at their benches, hand-rolled high-quality Clear Havana cigars. The industry had its roots in Cuba but moved to the United States as a result of political unrest when the Cuban movement for independence gained strength during the nineteenth century.

Our selection of topics does not pretend to cover the full dimension of the Spanish immigrant experience in the United States. The very nature of this (unevenly developed) field would prevent that. As editors, our aim has been to showcase a diversity of approaches, even if all our contributors had a common focus. We also pay tribute to the pioneering work of scholars such as Beverly Lozano, Gary R. Mormino, and the late George E. Pozzetta, who in the 1980s were introducing the Spanish experience into the "mainstream" of American immigration history. While the book concentrates on a specific national group, its goal is to place the Spanish migrants in a broader context. In part, this reflects the importance of transcontinental connections rooted in the legacy of conquest and empire that defines the history of Spain in the Americas. But it also situates this migration at the intersection of worldwide trends (like the globalization of capital and labor, and technological developments in transportation and communication) that shaped the period under study and that made this massive movement of population possible.

The collection opens with a chapter whose title captures the transnational nature of the Spanish migrant experience. The line "working in America and living in Spain" is based on a statement in *Windmills in Brooklyn*, Prudencio de Pereda's novel on Spanish migrants in New York.¹⁵ It applied to the life of one of the protagonists, but also to those of many immigrants in the Spanish community in Brooklyn, where de Pereda grew up in the 1920s and 1930s. Varela-Lago's chapter explores the forging of a variety of transnational networks, from the 1870s to the 1920s. In the first section, she discusses the

importance of the colonial wars in shaping the ethnic identity of Spanish communities in nineteenth-century America. While immigrants in the Spanish-speaking American republics established region-based mutual aid societies, similar attempts in the United States were perceived as divisive, not only because of the small size of the immigrant community, but also because of the challenge to Spanish unity posed by Cuban émigrés fighting for Cuban independence. Spanish immigrants favored national over regional identity in this period. They expressed this choice in the names of the clubs they established—La Nacional, Centro Español, Círculo Colón-Cervantes—as well as in a number of projects they participated in, such as the commemoration of Cervantes Day and of the Fourth Centennial of the Discovery of America, and the creation of Juntas Patrióticas (patriotic clubs) to support the Spanish Navy once war with the United States seemed imminent.

Following Spain's defeat in the Spanish-Cuban-American War, the migrants' activities to defend and vindicate the Spanish presence in the Americas continued by other means. Through the analysis of some of these initiatives—the translation to Spanish of Charles Lummis's *The Spanish Explorers*; the festivities honoring the founder of Saint Augustine; the promotion of the teaching of Spanish in the United States; and the commemoration of the Día de la Raza (Day of the [Hispanic] Race)—Varela-Lago examines the role played by Spanish migrants in the development of Hispanismo. This movement sought to promote the Spanish heritage in the United States and improve the image of Spain's imperial past, and it counted immigrants as participants and facilitators in developing the networks that brought together Hispanophiles in the United States and leaders of Americanism in Spain.

As the colonial struggles receded, and the number of Spanish migrants in the United States increased, there developed transregional and translocal networks characteristic of Spanish communities in Latin America and of a variety of immigrant groups in the United States. A fluid web of “parishes abroad” made it possible for the migrants to remain a vital presence in the life of their home communities and contributed to the preservation of strong local and regional identities. Newspaper articles, immigrant journals and memoirs, and consular reports illustrate the importance of these regional and local identities, often manifested in the names of mutual aid societies, restaurants, boardinghouses, and soccer teams, as well as in the foodways of these communities. These networks were also evident in the

realm of political activism, particularly anarchism—a topic developed more fully in other chapters of the book.

Spanish anarchists were instrumental in the creation of Modern Schools (*Escuelas Modernas*), an enterprise that gained momentum following the execution of the founder of the movement, Francisco Ferrer, in Barcelona in 1909. In retaliation, a Spanish anarchist who had resided in Tampa assassinated the Spanish prime minister, José Canalejas—one more example of the global reach of the movement, and of the transnational networks in which most of the Spanish migrants in the United States operated. Varela-Lago also discusses a lesser-known aspect of the political webs that connected Spain and its diaspora: Spanish migrants' support of nationalist movements in their regions of origin (in particular, the Canary Islands, the Basque Country, and Catalonia). This political involvement, which, by the 1920s was increasingly critical of the monarchy of Alfonso XIII and the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera (1923–1930), helps explain the migrants' jubilation at the news of the proclamation of the Spanish Republic in 1931, and their mobilization in its support during the Spanish Civil War.

