

*BONES AND BLOOD:  
FAMILY TIES AND THE EXPERIENCE  
OF IMMIGRATION IN ANZIA  
YEZIERSKA'S BREAD GIVERS AND FAE  
MYENNE NG'S BONE*

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«That wasn't a custom,» said Bak Goong.  
«We made it up. We can make up customs because we are the founding  
ancestors of this place.» –Maxine Hong Kingston, *China Men*<sup>1</sup>

Literary critics and historians, Werner Sollors has provocatively argued, have been too easily inclined to take ethnicity for granted and view it as a natural, known and self-evident category. Instead, he suggests that we should study ethnicity as an «invention»: ethnicity, he maintains, is not merely a matter of cultural survival, «it is constantly recreated as people (and ethnic authors among them, of course), set up new distinctions, make new boundaries, and form new groups.» At the center of the debate on ethnicity, Sollors places not the inheritance of an original culture that is either obliterated or recovered, but the experience of the encounter with America which is common to all ethnic groups (with the exception of the American Indians) including the first colonists. According to Sollors, this historical experience of the encounter with the target culture outweighs the diversity of the source cultures. In other words—borrowing

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1. Maxine Hong Kingston, *China Men* (New York: Knopf, 1980), 118.

lived in New York during this period, and they as did other immigrant groups, contributed to the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the city.

The relatively smaller number of Spaniards who immigrated to the United States is not due to a lack of immigration tradition from Spain to the Western Hemisphere. In fact, according to Germán Rueda, the Spanish immigration to the Americas during the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century is one of the most important migratory movements from Europe (after the British and the Italians). Although the majority of Spaniards went to Latin America (especially Cuba, Puerto Rico, Argentina and Venezuela during that period), some two hundred thousand chose to immigrate to the United States. The United States Secretary of Labor's Eleventh Annual Report of 1923 shows that 153,218 Spaniards immigrated to the United States during the 1908-1923 period.<sup>3</sup>

The reasons behind the decision to emigrate are several. On the one hand, there are «pushing» reasons, as poor economic expectations, and to avoid conscription and thus the Spanish-Moroccan War, and during the mid 1930s and early 40s, to escape the Spanish Civil War, and subsequent exile. There were also «pulling» reasons, such as the call of relatives, friends and neighbors, and the attraction the United States had as a land of opportunity, and the expectations for improving their lives.

The Spanish immigrants to the United States follow the patterns of other European groups. According to John Bodnar, if the attraction of the US had been a magnet only for poor people, the immigration process would have involved the poorest people in all countries more or less homogeneously. However, immigrants arrived from some regions, and not from other regions. Most of them did not come from the lowest classes, but rather from the low-middle class strata of society. Frank Thistlethwaite's theory that said that the immigrants were not an indifferent mass but which represented specific groups, both regional and occupational is true for the Spaniards in New York.<sup>4</sup> According to Rueda, most Spaniards who arrived in the United States came from rural areas or small towns – although this does not necessarily mean that most of them worked in agriculture.<sup>5</sup>

As a whole, most Spanish immigrants to the U.S. came from the northern regions of Spain: Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria, the Basque Country and Navarre. There were

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Villaplana. *Destierro en Manhattan. Refugiados españoles en Norteamérica*. Ediapsa, México, 1945. There are also monographs about specific groups such as the Asturians, Basque and Galicians in the United States.

3. Germán Rueda, *La Emigración*, pag. 20. According to the U.S. Secretary of Labor. *Eleventh Annual Report, 1923*, there were 153,218 Spaniards immigrating into the United States during the 1908-23 period.

4. John Bodnar, *Los Transplantados*, Ediciones Tres Tiempos, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1985 pag. 45 (Published originally as *The Transplanted, A History of Immigrants in Urban America*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1985).

