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THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL SCOPE OF BASQUE AND NAVARRE EMIGRATION TO AMERICA

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The publishing of this book has been evaluated and reviewed by experts
in the field.

Translated by Eugenio García Pérez

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PRESENTATION

It is very rewarding to write the foreword to this work by the historian José Manuel Azcona, an expert on the question of the Basque emigration to America and its presence there. He is a professor of Contemporary History at the Rey Juan Carlos University, and he already includes among his achievements considerable works on the Basque Diaspora to the Americas, beginning in 1988 with the book chapter *Causas de la emigración vasca a Iberoamérica* and continuing with the book, now a classic, *Los paraísos posibles. Historia de la emigración vasca a Argentina y Uruguay en el siglo XIX*, published in 1992.

He was also responsible for the team that received a research grant from the Amerika eta Euskaldunak (the Basque Government) Commission as part of the 5th Centenary of the Discovery of America program. As a result of this research and data collection, the book *Emigración vasca a Argentina en el siglo XX* was published by the Basque Government Department of Culture in 1992, Professor Azcona being the main author.

URUGUAY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

Four years later, the General Archive of the Nation and the Republic of Uruguay Ministry of Education and Culture published *La historia de la emigración vasca al Uruguay en el siglo XX*, which he co-wrote with Fernando Muru and Inés García-Albi. In 2004, the prestigious University of Nevada published *Basque Migration to Latin America (s. XVI-XX)*, with a foreword by William Douglass.

José Manuel Azcona is an outstanding author in the field and has a highly valued and creditable background. Therefore, the book I now have the honor of presenting has the prescriptive guarantees of a genuine scientific work from the academic world, so often undervalued in our society despite its great contribution.

SIGNIFICANT DOCUMENTATION

After stating the reflexive and preliminary aims, the author addresses the general methodological framework, referring to the lack of a universally accepted valid model for the study of migration in general, which, in his opinion, makes the work of any specialist difficult. The content of this section is very useful to understand the various schools and trends that have existed and still exist in relation to research on the Diaspora.

At a later stage, he guides us towards the existing historiographical assessments of what has been published, what has been dreamt and what has really happened with respect to Basque emigration to the Americas. Here the author reveals his firm conviction that important events such as the Fifth Centenary of the Discovery of America were quite useful for promoting historiographical works.

WILLIAM A. DOUGLASS AND JON BILBAO

He also expresses his respect and admiration for the academic work of the now deceased Jon Bilbao and Professor William A. Douglass. We would like to support this recognition.

Regarding the initial publications in this field, from the 19th century, the author delves into the first works dealing with emigration from the French Basque Country, where the French authors insisted on proving that the emigration of their fellow citizens was detrimental. He then analyzes what was written between 1900 and 1975, stressing the heroic and epic nature of the publications edited prior to the appearance of *Amerikanuak* by William Douglass and Jon Bilbao (1975).

THE IMAGINARY WORLD OF THE BASQUES

I have certainly heard bizarre stories of great deeds attributed to our ancestors in the New World. While it is certain that many of the facts that were narrated in a heroic fashion and with pompous language reflected reality, while others did not. Nonetheless, the way these stories were told and their exaggeration have created an imaginary universe of the Basques in the Modern Age (16th to the 18th centuries) that interferes with the objectivity required to conduct an analysis. Unfortunately, this image persists on many occasions, confusing both inexperienced readers and experts in the field.

The Jesuit priest Pierre Lhande and José Queue y Goiti are two scholars who wrote, each in their own way, texts that should be given some consideration, since they deal with the causes leading to emigration and the antagonism arising from this and the circumstances surrounding said emigration.

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE BASQUE GOVERNMENT

What has been written on the American continent also appears in this book, as well as the topic of religious emigration, which has its own section. Likewise, publications that review traditions, family lineages, associations and culture are included, together with the latest contributions to the study of the Basque presence in America.

The publishing efforts of institutions such as the Foreign Action General Secretary and the Basque Government/Eusko Jaurlaritza Department of Culture have been praiseworthy. We are convinced that through our knowledge of the past, we will be able to improve the present, without overlooking the exceptional undertakings that Basque collectivities abroad have carried out to advance and develop the societies where they settled.

CONSIDERATIONS OF THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

This book, in short, offers a compendium of what has been written about the Basques in America, with valuable reflections on the past, the present and the future. The author's courage should be highlighted with regard to some specific conclusions or assertions, even though they do not follow the same lines as the officially accepted position in Euskadi over the last three decades, so often accepted as dogma.

Therefore, we must welcome this new book that triggers academic reflection as well as the consideration of all those interested in the Basque presence in America. We congratulate the author and the Basque Government for this new resource, in printed format, which has been made available to us.

Vitoria-Gasteiz, September 29, 2010

Julian Celaya

Director for the Citizens and Basque Collectivities Abroad

Basque Government-Eusko Jaurlaritza

PURPOSE AND PRELIMINARIES

Over the last years we have seen a considerable decrease in the research, reliable or not, especially in the number of published books or journal articles, as compared to the number of publications since the second half of the 1980s, regarding Basque emigration towards America.

From my professional perspective, I have currently broadened the field of my research on the Spanish emigration to America to a bigger spatial scope, than the one I have normally worked with: The Basque Country (Spanish and French) and Navarre. Therefore, and thanks to obtaining the URJC- Banco Santander (Santander Universities- Universia Programme) Research Chair, I have begun a phase in which I wish to proceed with the study of the Spanish migratory processes to Latin America from the last decade of the 20th century and later periods. The methodology of these publications, which will appear in the shape of collective essays written by specialists, will have a very different construction, at least in absolute terms, to the ones I have done up to the moment. Indeed, from 1990 until 2010, neither the points of departure have sufficient scope as in other eras already enclosed and deeply analysed in the Contemporary Age, in this case, nor are the reasons or the grounds for such departures similar to the ones of the groups I now intend to analyse at this point. Nor, of course, are other characteristic elements similar, although, certainly, I am not trying to deal with this issue in this publication. However, before starting this new line of research in my career, I have tried to reinspect, one more time, the historiographical field, so fascinating and productive, through which I have walked with real interest and dedication, and which is so different to the one I knew, back in 1987, when I proposed Professor Fernando García de Cortázar to direct my doctoral dissertation on the Basque emigration to Argentina and Uruguay in the 19th century¹. I can still recall the puzzled expression that the proposed topic gave him, as, in truth, back in 1987 the theme of the outgoing population phenomena of the Basques towards Latin America did not have any academic dignity and its observation or analysis (or so to say the apology of its epopees) was, as we will see, in the hands of scholars and eulogizers of the Basque race and reached its highest levels of greatness in the voyages of conquest and colonization in the New World. A concatenation of outstanding feats as well as religious and military deeds was then my only starting point.

It is not strange, therefore, that my mentor was surprised by the decision above-mentioned, due to the fact that other issues, such as the industrialization

¹ This work is part of the research project linked to the Research Chair Santander Universities/URJC, *Iberoamérica: Presencia española y Desarrollo Socioeconómico* whose Director is Professor of Contemporary History, José Manuel Azcona, and whose reference is FO1-HC/ Cat-Ib -2009.

of the Basque-Navarre lands, Basque nationalism, the Carlists Wars, the Matxinadas, the Zamacolada, the regional laws (*fueros*) as well as other local customs, traditions and even legends captured the interest of the Basque historians. In this context I began my academic career at Deusto University and I had the opportunity to do field work in Argentina and Uruguay, which helped even more to strengthen my formative stage as well as to understand that if you have to focus on unravelling the outgoing flows of Spaniards to America, one must work at the archives placed at the destination point; although this might seem obvious, it does not always occur in the types of tasks which we will highlight at this point. The second thing I learned at that time -between 1987 and 1990- was to compile all the historiographic production of the issue at hand so afterwards I could write my doctoral dissertation: *Possible Paradises. Basque Emigration to Argentina and Uruguay in the 19th century*, University of Deusto, 1992. This compilation wasn't as large as one might expect. Currently, in 2010, the panorama has considerably changed, and I am going to show that positive transformation in these pages.

I have to apologise, beforehand, to any reader interested in this text (initiated or not) for the possible omissions or gaps that might be found, probably inevitable, as a matter of course, in a text like this. What I have tried to do here (the reader will judge if that aim has been achieved) is to write a creative essay which might help to visualize in a wider scope the Basque-American historiography from its first publications until to-day. In general terms, I have tried to avoid the lineal sequencing of the books or catalogues with, more or less, accuracy and order². In a general way, I will try, therefore, to make an assessment of the texts I have had the opportunity, either in the past or more recently, to read, use and analyse for my historiographic production on this field. I am going to follow those works edited in book format or papers published in the Spanish Basque Country, in the French one, in Navarre, as well as in other geographical areas of Spain, and finally in America as a whole. I translate to the reader the inherent difficulties attached to this task, almost an impossible mission, due to the geographical complexity of the historiographic subject matter and the diversity of the publishing scopes. Regarding this issue, I will comply with the percentages that José Miguel Aramburu Zudaire uses in his excellent paper "La emigración vasca en América en la Edad Moderna. Balance Historiográfico"³ and who, at the same time, follows Carmen Gómez: "What has been produced in the peninsular Basque country is the most important (38%), followed by the rest of Spain (30%), then Latin America (13%), with Mexico leading the list (4.8%), and farthest are United States (3.9%) and France (2.8%). Consequently, Spanish is the most used language (84%), followed by English (8%) and after them, Basque (4.1%) and French (3.3%). On the other hand, he laments that if there had been a proper communication and a shared cataloguing in the Basque Region, he could have presented a full existing

² At times it has been impossible to avoid this succession which, if it has been included, has been for compilation purposes so that it can be useful for any researcher on this field.

³ In Álvarez Gila, Óscar and Angulo Morales, Alberto (Eds.), *Las migraciones vascas en perspectiva histórica*, Bilbao, UPV/EHU, 2002, pp. 13-50.

bibliography on the Basques and their relationship with America with all the materials published in that Spanish region⁴.

I have decided to initiate a process of debate, of analyses, of retrospective on what has been dreamt and what has happened in the scope of the Basque-American historiographic production from its origins until today. The bookending periods are the Modern and the Contemporary Ages, and beyond deeply revising my own specialized library on the topic, achieved after years of dedication and huge efforts to this task of compilation, I have followed the databases of the University of Deusto, UPV/EHU, Navarra/UPNA, Buenos Aires and Montevideo National Libraries as well as my own bibliographic reviews from the Basque Centers in America. We should not forget, of course, the excellent and considerable bibliographic source of information, that, in my opinion is the most complete that can be obtained, from the Center for Basque Studies at Nevada-Reno University (USA) and to whose warden, William A. Douglass, I would like to acknowledge with personal gratitude and professional recognition. From a scholarly point of view, I think he is the one, together with the already deceased Jon Bilbao, who has done the most as to study with real methodological rigor and documental veracity the Basque diaspora in America. We will talk later about his works. I owe to Jon Bilbao, whose Eusko Bibliography is a masterful reference for the scientific treatment of what we are narrating, and to William Douglass, more than his friendship, which is an honor, their support of my work and the energy they knew how to infuse in this writer in order to finish my doctoral dissertation whose topic, as we have already mentioned, was not very popular back in 1987, when I began. Together with that energy, I also owe to both of them the structural teaching for the good methodological end of my studies on the Basque emigration to Argentina and Uruguay in the 19th and 20th centuries. The sources we are going to mention now are also relevant for a better knowledge of the topic we are now treating, and they are essential for any researcher interested in this perspective: Bulletin of the Royal Society of the Vascongadas of the Friend of the Country (BRSBAP), Revista de Indias, The American Studies Yearbook, (AEA), Mundaiz, Muga, Jakin, Bulletin of Historic Studies of San Sebastián, Ekaina, Eusko Ikaskuntza History and Geography Notebooks, RIEV, Bulletin of the Basque Studies of the American Institute (Buenos Aires) and the periodical publications of the Basque-Argentine Foundation Juan de Garay.

Another question we have to answer is how we define the concept of emigrant, or emigration. For example, strictly speaking, the term “emigrant” refers to the person who moves from his or her own country to another one, generally with the aim to work in a permanent or temporary way. The action of emigrating must be circumscribed by the fact of leaving or abandoning a family, person or village, one’s own country with the aim of becoming a resident abroad, and this departure could be temporary or long-lasting. This wide general scheme raises the question of whether it is licit to consider servicemen (working for the government), the clergy and the missionaries going to America since the 16th century as real emigrants. In truth, (and this is an arguable opinion, of course) we believe they can not fit in this category as they were

⁴ Gomez, Carmen, “Fuentes y metodología para el estudio de los vascos: la Fundación Sancho el Sabio”; Garritz, Amaya (Coord.), *Los vascos en las regiones de México (siglos XVI-XX)*, t. 3, México, 1997, pages. 352-356, 359.

following orders given by the dominant political or religious powers. Furthermore, we could seriously hesitate to consider as emigrants those famous figures who have fascinated so much of the classical Basque-American historiography, as we will see, and about whom so many lines were written in the past. Thus, Urdaneta, Legazpi, Elcano, Ercilla, Oquendo, Blas de Lezo and so many other relevant Basques involved in the processes of the conquest, colonization and evangelization of Latin America, from an institutional point of view, should not be included in the category of traditional emigrants. Something similar happens with the trading, religious or philanthropic associations or companies, as correctly stated by José Miguel Aramburu Zudaire: “[...]we can recall as migration issues, those other centers of interest which are repeated in this classical historiography, and some of them still draws the attention of the historians from new points of views and methodologies, such as the Compañía Guipuzcoana de Caracas or, in general the Basque commerce and merchants with the Indies, the brotherhoods of Nuestra Señora de Aránzazu in America, the School of the Vizcainas in México, the Royal Society of the Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País (RSBAP) o the Basque whalers in Newfoundland in the 19th century. I think it is useless and impossible to try to include [...] all of these issues, as to each one of these corresponds its own historiographic balance; nevertheless they must be taken into account so as not to lose sight of the context and the interrelations given in any historic topic, especially regarding emigration, given its complexity”⁵.

We are, therefore, in front of a many-sided issue, with many sectorial aspects and with a very difficult task of managing methodological unanimity by the authors working this part of Basque history. More than that, if we take into account the different political evolution of Spain and France, regarding the migratory journey from each side of the Pyrenees. Incidentally, with respect to the identity stated by Basque who arrived in the New World, most of them called themselves Spanish or French, even when they noted their Basque origin. In everyday life, Basques and Navarrans, as well as French Basques - although in a smaller number -were aware and had the feeling of belonging to a big family, as stated by Julio Caro Baroja, which in some cases language and customs as well as similar ways of living and understanding the world, were the spiritual mortar that joined those groups of Basques, Navarrans, Low Navarrans, Zuberotarras and Labortanos who settled down in the New World from the beginning of the conquest and colonization of America by the Spanish Crown. The idea of belonging to very distant territories from their native country, but with very strong Spanish roots, as well as the usage of Spanish as a vehicular language in America were the main elements that brought together a human collective, that was homogeneous in its folklore, customs and traditions which now, as then, lives in two nations, Spain and France, and which from an administrative perspective we must place in the Region of The Basque Country, The Region of Navarre (The Kingdom of Spain) and the French Pyrenées Atlantiques Department (in the Aquitaine Region). However, before dealing with this issue, we will review the general theoretical and methodological framework used in the study of migrations.

⁵ “*La emigración vasca en América en la Edad Moderna*”, p. 17.

THE LACK OF A SPECIFIC AND UNIVERSAL METHOD

Those who deal with the matters we have addressed here know that there is no specific methodological approach that is universally accepted. I think that this circumstance can be inferred in the previous pages. For that reason, we find it prudent to introduce this issue now, at least briefly, making a few observations on the theorization in which the works on migration move in general and about migrations with an international nature⁶.

The first reflections with a light scientific touch, appeared in the positivist environment of the late 19th century. Their traces reach the middle of the 20th century and they were based upon macro-analytical and macro-structural models. In the origin of these models one can see more than a relevant influence of the economic theories, so in fashion at the time, which attempted to explain the economic behaviors of the world in a completely rational way with methodological parameters borrowed from the exact sciences. Regarding emigration, this was explained as a consequence of the notable differences in economic structure between the areas of expulsion and reception of these migratory fluxes. It is obvious to think that the protagonists of the diaspora went from the poorest to the most developed areas as well as from the countryside to the city.

F. G. Ravenstein is the first (and the most precise) person to formulate this explanatory model of the pull and push factors. This author established a chart in which we will outline his popular twelve migratory laws established in 1885 as the first regulated and general archetype which tries to explain, in a complete way, why migratory processes happen. Ravenstein affirms that economic reasons are the main ones which motivate the exodus of a population from one place to another. In addition, it is the capitalist system itself and its labor model with its relevant fluctuating periods of highs and lows, as well as economic crisis that explain almost everything. For such reasons, the most important migrations occur from rural areas to industrialized ones, as the emigrants always want the biggest possible improvement of their personal and domestic situation. In this scheme, as Ravenstein lays out, short-distance movements prevail, if possible, and when the industrial development is bigger the pace of the diaspora accelerates. These scholars considered these axioms, accurate or not, to be irrefutable for decades: A. F. Weber, A. Redford, H. Jerome, W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, O. D. Duncan and S. A. Staonffer. This last author tried to deepen the scientific side of Ravenstein's theories, creating an opportunity model- according to which migratory movements are directly proportional to the number of existing opportunities. In the same interpretative line, and already in the 1940'-s, we can place D. Thomas and G. K. Zipf. The latter suggests an inverse distance law, according to which the number of emigrants between two places is inversely proportional to the distance between these two points. In the same way, authors who must be mentioned are J. Q. Stewart, D. J. Boque, E. Lee and M. M. Hagood and Zelinsky who established five historic periods in the migratory flows. I agree with the global analysis of

⁶ See chapter 1 of the interesting work by Rocío García Abad, *Historias de emigración. Factores de expulsión y selección de capital humano de la emigración de la Ría de Bilbao*. University of the Basque Country Press, 2005.

this macroeconomic approach given by Rocío García Abad, whose words I quote here:

E. Lee (1966) stands out, who taking E. G. Ravenstein as a starting point- and establishing his own “theory” based on a group of eighteen hypotheses which complete the explicative frame of the “pull and push factors” of the migrations, as with the existence of the intermediate obstacles (such as distance, physical barriers, means of transportation and communication or family responsibilities), the existence of currents and counter-currents, as well as personal factors such as the perception, intelligence, personal networks or information. There are many authors who have gathered this theoretical tradition, whose listing in this point would be tedious, and many of the migration studies in which we find the analyses of the factors of attraction and expulsion. It remains today a valid explicative method, even to tackle the present migratory movements from the undeveloped countries, but with some deficiencies. This model shows important deficiencies, which were the reason for the later theoretical renovation. The “pull and push” model has an excessive simplicity and the complexity of the migratory phenomena can be hardly schematized with difficulty in its explicative model and reducible to economic factors. Migrations cannot be explained in depth by the functioning of the labor market and the differences between the income and the expected benefits, there being many more factors needed. These theories besides failing to address the analysis of the complex migratory phenomena, do not manage to explain things such as differentiating behavior, regional dynamics or the selection processes and decision-making of the emigrants.⁷

All of these models, which have a strong economic nature, were revised in the 1920'-s within the general framework of the global revisionism of the social and human sciences given at the time. Thus, macroeconomic theories are going to tackle the study of migrations departing from the assumptions of using aggregated variables and comprising wide interpretive frames, both geographical and temporal. In this way, migrations are studied under the umbrella of the general economic laws, which try to offer a global and universally accepted explanation. To achieve that, the migratory flows are seen under the microscope trying to group the people who choose the overseas adventure into categories such as age, marital status, gender, attraction factors and the chances of success at the chosen destination, especially for those who are related to the labor market. The diaspora is studied taking into account the existence of two realities, the rural and the industrial, and from the imbalance between them; that is to say, between the vital necessities of a growing population and the available resources. We are confronting the so-called “dual or unbalanced method”, whose main representatives are: A. Lewis, J. Fei, G. Ranis, M. P. Todaro, J. Stillwell and P. Congdon. Also, another variation of this macroeconomic analyses can be found in the “balance model”, with G. Hunt leading it, and who shows us the importance of choosing the final destination in global migration mechanisms.

⁷ Rocío García Abad, *Historia de...*, pp. 58-59.

In contrast, we are familiar with the “theory of the world system”, represented above all by I. Wallerstein, and much in fashion during the sixties and seventies in the last century. Other authors who support this theory are A. L. Mabogunje, E. M. Petras, A. Portes, J. Walten, D. Massey and S. Sassen. For all of them, with more or less symmetric, the migrations are logical actions inherent to the processes and mechanisms of economic globalization and the peculiar nature of the markets, which are defined as transnational, and where global companies gain a leading role. As rightly stated by Rocío García Abad, the main actors of emigration are not considered to be individuals, but groups or segments.

In 1979, M.J. Piore maintained that the international migrations are produced by the attraction factors and not by the expulsion ones. This is the “the dual or fragmented labor market theory”. Therefore, it is the Western society, with its overwhelming industrialization process, that demands a substantial number of workers, and it is also the cause for the relocation of the population from one place to another in search of a job in the industrial sector.

Quite interesting as well, although in our opinion hard to maintain, is the theory laid out by F. F. Mendels, H. Medick, D. Levine, C. Tilly and De Vries during the late 1970’s and the early 1980’s. The so-called “proto-industrialization model”, insists on perceiving migratory continuity among the workers at the preindustrial or proto-industrial stages. These were the ones who would later emigrate and live in urban industries. The rise of the manufactured items in the rural world is considered to be the reason of an excess in qualified workers who ended up in the secondary sector, this fact being the main elements of its growth and its development. We will use Rocío García Abad’s analysis as to comment on the positive and negative sides of this conceptual model:

The main positive aspects of this approach are: its quick implementation, its high representativeness and its global vision of the phenomena; but, on the other hand, its deficiencies or limitations. The first is the difficulty of finding sources with aggregated data for dates before the second half of the 19th century, so the chronological study frame becomes widely limited to the contemporary age. The second is that the results obtained, despite being broad and general to a geographical and chronological framework, and quite useful to build general visions by adding the local data, still hide both the great regional diversity as well as the individual behaviors. Finally, this type of approach does not add a completely satisfactory explicative frame, as it is difficult to explain human behaviors by taking the main macroeconomic indicators as a source. This approach is unable to explain either how the selection of the individuals is made, or the heterogeneity of the human reality.⁸

The “neoclassical economic theory” bases its ideas on the existence of differences and unbalances among diverse regions and among the industrial and business sectors of the economy. It emphasizes the decision-making ability of the individual as opposed to the micro-analytical perspective, as explained later, which will use the family as the main unit to be analyzed. The main

⁸ Ibidem, pp 59-60.

supporters are A. Lewis, J. Fei, G. Ranis, J. R. Harris, M. P. Todaro, T. W. Schultz, R. M. Solow, G. Becker, L. A. Sjaadstad, M. Greenwood, O. Stask and D. E. Bloom.

Neoclassical economic theory has had a vital impact on the consideration of studies on emigration, as the structural base of its content is generally understood as highly clarifying. This theory outlines, under its postulations, that the movements of people are a product of the differences among social groups and geographical environments, as well as the labor conditions among nations and to the costs of emigrating. Therefore, the labor market is the mechanism which activates migratory flows, in the face of the economic asymmetry of the affected regions. Other explicative factors are included, besides the ones mentioned before, and which are, in our opinion, quite illustrative, such as: the distance of the journey of the diaspora, migratory chains, job vacancies, weather and the cost of migration. As a matter of fact, migrations are a consequence of the decisions taken by each individual, and each decision has a clear selective nature, as stated by the theorists of this explanatory theory. The authors insist on the idea that the individuals relocate more often due to the expected benefits more than the real ones. Other goods and services, such as obtaining of the health or educational benefits, will also make us understand why people migrate. We should not forget interpersonal compositions according to the income of the individuals within each group. This explanatory model introduces, in addition, the idea of the education as the driving force for development, as emigration is in itself an investment strategy improving the personal situation of the main actors. This is why the emigrant will be able to make the most of his personal and formative potential at the destination point.