Chapters 2 and 3, both published originally in the 1980s and since then a required point of reference for scholars of Spanish migration to the United States, illuminate important aspects of this exodus in different locales (Hawai'i, California, and Florida) and as part of different processes, which in the case of Hawai'i involved the recruitment of Spanish families to work on the islands' sugar plantations. Beverly Lozano expertly combines “macro” and “micro” perspectives as she analyzes the migration of Spaniards to Hawai'i and, later, California in the first decades of the twentieth century. While global, macro-structural trends were at work in this transfer of labor, as sugar cane planters in Hawai'i competed with other businesses in encouraging laborers to come to its shores, Lozano also pays attention to the agency of the migrants themselves, as they decided whether and how to participate in this exchange.

Reinforcing a theme that runs through this volume, Lozano's analysis highlights the importance of examining migration through a global lens that considers how conditions in the homeland contribute to and shape the experience of migrants in their host societies. One such example is the coexistence of patron-client relations and more impersonal laborer-employer relations in the Andalusian countryside. This experience, she argues, is key to understanding why most Spaniards left the plantations in Hawai'i for ranches in

California. On the surface, the agricultural tasks Spanish migrants engaged in were similar in both locales, but conditions in Hawai'i, Lozano asserts, "violated their cultural understanding of what tolerable working relations should involve."¹⁶ In California, by contrast, the workers found a combination of free labor and the type of face-to-face interaction embodied in Spain's patron-client relationship. Wages, therefore, were not the only cause for the shift from Hawai'i to California. As Lozano explains, the migrants' agency opens a way for scholars to understand the intricacies of workers' responses to the global forces of capitalism.

The study of Spanish migration in Hawai'i also brings to light the complex interaction between capitalism, labor, ethnicity, and race. Like other immigrants, Spaniards became the "hands of America." But in the United States, they were frequently caught in a dynamic of "divide and conquer" that pitted ethnic groups against each other to the benefit of employers. As southern Europeans, Spaniards also participated in a hierarchical racial system that sometimes considered them "whites," but often placed them in between "whites" and "nonwhites." In the Panama Canal, the United States government institutionalized these racial differences through a number of practices, including a scale of wages that ranked Spaniards, as "semi-white" workers, between American citizens and (mostly black) West Indian laborers, the former being paid in the "gold" roll; the latter in the "silver" roll.¹⁷ In Hawai'i, Lozano explains, American employers saw Spaniards as a positive counterweight to the increasingly militant Japanese workers. As "white" Europeans, they were also considered more desirable than Asians as a settler population, as they were understood to be more easily assimilable to American culture and values.

Chapter 3, by Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, remains a classic within the literature on Spanish anarchism in the United States. It examines the transnational networks of labor militancy and anarchism that defined the identity of a good portion of the Spanish laboring classes at home and abroad. Paying close attention to the political and economic landscape in Spain and the conditions that shaped the migration of Spaniards to the Americas, the authors present an approach that was novel at the time, and a precursor of studies that challenge the definition of migration as a process of uprootedness (from home society) and assimilation (into host society), and advance a more holistic understanding of the immigrant experience.

Mormino and Pozzetta illustrate the benefits not only of a transnational approach (encompassing the networks that kept the migrants connected to communities in the homeland and in other locales), but also of a transethnic approach that emphasizes the importance of community and working-class solidarity across different ethnic and national groups. Tampa's significant role in the anti-imperial struggles in the Spanish Caribbean, and its rich multiracial and multiethnic topography (the "Latin" quarter included Italians, Cubans—white and black, and Spaniards, among others), made it an ideal setting for this innovative research.