5. Rueda, *La Emigración*, p. 62-63.

also immigrants from the Canary Islands, Valencia, Andalusia, Catalonia and Old Castille.<sup>6</sup>

*According to a report by the Spanish ambassador to the United States, Juan Francisco de Cárdenas, during the years 1933 and 1934, based on the immigrants registered at the consulates, half of them were of Galician origin, other large group were Asturian, and the rest were Basque, Andalusian, and Castellians . . .*

*...The Ambassador's report to the Minister referred to 1935, and in the 1933, 1934 and 1935 consular reports to the Ambassador . . . there is more detailed information about current settlement areas divided among consular districts:*

*New York: (percentage of people from) Galicia (50%), Asturias (17%), Castilla—including Cantabria (9%), Andalusia (8%), Basque Country and Navarre (3.5%), Catalonia (2.5%), Valencia (2%), Aragón (1.5%), Canaries (0.5%), other regions (6%).<sup>7</sup>*

The statistics of the U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office show that the year 1930 is the peak of the Spanish presence in the U.S.<sup>8</sup>

According to Rueda, the Spaniards in New York lived in four main areas:

*The southeastern area, in Manhattan: the «Cherry Street / Roosevelt» neighborhood (from Canal Street down), was the main Spanish settlement in New York. It was located at the end (?) of the Brooklyn Bridge, near the harbor and the South Ferry, in the southeastern part of Manhattan ( . . . ) Up to the '30s and '40s most regional houses were located in this area ( . . . ) The Western area: the population of Spaniards was less concentrated than in the previous area, yet, there were Spaniards from Christopher Street up to W. 23rd. There were many services for the Spanish community: religious, business and associations ( . . . )*

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6. A case of a family from the Valencian region is that of Libby Gómez, from Alcoy (Alicante). Libby's family immigrated to Cuba and shortly after to New York. According to Libby, they arrived in spring, 1908, when she was not yet four years old. In contrast to most Spaniards, they did not live in the Spanish neighborhood (Oral interview by Carmen González, August, 1990).

7. Rueda, *La Emigración*, p. 63-64.

8. Germán Rueda y Carmen González, «Los gallegos entre los españoles de USA, siglos XIX y XX», en Jesús de Juana, editor, Diputación de Orense, 1995 (in print).

9. Prudencio de Pereda, *Windmills in Brooklyn*. Longsmán, Green & Company, Kings Press, Inc., Kingsport, Tennessee, 1948, p. 28.

*Brooklyn: the main Spanish club, La Nacional was located in that area during a period of time. Perhaps five or six thousand Spaniards lived around Willow Place, Columbia Place, Henry Street, etc. ( . . . ) Astoria (Queens) was the fourth Spanish settlement in New York.*

The story of a group of Spaniards who lived in New York working in the sale of cigars is described in the autobiographical novel *Windmills in Brooklyn*, by Prudencio de Pereda. Written in 1948 and first published in 1952, the novel features the life of a family of Spaniards of Andalusian origin in the city of New York during the first decades of the 20th century. Through the eyes of a boy, we see the immigrants' lives in the big city. Through *Windmills in Brooklyn* we can identify the main features of the Spanish immigrant experience in New York.

*There were more Spaniards in Brooklyn place than in any other place I knew, and I didn't feel like a foreigner there, the way I did in my neighborhood or at school.*<sup>9</sup> These words by the narrator show the feelings of the grandson of a Spanish immigrant family. He was born in the United States, but his first language and his main cultural traits are Spanish. His life is based on the family, his grandparents being the most important characters in his autobiography about his childhood. This is best described in the introduction of the book:

*Like so much else in this book, the title was contributed by my grandmother. She always criticized Grandfather for his lack of business sense and his otherworldliness ( . . . ) and once when she was doing this to a friend, the woman objected ( . . . ) «Don José is ( . . . ) like a true Don Quijote.» Yes, Grandmother said ( . . . ) Unfortunately for all of us, though, there are no windmills in Brooklyn.*<sup>10</sup>

The family ties are so strong for the author, that as his grandparents are not integrated into the American life, he feels a foreigner. This is one of the main features of the novel. Through its pages, we can see many examples of these feelings.