The New Economics of Migration is a theory that emerges from considering the family unit as the rational group of decision-making processes, conditioned by the subsistence needs of the clan. Families protect themselves from the economic and social pressures. And, as defended by Reher, its strategies and economic activities depend on the economic options of the environment and on the availability of the labor force at home. Regarding the origins of this analytical structure:

This theory is directly influenced by the development of the family and the life history studies, a science which has its origins in the historic demography of the 1970's, but also in the new social history which emerged in the USA at the same time, with the challenge of reconstructing the life of families and their interactions with the most important social economic and political entities. It was developed thanks to the works of M. Fleury and L. Henry (1956) on family reconstruction, which other authors joined at a later stage. Among them we can find P. Ariès (1960), E. Le Roy Ladurie (1969), D. Herlihy (1973), J.L. Flandrin (1979), P. Laslett and the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure will join at a later stage.⁹

This school considers, therefore, that the family is more than relevant when trying to understand the human migratory process, as it facilitates the insertion of the emigrants, the channels of departure, and later settlement that

⁹ Ibidem, pp. 67-68.

it provides to other members. One should not forget the importance of the family structures when forming the labor markets as stated by the supporters of this theory. The family, from this perspective, becomes the main unit to be analyzed, as on it, the decision as to which members are to start the overseas adventure are made, as well as the issue of timing, but from our point of view this is an arguable issue. We will not refute, initially, the theory of the importance of family chains in the settlement, insertion and channeling of later departures of any diaspora. Linking with the economic hypotheses already mentioned, it could be understood that migratory journeys increase as the employment, social and survival circumstances of the family worsen. When children are young, and therefore, not within the productive circuits, the displacement of the family is activated. Conversely, we can assert that individual migration is boosted when one is young and single, mainly due to labor migration, and at the end of their lives, when they are elderly, there is a critical survival moment where individuals look for the help of their children. This theory highlights a factor which will directly influence the migratory typology, such as the life cycle, defined as the consequence of the stages a family experiences from its initial set-up until its total disappearance, and which can be summed up in the following phases: creation, expansion, stability, contraction, “empty nest” and extinction¹⁰. The main representatives of this line of thought are D.E. Bloom, D. Levhari, E. Katz, S. Yitzhaki and J.E. Taylor, as well as O. Stara who articulated the “relative deprivation model”, according to which the comparison that the feasible actor to emigrate does so among his possessions and the ones of the other individuals in his same social group or home community is an aspect which may prove decisive when deciding to emigrate. Stara does not speak much about the differences among the regions and countries of the home countries, but she emphasizes the feelings aroused by social inequalities, which can be more significant than the shortages suffered by individuals. But in truth, this approach helps to understand why people normally emigrate from areas with greater social inequality (or that are perceived as such) in a similar or higher proportion than those places which are extremely poor. Once more we endorse the words of Rocío García Abad:

Through the family approach, this school of thought manages to explain some aspects that the “pull-push” model could not. However, these theories have been criticized, as many are scholars questioning the unproven and simplistic assumption of a family and collective economic rationality which ignores the conflicts among its members of individual and collective interests. The individual does not always subordinate to the family needs, and sometimes, within their own families, there may be tensions and conflicts. On the other hand, the decisions adopted do not have to be the same for all the members of the family.¹¹

In the 1970’s and the 1980’s, there was a strong emergence of the micro-history as a historiographic practice which tried to find a really accurate description of human behavior, once that the time frame had been established. This historiographic method aims to reduce the observational scale with specific

¹⁰ *Ibíd.*, pp. 68-69.

¹¹ *Ibíd.*, p. 70.

and detailed procedures together with microscopic analysis of the facts as well as any other circumstances intrinsic to human behavior, in order to come to more general conclusions. From the demographic scope and its application to migratory issues, the markers used under this pattern of historic construction are: the use of local resources (such as local censuses, record books and other resources which gather up specific geographic data), the creation of family biographies, the analyses of parishes, the environments of cohabitation and the study of the population censuses. The main supporters of this “micro” approach are, among others: S. Akerman, A. Norberg, M. Anderson, C.A. Cossini, D.I. Kertzer, C. Brettel, F. Willekens, M. Gribandi, J.C. Moya, J. Stillwell, P. Congdon, G. Levi, M. Baud, A. Bideau, G. Brunet, B. Reay, J. Bordieu, A. Cofre and M. Manfredini.

Under this new perspective, and differently from any other before, the emigrant becomes the protagonist of his own story with regard to the decision of emigrating and the choice of destination. It aims to deepen in the analysis of local dynamics, of geographic, regional, provincial and local variants, and also attempts to analyze in a longitudinal way the life histories, the domestic ambience and the incidence of other intermediate factors. The migrations become to be comprehended from the family framework and the domestic economy:

In these theoretical assumptions special attention is given to the selection processes of the emigrants in their places of origin, and also to the scope of migratory factors which is widened by adding to the economic reasons, others like –unemployment, earnings, housing prices, transportation; social reasons –life conditions, level of well-being, housing, education, fleeing the military service; political factors – legislation, political problems, persecutions, tax benefits; psychological factors – subjective perceptions, feelings-, physical circumstances, transportation, religion, historical matters, information networks, previous contacts, job market, literacy, etc. The aim of these studies is to understand the nature and directionality of the movements, the socio-demographic features of the emigrant, the characteristics of the households in which the migration is born, the characteristics of the areas or countries where the migratory flows settle down, as well as their labor markets, migratory chains, the choice of the destination, calculation of probable outcomes and distance. Similar to the macro approach, the micro approach has its own advantages and disadvantages. This method has the enormous advantage of being able to conceive of the world from the point of view of the individual and show the real functioning of certain phenomena, generally distorted. Among the disadvantages, we can point to its greater methodological difficulty and the use of complex techniques such as the reconstruction of both families and individual life stories, which require a large investment of time as is necessary to cross-check sources. Regarding the results, the scaling-down of the analysis and the usage of reduced samples can cause problems with representativeness and localisms, as the data given are often counterbalanced by the abundance of the figures and the details provided. The micro approach is extremely weak when facing processes of change over time, as well as when analyzing

the implications of demographic phenomena with economic ones. They are not very dynamic methods by nature, as the available resources, either the local censuses or the registration records of life events, only offer the image of the population at one specific point, in the case of the former, and neither of them show any evolution at all. These aspects will be diminished, if not solved, with the development of indirect methods...¹²

In the 1980's, the "network theory of migration" appeared, with a new revisionist redefinition of the classical theories, once more in an attempt to create a more or less definitive approach to the theoretical issues and to come up with a definitive applicable methodology to all migratory studies. The most significant authors are: T. Hareven, M. Anderson, M. Piore, A. Plakans, M. Morgan, D.E. Baines, L.R. Taylor, D.S. Massey, J. Arango, G. Hugo, A. Konaonci, A. Pellegrino, J.E. Taylor, F. Devoto, D. Reher, F. Requena, C. Sarasua, K. Schurer, J. Recaño, G.R. Boyer, J.J. Hatton, S.A. Wegge, J.C. Moya, T. Baner, R. Leandro, V. Miguel.

As defined by D.S. Massey, and I am quoting his words, the migratory chains or networks are groups of interpersonal relationships connecting the emigrants, former emigrants and non-migrant people in their home and their destination countries through ties of kinship or friendship, as well as through having a shared origin. This approach highlights the assumption that the existence of these ties increases the chances of migration as there is a reduction in costs, an enhancement of benefits and a mitigation of the risks involved in the migratory flows. The network connections constitute a useful social capital that people use in order to find employment abroad as well as to earn a higher salary¹³. This theory has been well-received among scholars studying the emigration to America, where, as we could check in 1992¹⁴, the importance of the role of the "gatekeepers", of the "Recruiting Agents" or even the diplomatic authorities, had a relevant occurrence in fostering migration chains whose final destination was the Americas. We do not doubt that the migratory networks set up both at the departure and arrival points were a key factor influencing the decision-making process that both the individuals and the families had to face in whether to migrate or not, encouraging them to relocate to a given zone. Migratory chains are quite useful to analyze the continuity of migration flows, enabled by social networks whose net is created by relatives, friends and fellow villagers from either directional end of the diaspora. One of its most significant markers is the one defined as the "call effect" and as its own name indicates, it has to do with the claim on relatives, friends or neighbors by those who had departed beforehand and were already settled down at the other end of the

¹² *Ibíd.*, pp. 64-65.

¹³ In D. S. Massey et al., "Una evaluación de la teoría de la migración internacional: el caso de América del Norte", en Malgesini, G. (ed.) *Cruzando fronteras. Migraciones en el sistema mundial*, Madrid, 1998, p. 229.

¹⁴ *Los paraísos posibles. Historia de la emigración vasca a Argentina y Uruguay en el siglo XIX*. Bilbao, University of Deusto Press, 1992, where we pay special attention to the actions of the "accomplices" as a cause of the processes of Basque emigration towards the Rio de la Plata in the nineteenth century, with documents from the Archive of the Provincial Council of Bizkaia

network, which works among all its members as a genuine transmission channel of both information and aid, and, sometimes, is also a source of enrichment, so that the possible immigrants could undertake the migration and its inherent circumstances more comfortably. The experience of those who have already traveled before can be very useful to those who are going to follow, although sometimes the information given is only of success and a high socioeconomic level of life in the destination country.

The scholars developing the network theory of migration highlight the importance of the supporting or settling role in the integration of new immigrants, regarding the search for employment, access to housing as well as psychological or emotional aid. It is clear that this happens only within the conceptual theoretical framework, because we have often found that this ideal panorama does not match the reality. There were so many cases of indecencies and immoral abuses, as the people studying this field are well aware, that one should at least question the general validity of this method. It is true that due to the reduced costs and risks, migration flows become less selective and representative of the community of origin. This circumstance will activate the remittances, solidarity links and migrations back to the home country. This happens because once a migratory flow is established and the networks start to work, two very clear patterns can be observed. The first one deals with the continuity of such flows which can lead to the perpetuation of a given flow regardless of the reasons that caused it. The second one has to do with the spread of the network, forming like a spider web, which is constantly growing in the number of contacts and locations both in the destination and origin countries. The migration chain can keep both its ties and the information transfer when migration periods are low, until the improvement of the economic conditions within the chain reactivates the flows, even many years down the road.

Migratory chains can also generate, as a negative element, a strong inbreeding that far from being benign for the migrant may result in tragedy, as is well-known. It is true that they represent the appropriate methodology for studying international migrations, especially in its temporal aspect in the medium or long-term, and they make it easier to use anthropologic and social perspectives. What is also true, however, is that the decision making process is based on having relatives, neighbors or friends in the chosen destination countries. The information research, which might support the accurate reconstruction of the entire migratory chain, is an impossible task in many cases, and very difficult in most of them, as one could well think.

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ASSESSMENTS

The first work on Basque-American historiography was undertaken by the author of this article, with the title of “América o el Continente olvidado por la historiografía vasca”, published in *Revista de Indias*, Vol. XLIX, September - December 1989. It demonstrates the anecdotal, patriotic, paternalistic and melancholic tone that had characterized Basque historiography up until that time. There are three different periods of historiographical publications: I: 1933–1939; II: 1940–1975; III: 1975–1990. This paper highlights how emigration was overlooked by Basque historians at the time, in comparison to more in vogue topics such as the industrialization of the Basque Country, the history of Basque nationalism, the regional legal codes or the local Church. I also emphasize the importance of certain events for revitalizing Basque-American historiography, such as the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America, the Commission created by Eusko Jaurlaritza (the Basque Government), called *América y los Vascos*, as well as the BBVA Foundation, which began to provide money to research the issues we are addressing here. Another important step was the celebration of the 2nd World Congress of Basque Collectivities in 1987, with a special session on the Basque Country and America.

The next paper, in chronological order, was written by Antonio Dupla, who, despite only having conducted research for a brief period on the topics and methodologies discussed here, has produced essays with such a high quality that they should not escape our consideration. Thus, in *Euskal Herria y América. Notas historiográficas*¹⁵, he insists on avoiding the triumphalism that had characterized the writers from previous periods and establishes a necessary point of reflection, in our opinion, to move away from a mythification of the past in respect to the New World. Antonio Dupla emphasizes the need to rewrite history, confronting the previous official and conservative version that had long ignored the vital element of indigenous cultures. The author, who does not hide his political views, defining himself as progressive and anti-imperialist, runs the risk of not being seen for what he is, scientifically speaking. The most important issue at stake, he states, is to conduct historical studies with an academic character and nature, instead of publishing material wrought with political orientations from both ends of the spectrum. In his work, Duplá reviews the materials produced by the chroniclers from the modern age, such as Sebastián Vizcaino, Jerónimo de Mendieta, José de Arlegui, Pascual de Andagoya, Agustín de Zárate, Tomás Ortiz de Landazuri and Pedro de Munguía. Beginning with these publications, he studies everything written up until Franco’s regime and concludes the book with a discussion of the renewal of historical research that took place from the mid 1970s until the end of the following decade, while he also highlights both the creation of the University of the Basque Country and the celebration of the 500th anniversary as the key factors that encouraged a completely new set of studies, which were written with much greater methodological rigor.

In 1993, five students from the University of Deusto: Andoni Oyarzabal, Izaskun Andonegui, Jasone Arregi, Celestina Goitia and Pilar Sánchez,

¹⁵ Dupla, Antonio, “Euskal Herria y América. Notas historiográficas” in Abya Yala, *Amerindia por descubrir*, Bilbao, IRES (training guides, No. 15), 1991, pp. 73-89.

published a paper titled *La historiografía sobre la emigración vasca a Ultramar: breves conclusiones*¹⁶, in which they provide, as the title implies, an approach to the works that had been already published. These works are efficiently listed by the authors and limited both to the modern and contemporary age. To quote their own words, they base their research on the perspectives that had characterized the works on Basque migrations to America. Regarding Jon Bilbao's¹⁷ colossal effort in compiling a bibliography, and after choosing fifty two references and developing a questionnaire, they show the results of their inquiry. They finally select twelve works, published between the late 19th century and 1920, which highlight the concept of the Basque race. Beginning in 1920 and ending in 1993, they cite thirteen works between the 16th and 17th centuries in which illustrious men are celebrated, although they highlight Julio Caro Baroja as the main innovator of these traditional schools, as he adopts the idea of the social sphere in his approach. For 1970 until 1993, the authors emphasize the plurality and methodological variety in the works from this period, as these publications make use of socioeconomic and demographic material with greater scientific rigor. While the main historical characters are still being analyzed, it is done from a more contemporary perspective.

The next paper that we will include in this bibliography, and which is exceptionally well-written in terms of our criteria, was published in 1998 by Iñaki Aduriz, José Ángel Ascunce and José Ramón Zabala, titled *América y los vascos. Introducción y estudio bibliográfico*¹⁸. There is no doubt to the usefulness of this work.

A view from the Spanish perception is given by Xosé Manuel Núñez Seixas, in his paper "Historiografía Española reciente sobre migraciones ultramarinas: un balance y algunas perspectivas", in *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, year 16, August 2001, No. 48, pp. 269-295. In the author's words: "This paper intends to perform a diagnosis of the progress and gaps found in Spanish historiography on overseas migration during the last decade, particularly focusing on the period after the commemoration of the 500th anniversary in 1992. With this goal in mind, as well as placing the historiographical research on immigration studies in the broadest possible framework of the recent evolution of Spanish historiography, he reviews the contribution of various regional historiographical centers. Despite the fact that "immigration studies" are not labeled as such in Spain, as opposed to other countries, and although synthesis studies and Spanish studies are still unsatisfactory, this work highlights the improvements made in several regional historiographical studies that are being conducted, while dependence on the theoretical and methodological approaches of other historiographies is still the norm." From this same university professor, it is also relevant to cite "Emigración transoceánica de retorno e cambio social na península ibérica: algunas observaciones teóricas en perspectiva comparada", in *Estudios Migratorios*, issues 11-12, 2001.

¹⁶ Magazine *Mundaiz*, No. 45, 1993, pp. 81-88.

¹⁷ They take as a reference the Bibliographic Dictionary of the *Enciclopedia General Ilustrada del País Vasco* (Sección Bibliografía, volume I).

¹⁸ *RIEV*, 43-1, 1998, pp. 117-147.

In 2002, José Miguel Aramburu Zudaire's work, which has already been mentioned, was published. This book titled *La emigración vasca a América en la Edad Moderna. Balance historiográfico* and its expert methodology are more than evident. As well as creating an exhaustive list of the books and papers that had been edited on Basque emigration to America in the modern age, the author offers serious and articulate reflections on the past and future of Basque historiography on this subject. His works, which will be analyzed later, justify the rigor with which Aramburu Zudaire studies the departure of Basque and Navarre emigrants to the New World between the 16th and 18th centuries. This paper was further developed in a subsequent paper published in 2005, although in the latter, the reader is referred to the former for a detailed textual review. In any case, this newer version introduces two main sections: "Peninsular historiography in the last 20 years" and "The most recent historiography produced on America", where he provides additional information to supplement the first book. Perhaps the most important aspect of this last text is the conclusions drawn; it is filled with assessments of improvements, deficiencies and problematic or disputed issues. At the same time, he highlights new issues, which he states, without wanting to act as a determinant, are: "pending tasks, along with future directions or suggestions for work in this field of historical research, which could be very broad as there is still much to be done"¹⁹.

Professor Aramburu thinks that since 1980 and especially the early 1990s onwards, original research and analytical directions, which are quite innovative and important, have arisen as a consequence of the use of new and unpublished sources. I agree with him when he states that Spanish historiography, as well as Basque historiography, should collaborate more closely with the work being done abroad, especially in America. He says "Whether we like it or not, beyond all particularities or preferences, the history of Spain and the history of America are both the history of the Basque Country, and vice versa. This should not stop us from affirming the existence of a Basque-American reality or *euskoamericanismo*, which within a common history, albeit much more defined during the colonial era, characterizes the specificity of the Basque people in the development of their relationships with the new American world"²⁰.

Professor Aramburu Zudaire's analysis is not incorrect, as studies on Basque emigration to America have often been solely conducted from a geographical perspective, regarding the regions that the Basque Government calls the Historical Territories of Biscay, *Araba and Gipuzkoa*, the Chartered Community of Navarre, as well as the French provinces of Labourd, Soule and Lower Navarre. In addition, there is not a great deal of literature on comparative migration history. On the other hand, when professor Aramburu refers to the use of sources, he is absolutely correct, and I would like to insist on a point that is quite obvious in my opinion: in order to seriously study the Basque and Navarre migratory scopes, we think that it is essential to navigate the archives of the Basque Country, the Old Kingdom and the rest of Spain, as well as archives in the American countries of destination that are the focus our research. This does not always occur, which we will demonstrate, as some professionals only

¹⁹ Aramburu Zudaire, José María, "América o los Vascos en la Edad Moderna. Una perspectiva histórica" in *Vasconia*, 34, 2005, pg. 266.

²⁰ Aramburu Zudaire José María, "América o los Vascos...", p. 268.

do their research using Spanish sources, giving preference to sources found in the Basque Autonomous Community and Navarre Chartered Community.

Another problem raised by Aramburu is that researchers often have great difficulty finding information, as well as the lack of contact among scholars on either side of the Atlantic, at least in absolute terms. Therefore, it is necessary to promote academic encounters, as well as seminars or conferences at different locations more frequently, in order to change or improve these circumstances. In this regard, I think there is a lack of interdisciplinary teams, as the sources available on both continents are remarkably abundant. He concludes by saying that “Social history, with its unrelenting ascent, as well as the history of different mentalities, are finding their place, even if they are often unsure as to their own definition, and will become the main specializations of this new historiography if they manage to use the proper methodology and to establish a stronger methodological foundation. This is the reason behind the success of micro-history, which is gaining momentum. The chief aim of these works is to show us other aspects of the everyday life of individuals, as well as their personal circumstances, for example, through the very enriching correspondence that has been found and published, and which was more or less private when written; the role of the family, with its extended family structure and sole heir system, together with the local community, as the main causes that characterize Basque migratory phenomenon; the social conditions of departures and the socio-professional typology of emigrants, if they can be perceived as such; the individual, social or group perceptions regarding a range of issues (or mentalities), or the collective imagination to which some works have already alluded in relation to the consciousness of a collective identity, which is particularly important in the Basque case, with its compatriot networks or migratory chains throughout the so-called “Carrera de Indias”; religiosity, which was very relevant during this multi-faith era and its pluralistic expression in many aspects of life, such as associationism (guilds) or the forever pending issue of the religious orders; remittances and the creation of several charitable projects, some of which were in America but principally in the countries of origin (chaplains, dowries or granaries, essential in regions such as Navarre or Araba, are three prominent examples); as well as everything that relates to the return of American emigrants (or “indianos”), their reception and insertion into the community, going beyond mere superficial descriptions and detailing all kinds of repercussions, including an evaluation of migratory phenomenon or the notion of America in the countries of origin. In summary, a prosopographical reconstruction. This author immediately comments that the territory surveyed is enticing and the assessment, together with the scientific and educational materials produced, is generally positive. We could not agree more²¹.

On the other hand, Claude Mehats, in his doctoral dissertation (in manuscript format) titled *L’émigration basque aux Amériques. XIX et XX siècles. An état de la question*²², offers very interesting reflections from a scientific perspective.

In 2005, the magazine *Vasconia* (Eusko Ikaskuntza) published a monograph titled “20 años de Historiografía Vasca: Revista Vasconia 1983-

²¹ Aramburu Zudaire José María, “América o los Vascos ...”, p. 273.

²² University of Bordeaux, 2004.

2003”, which more or less successfully, depending on the authors and periods analyzed, studies the Basque historiographical production between the cited dates, with likewise varying rigor according to each case. In the introduction of this text, the professor at UPV/EHU, Iñaki Bazán, explains how at the ordinary meeting of the History and Geography department at Eusko Ikaskuntza, or the Basque Studies Society (EI/SEV), which took place at the Basque Museum in Bilbao on November 9, 2002, a celebration of the 20th anniversary of the *Cuaderno de Sección de Historia-Geografía* (now known as *Vasconia*) was proposed. The proposal was accepted and a scientific and organizing committee was created to develop the idea, whose outcome is the monographic volume we are now discussing, and in which we can find the aforementioned paper by Aramburu Zaudaire, as well as another paper by Óscar Álvarez Gila, professor of American History at the University of the Basque Country, which we will proceed to analyze, titled *América y los vascos a la octava provincia: 20 años de historiografía sobre la emigración y presencia vasca en las Américas (siglos XIX y XX)*²³. The author, whose curriculum vitae can be seen on the internet, photograph included (Euskosare and Eusko Jaurlaritzza-Presidencia), can be described as an outstanding expert on the issue at hand as most of the works he has written during his academic career address this field of knowledge, with mixed results, as I will eventually analyze. Always following the sources he has developed during his career by means of online publications, particularly at <http://www.euskosare.org/Euskosare-Euskomedia/EuskoIkaskuntza>, Professor Álvarez (Portugalete, 1966) is the author of seven books, the editor of eight titles, to which we can add 81 references in journals or book chapters, two participations on the board of scientific journals, one coordination of a monographic volume of a scientific journal, seven reports or notes, encyclopedia entries and complementary material, nine chronicles, twenty one reviews, six “other publications” and five “other collaborations”. In total, 143 works exclusively written on the Basque-American field; and in some cases, with a purely educational or anecdotal purpose, and others, offering a highly scientific contribution to the topic. It is surprising, however, the creative capacity of this sole author, as such research and narrative skills are very difficult to find in the Spanish academic world.

We will start by mentioning that we think the title of the paper is not very appropriate, especially in relation to the “eighth province”, recalling the Galician metaphor for the large number of their population living in Buenos Aires. As a result, we believe that this is not suitable, as in general terms, the number of Basque emigrants is neither as large as one may think, nor does it have the connotation the headline reflects. Even though this is a less important issue, I will now focus on some thoughts found in the preliminary discussion of Álvarez’s text: “If historians are to agree on something when setting the minimum standards that should underpin their work, it is the importance that is unanimously given to historiographical reflection, taking this concept as the analysis of the current state of the research on the aspect of the past an author wishes to develop, as well as the methodological and epistemological elements behind the knowledge accumulated. Thus, nobody can deny how interesting it is for the people working in the field of history to stop researching from time to time, in order to look back and summarize the paths along which historiography

²³ *Vasconia Journal*, 34, 2005, pp. 275-300.

has traveled, in the case of the Basque Country, over the last few decades, as we have set out to do now, on the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the journal published by the History and Geography department at Eusko Ikaskuntza, currently known as *Vasconia*²⁴. These words remind us of those pronounced by José Miguel Aramburu Zudaire: “Historiographical reflection is not a historian’s usual task; however, it should form part of the profession of historical research. Indeed, it could be said that the *historiographer* is still not that common in Spain, although the number of professionals belonging to this category has steadily increased across all the historical disciplines over the past twenty years”²⁵.

He continues his work by insisting on the tendency that has infiltrated (sic) Spanish historiographical production to “excessively link the march of History as a science in the so-called—in official jargon—official commemorations”. This opinion, which I do not share, is rather surprising, as from my point of view, institutional events of this kind help to promote, increase and reactivate historiographical production in any specific area of knowledge and even more so in the general field of history, where—as it is well-known by all of us who teach this subject at universities—it is rather difficult to acquire research funding. I previously mentioned Antonio Duplá and José Miguel Aramburu, who think that even though many negative aspects can be found in the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America, this event was a very important moment, as well as a salutary lesson in the promotion of Basque-American historiographical research. I have no doubts in this respect. At the beginning of his paper, Óscar Álvarez clearly states his goals: “Thus, this work aims to outline some generic points, in a more or less organized form, on the lines of research in Euskal Herria regarding the history of the Basques overseas. Therefore, we are not going to simply recount the published works; to that end, we could refer the reader to the bibliographies of the contemporary history of the Basque Country, prepared since 1987 by José Luis de la Granja, among other authors, which have been published regularly in the journal *Vasconia* since 1998 and extended both in the area of localization, as well as their bibliographical classification, to the rest of the periods in Basque history²⁶. In fact, from that same year, the compilation also includes in a regular and systematic fashion, references to the Basque presence overseas—as a result of the importance that these studies are acquiring. I also do not intend to show a list of historians because, among other reasons, as we will see later, the continuity indicator for this topic was and still is a weakness of its development”. These words are in line with the following statement: “I think that an assessment is not a roughly selective, ordered and criticized resource index, even though having one readily available is helpful as a preliminary step; this is more a creative essay, which offers plenty of suggestions, decisions and personal statements [...]. I must warn you that I have mainly based my study on

²⁴ Álvarez Gila, Óscar, Art. Cit., p. 276.