As the authors indicate, this is a study of "group dynamics and organization."¹⁸ The essay weaves the story of connections between Spaniards and Cubans, but also the tensions that shaped the debates over the Cuban question. While some Spanish anarchists, such as the famed Pedro Esteve, expressed little concern about Cuban independence, many did support José Martí's call to defend Cuba Libre. Immigrants' memoirs and oral histories complement the vivid narrative of the authors, as they describe the rhythm of work in Tampa's cigar factories and the role of institutions such as the reading (*la lectura*), a vital source of education and information for cigar workers, that helped forge a unique labor culture to which the anarchists contributed substantially. This thriving labor culture clashed not only with the American establishment, often willing to support vigilante methods to deal with "foreign radicals," but with more "mainstream" labor organizations such as Samuel Gompers's American Federation of Labor. The fear (and repression) of radicals only grew in the aftermath of World War I and the Russian Revolution. Mormino and Pozzetta use the reports from secret agents in the newly created Bureau of Investigation (precursor of the FBI) to illustrate the actions of the labor militants and of those who informed on them. The surveillance of anarchists, among others, did not prevent the assassination of the Spanish prime minister in 1912, but it did undermine the activities of the once-vibrant radical labor movement, whose last strike was, appropriately enough, to defend the *lectura* in the cigar factories. Later generations continued the struggle in their own way, fighting for social justice and against fascism during the Spanish Civil War.

Christopher Castañeda's chapter on the Spanish community in New York provides a valuable complement to the study of the anarchist movement in Florida and the webs that connected workers in Spain, Cuba, and the

United States in this period. As in Tampa, Spaniards in Brooklyn were also engaged primarily in the cigar industry. Castañeda describes the rich tapestry of ethnic groups involved in this industry in nineteenth-century America. He also details the difficult conditions these workers experienced, producing cigars in crowded tenement houses and falling victim to diseases such as tuberculosis. Cuban and Spanish cigar workers participated in the flowering labor movement that produced two important unions: the Cigarmakers' International Union (CMIU) and the American Federation of Labor (AFL), but, as Castañeda illustrates, they also created their own Spanish-speaking unions. Inter-marriage between the two communities was relatively common, and both groups participated in the dynamic and radical labor culture reinforced by the *lectura*. But, as happened in Florida, the struggle for Cuban independence divided the community and contributed to the creation of separate, Cuban and *peninsular*, labor unions and ethnic associations.

Here too, an incipient anarchist movement, with links to the peninsula but also rooted in events in the United States, began to flourish. Critical of Spanish policies, many peninsular anarchists supported the Cuban movement for independence. Others joined Pedro Esteve in advocating a deeper transformation of society and politics, a belief that Esteve proclaimed in the immigrant enclaves he settled in (Brooklyn; Patterson, New Jersey; Ybor City, Tampa) and through his involvement with the Industrial Workers of the World. The execution of Spanish anarchist Francisco Ferrer in Spain contributed to the mobilization of Spanish anarchists and their supporters in the United States.

Castañeda's chapter shows the continuing relevance of the anarchist movement in the 1910s and 1920s, a period that also saw the rise of Spanish migration to the United States. While these years mark the end of an era for the craft cigar-making that had been the bedrock of Spanish anarchism in previous decades, they witness the transformation of Spanish migration to New York. Now, a high percentage of unionized dockworkers and merchant marine seamen were Spaniards. While addressing this constituency, the Spanish anarchist press and movement maintained its involvement with the broader Hispanic community in New York (including Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans) and the larger anarchist movement. The response to the Sacco and Vanzetti case was only the best-known example of such connections.

Although the role of women in these immigrant communities tends to be less documented, it is clear from the articles by Castañeda and by Mormino and

Pozzetta that women were important participants in the anarchist movement they discuss. Both chapters highlight the work of Luisa Capetillo, a pioneering Puerto Rican lectora, activist, journalist, and feminist. Women were also crucial as sustainers of families, supporters of fundraisers, entertainers in festivals, and leaders in strikes, as illustrated by Pedro Esteve's daughter, Violetta.