Like so many Spaniards in New York, and in fact, like so many immigrant experiences, the narrator's family came to the United States as a result of a relative's call for the family to reunite in New York, where they were supposed to start a new and better life. Typical of any immigrant group, the relatives' letters exaggerate the opportunities in the new country.

*My grandmother's brother had come to the United States some years before ( . . . ) He wrote glowing letters to my grandmother, telling her to make José, my grandfather, see reason and come to America. (My great uncle) felt very bad*

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10. Pereda, *Windmills in Brooklyn*, Introduction, p. 1

*when she'd married a waiter. He was her only brother and they were very close. Grandfather was content (in Tangiers). He didn't want to leave. The letters got more boastful, and then pleading. Finally my grand uncle sent enough money to pay first class passage. He consented and he came to the United States with his family—to a tenement district in Hoboken, New Jersey. They moved to Brooklyn shortly after, when my aunt was born, but to a tenement district again, and they never lived better than that.<sup>11</sup>*

The fact that the family first settled in New Jersey is not unusual, as there was a Spanish colony in this state. According to Germán Rueda, the U.S. Census shows a continuous growth from the late 19th century up to 1930, when the number of Spaniards residing in this state was some 50,000. Most of them lived in the city of Newark.<sup>12</sup>

Don José is a typical low-middle class European who immigrated to the United States. As stated above, most immigrants did not belong to the poorest strata of society – some economic means and some education made immigration a possible option, which was not so easy for those who had nothing in their countries of origin.

*Grandfather had been a waiter in Spain. He was very proud of that. Then, just before he had come to the United States, he'd been a waiter at the best hotel in Tangier, Morocco; and a prince, a duke, and a princess had been among his patrons ( . . . )*

Don José's prior immigration to Morocco also shows another migration current among Spaniards— those who went to North Africa, either to Morocco (part of it being a Spanish protectorate), or to Algeria. Most Spaniards who immigrated to these areas came from Andalusia or from the Valencian region. Don José's reason for immigrating to the United States was to follow a relative already living in the New York area.

*My grandmother's brother had come to the United States some years before and made an immediate success as a «teveriano»( . . . ) Grand father was just not a good salesman. Seeing grand father pour the whiskey so neatly had made me think of what a wonderful waiter he'd been and how he must feel about what he was doing now (being a teveriano).<sup>13</sup>*

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11. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 15-16.

12. Germán Rueda, *La Emigración*, pp. 92-93. With respect to the Spanish immigration in Newark, a typical case is that of Nicanor Esteve, born in San Martiño (Orense), who emigrated to Argentina, and from Buenos Aires to Newark. His parents in law were living in that city. He lived in Newark from 1938 until he retired. He then came back to his hometown. According to Esteve, there were many Spaniards in Newark (Oral interview by Carmen González, July 3, 1992).

13. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 16.

Don José did not make it in the States. He was not a good salesman, as he was not a business-like person. He is an example of the many immigrants who could not take advantage of the opportunities in the new country.

The narrator's grandparents had problems paying the rent. He was aware of it, and of the shame this fact caused to his grandfather. He realized that his grandfather *was always very poor*. However, Don José was influential in the Spanish community. He even became the chairman of the Entertainment Committee of La España, the Spanish benevolent society in Brooklyn.<sup>14</sup>

Probably an important reason for this lack of success was the fact that he never learned English. Thus, while Don José speaks very little English, his children have a better command of the language, while his grandsons speak the language fluently as they were educated in American schools. However, they speak Spanish at home. It is quite a typical immigrant experience. The first immigrants arrive as adults and have more difficulties integrating –job, language, customs, homesickness and hopes of returning home sometime in the future. The second generation is more integrated – Prudencio's parents had married within the Spanish community, they both work, own their shop and their house. Yet, they still lived in close contact with the Spanish community.