²⁵ Aramburu Zudaire, José María, “América o los Vascos...”, p. 13.

²⁶ According to their own reference, refers to Farm Sainz, José Luis de la; Iñaki Bazan Ten (coords.); Santiago de Pablo Contreras; Óscar Álvarez Gila; Alberto Morales angle; Elisha Gil Zubillaga; Carmel Landa Montenegro (comp.); “Bibliografía General de Historia de Vasconia (1998). Euskal Herriko Historiaren Bibliografía Orokorra (1998)”, *Vasconia*, San Sebastián, 31 (2001), pp. 347-446.

publications from, and in this order, the Basque Country, the rest of Spain and Latin America, as this is where the largest number of works have been published, most of them being written in Spanish (very few of them are in French or Basque). Subsequently, I have tried to analyze the evolution of methodological tendencies, the approaches of the lines of progress, etc., so as to provoke reflection and debate”²⁷.

Ironically, Álvarez Gila refers to the book considered by most specialists as the point of departure for the contemporary Basque historiographical revolution as “The Bible” (take note of the inverted commas). I am obviously referring to *Amerikanuak. Los vascos en el Nuevo Mundo*, first published in English by the University of Nevada-Reno in 1975. Professor Álvarez thinks that this text is “clearly surpassed by the advancement of knowledge”, although he does specify in which sense or aspects, or the authors who have surpassed this publication, which in our opinion, is still a fundamental work (perhaps he is referring to himself), especially when dealing with Basque emigration to North America. Perhaps Óscar Álvarez is correct in the case of Spanish and Portuguese America, although I must point out that this last topic was not the main objective of the authors of this text: William Douglass and Jon Bilbao. However, there is a contradiction between these words and assertions he made in 1992: [Douglass and Bilbao’s book] “was, and still is, an essential point of departure for the study of everything related to the Basques in the United States”²⁸. In any case, this essay was very useful—as Álvarez Gila highlights—in terms of presenting the possibilities of studies on the different realities of Basque collectivities in America to the historiographer. Emigration ceased to be a mere demographic phenomenon and was enriched by other analytical outlooks, such as social, economic, political or cultural histories. In addition, it would benefit from the continuous contribution of related scientific fields such as anthropology, sociology or philology. While there is still a long way to go in order to acquire in-depth knowledge of Basque-American historical realities, it can be said, to offer a brief conclusion, that one of the main breakthroughs obtained during the last two decades has been the larger number of approaches with which Basque historiography has studied such a specific topic. Perhaps we could be accused of being unrealistically optimistic when offering our opinions, yet those working in the field of Basque-American studies see the future ahead as very promising²⁹.

Álvarez defines the spatial limitations of his research when he situates Euskal Herria as the departure point of the migratory flows overseas: “We must also stress that we consider the historiography of all the territories forming what in the Basque language is called Euskal Herria, that is to say, the current Basque Autonomous Community and Navarre Chartered Community, as well as the French regions located in the northern Pyrenees. This is not a decision, the product of chance, or the result of a priori considerations—such as this being Eusko Ikaskuntza’s natural area of scope, or an appeal to the always reassuring concept of authority—or other more political than historical considerations; rather, it is a requirement of the research subject itself. As the sociopolitical

²⁷ Aramburu Zudaire, Jose Miguel, *La emigración vasca a América...*, pp. 14-15.

²⁸ In *Revista Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, No. 22, 1992, p. 7.

²⁹ Álvarez Gila, Óscar, Art. Cit., p. 277.

context we are dealing with transforms this point into a difficult issue—consider what the term “Basque” means semantically, as well as its social, cultural and political connotations—we think that it is necessary to offer a clarification, as in this case, it has an impact on a constantly highlighted element in the research framework of Basque-American “collectivities”: the question of their identity³⁰. Álvarez Gila adopts the more general historiographical definition of collectivity in respect to migration, when he defines it as a group of immigrants from the same geographical or national territory, with shared cultural features, living in a foreign land. The immigrants become aware of belonging to a particular group, as well as to an institutional structure within and beyond this collectivity. This professor states that two features which define the existence of a collectivity are, firstly, the aforementioned grouping of a people who have decided to migrate, and secondly, the corporate structure that represents them through the official social institutions.

Even if we agree to a large extent with this assertion, one question that has been raised when visiting Basque and Navarre centers in the Hispanic American countries is what really happens to the enormous amount of emigrants, which is much more significant than those represented by these fellowship organizations, and who often have nothing to do with these formal meetings and associations. Moreover, their lives are completely separate from the activities held at these Basque Centers, which are normally languid, melancholic, decadent and quite politicized, nearly always with a nationalist orientation. As a consequence, most emigrants cannot be studied as they escape the reach of these places due to laziness, lack of interest in meeting fellow Basques, dislike of hierarchical organizations, or simply because some emigrants do not like Sabinian nationalism. However, most people tend to think (I fell into this trap³¹) that within the Basque emigrant centers and societies, the purest essence of migratory phenomenon and its real circumstances can be found. This is well and truly at odds with reality, even if we acknowledge the relative importance of these organizations for keeping the culture that the emigrants had access to at home alive. Similarly, they provide information on funding and subsidies granted by the Basque Government annually. We shall take a look at an excellent example mentioned by William A. Douglass and Jon Bilbao:

The Basques settled in the United States either individually or in relatively small groups, and most of them worked as shepherds. This activity, due to its nature, prevented them from gathering together as a group, and this is mainly the reason why they could not

³⁰ Cites Totoricaguena on this point, Gloria, *Diáspora vasca comparada: Etnicidad, cultura y política en las colectividades vascas del exterior*, the Basque Government, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2003.

³¹ It is not difficult to enter into that space because a priori it would seem that the living representation of the entire emigrant collective can be seen at the Basque centers. However, as the Basque society here is plural in its social composition and political views, this is also the case in Latin America. There is an impression that the homogeneity of the nationalist collective should be reflected in the homogeneity and totality of the migrant group that, by extension, is represented at these centers in its entirety. This is pure fiction. The Basque centers in Latin America only attract a part of the social migration network, where the plurality we refer to is absent. I have witnessed this in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Mexico, Venezuela and the US.

become an ethnic group. The isolated nature of sheep herding made the Basques unknown to most of the American population³².

What happens with these groups apart from the "official" groups? Why don't we study them? I could personally see the reasons for this in the late 1990's, when I organized some conferences on Basque immigration and culture in Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, funded by the Foreign Actions Department of the Basque Government (Presidency). To such academic events the audience was comprised of professors, scholars, erudites or just interested people linked somehow to the Basque sphere but who were, them all, had nothing to do with the traditional societies or brotherhoods, and who, by the way were very critical in a sectarian manner. A pleiad of Basques who were communist, socialist or belonged to the non-Aranista Catholic conservatism, which cannot normally found in these Basque-American centers in Iberian America. In the same way, I couldn't see in those conferences those who do not make politics their way of life. Instead, they are trying to live comfortably in the new country and they try to avoid the Basque Centers where one can find the wrong homesickness of a bucolic and pastoral Euskadi, together with a disdain for Spain as the main identitarian features conveyed by the two nationalist channels: the Christian-Democrat PNV, and the Marxist Herri-Batasuna, or their analogous. What has been explained now links together with Marcela García Sebastini studies, which show that only the 15% of the Spanish registered in the 1914 Argentinian census was part of the mutual associations, and if they did not enrolled in these association, which provided a high quality of life, one can imagine that the figures for the cultural, recreational or patriotic associations, which are not essential for a good standard of living, were much lower.

From this perspective, I completely disagree with Álvarez Gila's assertion that: "Without being simplistic or tautological, and recognizing that this process was not univocal or standardized, one cannot deny that in countries such as Argentina, Cuba, Uruguay or the United States, sooner or later there was an identity-based unification of the Basque collectivity. And undoubtedly, this affected the way in which the researcher should deal with the complex historical explanations as to why these collectivities were created"³³. I sincerely believe that this phenomenon has not taken place anywhere except at the Basque Centers where there are tight ranks surrounding orthodox nationalist dogma, as we have just seen, often so orthodox that they still talk to members about the "Basque race". Moreover, on many occasions, there is no "identity-based unification", in the words of Óscar Álvarez; rather, the concept of identity is limited to having one or more Basque surname and a rough idea of the location of the Basque Autonomous Community, the Navarre Chartered Community or the French Pyrénées Atlantiques Department. We should not forget all those emigrants who still feel Spanish and are not interested in the prevailing nationalism overseas. Therefore, I cannot approve of the statement by the same author: "Thus, in fact, there may be no other phenomenon throughout Euskal Herria's contemporary history, except religiosity, which deserves a study that encompasses all of Euskal Herria. The historiographer is required to adopt a more complete and complex vision of the Basque Country so as to acquire a

³² In *Amerikanuak*, p. 29.

³³ Art. Cit., pg. 280.

better understanding of the phenomena that shaped the construction and development of these collectivities. In all the Basque emigrant-receiving American countries, specific Basque identities incorporating emigrants from all the Basque territories, both French and Spanish, have necessarily been created”³⁴.

I think nothing could be further from the truth, as beyond those “excluded” from the institutional groups, it is well-known that the Navarre and the Basque-French centers have acted independently. I honestly believe that this sweeping statement is based on the homogeneous identity of the Basque-Spanish centers where this idea can be sustained. This is not the case with the Navarre centers, and one should remember what happened at the Navarre center in Buenos Aires, or the Eukaro-Spanish center in Montevideo, which are quite different from the idyllic identity-based description we have just seen. The situation is similar at the Basque-French centers, where their members, besides being proud of the origin of their French (as well as Basque) surnames, they often feel more French than Basque, or they value both origins equally. I shall not elaborate any further on a point that was so obvious to me when I was writing my doctoral dissertation and when I visited these Ibero-American countries, as it is not the aim of this work. A final example is the many Navarres I interviewed in the southern summer of 1989, who belonged to the first migratory generation. Most of them highlighted the fact that they felt Navarre or Spanish, but not Basque. And those people who were Basque-French, considered themselves as French and then Basque. On the other hand, the most common sense of identity at the Basque-Spanish centers was Basque, together with an utter denial of their Spanish origins. This is why I think that it could be more useful for the scholars studying Basque associationism in America—who must attend these meeting and association points—to consider that when analyzing these centers, they are only reflecting what happens in one part of the community: the nationalist milieu. They should never forget the regional differences we are emphasizing here. It is appropriate to study emigrants who are separate from the official associationism. I can attest to having met many of them.

Professor Álvarez Gila only includes in his work the historiography produced on the European-Basque regions; however, he does not forget to mention the development of some studies on this topic in the countries that have received Basque emigrants during the contemporary era. He justifies, surprisingly, the lack of interest that Basque historiography has shown towards migratory issues. Álvarez thinks that “The historiographer cannot live in an ivory tower, far from the concerns of a society that expects History to provide answers to the pressing issues of the day. In an environment strongly influenced by the crisis of the industrial model, the rapid secularization of society, as well as the political debate on national issues and their institutional implementation, one should not be puzzled by the importance given to topics such as the Carlist Wars, the development of our industry, the labor movement, the evolution of Basque nationalism, the role of liberalism or the Church in our society, along with the interest aroused by the study of the “fueros” (regional codes of laws) or

³⁴ Álvarez Gila, Óscar, *Art. Cit.*, p. 280.

Basque anthropology”³⁵. It is as if historians should use their subject matter to respond to the current concerns and questions of society in their historical research. In general, I do not think that historiography and the works produced are moving in this direction. Moreover, I believe that on many occasions (not always) the opposite is the case. Research by history scholars distance themselves from the concerns of the present, in order to seek to answer the legitimate questions that historians should ask themselves when beginning a study. It is as simple as that.

Álvarez insists on the idea that according to the historiographical fashion, which since it was promoted by the commemoration of the 5th centenary, among other events, has generated a great deal of scholars, of which “the luckiest went through an American stage of publishing some chapters or books on the issue”, many others—as he says—“will end up disappearing without a trace in the Basque historiographical academic world.” However, he highlights, in an apologetic tone, those people who have continued, in a more or less consistent fashion, in their study of the topic. Namely, himself (of course), Marcelino Iriani, Alberto Angulo, Jose Miguel Aramburu, Hurko Apaolaza, Mateo Manfredi, Argutxu Camus-Etxecopar or Yumi Nagas (these last two names are said to have recently joined). He also adds to this selective group of authors José Ángel Ascunce and Angel Apaolaza, from the University of Deusto, who is studying Basque literary exiles from 1936 to 1939, as well as scholars from the University of Pau or the interdisciplinary faculty at Bayonne, who are studying issues relating to Basque emigration: Adrian Blázquez, Michel Papy or Arianne Brunetton-Gobernatori. In another chapter of the book, he will refer to them as “his collaborators”, which is a baffling exercise of self-complacency that might normally be found in the biographical summary on a book jacket. Some people find it astonishing when Álvarez Gila defines himself as the leading scholar in Basque-American academic and scientific research. He swiftly disregards all those scholars who have worked on important issues in Basque-Americanism at specific (or various) moments during their academic careers, as if these experts had only ventured into this territory for economic or professional reasons. I consider this assertion to be a scandal but discrepancy is a key factor for the progress of science. And those of us who are familiar with the “foundry” of Basque-Americanism, from our humble academic contribution, think that, with due respect for the work of the cited academics (destructive criticism is not our style), there are many people who made and make supposedly “circumstantial” contributions and deserve, according to our point of view, a more sufficient mention in this compilation, while several of the “notable” authors are unknown. I shall come back to this point. All this falls under the questionable assumption that historiographers always have the obligation to use the same, never-ending line of research on a single subject, following many kaleidoscopic approaches and that could lead us down the dangerous path of constant repetition or excessive localism, which is not very interesting from a scientific perspective. On the other hand, the issue of the supposed economic interest that some authors have when studying the essential issues of Basque-Americanism greatly surprises us, as Álvarez Gila is a genius when it come to acquiring funds

³⁵ In reference to Azcona Pastor, José Manuel, *Los paraísos posibles. Historia de la emigración vasca a Argentina y Uruguay en el siglo XIX*. Bilbao, the University of Deusto, 1992, p. 19.

from the nationalistic Basque Government, the Spanish Government and the European Union, often receiving very large sums of money. Rather than criticize him, we would like to point out that he finds fault in other scholars whose behavior is a mirror of his own.

However, I think that Álvarez Gila is correct when he states that the delay in Basque-American historiography compared to the methodologies, approaches or topics studied by other research institutions has been remarkable: “The lack of both a proper comparative viewpoint and a better understanding of the main reference literature has meant that debates on issues regarding migratory phenomenon have arrived late to the Basque Country, when in many other places, these debates were already over. I am not only talking about the most prestigious historiographical research centers in the United States, Italy and Argentina, I also mean those that are closer to home, in other regions of our geographical setting, which together with the Basque Country took part in a demographic impulse, including all the Cantabrian areas, from the north of Portugal to the Midi-Pyrénées region in France. In Euskal Herria, we do not have a historiography comparable to that which was completed in Galicia on emigration, both in terms of the diversity of studies and level of dissemination”³⁶.

In his work, Álvarez Gila questions with scathing irony the causes that practically all migration scholars have cited when explaining the reasons for Basque emigration to America. He does not like the demographic or microeconomic explanations for the emigrant outflow. He states that factors such as crisis, plagues, wars, poor soil and bad weather in the Basque Country (Spanish and French) have been generalized, yet they are not necessarily representative of our territory (including Navarre). To illustrate this idea, he gives the following example: “Douglass and Bilbao, among others, linked these factors to what they saw as an expression of the disdain or horror of the peasants (“baserrikoak”) when facing life in the city, and even though this could be accepted in the case of migration towards the United States, it does not work when we think of Uruguay, Argentina, Cuba or Mexico, where most Basque emigrants ended up working and living in the city”.³⁷

While what he says is true, there was also a great number of Basques and Navarres in Argentina, Uruguay, Cuba or Mexico who suffered a similar aversion to the cities and sought refuge in more rural areas, as I saw when visiting the Río de la Plata, where many Basques and Navarres worked hard in order to acquire lands that would subsequently be inherited by their children. They could not have done this in Spain or France. We should explain this further, being very careful when dealing with migratory processes, the reason for which I completely agree with the following statement by Álvarez Gila: “A possible reason for the inconsistencies in these quite traditional interpretations may be found in the characterization of migratory phenomena, as historians often tend to oversimplify an already complex reality, so their results make it

³⁶ Álvarez Gila, Óscar, Art. Cit., p. 257. Echoes the work by Núñez Seixas, Xose-Manuel, *Emigración de retorno y cambio social en la Península Ibérica. Algunas observaciones teóricas en perspectiva comparada, Migraciones&Exilios*, Madrid, 1, 2000. Idem, *Historiografía española reciente sobre migraciones ultramarinas: un balance y algunas perspectivas, Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, Buenos Aires, 48, 2001.

³⁷ Álvarez Gila, Óscar, Art. Cit., p. 288.

even more difficult to understand. In fact, instead of “Basque emigration”, it would be more apt to say “Basque emigrations” or even “Basque migratory processes”, in an attempt to offer a broad approach to a phenomena that has two sides, both of which have to be understood in a dialectic and complementary way: the emigrations and immigrations suffered by the Basque Country simultaneously. And we should consider the fact that we are talking about a land where in less than 100 kilometers, one can come across three different languages, four different inheritance systems, six different urban-rural alternating spaces and the same number of different migratory behaviors, which are sometimes interconnected. The term “migration” is way too generic and comprises both the “selective” flow of average peasants from the Encartaciones area in Biscay or the *Araba* valley in Ayala that became traders in Madrid, San Juan de Puerto Rico, Havana or Mexico, the “massive” movements of families from the middle of Gipuzkoa to Argentina from the mid-nineteenth century, as well as the sporadic migration of shepherds from East Biscay and Basque-speaking North Navarre who would spend more than six months alone with thousands of sheep in the middle of the Nevada or Idaho dessert, or the migratory chains that connected peasants from Baztan with Mexican baking and flour production companies. In all these cases, as well as the final destinations, there are many differences such as the emigrants’ skills before departing, social backgrounds, the percentage of emigrants compared to the local population, the “trades” in which the emigrants worked in America, the level of “success” achieved, and even the duration of the migratory connection between the departure and destination points and rate of variability. Putting all these very different facts together, merely because they justify population movement is quite dangerous; it is comparable to writing a history that categorizes the population according to hair color or whether they are left or right-handed”³⁸.

Álvarez Gila is also obsessed, like two of his permanent collaborators—he calls them—Juan Carlos Luzuriaga and Marcelino Iriani, with denying the importance of the “ganchos” or labor recruiters as one of the main factors for the departure of Basques to South America. He thinks that the space given to this topic is exaggerated and clearly out of focus, showing once more how highly he thinks of himself. Apart from Álvarez Gila and his two collaborators, a Uruguayan and an Argentinean, no one else questions the importance of the labor recruiters as a basic concept to understand the outpouring of Basques to the other side of the Atlantic. It should also be taken into account that Álvarez Gila’s doctoral dissertation, titled *Euskal Herria y el aporte europeo a la iglesia en el Río de la Plata*, which will be analyzed later, deals with religious migrations, whose methodologies and conditions are far from being normal migratory typologies. Rather than an enriching scientific discrepancy, this is a rational criticism of Álvarez Gila’s approach, and by extension, that of Luzuriaga and Iriani. The former insists on the idea that in following labor recruiters, the Basques were not particularly original in their behavior, as they existed both across Spain and in the rest of Europe, wherefrom a large number of people migrated. He insists that the critics of the labor recruiters were the public authorities, civil servants or members of the Church, as if this came as a surprise; we think this is obvious as the authorities, civil servants or priests had

³⁸ Álvarez Gila, Óscar, Art. Cit., p. 290.

to protect the integrity of their people or spiritual community. A summary of this approach can be found in the aforementioned paper:

Changing the topic, this leads us to another of the elements inherited from the 19th century essayists within this complex issue of the “reasons for migrating”, which has been particularly enjoyed by subsequent historians. The role of the migration agents or “ganchos”—also appearing in Basque poems as “uso marxantak” or pigeons merchants—has been studied excessively and with a lack of precision. We are dealing with one of the clearest examples of the tradition being conditioned and historians not being able to escape this conditioning. Migration agents—the historiographical use of the term “ganchos” already reveals a lack of objectivity—were used as scapegoats by all the sectors that disliked emigration. We should remember that the groups which produced most of the migration publicity in the 19th century, normally against it, were civil servants, people somehow connected to the public administration or the Church. In this sense, the Basques have not behaved in a very unique way, as the same criticisms leveled at the “ganchos” were common in many other European countries where immigration was also a big issue³⁹.

This passion for denying the importance of migration agents has been maintained by Álvarez since 1992, at the least. The reasons he has provided lack a methodological approach as, honestly, and beyond this allegedly “academic” evidence we have just seen, he does not state why the reader should disbelieve the institutional clamor surrounding migration agents. This clamor existed in all Western societies and has continued to this day, as it is also studied in many other works on contemporary European migrations⁴⁰. The poor impression is aggravated when most scholars, both in the past and present, find these shady characters to be the most important reason for any human exodus internationally. We think that Álvarez Gila shows a profound ignorance of the issue he is criticizing as he is neither familiar with it, nor has he done any research on it. One need only carefully look at 19th century newspapers to observe the phenomenological dimension of these agents in the Basque migratory tradition. Later on, we will briefly study the scholars who mention the migration agents as a push factor. Of course, we are referring to migration researchers and not the Catholic Apostolate in America. Álvarez provides a very surprising and exaggerated explanation: “It is precisely in this point where we find one of the clearest and strongest bilateral partnerships between the Throne and the Altar in 19th century Basque history, when both powers form a very interesting strategic alliance: the former was interested in issues such as the economy from a classic populationist perspective—the more population we have, the richer and more powerful the State will be—and the latter in winning the favor of the State by supporting the governors’ decisions with a very high sense of duty. This sense of duty involved reading the anti-migration notices and indoctrinating the population against migration from the pulpit. However, the Church also wished to prevent the emigrants from losing their moral

³⁹ Cf. same source. Óscar Álvarez Gila, *Art. cit.*, p. 292.

⁴⁰ Beginning with the already classic pioneering work.

integrity and faith, an issue that is developed in the ecclesiastical literature from the time, whose contents and strategy should be studied”⁴¹.

But on the other hand, I agree with this professor when he affirms the atavistic theory of the emigration is trivial. The first one to state this theory was Francisque Xavier Michel in 1857 in *Le Pays Basque*, but its main supports was Pierre Lhande, who linked the Basque character to the emigration towards any other place in Spain and the rest of the world, specially towards America. I tend to think that the historical migratory Basque destination is not given by fate, but is based upon a local migratory tradition, as well as the persistency of microsocieties in which the departure towards America was constant.

In the monographic volume *XXV años de historiografía hispana (1980-2004)*, edited by José Antonio Munita Loinaz, José Ramón Díaz de Durana, Bilbao, University of the Basque Country Press, 2007, Óscar Álvarez Gila tackles Basque-Americanism once more with the suggestive title “Americanismo en el País Vasco. ¿El imposible vencido?”. In this work, he reflects what Ronald Escobedo wrote in 1980 regarding the excessive localism or exaggerated particularistic approach when dealing with issues related to the New World, ultimately making it more difficult to perform a global study, perhaps even distorting the latter. I find what Álvarez Gila writes here very relevant, as he argues that this danger is present in all studies on a topic that risks falling into the trap of localisms and the self-indulgence of poor researchers who are unaware of the current developments, advances and debates in other historiographies, whether geographically close or faraway, yet similar in methodology and epistemology”⁴². I think that his analysis is correct as this is both a problem for academia in the Basque Country and all work being done on Spanish migrations to America, with a greater or lesser degree of localism.

⁴¹ Álvarez Gila, Óscar, Art. Cit., p. 293.

⁴² Art. Cit., p. 273.

THE EARLY PUBLISHERS AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The earliest publications regarding the Basque diaspora during the nineteenth century took mostly place in France, due to the high depopulation levels that the French Basque Country suffered at a very early stages. We have decided to include here a chronological list of these first studies as we think they can be quite useful for any scholar dealing with the Basque migrations, or which can be used for comparative purposes. Afterwards we will give our opinion on them.