The end point of Castañeda's chapter, 1925, marks the starting point of Brian Bunk's essay, chapter 5, as he introduces us to a different, if complementary, perspective on the Spanish immigrant community in New York. While chapter 4 focused primarily on immigrants as workers, and concentrated on men (reflecting the demographics of the initial wave of Spanish migration in the late nineteenth century), chapter 5 shifts our attention to a larger and more stable community in Greenwich Village, one of several Spanish enclaves in New York. Following the growth in Spanish migration in the first two decades of the twentieth century, a number of families had settled in the neighborhood by the 1920s. As Bunk illustrates, the socialization of the second generation, particularly of young Spanish American women, became an important aspect of the community's life.

Bunk's research combines attention to gender and to the performative aspects of ethnic identity. His analysis of two such performative events (a beauty pageant and a popularity contest) illuminates the intricate tapestry of identities developed by Spanish immigrants in the United States, as members of regions, nations, and a broader Hispanic community. The immigrants' social clubs, defined as "intermediate spaces" between the public and the private spheres, played a crucial role in this process of socialization, allowing young Spanish American women to experiment with certain freedoms, under the watchful eyes of the senior members of the community, in an effort to curb the ostensibly pernicious effects of Americanization. These attempts at control met with different levels of success. Bunk's essay shows that the social clubs were also arenas of contestation where women challenged the authority of the male leadership, as the dispute between the officers of the Casa de Galicia and the Spanish Ladies' Committee exemplifies.

Bunk also examines the complex cultural dynamics that defined the relations between Spanish immigrants and American society at large. Thus, he explains how young Spanish Americans' views of a Spain they had never seen may have been shaped as much by their socialization within the family and the community as by the Orientalizing images of Spain prevalent in

American popular culture in the 1920s. Likewise, he shows how concerns about the perceived isolation of the immigrant community led American reformers to carry out research to ascertain the level of assimilation among Spanish American youth, and particularly among young women. This illuminating essay provides an essential lens through which to examine important, but often neglected, aspects of the immigrant experience, such as the acculturation of the young and the enforcement of proper gender roles in the community.

Like Castañeda, Bunk concludes his chapter with a reference to the dismantling of these immigrant settlements. Urban renewal projects and the anti-immigrant legislation that reduced Spanish immigration to a trickle after 1924 contributed to the disintegration of these enclaves, replaced by more ethnically mixed neighborhoods. As Phylis Cancilla Martinelli indicates in chapter 6, this process of disintegration was not limited to urban centers. Research on the Spanish immigrant experience in Arizona is particularly challenging, as traces of some of these Spanish communities have vanished. Some, like the bustling community of Barcelona, which housed 1,000 families in the first decades of the twentieth century, were physically eliminated by open-pit mining.

Martinelli explains that Spaniards' interest in mining in the American Southwest dates back to the sixteenth century, and some of the mining and metallurgy techniques they developed were still in use in the United States until new technologies were introduced in the Progressive Era. Despite the long legacy of Spanish presence in the area, and the Spanish immigrant presence in the twentieth century, few studies have investigated their experiences. Like other chapters in this volume, this essay contributes, in Martinelli's words, to "diversify immigration history." It also engages with the historiography of this particular region, as it seeks to "'re-envision' Western history."¹⁹

Perhaps even more than was the case in Spanish immigrant communities in Florida, New York, Hawai'i, and California, Spaniards in Arizona were hidden under broader categories (Hispanic, Latino) that do not differentiate by national origin. Martinelli favors the terms Latin and EuroLatin to examine the interaction of Mexicans and southern Europeans (Italians and Spaniards) in this environment. The story of mining provides a fascinating narrative of the interrelationship of local, regional, national, and global labor markets. Miners from northern Spain, displaced by the success of Welsh coal,

moved to southern Spain to work on Huelva's copper mines. These mines, in turn, were being developed and financed by British companies and supervised by American managers. The companies' expansion into mining areas in the American Southwest opened paths for Spanish miners to migrate to states such as Arizona. There they joined an international labor force and established connections that integrated them into new local and regional labor networks.