Young Prudencio expresses this linkage role with the following words:

*Going to Grandmother's had some responsibility, for there were always errands to be done and I often have to act as translator. My grandmother spoke only about ten words of English, and my grandfather just a few more.*<sup>15</sup>

The boy is crossing an imaginary bridge, with one side being his Spanish roots, very deeply rooted in his mind, and the other side his everyday life in New York, attending school, having American friends . . . with the «americanization» as his immediate future to which he does not object. Yet, his fascination for his grandfather, and then for his grandmother brings him back to his Spanish roots.

Family life and support by relatives or older immigrants from the same country proved to be crucial for many new immigrants. Thus, many looked for their countrymen as soon as they got off the boat in New York.

*On the afternoon of the day he'd landed in New York, after a steerage passage from Spain, Agapito told me, he had gone over to Brooklyn to have a drink at the La España headquarters. He had heard of La España on the ship, he explained, and he thought that this was a good way to meet people.*<sup>16</sup>

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14. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 6; 101.

15. Pereda, *Windmills in Brooklyn*, p. 5

16. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 24

The new immigrants were helped by the older immigrants, sometimes even given jobs or information about possible employments. For some families, providing services for their countrymen became their business. This was the case of the Spanish boarding houses. This network would reinforce the ties among first and second generation of Spanish immigrants in New York.

*Agapito became an apprentice to Don Mariano the next week. Before that, however, Grandmother helped him get into a good boarding house. Like most immigrants, Agapito had first taken a room in New York near the docks, but now he went into one of the big, clean Spanish boarding houses in Brooklyn Heights, in the heart of the Spanish colony.*

*There were four of these boarding houses when I was young and after we had moved out of the colony, we children used to love to go to visit them with my father or grandfather.*

The author has fond memories of these gatherings. He perceived the friendly atmosphere, the familiar customs, the good times of the adults playing cards. He also remembers the good traditional cuisine which he describes as follows:

*The visits were on Sunday afternoons, and we always stayed for the evening meal of «paella» (in Spanish the original) . . . I could remember the rare wonderful meals we had in that dining room . . .*

*. . . While the adults drank their «aperitifs» (sic), and then Don Jacobo, his wife and daughter would bring in the steaming covered casseroles of pungent paella. It was usually made of chicken and rice, with the peppers and Spanish sausage, but sometimes there were shrimps added. It was called «paella a la valenciana» then. (In Spanish the original)*

*«...Paella» is the national dish from Spain, but we had it only rarely at home. Mother din't have the time to make it, and Grandmother's couldn't afford to. So these times at the boarding house were very special.<sup>17</sup>*

*My father and all my uncles had lived at a boarding house in Brooklyn Heights until they were married and they liked to go back to eat «paella» or to play cards. Grandfather had never lived at a boarding house, but he enjoyed going back to visit with his friends.<sup>18</sup>*

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17. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 28

18. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 28

He felt at home among the Spanish community «*I liked to be among Spaniards and listen to them to talk*», he said.<sup>19</sup>

Among the Spaniards in New York, Agapito López was a typical case. He represented the Galician, the most numerous group of Spaniards in New York.<sup>20</sup> According to Emilio González López, an exiled politician and intellectual, there were more than 20,000 Galicians in New York by 1982, and there were many more in the 1940s.<sup>21</sup> The early decades of the 20th century saw the largest number of *gallegos* in New York and surrounding areas. The pushing factors for emigration, the lack of opportunities in Spain at the turn of the century are clearly stated in the following paragraph:

*Agapito was from Galicia, on the northern coast, as his marked regional accent plainly showed . . . ever since he could remember he was determined to leave Spain . . . Agapito hated the hard work of the Spanish farmer, but the life he had seen in the cities was just as harsh. What depressed Agapito most about Spain was the lack of reward in any place for intelligence or sharpness. Even in the Army or the Church, the young men of the lower classes never got anywhere.*

The pulling factors of Galician emigration, and the traditional countries where they immigrated to are described as follows:

*In Agapito's time –the 1890s– many men that he'd heard of, and some that he'd actually seen, had gone to Cuba, Mexico or Argentina to make their fortunes. After ten or fifteen years some of them would return to Spain as rich «Americanos.»*

Like a number of Galicians – although a smaller number of those went to Latin American countries, Agapito decided to immigrate to the North, as he «*was determined to go to the United States, to New York in particular, where there was more money and where it could be made much faster. Agapito had always heard New York referred to as a wicked city*».