1. Dasconguerre, JB.: *De l'émigration dans les Basses-Pyrénées, Mémorial des Pyrénées*, Burdeos, 1836.
2. Brie, F.: *Considérations sur l'émigration basque à Montevideo*, Bayona, Lamaignère, 1841.
3. Wittle, W.: *The Journal of voyage to the River Plate, including observations made during a residence in the Republic of Montevideo*, Manchester, 1846.
4. Barrere, B.: *Émigration basque à Montevideo et à Buenos Aires*, Pau, Vignancour, 1848.
5. Isabelle, A.: *Émigration et colonisation dans la province brésilienne de Río Grande do Sul, la République Orientale de l'Uruguay et tout le bassin de La Plata*, Montevideo, Imprenta La Farrière, 1850.
6. Poucel, B.: *Les émigrations européennes dans l'Amérique du Sud*, Paris, 1850.
7. De Marmier, X.: *Lettres sur l'Amérique*, Paris, Bertrand, 1851.
8. Michel, F.: *Émigration des Basques dans le Pays Basque*, Paris, Didot Frères, 1857.
9. O'Quin, P.: *Études sur le décroissement de la population dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, Pau, Vignancour, 1857.
10. St. Leger et Delbert: *Sur l'émigration transatlantique des Basques français, Paysan du Labourd*, T. I, 1857-1858.
11. Rojas, A.: *El elemento vasco en la historia de Venezuela*, Caracas, 1874.
12. Fuster: *De la dépopulation des campagnes et des progrès de l'émigration vers l'Amérique*, Mémoire ádressé à l'Association Française pour l'Avancement des Sciences, Montpellier, Imprenta Centrale du Midi, 1876.
13. Conrado y Asper, A.: *Cartas sobre emigración*, Madrid, Pérez Dubrull, 1881.
14. Trueba, A. de: *La oriundez de Elcano, de flor en flor*, Madrid, Oficinas de la Ilustración española y americana, 1882.
15. Crespo, A.: *Emigración Navarra al Sur de América*, Revista Euskara, 1883.
16. Colá y Goiti, J.: *La emigración vasconavarra*, Vitoria, 1883.
17. Le Long, J.: *L'émigration et la colonisation françaises aux rives de La Plata*, *Revista de Géographie*, Paris, 1884.
18. Daireux, E.: *Les Français à La Plata*, Paris, Piccard, 1884.
19. Colá y Goiti, J.: *Euskal-naparren joaera edo emigrazioa*, (traducido por Marcelino Soroa Lasa), San Sebastián, 1885.
20. Etcheverry, L.: *L'émigration des Basques en Amérique. La Reforme Sociale*, T. XI, 1886.
21. Barberen, P.: *L'émigration basco-béamaise*, Pau, Vignancour, 1886.
22. Botella, C.: *El problema de la emigración*, Madrid, Tipografía de Huérfanas, 1888.
23. Casamayou, P.: *Apuntes para un proyecto de emigración*, Madrid, Tipografía M. Ginés, 1889.

24. Etcheverry, L.: *L'émigration dans les Basses-Pyrénées pendant 60 ans*, *Congreso para el avance de las ciencias*, Pau, 1892.
25. Uriarte, J.: *Los vascos en la Nación Argentina*, Buenos Aires, Ekin, 1897.
26. Serrato, F.: *Los vascongados en América*, Euskal Erria, XXXI de 1894, XXXII de 1895, XXXIII de 1895, XXXVII de 1897.
27. Arzac, M.A.: *L'émigration*, Congreso de la Tradición del País Vasco celebrado en San Juan de Luz, París, L. Gougy, 1899.

There is no doubt that the elevated literary (rather than historical) production that takes place in the French part of the Basque Country (mostly) responds to the large outflow of Basque-French people to the Río de la Plata from 1883, according to the research I did for my doctoral dissertation *Los paraísos posibles...* We must take into account that the first publication listed, in Bordeaux, is dated 1836, only three years after the first Basque-French emigrants arrived to Montevideo. There are many subsequent publications, as shown by the list, most of them being written in France.

Claude Mehats has studied these Basque-French pioneers⁴³. He talks about the right to emigrate both from an intellectual and institutional point of view, introduced by the French Enlightenment. France was hostile towards emigration. The French legislation gave primacy to public security and national interests. Therefore, citizens were subordinated to the society and the nation, and they had to comply with their social obligations, especially military service. Bertand Barrere, a civil servant officer at the Low Pyrenees Department, former consul of the French Government in Montevideo, was the first person to give testimony, in 1842, of the migration of his contemporaries to the Río de la Plata. He is irritated by the large number of passports given to both Basques and Bearnese to go to America and in his work he tries to discourage people who are considering migrating. He writes that the Río de la Plata is a very volatile area, in constant conflict, and that even though the Basque-French Diaspora had been very interesting from a financial perspective, this was no longer the case in the 1840s. He also highlights the poor agricultural crops in the area, as well as the existence of a system of contracts that made it difficult for emigrants to live decently. He finally asserts that female migration is amoral as it is caused by financial aspects.

In 1856, Pierre O'Quin, who was a deputy but also a member of the Low Pyrenees General Congress, attributes the Basque-French departure to America to economic difficulties in the primary and secondary sectors. He also discusses some immorality and the selfishness of emigrants, as they are attracted by the possibility of earning money and having an easier, more luxurious life. Another cause of migration, in his opinion, is that many young people wish to avoid the compulsory military service. O'Quin recounts the dire consequences of the Basque outflow and positions himself against it. He demands that the public administration introduce reforms in the farming and industrial sectors, so that the population can stay at home and not be forced to immigrate to America.

In 1857, Francisque Miches returns to the topic of poverty and suggests closing the borders. He thinks that excessive land division causes emigration

⁴³ États des recherches françaises sur l'émigration basque en Amérique aux XIXème et XXème siècles par des contemporains du phénomène, in Álvarez Gila, Óscar, *Las migraciones vascas...*, pp. 130-178.

and does not overlook the existence of fugitives and deserters. He criticizes the labor recruiters, who, in his opinion, are responsible for many migratory journeys, and he dares to refer to the Basque entrepreneurial spirit. In 1858, Charles de Picamilh, who worked in the prefecture, sees the migratory movements of his time as a continuation of those which began in the previous century, with the final destination of the Spanish colonies in America. For him, compulsory military service was an effect and not a cause, thus destroying the local farming economy due to the outflow of Basque-French people to other countries. He proposed avoiding a Diaspora at all costs, suppressing the tricksters who profited from it, and he wanted to offer a free return ticket to all migrants who were disappointed with their lives in the New World. In 1867, the lawyer Alfonso Pinède printed his correspondence with the Imperial Court in Paris. According to him, the Low Pyrennes Department was in a poorer socioeconomic situation than Ireland and its general administration was poorly managed. In 1886, Adrian Planté, a school teacher, criticizes the plots of the migration agents and labor recruiters, cited in the preface of José Colá y Goiti's work. He denounces the treatment of white people, disobedience and land abandonment. In 1886, Pierre Barberen, in his lecture given in Paris, says that Basque emigration is connected to their intrinsic nature. He supports his statement with the positivist school of thought, stating that the Basque skull, tongue and traditions made them migrate, and in his opinion, it was a positive phenomenon due to the remittances. In 1892, Louis Etcheverry adds that the migration agents, poverty and the military conscription system were all factors that led to the Diaspora.

Now in the 20th century, we have read Piere Lhande's doctoral dissertation (1910). In 1930, Henry de Charnisay also highlights the continuous Basque migratory process. In 1939, Jacques Saint-Macary judges Basque emigration as immoral and offers agricultural solutions so that no one would have to leave France. For his part, Adrien Gachiteguy narrates Basque emigration to West America. In 1951, the geographer George Viers calls upon the institutions to prevent emigration and modernize the rural Basque economy. In 1962, André Charles criticizes the migration agents and sociopolitical situation in the Río de la Plata, explaining the harmful effects of these outflows for demography. In 1991, in a geography dissertation, André Etchelecon exaggerates the importance of the dreamlike effect of 19th century emigration. In 1995, Eric Branna studies Basque emigration to the United States. The publication in 1998 by Marie-Pierres Arrizabalaga is much more serious and academic.

We agree with Izaskun Anonegui, Jasone Arregui, Celestina Goitia, Andoni Oyarzabal and Pilar Sánchez on the following statement: "The historiography from this era shows us studies that specially refer to 19th century emigration, as it was quite a new phenomenon and the consequences suffered by the emigrant at the point of destination were much more interesting. At that time, there was a lot of research being done in France, wherefrom many Basques went to America, while the French colonies in North Africa were not as attractive. This is the main reason why most authors have a negative view of emigration, specifically to America, as it reduced the amount of people available to populate the French colonies in North America. It is clear that historians are guided by the policy arguments of their times. Moreover, the works published deal with what they call the "Basque race" in detail. They even assert that

Basque male emigrates, due to a “racial” impulse, are inclined towards discovering and conquering new territories. It must be considered that Basque nationalism was becoming very popular at that time. In this context, the vision of these authors is completely understandable. In summary, during this era, the political interpretation of migratory phenomena is the most common one, and this phenomenon is viewed as a collective action, characteristic of a people or “race”. Many of these authors, guided by the previously mentioned concerns, will introduce for the first time ever the issue of the relationship between primogeniture and emigration as one of the explanations for migration”⁴⁴.

Thus, most of the texts we have analyzed and that had to be carefully studied during our field research some time ago are full of structural patterns, as well as impersonal stories in which the emigrant is left to the twists of fate. These migratory flows are a consequence of the economic differences between both areas; the migrant outflows go, as one can imagine, from the poorest to the richest areas. In this way, in the works previously mentioned, economic motivations are always the explanation for migratory phenomena and its consequences. Therefore, geographic disparities are translated into wage differentials, and under these premises, varying behaviors, local dynamics or choice of destination and the decision-making process cannot be explained, as everything is determined by the word “race”, with the atavism that is very characteristic of the Basques. We are dealing with institutional texts that have a very clear analytical purpose and are conditioned by the politics of the time. All the other publications (written about historical figures) have not used reliable historiographical resources, particularly the American ones, and are pastiches of data and biography, spliced with epic poems and narratives about glorious adventures and characters from other worlds. These texts praise the Basque language and ethnicity, as well as the sea, the military and the conquering tradition, all elements that form the basis of this laudable self-indulgence.

I will highlight the text written by José Colá y Goiti *La emigración vasconavarra*, Vitoria, 1983, which was essential for me to contextualize and confirm the existence of many recruiting agents or “ganchos” in the Basque region, which were crucial push factors. This coincides with the documented testimonies I found at the Biscay Regional Council Archive⁴⁵, as well as the many opinion pieces in the Basque written media that I selected for my doctoral dissertation. José Colá y Goiti was a scholar who went to Montevideo and returned to Vitoria very exhausted, and on the initiative of the Araba Regional Government, he wrote a booklet in which he explained the reasons why people should not migrate. A careful examination of this work is very interesting, and beyond the author’s exaggerations and rhetorical prose, he narrates the miserable situation in which migrants lived, much more common than what is often told and to which we have referred on many occasions. It is not surprising that the vision given by the local media or authors such as Colá y Goiti of the destination countries is at odds with the paradisiacal model that we have seen, even if this fact bothers some historians from the Río de la Plata. It has not yet been described what the relationship between Spanish emigrants and the natives was like in these Río de la Plata republics, which we could say was quite

⁴⁴ Paper cited on page p. 83.

⁴⁵ In *Los paraísos posibles...*, I write a detailed analysis of these documentary sources where a labor recruiter’s (or “ganchos”) plot is analyzed, as previously indicated.

traumatic, for want of a better word. The image crafted of such a relationship is all but perfect. All the poems and narratives written by successful and rich emigrants have contributed to create this imperfect depiction. The collection and dissemination of impressions given by the “losers” and unsuccessful migrants have not had any repercussion. In fact, on many occasions, I have heard from emigrants about the fighting, friction and even trauma that the always difficult coexistence between natives and emigrants caused. On the other hand, these facts are commonly found in any migratory process and host society. Therefore, I think that Colá y Goiti’s book is essential for those who are engaging with the topic of Basque emigration to America.

FROM 1900 TO 1975

In this chapter we are going to follow the same procedure that we did in the one before, but after a comprehensive analysis of the period, I will deal, with the approval of the reader, in some of the publications listed here, and which have had a real great significance in the development of the early Basque-Americanism and even of the middle one. This is the list of the gathered publications:

1. Daireaux, G.: *El aprecio que se merece la inmigración vascongada*, Buenos Aires, 1901.
2. Etcheverry, L.: L'expansion familiale considéré comme source de l'expansion colonial: l'exemple des basques, *Réforme Sociale*, LVI, 1903.
3. Lorin, H.: Emigration des basques et la colonisation, *Revue Universelle*, VIII, 1903.
4. Lorin, H.: La famille basque et l'emigration, *Le Musée Social (separata de annales)*, VIII, 1903.
5. Thayer y Ojeda, L.: *Navarros y vascongados en Chile*, Santiago de Chile, 1904.
6. Ayarragaray, L.: Los vascongados como elemento de sociabilidad sudamericana, *Euskal Erria*, T. LIV, 1906.
7. Lesca, JH.: Basques et Béarnais dans l'Argentine et l'Uruguay, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Burdeos, 1907.
8. Uncilla y Arrotajauregui, F.de: *Urdaneta y la conquista de Filipinas*, San Sebastián, Imprenta de la provincia, 1907.
9. Adam, M.: L'exode rural au Pays Basque, *Réforme Sociale*, L. XVIII, 1909.
10. Lhande, P.: *L'emigration basque*, Librairie nationale, París, 1910.
11. Bertillon, J.: *La dépopulation de la France*, París, 1911.
12. Bley, L.: Le passé et l'avenir de l'emigration basque, *Le gran Revue*, LXXVIII, 1912.
13. Uriarte, J. de: *Los Baskos en la nación argentina*, Buenos Aires, 1917.
14. Ispizua, S. de: *Los vascos en América*, 1ª edic., vol. I-V, San Sebastián, Biblioteca de Autores Vascos, 1918.
15. Valls y Morgues: *Los españoles en el Uruguay*, Montevideo, Tipografía Moderna, 1918.
16. Retana, J.: La parentela de Legazpi, *Nuestro Tiempo*, XXIII, vol. 1, 1923.
17. Merino Álvarez, A.: *Juan Sebastián Elcano*, *Estudios históricos*, Patronato de huérfanos de intendencia e intervención militares, Madrid, 1923.
18. Alessio Robles, V.: *Francisco de Urdiñola y el Norte de la Nueva España*, México, 1931.
19. Braconnay, C.: *La Legión Francesa en la defensa de Montevideo*, Montevideo, C. García y Cía., 1943.
20. Cuevas, M.: *Monje y marino: la vida y los tiempos de Fray Andrés de Urdaneta*, México, Ediciones Lavac, 1943.
21. Otaegui, T. de: *Los vascos en el Uruguay*, Buenos Aires, 1943.
22. Valgoma, D.: Sangre de Legazpi, *Revista de Indias*, nº 25, 1946.
23. Chatelain, A.: L'émigration basque, recherches et enquêtes démographiques, *Annales d'Economie*, II-53, Pau, 1947.
24. Sanz Díaz, J.: *Miguel López de Legazpi (primer adelantado y conquistador de Filipinas)*, Madrid, Editorial Gran Capitán, 1950.

25. Deffontaines, P.: *Participation des Pyrénées au peuplement des pays de La Plata*, Zaragoza, Imprenta del Heraldo de Aragón, 1952.
26. Duprey, J.: *Voyage aux origines françaises de l'Uruguay*, Montevideo, Instituto Histórico y Geográfico, 1952.
27. Gachiteguy, A.: *Les Basques dans l'Ouest Américain*, Burdeos, 1955.
28. Viers, G.: Les basques et l'Amérique, *Revue Géographique des Pyrénées*, XXVIII, 1957.
29. Bilbao, J.: *Vascos en Cuba*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Ekin, 1958.
30. Ortiz y San Pelayo: *Los vascos en América*, Buenos Aires, 1959.
31. Aguirre Prado, L.: *Churruca*, Madrid, 1961.
32. Ciriquiain Gaiztarro, M.: *Los vascos en la pesca de la ballena*, San Sebastián, 1961.
33. Estornes Lasa, I.: *Gente vasca en América*, Zarauz, 1961.
34. Sola, V.M.: *Juan Sebastián Elcano*, Bilbao, Caja de Ahorros Vizcaina, 1962.
35. Charles, A.: L'émigration basco-béarnaise sous la monarchie de Juillet et le Second Empire, *Annales du Midi*, T. LXXIV, 1962.
36. Labagerie, M.: L'émigration des Basques: aventure ou nécessité? *Activités du Pays Basque* n° 158, 1963.
37. Ossa Echaburu, R.: *Pastores y pelotaris vascos en USA*, Bilbao, 1963.
38. VV.AA.: *Los vascos en la Hispanidad*, Bilbao, 1964.
39. Díaz-Trechuelo, M.L.: *Navegantes y conquistadores vascos*, Madrid, 1965.
40. Briceño Perozo, M.: *Magisterio y ejemplo de un vasco del siglo XVIII*, Caracas, 1965.
41. Sarralde, Carlos Montalvo: *Un vasco en el Uruguay*, Montevideo, 1966.
42. Clavería, C.: *Los vascos en el mar*, Pamplona, 1966.
43. Amezaga Aresti, V. de: *El elemento vasco en el siglo XVIII venezolano*, Caracas, 1966.
44. Arteche, J. de: *Urdaneta: El dominador de los espacios del océano Pacífico*, San Sebastián, Sociedad guipuzcoana de ediciones y publicaciones, 1968.
45. Caro Baroja, J.: *El señor inquisidor y otras vidas por oficio*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1968.
46. Caro Baroja, J.: *La hora Navarra del siglo XVIII: personas, familias, negocios e ideas*, Pamplona, Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1969.
47. Otazu, A.: *Hacendistas navarros en Indias*, Bilbao, Gráficas Ellacuría, 1970.
48. Belanger, R.: *Les basques dans l'Estuaire du Saint-Laurent, 1535-1635*, Montreal, 1971.
49. Tellechea Idígoras, J.I.: Los Vizarron, una estirpe vasco-navarra injertada en Andalucía y México, *Revista de Indias*, XXXI, 1971.
50. Tormo Sanz, L.: Cuando nació Legazpi, *Revista de Indias*, n°s 123-124, 1971.
51. Arteche, J. de: *Legazpi: Historia de la conquista de las Filipinas*, Sociedad guipuzcoana de ediciones y publicaciones, Colección Hombres del país, n° 5, San Sebastián, 1972.
52. Arteche, J. de: *Elcano*, Madrid, Editorial Espasa Calpe, 1972.
53. Lafarga Lozano, A.: *Los vascos en el descubrimiento y colonización de América*, Bilbao, 1973.
54. Anselmo de Legarda, P.: *De Pamplona a La Habana en 1851*. B.I.A.E.V., n° 100, 1975.

In the designated period that spans three quarters of the 20th century, the historiographical production, until the final part of this period (1970–1975) is

generally characterized by a series of hagiographies. These are very flamboyant models that highlight the importance of certain individuals while only superficially analyzing social factors. They tend to be positivist. The main ideas from this period are honor, atavism and spirit of adventure. It could seem as if we were reading historical novels. The exaltation of race and the awakening of Spanish nationalism are also features from this period. There are no references to the sources and the few mentioned do not follow any methodology, with some exceptions that we will analyze in a moment. This historical literature is descriptive and non-interpretative, far from the accuracy expected by current standards. The papers published in France follow the 19th century tradition of criticizing Basque emigration to America, as these emigrants did not travel to the French colonies in North Africa or other places such as the Indochinese peninsula. They also emphasize the damage that the outflow of these Basque-French nationals did to the local economy and the possible loss of the customs and morality of those who travelled overseas. Once more, these publications highlight the virtues of the Basque race, forcing Basques to emigrate. Again, we are dealing with the previously mentioned atavistic impulse.

In 1910, the Jesuit Pierre Lhande published *L'emigration basque* in Paris, whose 1984 facsimile edition (Editorial Elkar) we have used, together with the 1971 Spanish edition (two volumes), published by Auñamendi in San Sebastián. Without a doubt, this is one of the most classic historiographical works on Basque-Americanism. When I was writing my doctoral dissertation (1987–1990), this book caught my attention. Firstly, as it was a monograph on the topic I was researching, and secondly, due to its very early publication date. I quickly noticed the 19th century tone of the text, its grandiloquence, the baroque rhetoric and plethora of assertions lacking a scientific basis. These are the most common criticisms that this book normally receives, together with others that are even harsher. However, we should situate ourselves in the time and place in which Pierre Lhande wrote the book to offer a fair evaluation. In my opinion, this publication has merit, except for the issues I have already mentioned, and it can be used as a preliminary and superficial approach to Basque migratory phenomena to America. Or rather, it was used at a very specific time (the late 1980s) when the number of academic works on emigration was quite scarce. In addition, Pierre Lhande does not distance himself from the other authors of the time neither in his methodology, nor in his language, and in both segments of his writing, he provides a lot of information and data, which seen with the cautiousness of modern historiographical methodology, could give clues or show concerns. For example, his analysis of the partial causes of Basque emigration to America, in the first chapter of the book, titled *La inquietude atávica*, is quite illustrative. Hence, the importance of compulsory military service or migration agents as push factors has been accepted by most scholars studying migrations⁴⁶. More debatable is what Lhande calls the profound reason for migratory movements: the atavistic restlessness (sic), or at least it is much more difficult to demonstrate. On the other hand, the chapters on how emigrants sought fortune, their fate and the economic losses and benefits that migration caused are much more thought-provoking.

⁴⁶ In my doctoral thesis *Los paraísos posibles...*, I dedicated the first chapter to the causes of Basque emigration to America, which, among others, and with profuse documentation, included those cited.

Segundo de Ispizua published a collection of five volumes titled *Los vascos en América* in 1918, with a literary tone, and romantic and epic stories of heroic men, who are separated from their hometowns and very worthy of great deeds. In the first edition and the five volumes in which the Biblioteca de Autores Vascos published this work (1979), he embarks upon the apology saga, heroic deeds and epic poems about the Basque participation in the colonization and evangelization of the New World. It is profoundly erudite and reminds us of the way stories were told in the 19th century. However, the author has the habit of citing bibliographical sources, giving the text a certain guise of methodological seriousness that should be seen in the context of the time it was written. It is a classic book that has to be fairly situated and considered, even if merely to show its pioneering character.

We could use the same type of arguments for Retama, Álvez, Cuevas, Valgoma, San Díaz, Sola or Arteché⁴⁷. However, not for Jon Bilbao's work, *Vascos en Cuba*, written in 1985, which in our opinion, is the first referential text for the methodological renewal of Basque-Americanism. We could say the same about the original works of Caro Baroja and Otazu, which we referred to earlier (1968 to 1970) and offer the reader academic rigor and good analytical techniques. In this group, we will also include the book by M^a Lourdes Díaz Trechuelo, published in 1965, and written with the elegance and sobriety of all her books, "everything she states is based on chronicles and documents." Indeed, this essay is the result of patient and laborious archiving, she distances herself from the more mythical approaches to offer the reader accurately documented adventures and misadventures of Basque conquerors and sailors, during the period between Christopher Columbus' arrival to America and the independence of the Spanish colonies⁴⁸.

We cannot say the same about the journalist Rafael Ossa, who went to the United States in 1962 to research the *modus vivendi* of the Basque shepherds and "pelota" players living there. This journalist lived with them and his impressions of this experience were published in Bilbao in 1963, with the title *Pastores y pelotaris vascos en USA*. The structure of this book is based on reports and interviews, and its style is typical of the time. More folkloric and anecdotic than anything else, Ossa Echaburu's work provides the reader with general knowledge about the Basque collective in North America, which although small had achieved an elevated social status.

Los vascos en la hispanidad is a collective book published by the Biscay Regional Council in 1964, which realistically reflects the concept of American history that existed in the Basque Country in the mid 1960s. In the prologue, a summary of this concept can be found: "The Basque contribution marks Spanishness with names and facts from almost five centuries of our history, in constant reiteration [...] the people who left our land and knew how to enlarge their horizons in the civilization that Spain was creating. It is impossible to understand Spanishness without the Basque Country and its men. This is why

⁴⁷ From an intermediate position, we will situate the original by Alberto Crespo, *La guerra entre Vicuñas y Vascongados. Potosí (1622-1625)*, Lima, 1956. A more simple characterization in Garaico Echea, A., *De Vasconia a Buenos Aires (Historia de una emigración en el siglo XIX)*, Buenos Aires, 1945 and Laxalt, R., *Sweet Promised Land*, New York, 1957.

⁴⁸ Azcona, J. M., América o el continente olvidado por la historiografía vasca, *Revista de Indias*, vol. XLIX, No. 187, 1989, p. 757.

we wanted to offer a number of essays and academic studies that treat some of the most illustrious Basque figures among the many who took part in the great task of building the New World, so far and so close, so passionate and who belong to us all”⁴⁹.