In this multiethnic environment, racial designations prevalent in nineteenth-century America situated Spaniards as members of an in-between group, not quite "White" but members of a "Spanish" or "Latin" race. Racial characterization had important economic consequences, as it often determined who had access to high-paying jobs. Martinelli's chapter teases out the intricate ethnic landscape of Arizona's mining towns. Racial categories were fluid and changed from place to place and even across time in one place. Immigrant groups, too, maintained their own racial and cultural preferences. Mexicans and Spaniards usually preferred to live apart but were also willing to self-identify as "Latins" when conditions called for unity. This was particularly the case at times of labor unrest, which often included workers' demands for equal pay. But, as Lozano explained in the case of Hawai'i, wages were not the only matter of contention. Martinelli states that some strikes were caused by what Latin miners perceived as lack of "respect from their Anglo supervisors."²⁰

Spaniards in West Virginia also experienced the ethnic segregation and racial prejudice described by Martinelli in the Arizona camps and were derided as poor and foreign. As a scholar, and the grandson of Spaniards, Thomas Hidalgo has a privileged view of this migration. Both his maternal and paternal grandfathers migrated as young men from the same town in Andalusia in the 1920s, helped by friends who had lived in the United States for years. Their Spanish wives would later join them. The dearth of information on this community led Hidalgo to undertake his own investigation. In his chapter, he uses a sample of citizenship and immigration records together with oral histories of the children of these migrants to recover the experiences of the members of this once-vibrant immigrant community.

Hidalgo's methodical analysis of the documents of 163 Spanish immigrants to Raleigh and Fayette Counties in West Virginia shows that more than half of them hailed from the region of Andalusia, with another

30 percent coming from the northern regions of Galicia and Asturias. The reasons remembered by their descendants for this migration combined economic hardship with political discontent, whether due to the oppressive role of the Catholic Church in rural Spain, the fear of being drafted for Spain's colonial wars in Morocco, or the consequences of labor activism and mobilization. While some migrants traveled directly from Spain to the United States, most of those who eventually settled in West Virginia arrived after stays in other (primarily Latin American) countries and other states in the Union. Coal mining was not, for the most part, the original trade of these immigrants, but the expansion of the coal-mining industry, the relatively high wages it offered, and the fact that the job did not require training or the ability to speak English, contributed to its appeal. Frugal immigrants, such as Hidalgo's maternal grandfather, could save enough money to return to Spain or to provide for their families to join them in the United States. Unfortunately, labor conditions in the mines were such that accidents, resulting in serious injuries and death, were commonplace. When unions began to organize in the coal mines in the 1930s, many Spanish immigrants joined, and some took leadership positions.

Hidalgo's oral histories bring to life the process of identity formation within the community, through the maintenance of the Spanish language (of obligatory use at home) and foodways, as well as the traditions associated with wine making and the *matanza* (butchering of hogs to make ham and sausages). In an interesting syncretism of the American and European festival calendar, Spaniards used Thanksgiving to do the *matanza*, a festival associated in many European countries with the feast of Saint Martin, also in November. These cultural traditions, the connections to Spain through the networks of return migration, and the creation of mutual aid societies such as the Ateneo Español, strengthened this ethnic identity. But, as Hidalgo indicated, World War II would contribute to the decline of the tight-knit community. The history of its past, however, still comes alive in the reminiscences of the immigrants' children and grandchildren. Hidalgo's work represents a valuable strand in migration studies, as it both contributes to the recovery of these memories and to its dissemination. As an educator, he used his research on the Spanish community as a model to design a multicultural curriculum that would illuminate the complex networks that linked together the people of West Virginia, of the United States, and of the world.

The last chapter in the collection shifts the lenses and focuses on what the migration of Spaniards meant to the Spanish state. In chapter 8, Ana Varela-Lago studies the response of the Spanish state to the recruitment of Spaniards to work in territories that were becoming outposts of an emerging American empire in the years following Spain's defeat in the Spanish-Cuban-American war. Cuban independence did not curtail Spanish migration to the island. In fact, Spanish workers contributed to building Cuba's infrastructure as the United States military government embarked on a campaign of economic development that included considerable investment in transportation and public works. It was in Cuba where American agents first appreciated the quality of Spanish labor. That realization drove the systematic efforts to recruit Spaniards to work in the Panama Canal and the sugar plantations in Hawai'i. This recruitment, in turn, fueled the debates over emigration in Spain at the time.