Agapito, as so many other Galician men, immigrated by himself when he was a young man, leaving his family in the small Galician town. He arrived in New York with very little money, and not much education.<sup>22</sup>

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19. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 28.

20. Carmen González L.-B., *20th Century Galician Immigration to the United States. The Oral Tradition*. Paper presented at the Workshop *A Transatlantic Home: The Oral and Literary Tradition of Migration to America*. EAAS Conference, Seville, 1992.

21. Emilio González López's oral interview by Carmen González, February, 1989. See also *El Ideal Gallego*, March 16, 1992.

22. Rueda y González, *Los gallegos entre los españoles de USA*, p. 7.

*Almost immediately he began to send presents –useful things like clothes for his brothers and sisters and farm tools for his father. He also wrote faithfully to his girl, and son began to send her small sums of money to be saved for her trousseau and their home.*

He eventually returned home to marry his fiancée, and left her at his hometown, and went back to New York, making periodic trips to see his wife and children, in a pattern that many other Galician men would follow during the first half of the 20th century.<sup>23</sup>

*As soon as he had sufficient funds –it was only two years after he had come to New York –he went back to Spain on a visit, married his girl and bought two acres of land from his father . . . (where) Agapito planned to build a house later – «the best house in the province.» . . . He had to rush back to New York .. he went back for the birth of his first son, and this pattern was repeated over seven years and five children.<sup>24</sup>*

*Agapito never lost these connections with Spain. As his prosperity increased he intensified them, and that was true for the rest of his life. He moved closer to Spain and his people there as he grew more successful here.<sup>25</sup>*

He was one of the immigrants who was able to take advantage of the opportunities in the big American city. Although he did not leave the occupation of selling cigars at abusive prices, his ingenuity made him prosper. He sold liquor during Prohibition, dealt in fake Spanish shawls and mantillas – even during the Depression years, Agapito was relatively prosperous. In the common Galician tradition, he would build his house in his home town. Many Spaniards criticized him for not making a better use of his savings, for not investing them in the U.S. Then during the bank crisis, Agapito had his property in Spain, and his money was kept hidden somewhere in his house. Yet, he seemed to enjoy what the new country had to offer:

The immigrant's condition, the mixed feelings, the sense of belonging to one place, but of living in another which had much to offer, are expressed best in some passages of the novel *«Agapito was a Spaniard and he lived in Spain. America was the place he worked in»<sup>26</sup>*.

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23. Amalia Trigo, the wife of a Galician immigrant to the United States never went to the United States. Her husband, who worked in an American boat, lived in a pension in New York and made periodic visits to his wife and daughters in La Coruña. Amalia Trigo's parents-in-law had similar experiences. According to Trigo, «many women did not travel during those years.» (Interview by Carmen González, July, 1991).

24. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 47.

25. Pereda, *Windmills* p. 46.

26. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 49

Yet, he was attracted by the new country:

*On the trolley, after he'd paid for our fares, Agapito slipped a half a dollar into the conductor's pocket. «For the Fourth of July,» he said . . . Agapito stood up and took off his hat. «Life for the United States of America!» He called out. «Happy Fourth of July to everybody!»<sup>27</sup>*

Not all the Spaniards made as much money as Agapito did with his irregular business. Spaniards worked in a variety of trades. Most of them were blue collar workers, sailors who arrived periodically in New York, small storekeepers, some ran their own small restaurant or *pension*. Women used to work in the *costura*.<sup>28</sup> The novel describes those Spaniards working in the cigar business.