In 1966, the book *Los vascos en el mar* was published, written by Carlos Claveria Arza, who was born in Pamplona. The fourth chapter deals with the Gipuzkoan Company of Caracas. The fifth is titled “Discoveries”, with an emphasis on the Basques who participated in the Colombian odyssey, and he writes two sections on the sailor and cartographer Juan de la Cosa and Juan Sebastián Elcano. Similarly, he wishes to highlight the conquest of the Philippines by Urdaneta-Legazpi. The sixth chapter solely focuses on sailors and colonizers. He reviews the conquering and founding actions by Domingo Martínez de Irala, Juan de Garay, Pedro de Ursua, Lope de Aguirre, San Francisco Javier, Oquendo, Blas de Lezo or Cosme Damian Churruca, to mention a few examples. The author, as he says himself, tries to explain that the discovering and civilizing deeds by the Basques in America were of gigantic proportions, by means of the information he shares. He does not want to conduct exhaustive scientific research; rather, he wishes to write an educational work. In this text, Carlos Claveria “narrates the Basques’ deeds during their adventures overseas”. This book does not contribute anything new to the Basque-American historiographical field; it merely sets down in black and white, with accessible and clear language, facts that were already known. It does not follow a scientific methodology. Unsurprisingly, Carlos Claveria is a writer, not a professional historian, and he belongs to the postwar generation, initiating his career in the Navarre newspaper industry. The book’s style is more typical of a journalist than a historian, confirming what we have just mentioned⁵⁰. Following these interpretation guidelines, we cannot recommend the paper by Carlos Pellegrini “Los Vascos y la Argentina”, *BAIEV*, no. 74, Buenos Aires, 1968. We prefer Ricardo Goldaracena’s three volume edition *El libro de los linajes. Familias históricas uruguayas*, Montevideo, 1976, as well as *Nuevo diccionario biográfico argentino*, by Osvaldo Cutolo (Buenos Aires, 1969). In both cases, the reader can obtain important information about the emigrants who settled in the Río de la Plata.

In 1973, Adolfo Lafarga Lozano published *Los vascos en el descubrimiento y colonización de América*. This is a classic of its genre. The book narrates the positive and negative circumstances of the conquerors, military forces and missionaries in colonial America. It is filled with ancient deeds and epics. The authors try to demonstrate that the Basques belong to a universal village, and after having settled in Spain, they have now crossed the seas and, as Lafarga says: “every time we look back at our ancestors’ deeds, we Basques feel more Spanish and more universal”. The late-Franco concept of Spanishness is clearly reflected in this book and the history of America was a tool to unite the population living on both sides of the Atlantic, as they “speak the same language, worship the same God and deeply love each other”. In this section, the book by Ortiz and San Pelayo, titled *Los vascos en America* (Buenos Aires, 1959) should be included. Estornes Lasa, in *Gente vasca en América*, also narrates the grandeur of the Basques. In addition, similar examples can be

⁴⁹ Azcona, J. M.: Art. Cit., p. 758.

⁵⁰ Azcona, J. M.: Art. Cit., p. 760.

found in books by Tomás de Otaegui (1943), José de Uriarte (1917), Luis Thayer y Ojeda (1919), Adrien Gachiteguy (1955), René Belanger (1971), Vicente de Amézaga (1966), Vito Alessio (1931), Joaquín García de Icazbalceta (1881), Estalisnao Labayru (1896), Mario Briceño (1965), Luis Aguirre (1961) and Francisco López Alen (1894).

As well as these comments on the books that focus on great deeds, as the reader may have noticed, many modern authors have taken for granted, unconsciously, the existence of a brand of Americanism that studies the current Basque Autonomous Community and the American territories as if it were a unique case. This peculiarity is sustained by the special characteristics arising from the addition of the Basque territories to Castile. As it could not have been otherwise, these authors insist on the intrinsic privileges of the very well-known universal nobility. This fact allowed the Basques to participate in all the facets of the discovery, conquering and populating of America. This approach insists that the incorporation of the Basque provinces to Castile was done under a special charter in which the Spanish Crown committed to respecting the ancient Basque laws, privileges and customs. The force-idea of the pioneering nature of the Basques is also discussed, which allowed them to stand out in the fields of navigation, civil administration, the army, trading and the priesthood.

THE ILLUMINATING TRAIL OF *AMERIKANUAK*

In 1975, William A. Douglass and Jon Bilbao's *Amerikanuak* was released. I have no doubt that this is the greatest icon in the study of the Basque presence in America. It was written by an anthropologist (Douglass) and a historian of Basque origin who was born in Puerto Rico (Bilbao). They wrote the first scientific essay on the issue that concerns us. As the authors argue, the six years they spent preparing this large text lead to the production of a project that—in many respects—has been the basis of numerous doctoral dissertations, ideas and manuscripts. This book created an entire school of scholars of Basque emigration to America. Field research was conducted on both sides of the Basque Country (French and Spanish), as well as in many American countries such as Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela. Archival documents, print newspapers and numerous interviews with those who took part in the Diaspora are the foundation of this incredible essay.

At the beginning of his professional career as an anthropologist, Douglass lived in various Navarre and Basque towns and villages for three years, where he successfully learnt the Basque language. As a result of the field research he did there, he published his first book *Death in Murelaga*, University of Washington, 1969; and subsequently *Echalar and Murélaga: opportunity and rural depopulation in two Spanish Basque villages*, Londres, Churst and Co. and New York, St. Martín's Press, 1975. He started his research on the Basques in West America in 1967 as part of the Basque Studies Program at the Desert Research Institute, University of Nevada, Reno, USA. The now deceased Jon Bilbao joined the project in 1969. Jon Bilbao was a very affectionate man whom I met in person when I was beginning my doctoral dissertation. The help he afforded me with was tremendous⁵¹. He published the book *Los vascos en Cuba* in Buenos Aires, Editorial Ekin, 1958, and he also wrote the wonderful *Eusko-Bibliographia* compilation, which has been so widely consulted, useful and almost Herculean.

In 1975, Robert Laxalt, the director of the publishing service at the University of Nevada, wrote prophetically in the prologue of *Amerikanuak*: "I think that the content of this book will promote a better understanding of the Old World in its relationship to the North Atlantic, Latin America and West America"⁵². Douglas was very humble when he said: "This work does not intend to be final in any sense; rather, it seeks to define a structure with which future scholars of Basques in the New World will be able to work more productively. In fact, we would like to anticipate that the contents of our forthcoming work, as well as any works by other authors, will have to be revised in many aspects"⁵³.

Román Basurto Larrañaga, who is a professor at the University of the Basque Country, as well as the coordinator of the Spanish edition of this book, highlights that it is a very rigorous historical and anthropological study, whose

⁵¹ The first time I was with Jon Bilbao, in 1988, I was beginning my doctoral thesis. He received me in his Biscayan farmhouse filled to the rafters with books. His conversation and articulateness impressed me so much that I still remember that visit with much love and affection. His advice was very useful for my doctoral research. From here I send my appreciation.

⁵² Robert Laxalt, *Amerikanuak*, Introduction, p. 23.

⁵³ Robert Laxalt, *Amerikanuak*, Introduction, p. 22-23.

methodological starting point is the analysis of the Basque communities, from both sides of the Pyrenees, living overseas. He insists that: "It is fair to say that the authors' combination of history and anthropology is balanced. The historian tends to think of today as the result of processes from the past; while the anthropologist normally highlights the key role of institutions, traditions and current beliefs in defining the present. In this sense, *Amerikanuak* represents an effort to overcome the intrinsic timelessness of many of the anthropological works that have a functionalist or structuralist perspective, while it enriches the traditional historical focus by using anthropology's direct observation techniques to add to our knowledge of the past"⁵⁴.

In the introduction, the authors warn against how the publications at the time (1975) on Basque settlement in America mainly focused on the modern age. They also narrate how the Basques in West America, who were mostly shepherds, tried to avoid the researcher's questions about their lives and work. Regarding its methodology, it is very innovative (let us not forget that we are referring to 1975): "Our interest in the experiences of the Basque ethnic group requires us to approach the historical interpretation of Southern Europe, the Spanish empire in the New World and West America from a non-conventional perspective. With the aim of highlighting the importance of regional and ethnical varieties in the New World, we refuse to use the typical techniques, which imply writing from a Spanish or French perspective: rather, we will write from the Basque perspective. When evaluating the colonial history of the New World, we will not base ourselves on the standard practice of contrasting the interests of the "peninsular residents" born in the Old World with the "creoles" born in the New World. Rather, we will highlight the importance of the regional and ethnic variations within both circles in the New World and how to connect them. When considering the history of West America, we would like to stress the factors that have most affected the fate of its more obscure actors, the Basque shepherds. By means of heuristic resources, it is possible to trace the unique footprint left by the Basque ethnic group throughout five centuries of history in three continents"⁵⁵.

The book begins with an introduction that just so happens to be titled "The Basque people", which explains the particularities of this social collective, and in the second chapter, titled "Mercenaries, missionaries, traders and mariners", Basque emigration in the modern age is described. Subsequently, the North American shepherds are depicted, and then there is a section on the Basques living in Spanish California, as well as in the independent California at a later stage. The text concludes with an analysis of other colonies beyond these lands, while also dealing with the preservation of ethnic features among the American Basques. The conclusion, very useful appendix and comprehensive bibliography are the finishing touches to an excellent methodological approach that marked a turning point in the global perspective of Basque migratory phenomena.

Here I must acknowledge the intellectual debt I owe to this essay. It was an extremely important discovery for me and particularly when I read it in detail as I was able to use it as the methodological guide for my doctoral dissertation, so I would like to take this opportunity to pay a richly deserved

⁵⁴ Roman Basurto Larrañaga, *Amerikanuak*, Presentation, p. 12.

⁵⁵ William A. Douglass and Jon Bilbao, *Amerikanuak*, Introduction, p. 34.

tribute. Moreover, I have had the chance to meet the authors and share ideas with them. I have already mentioned Jon Bilbao. I have met William Douglass on many occasions. In 1994, I visited the Basque Studies Program at the University of Nevada-Reno, where I had the opportunity to enjoy a wonderful academic and scholarly experience, all thanks to a scholarship from this institution. This is where I published my book *Possible paradises. Basque emigration to Latin America (s. XIX-XX)* in 2004. Their teachings are always happily received and their remarks never fail to improve research processes. I do not want to pass up this opportunity to pay a personal tribute to William Douglass, who I consider as my true teacher in the area of Basque-Americanism, and who founded the Basque Studies Program (now called the Center for Basque Studies) at the University of Nevada-Reno in 1967.

When William Douglass first visited Spain in 1958 (he was only nineteen). He could not speak much Spanish, although he knew he wanted to study anthropology, which he later did at the University of Chicago and Berkeley. He was granted a scholarship to do field work in the Basque Country, where he met Caro Baroja. He first stayed in Echalar, where he began the research that would later be extended by comparing this village to Murélagu, and this explains the book *Oportunidad y éxodo en dos aldeas vascas: Echalar y Murélagu*⁵⁶, as well as the name for his undergraduate dissertation *Death in Murelaga*. He stayed in the Basque Country from 1963 to 1965. In 1966, he was offered the position of coordinator at the Basque Studies Program in Nevada-Reno, which he accepted in 1967, remaining in this position until he retired. He did everything from scratch. He met Jon Bilbao in Reno⁵⁷, whom I hold in high intellectual esteem as he directed the first stages of my doctoral dissertation at his house in Berango, where I spent many evenings learning from him. Jon ended up working with Douglass. *Amerikanuak. Los vascos en el Nuevo Mundo* was the result of this partnership, as well as a long list of academic events that do not fall within the scope of this work but are undoubtedly recommendable.

In 1967, P. Hourmat published “L’émigration Basque-béarnaise du xviième siècle to Nos jours”, *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences Sociales, Lettres et Arts de Bayonne*, Nouvelle Series, no. 132, 1976. In the same year, Lorin Gaarder also published *The Basques of Mexico: an historical and contemporary portrait*, UMI, the University of Utah, 1976. Two years earlier, Sancho de Beurko published *Vascos por el mundo*, Saint Jean de Luz, Ediciones Askatasun, 1975, a book that is devoid of analytical interest and could be classed as insipid from our perspective.

As a result of the research and scholarly events organized by the Basque Studies Program at the University of Nevada, a series of well-conceived case studies with a correct methodological approach were published. We consider that these texts are significant and should be used for research on the topic: Joseph Harold Gaiser, *The Basques of the Jordan Valley. A study in social*

⁵⁶ Douglass, William A., *Echalar y Murélagu: oportunidad y éxodo rural en dos aldeas vascas* (2 volumes), San Sebastián, Editorial Auñamendi, 1977. Studying the Basque presence in North America in Garritz, Amaya, *Los vascos en las regiones de México (siglos XVI-XX)*, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1996.

⁵⁷ To whom we are indebted for the grand masterpiece *Eusko Bibliographia*, several volumes, San Sebastián, 1970 ss. A relevant bibliography on the topic is presented in the voices of America, Argentina, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, United States, Mexico, Miquelon, Panama, Peru, Dominican Republic, Newfoundland, Uruguay and Venezuela.

process and social change, self-published, California, 1944; Claudia María McCullough, *The Basques in the Northwest*, Saratoga, California, 1945; Margery P. Gray, *A population and family study of Basques living in Shoshone and Boise*, University of Oregon, 1955; Clifford A. Sather, *Marriage patterns among the Basques of Shoshone*, Idaho, 1961; Adura Naason Ruiz, *The Basques-Sheepmen of the west*, University of Nevada, 1964; Pat Bieter, *The Basques in Idaho*, Idaho State Historical Society, 1964; James P. Nelly, *The settlement of Basques in the American West*, Harvard University, 1967; Grant Edwin McCall, *Basque-Americans and a sequential theory of migration and adaptation*, San Francisco, California, 1968; Joseph Roy Castelli, *Basques in the Western United States: a functional approach to determination of cultural presence in the geographic landscape*, UMI, University of Colorado, 1970; Sarah Baker, *Basques in the American West*, University of California, Berkeley, 1971; Patrick Araujo, *Basque cultural ecology and Echinoccosis in California*, UMI, University of California, 1974; Jean Francis Decross, *The long journey: assimilation and ethnicity maintenance among urban Basques in northern California*, UMI, University of Oregon, 1979. We would like to give a special mention to the essay by Beltrán Paris and William A. Douglass, *Beltran, Basque Sheepman of the American West*, Reno-Nevada, University of Nevada Press, 1979. The following work by Sonia Eagle: *Work and play among the Basques of southern California*, UMI, 1979, is also very interesting; as well as Donald T. Garate: *Echandia, the Unique Story of a Basque Immigrant*, Susanville, California, 1980. Other books that should be consulted are: William A. Douglass and Richard W. Etulain, *Basque Americans*, Detroit, Michigan, Gale Research Company, 1981; Margarite Larim Stevenson, *Food habits of Northern Nevada Basques*, University of Nevada, 1982, a pioneering manuscript on the eating habits of the Basque shepherds; and Robert Berris Christian, *Basque settlement in Jordan Valley, Oregon*, UMI, University of Oregon, 1982. Mary Grace Paquette, *Basques to Bakersfield*, Bakersfield, California, 1982, which is particularly attractive for our interests; as well as Marie Pierre Arrizabalaga, *A Statistical Study of Basque Immigration into California, Nevada, Idaho and Wyoming between 1900 and 1910*, Master's thesis, History department, University of Nevada, Reno, 1986. The theoretical framework of Basque emigration to North America is skillfully developed in Jerónima Echeverría's work *Amerikanuak eta Asmoak: New World Basques and immigration theories*, UMI, North Texas State University, 1984. Another essential essay is William A. Douglass' *Basque sheep herders forcibly relocated of the American West*, Reno, University of Nevada Press, 1985⁵⁸. The beginnings of specific migratory studies on the culture, Diaspora and identity of Basques can be found in the pioneering text by William A. Douglass, *Cultura vasca y su diáspora. Ensayos teóricos y descriptivos*, San Sebastián, Baroja Editorial, 1987. The compilation text, verging on detective work, by Iban Bilbao and Chantal de Eguiluz, *Vascos en el censo de población de California*, Vitoria, Araba Provincial Council, 1988, must be used as a primary source. Jerónima Echeverría's *Californiako Ostatuak. A history of Californian's Basque Hotels*,

⁵⁸ It is interesting to consult the *First International Basque Conference in North América*, Fresno (California) Bilbao, 1985, which gathers important works such as Emilia Doyaga's *History of Euzko Etxea of New York*, who is a pioneer for the analysis of the structure and organization of the Basque Centers in the United States.

UMI, University of North Texas, 1988, is a well-structured essay that became a guide for analyzing the gathering places of Basque emigrants in West America.

The publications in Spanish from the set period (1975–1992) have varying levels of quality. We will give examples, in chronological order, with Manuel González Calzada's brief work *Mexico Vasco*, Mexico D. F., 1975, which highlights the importance of the Basques in this country's history. The text by Ruiz Rivera, *La casa de Ustáriz, San Ginés y compañía*, Cadiz, 1975, is of remarkable quality. Robert Pastor's *Euskal Erria en Venezuela*, San Sebastián, Ediciones Vascas, 1979, is also an outstanding work. It is an autobiography that narrates the author's experiences in a relaxed tone, which is unappealing for the academic needs of a scholar⁵⁹. On August 25, 1979, Joaquín Martínez's booklet *Influencia vasca en la conformación política, económica y social de la República Argentina* was printed in Cordoba, Argentina. It is impractical for scientific analysis of the migratory processes in America⁶⁰, despite its bombastic title which, by the way, has nothing to do with the text itself.

In *Bilbao y Buenos Aires, proyectos dieciochescos de compañías de comercio*, University of Buenos Aires, 1981, Jose M. Mariluz Urquijo studies in detail the attempts of the Bilbao Consulate to promote economic ties between the capital of the Lordship and the Río de la Plata during the Enlightenment, and how Basque involvement in these projects influences the flow of people and goods on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. A year earlier, J. M. Aguirrebalzategui published "Emigración baska al Río de la Plata", in *Journal BIAEV*, no. 122-123, Buenos Aires, 1980. In 1982, Cesar García presented "Los vascos en Buenos Aires en 1810", at the VI *Congreso Internacional de Historia de América*, Buenos Aires. In 1984, the Basque Government published *Presencia vasca en América* in Vitoria, written by the controversial author Jesus of Galindez. This text is a compilation of the author's materials after he disappeared in 1956, under dramatic and still unclear circumstances in New York. In our opinion, the book has little or no interest, as it is composed of siren calls and patriotic-nationalistic praise. It is divided into four parts: once again, the first part hagiographically reviews Basque participation in the conquest, colonization and liberation of the American territories; the second part focuses on the Basque communities; the third is given the general title "Vascos en America", although it only provides a basic list of very specific people who are, according to the author, relevant; and the fourth part, titled "Reflexiones de Galindez", rambles once again with the simplicity and promotion of the orthodox nationalist cause. In the same interpretive framework, we should highlight Andoni Astigarraga in *Abertzale en la Argentina*, Bilbao, Ediciones Alderdi Argitaldariak, 1986. A year earlier, in

⁵⁹ In 1967, the Basque Center in Caracas published a book on the occasion of its 25th anniversary, for no reason other than its own historical disclosure. In 1957 and as part of its 15th anniversary celebration, a similar work was edited, as with the 20th anniversary. In this rather dull line of research, there is also the conference (edited) by A. Rojas, *El elemento vasco en la historia de Venezuela*.

⁶⁰ Only some epigraphs are used to understand this statement. "Every nation with its laws and each house its tradition"; Juan de Garay: ciudad de la Santísima Trinidad, Puerto de Santa María de Buenos Aires; Basque influence on the drafting of the Argentinean constitution. Pedro Eugenio Aramburu: a president who was the son of Basques; José Bernardo Ignacio Iturraspe: colonizer and governor of Santa Fe; Antonio Sagarna: his own master; two journalists with sturdy Basque roots: José Manuel Eizaguirre and Francisco Grandmontagne.

1985, we can find a very interesting essay by Julio Caro Baroja, *Los vascos y el mar*, San Sebastián, 2nd edition. In 1987, we would like to highlight the works by Francisco Insausti Arriola, *Los vascos en la fundación del Reyno de Chile*, and Josefina Muriel (coord.), *Los vascos en México y su Colegio de las Vizcainas*. Emiliano Fernandez de Pinedo's paper "Los movimientos migratorios vascos, en especial hacia América", in *Españoles hacia América*, deserves a special mention for its quality. *La emigración en masa, 1880-1930*, a compilation by Nicolas Sanchez Albornoz, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1988. I would say the same about Ángel Martínez Salazar's work, *Presencia alavesa en América y Filipinas*, in which we can find a list of the people from Araba who went to the territories mentioned in the title. A text of similar quality is *Los Vascos y América*, Bilbao, 1989, written by Ronald Escobedo; M^a Ana Rivera, Alvaro Chapa, (editors). These are the proceedings of the conference on Basque trade with America in the 18th century and the Royal Gipuzkoan Company of Caracas, held in Bilbao and San Sebastián, in October 1988⁶¹. I cannot pay the same compliment to the original text by Basáñez, *El aporte vasco al progreso humano*, Bilbao, 1988, as the title itself is pretentious and the content lacks academic seriousness; while it is filled with self-complacency, it offers a reference section on America. Similarly, the text published one year earlier, and whose author, Orlando Arbiza, deals with the Basque contribution to the Artigas Department in Uruguay, does not deserve our attention.

In 1984, the Basque Government Central Publications Service published FEVA (Federation of Basque-Argentinean Institutions). In 1988, Iñaki Anasagasti coordinated the book *Homenaje al comité pro-inmigración vasca en Argentina (1940)*, San Sebastián, Editorial Txertoa, which is a good compilation of archival materials. In 1989, José Manuel Azcona published his first work on migration, studying the causes that led to Basque emigration to the Rio de la Plata in *Estudios de Geografía e Historia*, Bilbao, University of Deusto Press. Carlos Idoate Ezquieta is the author of the text *Emigración Navarra del valle de Baztán a América en el siglo XIX*, Pamplona, the Navarre Government, 1989. It is based on notarial protocols, offering a concise study of agreements and deposits at the departure points of Baztanese emigrants, as well as the sex, age, marital status, final destination, motivation (to improve their socioeconomic conditions, the pull effect of relatives, fortune and family, previously arranged employment, work opportunities in general, trade, administration of assets, in this order) and profession of the emigrants. The bureaucratic procedures are also carefully studied, together with the shipping companies and commissioners, ships and captains, payments and prices, and travel contracts. Undoubtedly, this is one of the most useful books on emigration to America, as the author, who is an archivist, provides researchers with a large amount of useful and methodologically precise information. In our opinion, it is a shame that Carlos Idoate has not continued with this line of research, as it would have produced excellent materials.

Regarding Navarre, there is *Navarros en México*, Logroño, Imprentas Gráficas Ochoa, 1990, written by Manuel García Sesma. In 1990, the book *Los Vascos y América*, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, was published; coordinated

⁶¹ On the same date but with an archaic tone in the treatment of its characters, we have Juan José's *Vascos Universales del siglo XVI*, Bilbao, 1988, a brief biographical essay on one hundred Basque characters, many of them related to the Spanish enterprise in America.

by Ignacio Arana Pérez and funded by the BBVA Foundation. It is divided into three sections: ideas, facts and men. As the text has fifty different authors, it offers varying treatments of its subjects. On the one hand, it is a mix of the classical mythology and grandiloquent heroic deeds of the missions and conquest of America, and on the other, a serious academic work. I would say that the text is closer to the first description, anticipating what subsequently became a general trend; i.e. the search for Basques in every corner of Hispanic and Portuguese America and divorcing them from the general historical context. A year later, the *Amerika eta euskaldunak/America* and the Basques Commission and the Vitoria Government Department of Culture published *Presencia vasca en América*, which has the same features and tone as the previous work. The presentation and format of both are exceptional. Regarding the Old Kingdom, these works have gained my appreciation: Susana Frías, “Aproximación metodológica al estudio de una parcialidad étnica. Los vascos de Buenos Aires, 1580-1713”, *Res Gesta*, January–June, 1991 and Susana Frías and Cesar Garcia Belsunce, *De Navarra a Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, 1996.

In 1991, the publishing house Txertoa edited the compilation by Koldo San Sebastián, *The Basque archives: vascos en Estados Unidos (1938-1943)*, with a large amount of political documentation, as well as information on migratory processes such as letters sent by the Basque protagonists of the Diaspora.

GOING TO AMERICA. DESTINATION MONTEVIDEO

In 1984, and almost unintentionally, Maria Pilar Pildain Salazar became a historiographical icon and pioneer, with her book *Ir a América*, San Sebastián, Sociedad Guipuzcoana de Ediciones y Publicaciones. I think that the author could not have imagined that this would happen when she began her research. It was originally the dissertation for her degree in Geography and History at the University of Deusto, which was directed by Fernando García de Cortázar. In this work, she analyzes migratory phenomenon at the point of departure, not the point of arrival in the Ibero-American countries. The author states in the introduction that she does not aim to present a comprehensive portrait of the subject and indicates the sources she used profusely: notarial protocols, the official press and 19th century bibliography. By official press, María Pilar Pildain refers to *La Gaceta de Madrid* and the *Boletín oficial de la provincial de Guipúzcoa*. However, she explains that: “The notarial protocols are the most important source for this work. These documents have allowed us to find out about the identities of the emigrants, the reasons they emigrated, the travel conditions such as price and so forth. We had access to the original documents thanks to the Mr. José María Aguirrebalzategui’s collaboration, a grand expert on the Protocols Archive in Oñati, and who for many years studied the activities of these emigrants to elaborate family genealogies”⁶². The book begins with the most important causes of Basque migration to America, continuing with the migration paperwork and bureaucracy required before departing to the New World, where she emphasizes the importance of the labor recruiters (“ganchos”). An approximate picture is drawn of the Basques professions in Ibero-America, together with a brief sociological study of the emigrant, including two complete lists of emigrants, one from 1840 to 1842, and the other from 1852 to 1870, with very well-presented data sets. There is also a documentation appendix filled with government letters and notices, as well as notarial protocols such as deposits and boarding contracts. This is a very innovative work for when it was written.