Spaniards had migrated to the Americas for generations, but this exodus had often been couched in the familiar language of the Spanish conquest. In this narrative, the migrants were heirs to the intrepid spirit of the original *conquistadores*. The deliberate recruitment of Spaniards by American companies as instruments of American expansion in the aftermath of 1898 had a sobering effect on the Spanish psyche. Coming on the heels of the loss of its last Caribbean colonies, it highlighted the country's difficulties as it struggled to compete in the modern world. It also underlined the subservience of Spain to its former foe. As the Spanish prime minister aptly put it, using a physical metaphor, Spain was now the hands to the American head.

The harsh conditions that prevailed in this labor recruitment prompted the Spanish Parliament to adopt legislation to protect the migrants and, sometimes, ban the recruitment altogether. More challenging perhaps was the task of protecting the thousands of Spaniards who migrated to the United States in the 1910s and 1920s. As Varela-Lago shows, the consular system was ill suited to face the challenges of a population dispersed across such a vast territory. Lack of embassies and consulates, poor preparation of consular officials (who could not always speak English), lack of resources to furnish consular offices, and low salaries defined the unenviable position of the consuls and did not contribute to fostering a good relationship between them and the migrants they were supposed to serve. World War I added to the difficulty of the situation, as an overstretched embassy had to defend Spanish

citizens from being illegally drafted to serve in the American army (in violation of Spain's neutrality and the 1902 Treaty of Friendship between the two countries).

The anti-immigrant legislation that followed World War I practically stopped the migration of Spaniards to the United States. While the Spanish state did not lament this, the outcome did affect the Spanish communities already established in the country, as their numbers rapidly dwindled. For those who remained, the 1930s would offer a different set of challenges. Franco's victory in the Spanish Civil War persuaded many migrants to cut ties with their homeland. Some determined not to return until democracy was restored in Spain—it turned out to be a very long wait.

As we mentioned before, this selection of chapters does not (and could not) exhaust the possible range of topics. We do hope that with its varied themes and approaches this volume begins to fill the gap in our knowledge of the Spanish immigrant experience in the United States and encourages further research on the diversity and complexity of this experience.

NOTES

1. Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Our America: A Hispanic History of the United States* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2013), xxviii.

2. Fernández-Armesto, *Our America*, xiv.

3. "Spanish royalty in Miami to celebrate 500-year link to Florida," *Miami Herald*, November 18, 2013; "No podemos imaginar el Estados Unidos de hoy sin el legado español," *El País*, November 19, 2013. The visit was covered by the press in both countries. See, for example, "Los príncipes de Asturias visitan California y Florida," *El País*, November 13, 2013; "Prince Felipe, Princess Letizia of Spain visit the Huntington," *Pasadena Star-News*, November 17, 2013. When Spanish prime minister Mariano Rajoy visited the White House in January 2014, he offered President Barack Obama three facsimiles of documents from the sixteenth century that highlighted the Spanish connection to the Americas and another important quincentennial: a *mapamundi*, the biography of Vasco Núñez de Balboa, and his letter to King Ferdinand relating the discovery of the Pacific Ocean.

4. "Salustiano Sánchez, el hombre más viejo del mundo," *El País*, September 16, 2013; "World's Oldest Man Dies at 112," *Buffalo News*, September 14, 2013.

5. See, for example, Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, ed. *Españoles hacia América: La emigración en masa, 1880-1930* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988).