*I thought when I was young that you worked according to your nationality. We were Spanish, and my father, my grandfather and the other men in the family were all in the cigar business. There was a definite rule about this, I believed, law.<sup>29</sup>*

*My grandfather was in the most stigmatized form of the cigar business –he was a «teveriano» or junk dealer, one of those itinerant salesmen who were so scorned by the rest of the trade because they dealt completely in lies: in false labels, false representation of themselves and false merchandise –very cheap cigars for which they secured exorbitant prices – and so brought still more disgrace to the Spaniards who had enough as it was merely being connected with the legitimate cigar business.<sup>30</sup>*

Some Spaniards though, lived relatively well from the «legitimate» cigar business, an industry that always had been connected with Spaniards because of their Cuban experience.

According to the author, his parents owned a cigar shop

*in the middle of the Spanish colony . . . Grandfather and Grandmother didn't live in the Spanish colony now. They had moved to only a few blocks from us when we moved to a nicer section of Brooklyn. Mother said that she wanted to be*

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27. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 19.

28. This was the case of María Correa, born in Santiago de Compostela in 1917, who emigrated to New York in 1934. She worked in a *taller de costura* ... *there were other Spanish woman working there* (Oral interview by Carmen González, July, 1991).

29. Prudencio de Pereda, *Windmills in Brooklyn*, Longsman, Green & Company, Kings Press, Inc., Kingsport, Tennessee, 1948.

30. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 6.

*near a nice school for us boys, and she wanted a street without business. We owned our own house and were on a very nice street.*<sup>31</sup>

*The visits were on Sunday afternoons and we always stayed for the evening meal of «paella.» I knew that the adults had to pay for these meals, but I didn't mind, because Father always seemed rich to me, and I knew that, if Grandfather went, my mother would give him the money beforehand for all of us.*

The information provided here shows a certain affluence, as the the author's father owned his store and his home, and he considered him as rich.<sup>32</sup>

Uncle Joe's well-paid job took him far away from the Spanish colony in New York. Yet, his detachment began some years before, as he became integrated in the American life in the most traditional way for immigrants – through education. The process of integration and americanization is explained through Uncle Joe's case. One of the features of integration and americanization of immigrants is their change of names into English names. In Pereda's novel, that is shown in Joe (Joselito), the member of the family who obtains the best education and, consequently, according to the American dream, the best-paid job. Joselito gets high school and business school education, at the expenses of his mother's sacrifices, and he makes it in business:

*Grandmother . . . never came to like America or its way of life, but she knew now that she would never go back to Spain and she was resigned to spending her last years here. Grandmother had security and comfort during this time because my uncle Joe, her son, had a very good job, and there is a kind of ironic justice in this. Joe was a certified public accountant, and it was Grandmother who had insisted that he go to high school and be kept out of the cigar business.*

*She had sacrificed and planned to send Joe through high school and then to business school at night. Lots of people in the colony—even some of the family—objected to this. They felt it was out out of character, not Spanish. They said, if Joe was to be educated why not make him a doctor or a lawyer— give him a respectable profession. Grandmother said no; that this was a business country and a money country. «It will always be like that,» she said. «I want Joselito to have steady work. That's why I want him to be in a business that has to do with money.»<sup>33</sup>*

Joe's process of integration (and eventually of detachment from the Spanish colony) goes a step further by marrying an American woman in contrast to many first and even second generation Spaniards, who married Spaniards, sometimes a young woman or man from the Spanish colony in New York, sometimes, like in Agapito's

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31. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 6

32. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 27

33. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 172.

case, even going back to their hometown to get married. The third step is to move to another city, Boston, when Joe's company was transferred there. The loosening ties with the Spanish colony (except for her mother) is very much criticized by the Spaniards.