One of the essays on Basque-American historiography that I most respect is by the Uruguayan Martha Marenales Rossi, with the suggestive title *La aventura vasca. Destino: Montevideo*. Although it was published in the Uruguayan capital in 1991, jointly with the Vitoria Government and the Basque Center in Montevideo “Euskal Erria”, it is a part of her third cycle doctoral thesis “Contribution à l’étude de l’immigration en Uruguay au XIX^e siècle: les Basques”, which she defended at the School of Higher Studies in Paris in 1981. With an impeccable methodology, based on the consultation of primary sources from the Foreign Affairs Ministries of Spain and France (studying the Basques on both sides of the Pyrenees), such as censuses, embarkation records, lists of passports issued, lists of emigrants, reports, surveys, a bibliography of the time and newspapers, the author sketches a well-documented picture that blends quantitative and qualitative analysis. The methodological objectives are summarized by Professor Marenales: 1) To identify the regional mechanisms that could explain why overseas Basque migration occurred; 2) To define its structural features; 3) To analyze its impact in the host countries. With this approach, the author defines Uruguay as the “promised land”, and subsequently

⁶² Cf. Same source, p. 2.

she explains the reasons why Basques migrated to the Río de la Plata, as well as the stages of this migratory process, without forgetting the reports written by the politicians of the time and the newspapers' responses to the topic. The book concludes with the Basque settlement in Uruguay, placing special emphasis on the categorization their social and labor activities at this destination. Lists of emigrants, tables, charts and a selection of documents are also included⁶³.

Before this publication, which was her doctoral dissertation, Marta Marenales Rossi had published, together with Bourde G., "L'immigration française et le peuplement de l'Uruguay (1830-1860)", *Cahiers des Amériques latines, série Sciences del l'Homme*, no. 16, Paris, 1978. Marenales Rossi M., "Del campesino vasco al estanciero uruguayo", *Travaux de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail*, serie B, T. VIII. Actas de la 3^a Semana Latinoamericana, 1985; *Importancia de la inmigración europea y francesa en particular, en el proceso de formación de la nación uruguaya*, Master's Thesis, EPHE, Paris, 1974; "La emigración vasca y el mito del Río de la Plata", *Actas del Primer Congreso internacional del CRECIF*, University of Paris II, 1985; "La inmigración vasca al Uruguay en el siglo XIX", *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Genealógicos del Uruguay*, Montevideo, Talleres Gráficos Hegil, 1984⁶⁴. All these texts have a clear scientific nature. In 1990, she edited, together with Juan Carlos Luzuriaga, *Vascos en el Uruguay*, Montevideo, Editorial Nuestras Raíces, with a very obvious educational style. The same is true of Lucio Muniz, in *Uruguay, la raíz vasca*, Montevideo, 1994, or the aforementioned manuscript by Orlando Ariza.

⁶³ Perhaps the only criticism I would make of the text by Marenales Rossi is that it creates and sustains the atavistic nature of Basque emigration; the ancestral spirit that pushes Basques to emigrate during the modern age.

⁶⁴ These are excellent studies, pioneers of their genre.

FROM THE II WORLD BASQUE CONGRESS TO 1992

Between November 30 and December 4, 1987, the Congress of the History of Euskal Herria was held in Bilbao, within the framework of the 2nd World Congress of Basque Collectives. It was funded by the Basque Government and divided into thirty four monographic seminars on different scientific disciplines.

In the seventh volume of the aforementioned congress, which published some of its proceedings, there are two sections, one on the political evolution during the 20th century, and the other titled “Euskaldunak eta Amerika/ Los Vascos y América”, in which, apart from the introduction by Luis Navarro García or the very interesting work by Tetsuro Watanabe on the Spanish Civil War and Guernica in Japanese newspapers, there are seven papers dealing with different topics and with various styles. Undoubtedly, the most interesting is William A. Douglass’s *Factors in the Formation of the New-World Basque emigrant Diaspora*, where he presents an excellent analysis of the typologies of the Basque emigrants who migrated to the New World, while also dealing with some of the causes of this migration. J.G. Cenarruza studies the Basque settlement in the Argentinean province of Jujuy during the modern age. García Balsunce narrates the Basque presence in Argentina from the founding of cities to 1713. B. Gutierrez and L.J. Tonya write about the new Spanish defense policy in the first half of the 18th century and the participation of the Basque Blas de Lezo. On the other hand, J. R. Navarro includes some basic sources for the study of the migratory process to Puerto Rico. The author of this paper also published a study on Julio de Lazúrtegui, one of the Basque characters who contributed most, from a theoretical perspective, to the promotion of trading, commercial and migratory relationships between the Basque Country, Bilbao in particular, and Ibero-America⁶⁵.

From 1987, we must mention the work by Josefina Muriel, titled *Los vascos en México y su Colegio de las Vizcaínas*, Mexico D. F., UNAM.

The Basque-French emigration to America during the 19th and 20th centuries has been studied by Claude Mehats, at Eusko Ikaskuntza (Bayonne), in a linear way. As we have seen, this author creates a list in which he comments on the works published in the neighboring country at the time and reviews the basic ideas of each⁶⁶. In 1988, anticipating a concept that would later interest some scholars (myself included), Ronald Escobedo Mansilla published “La opinion vasca ante la emigración a América” in *Actas del Congreso Internacional de Historia de América, Iberoamérica en el siglo XX*, Cordoba, Andalusian Government, 1988.

La pelota vasca en Cuba. Su evolución hasta 1930, by Antonio Mendez Muñiz, Havana, Ministry of Culture, 1990, is a curious anthropological work.

Maite Camus Argaluz, professor of History and Geography at the Metropolitan University of Science and Education in Santiago de Chile, wrote a very interesting essay published by the Basque Center in Chile (Eusko Etxea)

⁶⁵ All the works discussed in *II Congreso Mundial Vasco. Congreso de Historia de Euskal Herria*, San Sebastián, Editorial Txertoa, 1988.

⁶⁶ Mehats, Claude, *État des recherches françaises sur l’émigration basque aux XIX^{ème} et XX^{ème} siècles par des contemporains du phénomène*, in Álvarez Gila, Óscar and Moral Angle, Alberto, *Las migraciones...*, pp. 131-138.

and the Basque Government Department of Culture in 1991, with the title *La inmigración vasca en Chile (1880-1990)*. Beginning with an analysis of the migratory process in Europe, the author develops the causes for migration, the geographical origins of the members of the Diaspora, the jobs they had in their home towns, the years they arrived, marriage bonds, whether their mother tongue was maintained, as well as the social and labor activities of the Basque colony in the host country. The text concludes with the characteristics of associationism in the Chilean capital, final thoughts and a very carefully selected bibliography. The book could have provided a broader view; however, we still find it useful. It is very obviously a work by a real historian, which is rare, is it not?⁶⁷ Of a lesser standard is the book by Miguel Laborde Duronea, *Vascos en Santiago de Chile*, published on the same date and by the same institutions. Here we find a series of individual case studies of Basque emigrants who settled in Santiago de Chile from the modern to the contemporary age, in which all the characters make a fortune and their stories are narrated in an epic and baroque way⁶⁸. The book closes with the following line: “many streets that recall geographical names from the Basque Country”. The same occurs in the final book of this trilogy (same date and place of publication) written by the pedagogue Julene Salázar and the historian Roberto Hernández Ponce, *Cuatrocientos años de presencia vasca en Chile*, as hagiography and toponymy are the leitmotifs of this manuscript.

In the monographic 6th issue of the journal *Ernaroa*, June 1991, there was a tribute to Professor María Ángeles Larrea, including a paper by Hilario Pérez de San Román titled “Destinos de la emigración bizkaina a América en el siglo XIX”, which, in my opinion, is very notable for the sources used⁶⁹, such as the death records of the parishes in Gorliz, Lekeitio, Ondárroa and Plentzia, in which the deaths of those who had migrated up to the third quarter of the 19th century can be found⁷⁰. To study the second half of that century, the author used different documents from the General Assembly Archive in Guernica, as well as the Biscay Regional Council Archive, and for the years after 1882, he was able to use the first statistics on Spanish migration elaborated by the General Directorate of the Institute of Geography and Statistics. Up to this point, the work is faultless from a methodological perspective. I cannot say the same about the migration analysis of the Biscayans, whose main destinations, according to him, were Argentina, Cuba, Brazil, Mexico, Puerto Rico and Uruguay. Pérez San Román leads us to the conclusion that the migratory outflow from the Lordship of Biscay was directly related to the political phenomenology and Spanish trade with the overseas empire. Hence, the Nueva Planta Decrees promote the settlement of Biscayans in all the main American harbors, assisted by fellow citizens who held relevant posts in the colonial administration. This is a very general and questionable assertion. However, even more inaccurate (as

⁶⁷ Remember that, as we mention in this work and reiterate here, upstart non-professionals have actively participated in this process.

⁶⁸ This is one of the many cases in which there are still remnants of influence from the early classic works by Izpizua and others.

⁶⁹ Who, incidentally, has not pursued the study of Basque-American migratory phenomena.

⁷⁰ These death records are centralized at the Historical Ecclesiastical Archive of Biscay, in Derio.

demonstrated by many subsequent works) is the follow assertion, as there was no significant rupture to the Basque associations, let alone their disappearance during the Spanish American wars of independence: “American independence would force these Basques to settle in different areas, either by decree or for their own safety, so the Biscayan colonies gradually disappeared from the mainland and congregated on the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico. This retreat also affected the United States, in particular, California”⁷¹. The author highlights how from 1850 to 1852, the obstacles (created by Spanish and American authorities) that emigrants had previously come up against, began to disappear⁷², and this is the reason why the Basques settle once more in the independent republics with improved political and financial stability. He also expresses that the “Biscayans lived mainly thanks to their commercial activities” to explain the migratory outflow to the Antilles colonies.

Nora L. Siegrist published “Planteo metodológico en torno al grupo vascoespañol. Notas sobre los inmigrantes en la ciudad de Buenos Aires según el censo de 1855” in *Príncipe de Viana*, annex 13, Pamplona, 1991, which was her presentation at the 2nd General Congress of Navarre History. Similar to all the research done by this author, the documental and archival data provided is numerous yet still accurate, selected with genuine scientific rigor and very concisely interpreted. Here, Professor Siegrist de Gentile reviews the 6,000 Spaniards who lived in Buenos Aires in 1855, using the General Spanish Census of 1857 as a methodological tool. In total, 976 were Basque-Navarre, whose everyday life is discussed with interesting variables and considerations⁷³. The same author published *Familias de origen vasconavarro y santanderinas en Buenos Aires y sus enlaces con el litoral desde finales del siglo XVIII hasta mediados del XIX*, at the National Academy of Argentinean History in 1996, in which she shows the family ties of the groups of Basque-Navarres and Cantabrians (along with their descendants) in Buenos Aires from 1770 to 1860. The author deals with the formation of some families and their integration into the commercial industry, together with the creation of clans by ship owners. She also traces the connection between Buenos Aires and Europe. Other publications from this author are: *Inmigración vasca en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires 1830-1860*, Vitoria-Gasteiz, América y los Vascos, 1992; “Sacerdotes extranjeros y argentinos en el Censo de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires de 1855. Con un anexo sobre los archivos parroquiales bonaerenses”, in Auza, Nestor, and Favero, Luis (comp.), *Iglesia e inmigración*, Buenos Aires, 1991; *José Joaquín de Mora y su manuscrito sobre la industria y el comercio de España hacia 1850*, Cadiz, 1992 “Redes sociales, económicas, espirituales y religiosas de vascos y navarros en Buenos Aires: 1826-1865”, in Ronald Escobedo Mansilla, Ana de Zaballa Beascoechea and Óscar Álvarez Gila (comp.), *Emigración y*

⁷¹ In the article, “Conclusions”, p. 270.

⁷² We do not agree with this statement. We have shown, by giving only one example, that Basque emigration to Uruguay is officially promoted from 1832 and independence did not bring a radical halt to migration.

⁷³ For example, all the Basque Provinces and Navarre were well-represented; Navarre, Gipuzkoa, Biscay and Araba, in this order, were the provinces that sent the most emigrants to Argentina with percentages of 31, 28, 25.6 y 2.2, respectively. 13.2% of the Spanish Basques are without a designated region. Of the total amount allocated, 666 were males and 310 females. Other parameters such as place of origin, age, labor activities, residential location, literacy or number of descendants are also included.

redes sociales de los vascos en América, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 1996; “Religiosidad, advocaciones y nombres de santos en los hijos de españoles y sus descendientes en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires a mediados del siglo XIX”, at the National Academy of Argentinean History, *Enrique M. Barba, In Memoriam, Estudios de Historia, comisión de Homenaje al doctor Enrique M. Barba*, Buenos Aires, 1994; “Filiación religiosa de la familia San Ginés-Rodríguez de Vida con al Orden Tercera de San Francisco”, in *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Históricos de San Fernando de Buena Vista*, Buenos Aires, no. 6, 1997; “Notas sobre la religiosidad y transmisión cultural de devociones de los vasconavarros en Buenos Aires, 1731-1878”, *Vasconia. Cuadernos de Historia y Geografía*, San Sebastián, no. 27, 1998; Siegrist de Gentile, Nora L. and Óscar Álvarez Gila, “Zierbanako San Romaneko Eliza Berria eta Francisco de Murrieta bizkaitar indianoaren heredentzia (1865-1898)”, *Muga*, no. 85, 1993. One can see how this author, together with others, rigorously studies the religious Diaspora⁷⁴.

In 1991, we can find the text by Renato Barahona Arévalo “The Basques and the loss of the American colonies (1810-1840): approach to a problem”, in *Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos*, San Sebastián, XXXVI.

⁷⁴ In this regard, he shared his interest in this matter with the utmost expert on Basque religious presence in America, Óscar Álvarez Gila.

THE FIFTH CENTENARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA AND ITS IMPACT

We will not repeat here the importance of the celebration of the 5th Centenary of the discovery of America from our point of view, both for Spanish national historiographical production and in the autonomous communities. In the case we are now dealing with, the region of the Basque Country, the Commission *Amerika eta Euskaldunak*, created and promoted by the Basque Government, was given substantial funding to conduct research. As a result of this commission, an extensive bibliographical collection was published (with the same name), although the books in this collection do not all have the same level of quality. Of all the texts published through the program *América y los Vascos* (*Amerika eta Euskaldunak*), I am going to select and comment on those with superior quality and that deal strictly with migratory issues. Regarding the publication dates, practically all of them were launched in the mythical and magical year of 1992.

I will start with the excellent text by Ángel María Arrieta, *Emigración alavesa a América en el siglo XIX*, Vitoria, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, 1992, who writes about a very local topic, relating to a single province, with an excellent style and well-conceptualized methodology. After providing the geographical framework, the author explains the push factors⁷⁵ for the migration of the Araban population to America (agricultural crisis, lack of jobs in Vitoria, the activities of the “ganchos”, avoidance of military service or sociological reasons) and how the elements of attraction also included American legislation and family networks. She then discusses the migratory bureaucratic processes, statistics, the profiles of Araban emigrants and financial repercussions in the province. A documentation appendix concludes the book. It is impeccable.

One of the best and most rigorous texts of this collection is *Inmigración vasca en la ciudad de Buenos Aires (1830-1850)*, Vitoria, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, 1992, written by the Argentinean Professor Nora L. Siegrist de Gentile. This work begins with a methodological introduction in which the author displays the 1855 Buenos Aires Census, as well as the parish records from where she takes the names of the Spanish and Basque residents at the “origin” Buenos Aires. In the third chapter, the reader can see the professions and trades of the Basques in Buenos Aires (“Catedral al Sur” Peace Court). Subsequently, one can read about the sex, marital status, age and literacy rate of the Basques in Buenos Aires in 1855. The author includes the migratory flows on both sides of the Río de la Plata and the classification by province of the Basque Diaspora. This is a very precise text, which is very rigorous in its use of the sources and draws quite significant analytical conclusions, as the author normally does. Another work that uses Buenos Aires as its geographical framework is the pioneering text by Begoña Cava, Luis Fernando Contreras and Francisco Javier Pérez: *La sociedad Lauk Bat de*

⁷⁵ The reader may note that, in the vast majority of cases, scholars of Basque emigration study the causes of this Diaspora.

Buenos Aires, Vitoria, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, 1992. It is the first essay with a professional methodology on Basque associations in America. Subsequently, and as we shall see, there would be others (from 1999) but this source will serve as inspiration for them. Beyond the introduction and annexes with honorary members, presidents and management boards, as well as the justifications for the use of the sources consulted (in the Argentinean capital), the authors divide the manuscript in four parts, through which one can follow the history from the center outwards of this southern country or the Río de la Plata region.

Koldo Sorozabal Esnaola published *Pastores euskaldunes en América*, Vitoria, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, 1992. With respect to this text, I would highlight the stories about everyday life and ways of living of the Basque shepherds who have taken part in the Diaspora to West America since the mid-1950s. Some of the narrations are really spectacular, as if they were dream sequences in a film. It is pleasant to read and illustrates a historical period that seems very distant today.

I will also mention *América en el País Vasco*, Vitoria, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, 1996, written by Juan Manuel González Cembellín and which has been very useful for my post-doctoral research. Firstly, the objectives are defined in a methodological introduction. The book describes the moveable assets, religious and devotional foundations, as well as the geographical distribution of donations. There is also a list of heritage items from America in the Basque Country (organized by province). All in all, an entire catalogue of goods, buildings, social and public works in Araba, Biscay and Gipuzkoa made possible by funds from Ibero-America during the 16th to the 20th centuries. This issue has required attention since the first publications on the Basque Diaspora after *Amerikanuak* and González Cembellín manages to resolve it masterfully here. I think it would be very useful for specialized historiography to continue with this line of approach, so as to place the “Indiano” myth in its proper context. Meanwhile, and in the area of narrative biography with a classicist tone, we can find the text by Ángel Martínez Salazar and Koldo San Sebastián, *Los vascos en México. Estudio biográfico, histórico y bibliográfico*, Vitoria, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, 1992. It was also published in the collection *Historia de la emigración vasca a Argentina en el siglo XX* by José Manuel Azcona, Inés García Albi and Fernando Muru. In that same year, 1992, José Manuel Azcona published “La emigración vasca a América (1492-1992)”, “Recepción del exilio por parte de los colectivos de inmigrantes y según origen regional” and “Cierre del proceso”, in *Historia General de la emigración española a Iberoamérica*, Madrid, CEDEAL-Historia 16. Other works published by the Amerika eta euskaldunak Commission are: Daniel Restrepo, *Sociedad y religión en Trujillo (Perú) 1780-1790*; Carmen José Alejos-Grau, *J. de Zumárraga y su Regla cristiana breve (México 1547)*; Gregorio Arrien, *Juan de Lezika y Torrezuri*; Antonio Unzueta, *Juan Domingo de Zamácola y Jaúregui y su obra en el Perú (siglo XVIII)*; Natividad Rueda, *La Compañía comercial Gardoqui e hijos (1760-1800)*; José Ángel Ascunce and María Luisa San Miguel, *La cultura del exilio vasco. Pensamiento y creación literaria*; also from José Ángel Ascunce, *Antología de textos literarios del exilio vasco*; Toribio Echevarría, *Recordando la guerra. Diario de viaje de un refugiado español*.

In 1992, Antonio Dupla published *Presencia vasca en América (1492-1992), una mirada crítica*, in which he questions, in a non-apologetic fashion, the traditional approaches of the colonizing and civilizing processes in the New World. He dedicates an entire chapter, perhaps the most interesting, to the post-war period, where he insists on the importance of the exiled Basque Government, discussing the newfound solidarity with its “sister republics” from the end of the 70s. In 1993, Professor Emiliano Fernández de Pinedo published *La emigración vasca a América, siglos XIX y XX*, Gijón, Ediciones Júcar, focusing more on the economic aspects of emigration, with one section on the structural causes and another on the Diaspora using parish records, as well as the role of Cuba in this process; an area that was studied less by scholars as it was still a colonial territory. Trade relations, emigrant outflow, embarkation conditions, sectorial aspects and Basque professions in America have also been studied by Professor Fernández de Pinedo. The sections in the second chapter are worth mentioning, which deal with the new economic conditions and migratory movements from 1880, as well as remittances and the “ganchos” as causes of migration. A very detailed series of tables, charts and maps, as well as an appendix, put the finishing touches on an essay that studies local records and official printed documentation.

In 1992, Estíbaliz Ruiz de Azúa, a professor at the Complutense University in Madrid, published an excellent monographic book with a very classic approach titled *Vascongadas y América*, Madrid, Editorial Maphre. After an initial and accurate methodological listing, the author states that the book’s geographical framework corresponds to the current Euskadi Autonomous Community, i.e. Araba, Biscay and Gipuzkoa. The temporal scope spans from the final period of the reign of the Catholic Monarchs to 1992. The book has twelve chapters and the author begins with a description of Araba, Biscay and Gipuzkoa at the beginning of the 15th century, referring to geographical, institutional, social and economic aspects. She continues with a detailed narration of Basque participation in the Spanish colonial enterprise, specially mentioning the Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País and its likely influence on the genesis of economic and patriotic societies in America. This is followed by a depiction of the commercial relationships with the American continent and this process (the colonial period) is concluded with two chapters in which she describes the integration of the Basque community into American society, as well as the importance of America for the economy (in particular) and society (in general) in the Basque territories. The final section considers contemporary Basque migration: causes, typology, destinations and occupations in Ibero-America from the 19th onwards. The book finally reviews Basque activities in the 20th century with respect to America (intellectual production, diplomacy and religion). She does not forget the mechanisms used to perpetuate the Basque identity in America⁷⁶. In the same Maphre-America collection, José Andrés Gallego, Francisco Miranda and José María Imizcoz published *Navarra y America*, Madrid, 1992, a structured and well-defined text with scientific rigor and accurate methodology. The book *Navarros en America*, Pamplona, the Navarre Government, written by various authors,

⁷⁶ This text can be found in the set of works published by Fundación Maphre América 1492 (created in 1988): 250 books and 330 historians from 40 countries created this library; the scientific direction was assumed by Jose Andres-Gallego, from CSIC.

was also published in 1992. This text provides five different fully unrelated chronicles. The presentation and editing have been done with enormous care but the conceptual analysis is more anthropological than historical. Also published that year was “La emigración Navarra a América a través de la publicística” in Pedro Vives (coord.) *Historia general de la emigración española a iberoamérica*, Madrid, CEDEAL/Historia 16, 1992, written by Ángel García-Sanz Marcotegui.

Jon Bilbao Azkarreta, who was a professor at the University of Nevada, as well as the president of Harriluce, the Institute of Basque Diaspora Studies, coordinated the publication of the educational manuscript *América y los Vascos* (Bilbao, Deia/Basque Government Department of Culture, 1992). The most relevant feature of this book is its narrative and linear tone; however, it is not remarkable in its historical interpretation of migratory phenomenon. With a similar narrative style, we would now like to refer to the book by Beatriz Cantón et al. *Amerika eta euskaldunak*, San Sebastián, Kriselu, 1992, which repeats the classic pattern of characters, events and an apology for Basque transoceanic migrations by means of their heroic feats.

In 1995, Rosario Macías Márquez published a summary of her doctoral thesis, submitted to the Latin American History department at the University of Seville, titled *La emigración española a América (1765-1824)*, University of Oviedo Press, 1995. In my opinion, this is an impeccable work in which the author analyzes the entire migration process from the end of the Ancien Régime to the beginning of the contemporary age, with rigorous methodology and genuine analysis. It is one of the few texts that deal with migration to America on a national level, for which we should be very grateful, as over the past few decades we have grown accustomed to studies, books and papers written from a local, micro-historical perspective, which are limited to the geographical setting of provinces, regions or autonomous communities. Therefore, a national representation is useful for conceiving a wider comparative panorama. Professor Márquez Macías tries to find identity elements in migratory phenomenon in the context of population groups in Spain and America, in their historical conditioning or private correspondence. For us, the most important part is pages 123 to 254, where the author quantifies the Spanish emigrants who went to the Indies between 1765 and 1824. I will neither insist on the importance of the Basque and Navarre outflow to America during this period, nor the origin towns or host countries, as this is not the aim of our study. Rather, I invite the reader who is interested in this issue to consult the cited literature⁷⁷. However, I would like to highlight that after the people from Andalusia, Extremadura and Catalonia, the Basques were the largest collectivity to migrate; followed by the people from Castile and Navarre.