6. Germán Rueda, *La emigración contemporánea de españoles a Estados Unidos, 1820–1950: De “Dons” a “Místers”* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1993); Germán Rueda Hernánz, “Vida y desventuras de ocho mil españoles en Hawai durante las primeras décadas del siglo XX,” *Revista de Historia Contemporánea* 3 (Diciembre 1984): 125–42.
7. Bieito Alonso, *Obreiros alén mar: Mariñeiros, fogoneiros e anarquistas galegos en New York* (Vigo: A Nosa Terra, 2006); Nancy Pérez Rey, “Unha achega á emigración galega a Nova York,” *Estudos Migratorios* 1, no. 2 (2008): 31–61; Ana Varela-Lago, “La emigración gallega a los Estados Unidos: La colonia gallega de Tampa, Florida,” in *Proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Galician Studies*, ed. Benigno Fernández Salgado (Oxford: Centre for Galician Studies, 1997), 431–49; Ana Varela-Lago, “A emigración galega aos Estados Unidos: Galegos en Louisiana, Florida e Nova York (1870–1940),” *Estudos Migratorios* 1, no. 2 (2008): 63–84; Juan Manuel Pérez, *Pro Mundi Beneficio: Los trabajadores gallegos en la construcción del canal de Panamá, 1904–1914* (A Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 2007); Carolina García Borrazás and Francisco Sieiro Benedetto, *Galicia en Panamá: Historia de una emigración* (Santiago de Compostela: C. García, 2011); see also Germán Rueda Hernánz and Carmen González López-Briones, “Los gallegos entre los españoles de Estados Unidos,” in *VIII Xornadas de Historia de Galicia: Cuestións de Historia Galega*, ed. Jesús de Juana and Xavier Castro (Ourense: Servicio de Publicacións da Deputación Provincial de Ourense, 1995), 103–76.
8. Luis Argeo, “Asturian West Virginia,” *Goldenseal* 35, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 14–18. See also his documentary *AsturianUS* (n.p.: Neutral Density Films, 2006); *Borregueros, Aragoneses en el Oeste Americano*, directed by Carlos Tarazona Grasa, DVD (n.p.: 2008); Carlos Tarazona Grasa, *Borregueros: Desde Aragón al Oeste Americano* (Barbastro: Gráficas Barbastro, 2017).
9. María José García Hernandorena, “Una aventura americana: Carletins als Estats Units d’Amèrica,” *Carletins* 1 (2013): 50–55; Pepa García Hernandorena, “Recovered Memory: The Use of Biographic Stories in the Second and Third Generation of Valencian Emigrants to the United States of America in the Early 20th Century,” *Catalan Social Sciences Review* 6 (2016): 65–78; Joan Frances Mira, “La migración valenciana al área de Nueva York,” in *Los valencianos en América: Jornadas sobre la emigración*, ed. Torcuato Pérez de Guzmán (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1993), 109–14; Teresa Morell Moll, *Valencians a Nova York: El cas de la marina Alta (1912–1920)* (La Pobra Llarga: Edicions 96, 2012); Enric Morrió, “Binillobers als Estats Units d’Amèrica,” *Alberri* 24 (2014): 213–61. Juli Esteve has also written several documentaries on this migration in a series entitled *Del Montgó a Manhattan: Valencians a Nova York*.
10. A complete catalogue of the publications on Basque migration produced by the Center for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada, Reno, can be found

at the William A. Douglas Center for Basque Studies, last accessed May 6, 2016, <https://www.unr.edu/basque-studies/cbs-press>.

11. R. A. Gómez, "Spanish Immigration to the United States," *Americas* 19 (July 1962): 59–78. See, for example, Brian Bunk, "When the Bounding Basque Met the Brown Bomber: Race and Ethnicity in World Boxing before the Second World War," *Sport in Society* 11, no. 6 (2008): 643–56; Brian Bunk, "Boxer in New York: Spaniards, Puerto Ricans, and Attempts to Construct a Hispano Race," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 35, no. 4 (2016): 32–58; Christopher J. Castañeda, "Times of Propaganda and Struggle: *El Despertar* and Brooklyn's Spanish Anarchists (1890–1905)," in *Radical Gotham. Anarchism in New York City from Schwab's Saloon to Occupy Wall Street*, ed. Tom Goyens (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017), 77–99; James D. Fernández, "The Discovery of Spain in New York, circa 1930," in *Nueva York, 1613–1945*, ed. Edward Sullivan (New York: New York Historical Society, 2010), 216–33; Suronda González, "Talking Like My Grandmothers: Spanish Immigrant Women in Spelter, West Virginia" (master's thesis, West Virginia University, 1991); Suronda González, "Forging Their Place in Appalachia: Spanish Immigrants in Spelter, West Virginia," *Journal of Appalachian Studies* 5, no. 2 (1999): 197–206; Julie Greene, "Spaniards on the Silver Roll: Labor Troubles and Liminality in the Panama Canal Zone," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 66 (Fall 2004): 78–98; Thomas G. Hidalgo, "Reconstructing a History of Spanish Immigrants in West Virginia: Implications for Multicultural Education" (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1999); Thomas Hidalgo, "En las Montañas: Spaniards in Southern West Virginia," *Goldenseal* 27, no. 4 (Winter 2001): 52–59; *Weaving with Spanish Threads*, directed by Eve A. Ma, DVD (Berkeley, CA: Palomino Productions, 2006); Phylis Cancilla Martinnelli, *Undermining Race: Ethnic Identities in Arizona Copper Camps, 1880–1920* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009); Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885–1985* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Carol L. Schmid, "Spanish and Spanish Americans, 1870–1940," in *Immigrants in American History: Arrival, Adaption, and Integration*, ed. Elliott R. Barkan (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 2: 623–27; Ana Varela-Lago, "From Patriotism to Mutualism: The Early Years of the Centro Español de Tampa, 1891–1903," *Tampa Bay History* 15, no. 2 (1993): 5–23; Ana Varela-Lago, "Conquerors, Immigrants, Exiles: The Spanish Diaspora in the United States (1848–1948)" (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2008).