*Joe married an American girl, and when his firm transferred, he moved to Boston. He quit the Spanish society, La España, and broke all contacts with the colony, except for Grandmother and, when people criticized him for all that –even Mother and aunts didn't like it –Grandmother still defended Joe. «His father had the friendship and respect of everyone,» she said, «and what did it avail us? No, I think Joselito is smart. I think he will succeed here.»<sup>34</sup>*

Uncle Joe was the first in his generation to become deeply americanized. Yet, the process was becoming general very rapidly. The narrator had noted the americanization of his older brother when he was a little boy, *My older brother, who was only ten (. . .) figured himself a wise American.*<sup>35</sup>

In the same way than Uncle Joe, the narrator becomes americanized through education. He explains the process with the following words:

*It was I (among my brothers) who was the first to stop going to mass. I was going to college at that time –the only one of our generation to go – and Joe and Ed (note the americanization of the Spanish names) had not wanted to go to college themselves, and had even quit high school to get jobs . . . Mother and the aunts were also angry when I stopped going to Mass. They said a college education was not good if it made me lose my religion. My father and uncles approved, however; ironically enough, it was only Agapito (among the men) who chided me «Spaniards have always been Catholic, niño,» he said. «We men had been corrupted by the money of this country – that's the bad thing! Don't ever doubt that! Spain will always be Catholic – in spite of the Anarchists. Don't ever doubt that! And you are always a Spaniard.»<sup>36</sup>*

In contrast his grandmother resists any sign of americanization for herself:

*«Do you observe American holidays now?» She (Grandmother) had a great dislike for everything American. She had been a great lady in Spain. «One has to dance to the song they play,» Grandfather said, shrugging his shoulders.»<sup>37</sup>*

The oldest generation did not give up in their hopes to go back, but the acquisition

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34. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 173.

35. Pereda, *Windmills in Brooklyn*, p. 4

36. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 43.

37. Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 6

of roots by their children and grandchildren prevented most of them from returning to Spain.

*All «teverianos» talked about going back to Spain –if only to die there, as some of the older ones said – but they rarely did. By the time they had made their fortunes, their children, who had all been born here, were happy Americans, their own parents in Spain had died and their brothers and sisters had stopped writing from there. They still considered themselves Spaniards – they spoke little English and never thought of themselves as Americans – but they were bound now by an American life and they felt reluctant to follow a dream alone. If they went on a visit to Spain, they came back very quickly and never went back again. Two of the older «teverianos» . . . actually went back to Spain to die . . . but the rest of the «teverianos» are buried in Brooklyn or in the new cemeteries in Queens.<sup>38</sup>*

In contrast, the young generations became Americans. Agapito's sons were examples of this. They will not share their parents' dreams to go back to Spain.

*Agapito's house in Spain was just about finished and his wife was anxious to go there to live ( . . . ) but her two oldest sons had adapted themselves very quickly and wanted to stay. Agapito joined his sons in convincing their mother that it would be better to stay together in America. The big war came and the sons were drafted, but they had been married before that and were very happy here.<sup>39</sup>*

Happy or not happy, the new generations were becoming americanized, while less and less Spaniards immigrated to the United States. The quota system under the immigration laws did not favor them. The restrictive Immigration Law of 1924 limited annual immigration to two per cent of each national group present in the country in 1890. The quota system favored immigrants from Western and Northern Europe, consequently it discriminated against the rest.<sup>40</sup> Among the rest, were the Spaniards, who had been the first Europeans to establish a permanent settlement in today's territory of the United States.<sup>41</sup> Spaniards kept coming legally or illegally to the United States, but in smaller numbers. The quota system remained in place with minor changes until 1965. By that time the Spaniards were emigrating in large numbers, but their immigration destinities during the late 50s and the 60s were the developed European countries.

Yet, a minor current of Spaniards (especially Galicians) who once emigrated to the United States came back to spend their retired years in their homeland. Consular sources estimate the number of those resettling in Galicia during the 1980s and early

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38 Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 47.

39 Pereda, *Windmills*, p. 95

40 J.F. Watts and Allen Davis, *Generations. Your Family in Modern American History*. New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1988 (third edition), p. 54-55.

41 St. Augustin, Florida, in 1565.

90s as some 2,000. They are a later group who, as those Europeans who, as Mark Wyman's excellent book *Round-Trip to America* studies, came back to their countries, their people and their culture.<sup>42</sup>

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42. Mark Wyman, *Round-Trip to America. The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1930*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1993.