Since 1992 and in the framework the 5th Centenary celebrations, the Basque-Argentinean Foundation Juan de Garay has been publishing a collection of monographs that locate, province by province, the Basque settlements in Argentina from the 16th to the 19th centuries. Differing from other monographs, there is no hagiographical or apologetic intention, they simply refer to Basque emigrants (most of them are anonymous), as well as their descendents and

⁷⁷ For this purpose chapter 4 is especially interesting, the epigraph *demographic study*, or the charts and tables that include the number of permits to go to America according to sex, marital status, age or geographical origin (autonomous community).

family networks. This is done through Herculean field work, based on primary sources, archives, genealogy and a very accurate bibliography. The editorial process is commendable and from this book one can obtain very valuable information to elaborate a complete and complex allocation of Basque family networks in Argentina over four centuries⁷⁸.

On the other hand, in 1992, the BBVA Foundation edited *La Real Sociedad Bascongada y América* in Bilbao, Spain, a book comprising twenty chapters by different authors. The works differ in quality; however, they are all characterized by a reiteration of previously stated arguments.

In *Inmigración vasca en Argentina. Vete a América*, the Basque Government Department of Culture, 1994, by Mary Jorgelina Caviglia and Daniel Villar, the narrative is chaotic and pathetic. This disjointed and pitiful text makes for a clumsy compilation filled with entropy, which does not even come close to being a scientific publication with a minimum amount of rigor. In 1996, *Historia de la emigración vasca a Uruguay en el siglo XX*, Montevideo, Ministry of Culture and General National Archive, was published by José Manuel Azcona, Fernando Muru and Inés García Albi. In that same year, the author of this text published “Las bienandanzas y fortunas de los pastores vascos en Norteamérica”, in *Euskal Herria y el Nuevo Mundo*, a book that we will proceed to analyze.

⁷⁸ In fact, the information is not only nominal, but there is also data such as ancestry, descendents, date of arrival, entry ship (sometimes), professions, place of settlement and other specific issues.

THE BASQUE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CREATION OF THE AMERICAS

In 1996, Ronald Escobedo Mansilla, Ana de Zaballa Beascoechea and Óscar Álvarez published the results of the 6th International Congress of the History of America, organized at the University of the Basque Country on the request of the Spanish Association of Americanists. The extraordinarily successful final product was the publication of four volumes that include, as their title indicates, almost all the lectures and contributions at this scientific and academic event. I congratulate the organizers of this congress not only for its significance and importance, but also its notable contribution to the development of scientific knowledge, which is more than relevant for scholars studying migratory processes. We welcome such an attitude and think that it would be excellent if it were to reemerge, as fourteen years have passed since this event. Four carefully edited and presented books are the fruits of such a large event, as mentioned. We will now analyze these texts in the order that I think is apt, as they do not have a predetermined order. Their editors are the three aforementioned professors from the University of the Basque Country.

The first book is *Euskal Herria y el Nuevo Mundo*, with the subtitle *La contribución de los vascos a la formación de las Américas*, Vitoria, University of the Basque Country Press, 1996. This volume is devoted to the modern age and includes a tribute to Alonso de Ercilla. I fully disagree with the use of the term Euskal Herria (the people who speak Basque/the Basque people) as a regional boundary in the European geography, comprising the current Spanish provinces of Araba, Biscay and Gipuzkoa (the Basque Autonomous Community), Navarre (Navarre Chartered Community) and the French territories of Labourd, Lower Navarre and Soule, as in my opinion, in extensive areas of this complex framework many people do not have the sense of belonging to a homogeneous community in any way whatsoever. This is the case in South Navarre, where the author of this article was born and spends lengthy periods each year, and who has for a long time noticed that no one speaks in Basque in this area, and the sense of belonging to Navarre eclipses any other geopolitical, and even less so, linguistic identities. This is also the case in the Basque-French areas, where the perceptions not only of a Basque speaking community, let alone a Basque identity, can be defined as faint or tepid. In addition, we should not overlook some regions in Araba or Biscay where the Basque language is completely absent from the everyday life of the population, with Spanish being the working language. We should also consider the political connotations of the term Euskal Herria, which I would rather not discuss. In any case, the naming of the geographical territory is always a decision for the author, or in this case, the editors.

In the introduction, some interesting observations are made, such as the rise of the regionalization of history in Spain or its nationalization in the Ibero-American countries ("Peruvian" historians or "Mexicanists"). The editors provide a list of the advantages of this partial viewpoint, permitting the study of: many characters, who are more or less relevant and would otherwise never have been seen as important; some of the specific features of each region and their roughly direct relationships with America, such as agricultural and industrial production, as well as the contacts derived from trade; migration to America, with a qualitative and quantitative approach, from a specific village, town or

city, this being vital to an accurate picture of emigration; as well as finding and publishing new documents, together with analyzing in more depth, from new perspectives, those which are already available⁷⁹. Escobedo, Zaballa and Álvarez were concerned with the problems arising from this type of methodology: “Among the most important disadvantages, there is the danger of getting lost in specific issues—which are often magnified, ultimately undermining the analysis—and forgetting that colonization was the work of all the territories of the Spanish Monarchy; as well as spending time and effort on minor or relatively less important issues when attempting, for instance, to adjust research to the official topics, and perhaps forgetting many other American concerns that should be addressed by historians. I do not intend to⁸⁰ disqualify any of the works presented in these types of congresses and publications [...], as any research that is serious and sincere cannot be discarded”⁸¹.

I fully agree with these assertions and departing from the premise of these three American scholars, all the contributions in these four volumes are respectable (albeit differing in quality). I think that both in this volume and the other titled *Álava and América*, there are “minor or relatively unimportant issues” and, in my opinion, an excess of hagiographical bibliography and grandiloquent epics. Even though the authors do not intend to discover a new panorama, according to their own words, they describe the volume as⁸² “in line with the scientific studies that highlight the collective and individual involvement of the Araban population in the New World”⁸³. They also add: “The authors cannot be expected to present a comprehensive catalogue, as there are still many figures awaiting the curiosity of the scholar. We hope that this work will serve as an incentive to find them”⁸⁴. Nonetheless, the list of figures is comprehensive (but not long enough for the authors, as they express in the introduction that they hope to find more), as among the twenty contributions, fourteen of them are mainly about Araban figures (Valentín De Foronda, Pascual de Andagoya, Jerónimo de Mendieta, Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuen, Domingo de Salazar, the Bishop Espada, Francisco Javier de Irastorza, Pedro Ochoa de Valda y Zárate, Andres de Zaballa Francisco Leandro de Viana Conde de Superunda) and the other six study a dozen different Araban collectivities. In the opinion of the professors who edited this volume, even if the biography genre has not been abandoned, in the past few decades we have witnessed a methodological renewal in the field of history. Let us carefully read the following: “Traditional history highlighted Basque participation in the American historical process by using the individual contributions of the most outstanding figures as examples. Since this methodological renewal in history, and particularly in the past few decades, there has been an increase in historiographical production, which, without abandoning the biography genre,

⁷⁹ Cf. Op. Cit., p. 12.

⁸⁰ It is surprising that the text is in first person singular when the introduction is signed by “Editors”.

⁸¹ Cf. Op. Cit., p. 12.

⁸² Ronald Escobedo, Ana M^a Zaballa and Óscar Álvarez, *Álava y América*, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, 1996.

⁸³ Ibidem, p. 11.

⁸⁴ Ibidem, p. 11. The emphasis is ours.

has focused on aspects of a more collective involvement, analyzing the activities that the Basques performed particularly well and that, unquestionably, are some of the specific contributions of Euskal Herria to the New World: shipbuilding, navigation, trade, mining, administration, etc. Some of the aspects that have benefited most from this new scientific approach to studying emigration are: causes, quantification, performance in the host territories, etc., the population exchanges that in the contemporary age acquire a massive dimension, in terms of general European and peninsular migrations”⁸⁵.

We agree with these statements; however, they do not coincide with the contents of *Álava y América*, which adopts the patterns of pure classicism, wrought with triumphant and resounding biographies of illustrious and ever successful Basque characters in America. The same occurs in the volume *Euskal Herria y el Nuevo Mundo*, where exemplary lives occupy a significant position. I personally do not believe in the value of excessive historical biography as an essential part of historiographical methods. I think this task is more fitting of literature than our field. In my opinion, limiting oneself to a person, time and geographical area, i.e. a list of events from cradle to grave, is not a rigorous analytical method: rather, it is old-fashioned and lacks innovation. The initial studies (for example, Segundo de Ispizua) do exactly the same thing and their shadow looms large over Basque-American historiography, as we have just seen and also mentioned previously here. Hence, this semantic inconsistency between the good intentions of the editors of these two books and what actually happens, display an asymmetry between what is intended and what one eventually reads. This classicist (and rancid) genre is usually transformed into an apology for the successes, as all the works are infested with triumphs, errors and (sometimes) pettiness. Ultimately, historical biographies are only written about unique characters and never, or practically never, about people who are less unique. For this reason, I think that migration analysis should be conducted by studying collective participation according to one or another approach, defined by the scholar at the outset. In any case, the study of socio-familiar networks is very valuable as it helps us to understand collective social phenomenon in context. Such is the case of the volume titled *Emigración y redes sociales de los vascos en América*, University of the Basque Country Press, Vitoria, 1996, which is divided into two sections: 1) Basque emigration to America; 2) Social and family networks. Professors Escobedo, Zaballa and Álvarez state that what has been more important than the progress made in the study of migratory quantification is “the possibility to find new approaches that are more useful than the quantitative perspective: the social, economic and human aspects of the phenomenon; push and attraction factors; the ordinary experience of the human groups characterizing this phenomenon in the host countries; the relationship between emigrants and their home countries, etc.”⁸⁶ [...] Undoubtedly, these works are one of the most serious contributions to our knowledge of the Basque Country in the New World [...] as they analyze the sociological characterization of Basque emigrants and their ordinary experiences in various Latin American countries since the discovery of the continent until the current time”⁸⁷.

⁸⁵ Ibidem, p. 9.

⁸⁶ Ibidem, p. 11.

⁸⁷ Ibidem, p. 12.

The option is suggestive and not at all original. In one way or another, those who have worked on Basque migratory processes to America, with professional methodologies, have surely found, allocated or studied the phenomenology we are praising, although not as a resolve *ad finitum* to address the always obstinate problems suggested by historians who are addicted to these types of migration themes. The quantification, motives for departure, both individual and collective, the bureaucratic processes for migrating, travel, and social and labor integration in the host countries are still, from our perspective, important issues that belong to the tradition of the historian.

I do not agree with the following statement, as from my point of view, it is too general, even if it is partially true. The editors of *Emigración y redes sociales de los vascos en América* state in connection to what I have just mentioned: “The cultural peculiarities of the Basques and their ancient and long-established tendency to gather when living outside of the Basque Country—either in the Court, Seville or Cadiz, or in any trading, mining or administrative American city—make them one of the groups for which it is easiest to find the establishment or strengthening of these networks”⁸⁸. I have serious doubts as to whether this is the case. I will explain. Until today, not a single study has been conducted on Basque non-associationism in America, under the assumption that the preservation of identity-based characteristics or “the cultural peculiarities of the Basques” have been total. This is the case, yet only for a minority of emigrants and their descendants, at least in absolute terms. As I said before, when I was doing my doctoral research on Basque migration to Argentina and Uruguay in the 19th century, I noticed that disunity characterized this emigration much more than is commonly thought. To begin with, the Navarres normally gathered separately, as did the Basque-French, and the Biscayan, Araban and Gipuzkoan organized their own fellowships. There is nothing novel about this observation. However, what attracted my attention was, when looking for 20th century Basques, a large amount of them, as well as their descendants, neither approached the Basque Centers nor did they participate in their activities or celebrations. They lived completely separate from them either intentionally or because they did not like the partially or fully politicized environments, with ideas that differed from their own. In other cases, even if the emigrant had one or two Basque surnames, they would only vaguely know the origins of these names and their ancestors. These facts prompted me to reflect on the real level of associationism in the American countries, i.e. the actual number of emigrants and their descendants who have actively taken part in the cultural, social or institutional activities organized by such centers. My impression after several visits to these centers is not very enlightening in this sense. Not even after the mythical and magical year of 1992, when the 5th Centenary of the discovery of America was celebrated. In 1999, at the World Congress of Basque Collectivities, the number of Basques registered at the centers in America was 14,771, of which 17% were first generation emigrants and 83% were born in America⁸⁹. This figure is rather small and does not reflect the total number of this community.

The fourth work of this saga is edited by the same professors and titled *Comerciantes, mineros y nautas. Los vascos en la economía americana*,

⁸⁸ Ibidem, p. 12.

⁸⁹ Cf. Official text from the congress, Vitoria, the Basque Government, 2000, p. 31.

University of the Basque Country Press, Vitoria, 1996. It includes excellent work on one of the issues that has been most poorly dealt with in migration studies: the economic question. This volume is extremely interesting and worthwhile as it provides innovative contributions to an area that, as we have said, has not been developed.

Cien años de torrente migratorio hacia América. Diáspora vasca y enganchadores, Bilbao, BBVA Foundation, written by Concepción Santiso, was published in 1998. This work was financed by the foundation (created in 1989) within the framework of the research funds it provided for the 5th Centenary of the discovery of America. It focuses on the figure of the “ganchos” or labor recruiters, and the tactics they used to attract individuals who were willing to cross the Atlantic. Their methods were strongly criticized by the newspapers, authorities and contemporary scholars, as these labor recruiters were considered to be responsible for the mistreatment, neglect, depopulation or falsification of documents connected to the protagonists of the Diaspora. The “ganchos” decided the profile of emigrants, final destinations, dates and means of transportation according to their own interests, or the interests of the company where they worked. The author insists on a very specific period as she connects migratory cycles to the recruiting and sailing companies. We consider this work as a valuable reference (documental evidence included) for the argument that the labor recruiters’ activities were one of the main causes of Basque emigration to America⁹⁰. This same author had already published “Emigración vasca entre 1840 y 1870. Pautas de análisis acerca del éxito vasco en América: cadenas familiares, primeras letras y otras consideraciones” in *Boletín de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica*, XI, 1, 1993.

In 1998, Nora L. Siegrist de Gentile and Óscar Álvarez Gila published (in the edition of the Portugalete Council Department of Culture) *De la Ría del Nervión al Río de la Plata. Estudio histórico de un proceso migratorio*. The title of this book seems ambitious in itself as it covers, from a geographical perspective, from the Ría del Nervión to the Río de la Plata. However, after reading the text and observing the archival sources used, the territorial space is limited to Portugalete, Santurce, Sestao, Cierbana, Abanto, Zalla, Galdames and other urban centers in Las Encartaciones. Hence, Río de la Plata is confined to Argentina and especially Buenos Aires, as the archives used were from the General Archive of the Nation, and in the Argentinean capital, censuses as well as police and ecclesiastical records were accessed. From Spain: the Historical Ecclesiastical Archive in Biscay (Derio), the Municipal Archives in Portugalete, Abanto and Gallarta, together with the regional archives of Biscay and the Indies. The text, with some parts that are better than others, is more notable in the section on the host country, Argentina (Buenos Aires), in which the documentation is presented in a more ordered, prolific and interesting fashion. This does not mean that the concatenation of families from Portugalete and Las Encartaciones studied in this work are not useful for scholars dealing with migration, the nobility and genealogy. In fact, the way these families are studied reminds us of the old genealogy books or records of very successful figures (most of them Basque) in which the authors narrate with care and detail the lives and works of the Durañona family, Vicente de Suaso (or Zuazo), José

⁹⁰ Although the bulk of the “ganchos” activities took place in Gipuzkoa, the methodological precision is clear and the results can be extrapolated to other Basque provinces.

Mateo de Echeverría and Julián de la Cendeja, the latter a member of the Ortiz Basualdo family, among others⁹¹. This work also reminds us of Ricardo Goldaracena's *El libro de los linajes*, Montevideo, 1976; or Juan Alejandro Apolant's *Operativo Patagonia. Historia de la mayor aportación demográfica masiva a la banda oriental*, Montevideo, 1970. Thus, it is a text that worships the figure of the "Indiano" by offering a very monotonous narrative review, one after the other, of individuals and families, concluding with the life and fortunes of emigrants from Portugalete and Las Encarnaciones at their destination in Argentina (chapter 3), or the social advancement of the "Indianos" in Portugalete (chapter 4). This last chapter, which was supposed to be quite interesting, is a mere four pages (191–194) on the contribution of the "Indianos" to mining and industrial growth on the left bank of the Estuary of Bilbao, with common bibliography references; and regarding the return: "Indianos", their capital and repercussions for the social order ("Indianos" and remittances) is only discussed in 3 pages (168–170) and once again, the general bibliography is the most significant contribution. More appealing is the epigraph titled "La adquisición de bienes raíces" (171–191) for its precision and clarity, despite the fact that the foundation of what is argued is mainly bibliographical, as in the two previous cases. In summary, this book could have been a good example of well-planned local geographical migration analysis, albeit with few methodological developments. Rather, such good principles have not been fully developed, particularly in the study of the Ría de Nervión.

Two years earlier, Henry de Charnisay published *L'emigration basco-béarnaise en Amérique*, Biarritz, J y D Ediciones, 1996. This book follows the classical and traditional pattern used by most scholars dealing with Basque emigration to America. He begins by defining the migratory foundations, he then (second part) analyzes Basque-Bearnese migration up until the 19th century, after which (third part) he manages to order emigrants according to their destinations, by means of statistics. The fifth part explains the activities of the Basque-Bearnese Diaspora in America. In the final chapter, he emphasizes the causes of migrations on both sides of the Atlantic. The general conclusions, bibliography and material index bring this monographic work to a close.

Also written by Agustín Otondo Duturrena and Patricio Legarraga Raddatz at the end of the 20th century is the book *Emigración a Chile del Valle de Baztán (Navarra) en el siglo XX*, Pamplona, the Navarre Government, 1999. With a large amount of personal and family information, this book is very useful for scholars studying the nobility and genealogy. For the same country but with a more economic focus, we would like to highlight the text by Rafael Arocena, *Vascos, agricultura y empresa en México*, Mexico, Ibero-American University, 1999. In addition, from the other side of the Mexican border, we would mention two original works, both of which are important in my own opinion, written by Richard W. Etulain and Jerónima Echeverría, *Portraits of Basques in the New World*, Nevada-Reno, University of Nevada Press, 1999. In that same year, Jerónima Echeverría also published *Home away from home*, Nevada-Reno, University of Nevada Press.

⁹¹ However, all the characters appear without their talents on show, which was a classic in works from the era.

In 2003, the excellent text, as usual, by William A. Douglass, *La Vasconia global. Ensayo sobre las diásporas vascas*, Vitoria, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, was published.

TRADITIONS, FAMILY LINEAGES AND ASSOCIATIONISM

There is a growing trend in Latin America to recover the Basque traditions and family lineages of past settlers. The aim of this text is not to focus on the literary production associated with Basque migratory processes to America. However, we think it could be useful to briefly comment on this type of manuscript. This genre blends nostalgia with familial glory and pride for having belonged to a particular lineage. However, if one can bear their tediousness and rancid narrative style, many references to customs, traditions and ways of living can be found, which may be useful for scholars. The Basque publishing house Ekin, in Buenos Aires, specialized in these kinds of publications, together with others that promoted Basque nationalist dogma⁹². Two books published by Ekin in the collection titled *Biblioteca de Cultura Vasca* called my attention in 1989, when I was doing field work for my doctoral dissertation. I am referring to the two suggestive titles *Los vascos en el Uruguay*, Thomas Otaegui (no. 13) and *Los vascos gauchos* (no. 71). In both cases, I was utterly disappointed by the absolute lack of content and rigor. *Viejas cartas de tierra adentro* (no. 72) by José María Garciarena was slightly more useful, where the epistolary style lends to a narration of ways of life in rural areas, broadening our understanding of that *modus vivendi*. I will only provide two more titles to give examples of what I am summarizing here⁹³. The first is *Un vasco en el Uruguay*, by Carlos María de Larralde, Montevideo, Impresión Rex, 1966. The author expresses his intentions for the book by stating: “Many years ago I heard somebody lament the silence surrounding Basque migrants [...] I met some Basques and their descendants and studied them; I made them talk, and they told me stories, tales, jokes and episodes, some of them serious, others funny [...]. As a grandchild of a Basque myself, I was proud of my ancestors because of the blood running through their veins, so using my observational spirit and memory, and by paying special attention to elements at my disposal, I started writing this book [...] If I manage to remove the literary and traditional elements, and publish two or three more works with real worth, then this book will be justified and excused”. Another example of this saga is Juan Pablo Beardi Inchauspe’s *Ynchauspe, una familia vasca en General Belgano*, self-published in Buenos Aires in 1995. In the introduction, the author describes the work as anecdotal and not historical, and goes on by saying: “To tell many stories, I have used real documents, while on many other occasions, I have had to use my imagination or get inside each of the characters, as some of them are mentioned in conversations and stories from a long time ago, so it is possible that they have been changed. With this explanation, I offer my justification for perhaps using one of these anecdotes or facts without the appropriate historical rigor”.

A mix between familiar genre, to give it a name, and the genre that is so successful in our subject of interest, historical disclosure, we should mention the text by Alberto Sarraore *Los vascos en el Río de la Plata*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Biblos, 1995. This voluminous work was widely sold, which is rather unusual for this type of text. The author mixes personal memories, a string of

⁹² In fact, they published Lehendakari Aguirre and edited texts by Campion, Iturralde y Suit, Soralue, Iriart, Smirnoff, as well as other works with a supposedly historical nature.

⁹³ There are many more examples, all with the same typology and that, curiously, are impressively successful with readers.

anecdotes, as is expected, with an accumulation of names, circumstances, trades and professions of the Basques who migrated to Argentina or Uruguay, culminating in a narrative muddle with little methodological rigor, which nevertheless, as previously mentioned, captivated the soul of readers (especially Basques, of course). It is these readers who have transformed this book into an emotional icon. Another similar work is Jorge Arin Ayphassorho's *Vida institucional de los Centros Vascos del Uruguay* (1876-1998), published in 1998, an amalgam of speeches, festive celebrations and the minutes of management boards, which is anecdotal more than anything else.

We have already mentioned the work, which is indeed pioneering⁹⁴, by the professor at the University of Deusto, Begoña Cava and others, on the Basque Centre Laurak Bat in Buenos Aires. Shortly after this manuscript was published in 1995, also in Buenos Aires, Michel Iriart published *Apenas cien años, crónica del centenario del Centro Vasco-Francés (1895-1995)* followed by Alberto Irigoyen Artecche, *Laurak-bat. Montevideo, 1876-1898. Primera Euskal etxea del mundo*, the Basque Government, Vitoria/Gasteiz, 1999; Juan Carlos Luzuriaga and Óscar Álvarez Gila, "El asociacionismo vasco en Uruguay: del mutualismo al nacionalismo (1850-1940)" in *Estudios Ibero-Americanos*, Porto Alegre, Brazil, vol. XXVII, no. 1, 2001; Marcelino Iriani, *Centro Vasco Argentino Gure Etxea de Tandil: ñla punta de un gran iceberg?* Vitoria/Gasteiz, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, 2001; Julene Salazar and Roberto Hernández, *El Centro Vasco de Santiago de Chile, una comunidad social en el siglo XX*, spelt Euzko Etxea, Santiago de Chile, 2003⁹⁵.

In 1994, Marcelino Iriani published "Como en nuestra casa. Fondas y hotels vascos en Jandil (1860-1940)" in Monterrey (Mexico) as part of his doctoral thesis, whose subject he would return to later.

The aforementioned Professor Begoña Cava published the lecture she gave in Bilbao on December 4, 2002, at the Biscay Regional Archive, as part of her admittance to the Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País, in which she reflects on the associative and migratory model of the Basques in America since conquest until the present. We are dealing with a line of research that seems interesting yet the results are often no more than a narration of the celebrations—and their haughty speeches—and cultural activities that sought to defend Basque culture or provide charity to the Basques who ended up at the worst destinations or became really poor, or the disputes in the minutes of management boards, or the visits of political figures, including Lehendakari Aguirre. In my opinion, studies that consider the opposition to Franco at these Basque centers are much more interesting, as it was organized by the nationalists, as well as socialists, communists or republican supports after the 1936–1939 Civil War.

An example of this type of associationist literature is the book published by Alberto Irigoyen *Laurak Bat de Montevideo. Primera Euskal Etxea del*

⁹⁴ There are precedents: *Euskal-Echea, la obra a través de cincuenta años (1904-54)* by Natividad E. Baylac, 1995; and the president of the Basque Center in Bogota, Pedro Amuchaste, who gave a lecture on 26 September, 1964, self-published, titled *Centros Vascos en el exilio*, which we should also include among the non-academic manuscripts.

⁹⁵ Alberto Irigoyen had already published *Centro Euskaro de Montevideo o la dialéctica del ser*, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, Vitoria.

Mundo (1876-1898). The text begins with the causes of the Basque arrival to Uruguay. In the second part, the author suggests that Laurak Bat was not a political center; rather, it defended freedom, working as an employment agency. He explains in detail the Basque celebrations held at this centre. This text certainly does not analyze the 20th century but, and I insist, he follows the original pattern of these kinds of texts. In the case of Alberto Irigoyen's book, we must admit that it is well-constructed given that he is not a professional historian. In any case, the final result is reasonable. Interpretative analysis is lacking, perhaps compensated by the citation of many original sources used in the text, which is always a good resource⁹⁶.