12. James D. Fernández and Luis Argeo, *Invisible Immigrants: Spaniards in the US (1868–1945)* (New York: White Stone Ridge, 2014). For more information on this project, see "Spanish Immigrants in the United States," accessed April 16, 2018, <https://tracesofspainintheus.org>.

13. As mentioned in note 10, this statement does not include research on the Basque diaspora, which has its own long and distinguished bibliography.

14. A selection of these titles includes James D. Fernández, "Nueva York: The Spanish-Speaking Community Responds," in *Facing Fascism: New York & The Spanish Civil War*, ed. Peter N. Carroll and James D. Fernández (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 84–91; Montserrat Feu-López, "España Libre (1939–1977) and the Spanish Exile Community in New York" (PhD diss., University of Houston, 2011); Emilio González López (with Amado Ricón), *Castelao, Propagandista da República en Norteamérica* (A Coruña: Edicións do Castro, 2000); Marta Rey García, *Stars for Spain: La guerra civil española en los Estados Unidos* (A Coruña: Edicións do Castro, 1997); Marta Rey García, "Los españoles de los Estados Unidos y la Guerra Civil (1936–1939)," *REDEN* 7 (1994): 107–20; Lisa Tignor, "La Colonia Latina: The Response of Tampa's Immigrant Community to the Spanish Civil War," *Tampa Bay History* 12, no. 1 (1990): 19–28; Ana Varela-Lago, "¡No Pasarán! The Spanish Civil War's Impact on Tampa's Latin Community, 1936–1939," *Tampa Bay History* 19, no. 2 (1997): 5–35 (the Spanish Civil War Oral History Project, at the Library of the University of South Florida, Tampa, documents the response of the Tampa Spanish community to the conflict: <http://www.lib.usf.edu/special-collections/florida-studies/ybor-city-west-tampa>); Ana Varela-Lago, "From Migrants to Exiles: The Spanish Civil War and the Spanish Immigrant Communities in the United States," *Camino Real* 7, no. 10 (2015): 111–28.

15. Prudencio de Pereda, *Windmills in Brooklyn* (New York: Atheneum, 1960), 49.

16. See Beverly Lozano, "The Andalucía-Hawaii-California Migration: A Study in Macrostructure and Microhistory," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26, no. 2 (April 1984): 305–24 (chapter 2 in this volume), 81.

17. For a discussion of this system, see Julie Greene, "Spaniards on the Silver Roll: Labor Troubles and Liminality in the Panama Canal Zone," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 66 (Fall 2004): 78–98.

18. See Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, "Spanish Anarchism in Tampa, Florida, 1886–1931" (chapter 3 in this volume), 91.

19. See Phylis Cancilla Martinelli, "Miners from Spain to Arizona Copper Camps, 1880–1930" (chapter 6 in this volume), 207.

20. See Martinelli, "Miners from Spain" (chapter 6 in this volume), 235.