In 1999, Miguel Iturria Savon published in Havana "Memoria documental de los vascos en Cuba", which involved the collaboration of many entities⁹⁷. The author has thoroughly studied the Asociación Vasco-Navarra de Beneficencia archive, where he obtained more than fifteen hundred entries from between 1877 and 1979, or rather, until the association closed. The majority of the documents relate to the health issues or financial destitution of Basques who settled on the island: monetary aid to pay hospitals or clinics, transfers to Spain for those who could not afford a return ticket, the minutes of management boards, memoirs, treasury documents and "other precious papers that attest to the life of Basques and their descendants on this Antillean island". Moreover, his analysis of the correspondence demonstrates links between the Basque provinces and other regions in Spain, as the Asociación Vasco-Navarra de Beneficencia gave aid, on multiple occasions, to cities, councils and institutions in Galicia, as well as others parts of Spain, such as Melilla, for natural disasters, previous requests and various tributes. Only twenty seven documents from the Euskaro Center in Havana are included, which, according to the author, were found dispersed among the archives of the association. There is a documentation and photography appendix. This is a very useful work that can be used as a primary source without any interpretative or analytical intentions.

Also in 1999, Ángeles de Dios de Martina published *Vascos en el Chaco. Historias de vida*⁹⁸, in which she offers a commendable depiction of family stories. We would also like to mention the text by Ricardo Marco Munoa *Los vascos en Entre Ríos*, Subsecretariat of Culture, Editorial Entre Ríos, Parana (Argentina), 2003; Nora L. Siegrist of Gentile, "Bautismos, matrimonios y defunciones de vascos navarros en la parroquia de la Inmaculada Concepción de Buenos Aires, 1830-1860", in *Euskaldunak Munduan, Vascos en el Mundo*, the Basque Government, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2000, vol. 1, and "Proyección y presencia de la emigración vasca contemporánea en Argentina. Miles de sus protagonistas en archivos bonaerenses, 1882-1927", in *Euskaldunak Munduan, Vascos en el Mundo*, the Basque Government, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2001, vol. 2; Óscar Álvarez Gila, "Catálogo de los vascos en el censo de Buenos Aires de 1855: las parroquias

⁹⁶ It is very common for non-professional authors to include reproductions of sources in their works, making them more difficult to read and meanwhile, they skip, due to a lack of methodology, analytical interpretation of scholarly essays.

⁹⁷ Indeed, we have record of the participation in this project and publishing of this work by the Spanish Cultural Center in Havana (Eusko Ikaskuntza), the San Sebastián Council and the Asociación Vasco-Navarra de Beneficencia.

⁹⁸ It was published in Buenos Aires by Dunken.

de Catedral al Norte y San Miguel”, *Vasconia*, Donostia-San Sebastián, 32, 2002. Also, Robert Laxalt is the author of *Dulce tierra prometida. Un pastor vasco en el Oeste americano*, San Sebastián, Txartalo, 2000, the translation and introductory study is by David Rio Raigadas, who published *Robert Laxalt: la voz de los vascos en la literatura norteamericana*, University of the Basque Country, Leioa, 2002.

In 1999, Alberto Angulo Morales published in *Estudios Ibero-Americanos*, Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil) XXV, 2, an admirable text, which we recommend, titled “una reflexión sobre los medios de integración del emigrante vasco en América durante el siglo XIII”.

Óscar Álvarez Gila’s contribution is outstanding for the text titled “Cultura, nacionalidad y pasaporte. Consideraciones sobre las sociedades étnicas como Fuente para el estudio de la emigración europea a América” in *Ibero-Amerikanische Archiv. Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaften und Geschichte*, Berlin, XXI, 1-2, 1996.

More recently, the Basque Government has made a firm commitment to the publication of manuscripts on specific associations, as is the case, among others, of Gloria Totoricaguena’s *The Basques of New York. A cosmopolitan experience*, the Basque Government, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2003. In addition, Elsa Stella Maris Caula et al.’s *Zazpirak Bat, Rosario (Argentina)*, the Basque Government, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2003. In 2000, a very interesting paper titled “Parentesco, amistad y paisanaje: los vascos en el Río de la Plata” was published in the journal *Sancho el Sabio*. Julene and Roberto Hernandez have contributed to this method with *El Centro Vasco de Santiago de Chile. Una comunidad social en el siglo XX*, Santiago de Chile, 2003. In the same year, we can also find Marcelino Iriani and Óscar Álvarez Gila, with a monographic text titled *Euskal Etxea. La génesis de un sueño (1899-1950): Llavallol*, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2003. In addition, if these works are not sufficient, we cannot forget the text by Amaya Garritz Ruiz and Javier Sanchiz Ruiz, *Euskal Etxea de la ciudad de México*, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2003⁹⁹. As the Presidency states¹⁰⁰:

The Urazandi collection (“Allende los mares”) compiles the history of Basque centers across the world. In the 19 books published thus far, one can find euskaldun emigrant testimonies and reflections by prestigious researchers. Coordinated and promoted by the Dirección de Relaciones con las Colectividades Vascas, Urazandi was presented at the 3rd World Congress of Basque Collectivities, which was held in Vitoria-Gasteiz, in July 2003. Since then, the collection has increased and at the fourth congress in Bilbao, more books have been launched: “Valparaíso”, “Montevideo II”, “Memoria 1980-2005” and “Urazandi Digital”, which compile the digitalization of 134 Basque journals. In this way, the Urazandi Collection continues to

⁹⁹ Although some of these papers have already been included and analyzed some pages earlier, they appear again as they belong to this line of research on associationism, which has gained more momentum and interest recently.

¹⁰⁰ Visit to the official data transmissions network of the Basque Government, on June 30, 2010.

disseminate and research Basques around the world. In the Urazandi Collection volumes, the reader can find the history of Euskal Etxeak in Argentina, France, Catalonia or the United States. La Baskonia was published between 1893 and 1943 and it studies the Basque Diaspora. The collection is available through the Basque Government Central Publications Service. Here follows a list of the indexes, and in some of them, the complete text:

Volume 0: Documents
Volume 1: Comparative Basque Diaspora
Volume 2: Global Vasconia
Volume 3: Boise
Volume 4: Tandil
Volume 5: Barcelona
Volume 6: Rosario
Volume 7: Mar del Plata
Volume 8: Bahia Blanca
Volume 9: Buenos Aires
Volume 10: Paris
Volume 11: Montevideo
Volume 12: New York
Volume 13: Mexico
Volume 14: Madrid
Volume 15: Llavallol
Volume 16: Valparaiso
Volume 17: Montevideo II
Volume 18: 1980–2005 Memory
Volume 19: NABO
Volume 20: Santiago de Chile
Volume 21: Australia
Volume 22: Photography and emigration
Volume 22: San Francisco
Volume 23. Euskadi Delegations

In 2003 and 2004, respectively, Gloria Totoricaguena published *Basques of New York: A cosmopolitan experience* and *Boise Basques: Dreamers and Boers*. In 2005, Eneko Sainz Goikoetxea published online “La masa social del centro vasco Euskal Herria de Montevideo: análisis prosopográfico”.

These are the most recent trends that have fascinated scholars of Basque migration to America, and whose abundance of printed material would not have been published, in my opinion, without the help of the Basque government, or its publications service, or both, as they have funded this analysis. On many occasions, but not always, more effort is required to reach minor conclusions. Those of us who have spent time at the Basques Centers in America and seen their documental evidence, we know that they can be used up to a certain point, with very detailed minutes of everyday life on many occasions, or, conversely, little or irrelevant information. One can also find comments on festive-ludic folkloric events that can even spark sentimental emotion, in some cases. There is also a lot of documentation on revenue and expenditures, institutional staff and other everyday information. Among these everyday issues, there are the

visits of Lehendakari Aguirre, political debates, public protests with a clear nationalist tone, vindication (or lack thereof) of events in the Basque Country, or charity projects for immigrants who were less fortunate in their overseas ventures. The final result of each monograph depends on the skill of the researcher to separate the wheat from the chaff. As, from our point of view, there is nothing worse than fragmenting knowledge by means of an exaltation of the particular and the petty. This is why we prefer, from a methodological perspective, Juan Carlos Luzuriaga and Óscar Álvarez Gila's "El asociacionismo vasco en el Uruguay: del mutualismo al nacionalismo (1850-1940) in *Estudios Ibero-Americanos*, Porto-Alegre (Brazil), vol. XXII, no. 1, 2001, which we have cited above. In the journal *Sancho el Sabio*, no. 22, 2005, Óscar Álvarez Gila and Marcelino Iriani published "Euskal Echea. Un intento étnico por preservar lo distinto", where the title itself is a statement of intent. They discuss the conservation of characteristics of the Basque identity, which has always been different from those pertaining to other groups from Spain or France. The authors assert that the Basques neither migrated to escape famine or misery, nor did they leave a paradisiacal land behind them.

We think that, without reviling the onerous publishing efforts of the Basque Government, they could move towards monographic research that focuses more on the contribution of the Basque colony to social and economic development in the host countries, where Basques and Navarres played an undeniably vital role. Therefore, as stated by Álvarez Gila, there are other lines of research, still emerging, that deserve greater attention, such as the phenomenon of the returnees, as well as the sharing of ideas, and transfer of people and capital from America to the Basque Country and Navarre. This is studied in the work by Montserrat Garate Ojanguren, "Una aproximación a los trasvases de capital de Cuba y Puerto Rico en el XIX (un análisis comparativo entre Canarias y País Vasco)", in Francisco Morales Padrón (coord.) *XIII Coloquio de Historia Canario Americana y VIII Congreso Internacional de Historia de América AEA*, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Ediciones del Cabildo of Gran Canaria, 2000.

The book by Marcelino Iriani, which is his doctoral thesis, *Hacer América: Los vascos en la pampa húmeda, Argentina (1840-1920)*, Bilbao, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, 2000, presents a questionable migratory panorama, perhaps owing to the fact that it is his doctoral dissertation. This monograph is very obviously influenced by the Basque nationalist approach. For instance, on page 35, the author delights us with his very clear intentions and political position. Carefully read the following:

The Basques are an example of a diffuse population or nation without a state. While belonging to a land or institution is quite recent, the sense of belonging to a "different" group other than the Spanish or French, to a lesser extent, was reinforced in parallel with the migratory phenomenon. It could be said that the Basque migrants represent a fundamental pillar—and precedent—for the emergence of Sabino Arana's nationalist ideas in 1880/1890. After the defeat in the second Carlist War, together with the loss of the Basque "fueros" and the obligation to join the military service, as well as the new figure of Arana, some of the processes that were developing far away from the motherland combined to clarify the euskaldun identity. This is when the first Basque Centers were opened in Buenos Aires and

Montevideo, only occurring in big cities. In inland areas of countries such as Argentina, the Basque community—less politicized and much quicker to integrate—remained a cohesive group, free of influence from any institutions, and they probably felt closer to their fellow French or Spanish citizens up until the first few decades of the 20th century.

The first part of this excerpt introduces an emotional and political viewpoint that reveals the writer's affiliation, which we completely respect, of course. However, what calls our attention is that a professional historian is daring to make these kinds of categorical affirmations. While it often occurs in the area of propaganda linked to nationalism and any of its schools of thought (Christian Democrat, Social Democrat or Marxist), it is the first time that I have seen this in the historical field. Claiming that the Basques are an example of a nation without a land shows little or no knowledge of the history of Spain. Let us remember that Professor Iriani is Argentinean. Of course, I will not squander a single phrase on stating the obvious, i.e. that the Basques have never had their own state in the history of Spain or France. Therefore, we must believe that Professor Iriani merely wishes or hopes that this was the case. Moreover, it would be interesting to read about his concept of "nation" as he offers no explanation in this work, and references to the use of this word in recent European history have very negative connotations, even terrifying.

In our opinion, the nation state is a place where a population lives freely under a democratic system based on modern constitutionalism, with individual and collective freedoms, as well as a division of powers and an electoral system; rather than a geographical space with the same traditions, language, history, religion or culture. These are precisely the arguments made in Ibero-American countries, as well as in some areas of the Basque Autonomous Community, to defend the right of the Basques to their own nation state. This romantic model has been completely rejected by modern western societies, as it was used by European fascisms and Latin American populisms.

The second part of the quoted text exaggerates when it asserts that Basque emigrants were a fundamental pillar and precedent for the emergence of Sabino Arana's political ideas. The truth is, even if the author does not state it, we do not actually know where to find this precedent. However, what we do know, those of us who have studied the complete works of Sabino Arana¹⁰¹, is the lack of interest that the founder of this doctrine displayed towards emigrants. For this reason, we are very surprised by the author's assertion and understand that it reflects emotion and enthusiasm more than any kind of scientific argument. In any case, Professor Iriani could write an essay on this topic, as many scholars dealing with Basque nationalism and its circumstances would probably be very interested to read it. In any case, this doctoral dissertation reminds us of what we previously mentioned with respect to Alberto Irigoyen's writings on the "origins" of Basque nationalism. On page fourteen, the author makes a clear distinction between the Basques and the Spanish, as if they were two different populations. He states:

¹⁰¹ See Fernando García de Cortázar and José Manuel Azcona, Madrid, *Historia* 16, 1991.

The Basques arrived—and went to the hinterland—long before the Italians and the Spanish, and at the same time as some Danes and some Irish.

On page sixteen, he adopts another common cliché in Basque historiography, according to which, the Navarres considered (and consider) themselves as Basques. This is not at all true, neither in the period Iriani studies, nor at the present time. On the same page, he insists on the idea that the Basques are a “national group”.

Regarding the general structure of the text, it is divided into twelve chapters, an introduction and a bibliography. The front cover anticipates the melancholic tone of the manuscript. We are, indeed, dealing with a monographic text that seeks to provide information on everything and does treat anything in-depth. Although, there is an exception, and despite the subheading “Argentina (1840-1920)”, the geographical framework is the province of Buenos Aires, and specifically Tandil, the author’s birth place.

The first chapter deals with the historiography and sources used by the author. Here, Iriani confesses that he has used sources from four different places (Barracas al Sur-Avellaneda, Chascomús, Tandil and Lobería), as well as from the Barracas al norte neighborhood in Buenos Aires. He also states that he reviewed the 1854–1856 provincial registry and the 1869 and 1881 national censuses. Finally, he attests to having conducted fifteen interviews and using other sources such as almanacs, maps, diaries, guides, photographs and newspapers from the time.

In the second chapter, he depicts the socioeconomic situation in Euskalherria (as he defines the four Basque-Spanish and three Basque-French provinces) as dismal, the main reason for which people emigrated. It seems as if he were describing Albania or Uzbekistan and not one of the seven provinces mentioned. The author forgets that at the end of the 19th century, Gipuzkoa and Biscay were two highly industrialized provinces, on the same level as any developed industrial area on the Old Continent. In addition, what occurred in the agricultural areas of the Basque Country (both French and Spanish) and Navarre, on either side of the Pyrenees, was similar to the rest of Europe. This is how Iriani defines “the land of the Basques” (pages 40 and 41):

Euskalherria is the land of the Basques. Its seven traditional regions are differentiated, initially, by their political and economic history. Each possessed their own laws (“*fueros*”) that shaped the nature of local government and citizenship rights [...]. However, in spite of these distinctions, the prevailing economic landscape in the Basque regions during the last century was composed of agriculture and livestock, and by the end of that period, these activities were becoming backward and precarious.

This assertion could not be simpler. The rest of the chapters are a series of sectorial studies on Basque integration in four locations and the previously mentioned Buenos Aires neighborhood (from 3 to 10). The eleventh chapter deals with the hotels and inns in Tandil and the twelfth offers a general assessment. So this book does not serve as an update on the topic, as the author states in the title; rather, it is a partial and unfortunate description of what happened (and was dreamt) in relation to Basque migration to specific locations

in the province of Buenos Aires between 1840 and 1920. Moreover, there is a clear lack of interest in theoretical aspects and no references to other Spanish (or any other nationality) migrations. It is obvious that the author has studied the primary sources very little, representing only 10% of the bibliography, the other 90% being printed sources that can be easily accessed in any public library. Likewise, fifteen interviews (especially for a doctoral dissertation) is not a significant number, in fact, it is rather superficial in our opinion. So this book mainly offers a quantitative approach with no solid foundations (except the censuses) and omits all reference to theoretical issues for the study of integration or insertion. Thus, it is descriptive, narrative and non-analytical text. Moreover, the Basque insertion into the productive structure of Buenos Aires is limited to a list of characters (many of them taken from biographical dictionaries), as well as wholly unrelated agricultural or urban activities. The author mentions the cases of some Basques and their descendants who achieved commercial, industrial and trading success, but these examples are more based on anthropological than scientific research.

Marcelino Iriani states that 30% of the emigrants who arrived to the province of Buenos Aires travelled within a family or friend network. While we support this fact, we also doubt the importance given to this circumstance. Moreover, this professor's failure to acknowledge the importance of the "ganchos" as a push factor for emigration is well-known. Undoubtedly, the area with which the author is most familiar is Tandil, which, in our opinion, is the best section, although he often extrapolates what happens there to broader geographical areas. The author explains that he has tried to analyze macro-structural aspects together with others linked to studies of the Basque community and their behavioral patterns, as well as their integration into the host society and relationship to their home country:

We are mainly interested in retrieving the Euskalduna presence in the rural and urban activities somehow linked to the modernization of the economy.

We would also have been interested if most of this work actually dealt with these issues, and not a superficial narration of the various and different Basque activities in the province of Buenos Aires, and particularly Tandil. As Iriani's book is brimming with an apologetic discourse of the Basques and their circumstances, it must be read with care. Otherwise, this manuscript is useful as a manual due to the primary data obtained from the censuses. We also think that this text is innovative in its contribution to the study of Basque hotels and inns, an aspect that is often overlooked in Basque-American historiography of the Río de la Plata, but not in North American historiography, at least in general terms.

More recently, in 2008, we can find Iriani's lecture at the Congress *Euskal Herria Mugaz Gaindi IV*, Bayonne and Ustaritze, October 20 and 27, 2007. He titled this lecture "Imaginando el retorno de los vascos. Algunas reflexiones"¹⁰². Here, he reiterates the importance of the return of the Basques and asserts that this topic is in the "dark, unfinished and difficulty-accessed" basket.

¹⁰² Marcelino Iriani, "Imagining the return of the Basques. Some reflections", *Amnis* [en ligne], 8, 2008, mis en ligne le 30 juin 2009. URL: <http://amnis.revues.org/381>.

Even if we were to agree on the importance of studying the return, within the general analytical scope of Basque emigration on both sides of the Atlantic, we think that other issues, such as the development of the nations where emigrants settled, should be the subject of our attention. Alternatively, and following this same line of interpretation, it would also be appropriate to produce monographic works that show how the American capitals and other technical and trading contributions assisted the growth and development of the Basque Country (in Spain and France), as well as Navarre. Despite all this, I must admit that this manuscript is quite interesting, as its topic is rarely studied in Basque-American migration scholarly circles. The author states that “nobody can question, at this point, that the old idea of *homo economicus* has been discarded¹⁰³. He argues that the input-output model has become rather old-fashioned, i.e. the model used to explain migratory fluctuations by taking salary differences into account. He continues by asserting that the current trend is to attack anything that differs from the migratory chains as an explanation for the reasons and causes of overseas migrations (in general) and the Basque (in particular). We discussed this issue at the beginning and will not repeat ourselves now; however, we must insist on the concatenation of explanative factors that could allow us to understand the reasons why people immigrated to America (or returned). We would not disregard any part of this sequence.

Iriani maintains that another image which has lost relevance is that of emigration linked to misery. It may have lost relevance, as the author of this lecture states, but for some people—myself included—this idea does not reflect reality. We have found many cases of very poor emigrants who were still paying off their tickets (in Argentina and Uruguay) between one and three years after having left. This proves the misery level of some participants of the Diaspora, but only some of them, we insist. Therefore, the charity associations, whether connected to the regional or national centers or not, also played a very important role in assisting Basque homeless people to return, who, by the way, were a minority. However, we agree with Marcelino Iriani on the fact that the people who emigrated were generally miserable or more than miserable.

It is interesting to read the importance this professor gives to non-economic aspects in order to give a clear explanation of the phenomenology of the return:

No one could doubt that the 1890 crisis in Argentina not only obstructed arrivals, but also pushed more than one emigrant to return. Those who sustain that many migrants returned as they wanted to join their countries' armies both in 1898 and 1914 are also correct. The curves on the graphs do not contradict this. However, when we analyze the reasons in depth, the macro causes do not explain the entire situation. When we study more specific cases, we find people who did not return on either of these crucial dates. Many returned during the peaks of economic boom, both in the host or home country. The easiest explanation for this is the humanity of the subject of study: a humanity that has been marginalized in the documents and even scientifically questioned. Where can one read, if not in a private letter or the stanzas of a *bertsolari*, that someone went back home because of melancholy? The moment has not yet

¹⁰³ Marcelino Iriani. Art. Cit., p. 2.

arrived to give feelings to the subject of study and I do not think that this paper will become the departure or reference point for such a novel approach. Another obvious explanation is that these people did not have an overall vision—or means to disseminate information, apart from the fact that they were illiterate—when deciding where to go and when to return. They were not statesmen, and even though there were many rumors, they mostly had to use their intuition and feelings. This, and the inertia that lingers like the aftertaste of these social migrations, helps us to understand why many young people continued to leave their villages when work opportunities had increased, with the same zest as their friends and neighbors, even to go to places where previous migration flows had reduced the amount of profitable jobs, leaving only day laboring and wage earning work.¹⁰⁴

On the concept of the emigrant itself, we agree with this perception:

We may add that perhaps the key mistake is to consider people as immigrants during their entire lives. I have met hundreds of immigrants who grew old in Argentina. Some of them told me that they did not return because they had everything they wanted in their new environment. Others said that if they had returned, they would have found so many changes and had to start all over again in a new place. I know the case of some people who returned when they were old, assisted by foundations or their own families, and died of sadness far away from the place of their heart. A young boy arrived to Argentina; he probably got married to a fellow country girl, although it was not impossible for him to marry a local if he settled near the borders. Then the children came, a big family, work companions, leisure activities with friends (some of whom were fellow countrymen) and the nation irretrievably began to fade away. Finally, some loved ones came to rest in the local graveyard. Return? What for? Where to? “One is from the place where his loved ones rest” as García Márquez wrote in his famous novel *A Hundred Years of Solitude*. For this reason, jumping between the literature and the reality of those who probably had relatives and friends buried on both sides of the ocean, the phenomenon of the return is still condemned to the dark side of the moon.¹⁰⁵

According to him, it is quite difficult to understand in a systematic and precise fashion the reasons and grounds that caused Basque migrants to cross the ocean. The same is true with the returning emigrants. A long time ago, when I started my doctoral dissertation, between 1987 and 1991, I decided not to study such issues. The reason is that I personally confirmed that the reasons why an emigrant leaves and returns are individually and subjectively linked to an endless list of personal decisions, most of which leave no lasting trace. Moreover, as we have verified for more recent periods, some emigrants do not even give specific reasons that permit us to understand why they migrated. Only

¹⁰⁴ Marcelino Iriani. *Art. Cit.*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ Marcelino Iriani. *Art. Cit.*, p. 5.

for recent times, and through a very thorough questionnaire, could we begin to approach our subject of study, and with the limitations of this kind of historiographical methodology. Not even two neighbors from the same village or town in the Basque Country or Navarre, who lived twenty meters apart and went to America on the same day and in the same ship, will necessarily have the same reasons for embarking upon their Diaspora. The same can be said for the return. Furthermore, in both circumstances and situations, there are as many reasons for the exodus and return as emigrants, these reasons are varied and interconnected:

Today we know that there were many variables in terms of emigrants' experiences adapting to a new place. The situation in which they arrived was undoubtedly crucial. The international demand for certain products, and linked to this, the knowledge that emigrants took with them to their destination, was by no means less important; neither was the employment situation and process of land building; nor the creation of new towns and the arrival of groups of fellow country people to the same place where they lived. However, there were many others. For examples, the ways in which the immigrant left their hometown and arrived to the host country; whether pushed by a desperate situation or having chosen their destination in a more or less logical way; whether they took capital with them or had to pay the travel expenses to an agency; or whether they traveled alone or with their families; and mainly, whether they went in search of someone already settled there. We could go on listing possibilities, although those already mentioned are enough to conclude, *a priori*, that the experience of adapting cannot even be generalized across national groups whose outflow lasted more than twenty years.¹⁰⁶

The multiple line of interpretation is clear here:

The returnees were not the same. It was once thought, in America, that immigrants were modernizing elements, an idea in line with the population drive of a new country, demographically empty and inhabited on the margins by natives. However, the case studies soon revealed that most migrants came from villages that were far from the cities and civilization expected by the Río de la Plata authorities. It was not until the end of the 19th century, or the beginning of the 20th, that many craftsmen and peasants arrived to their shores with financial, social and, especially, political ideas. Paradoxically, that same idea of modernity circulated in relation to the returnees. And it was partly true. However, once again, we must set aside the possibility of turning this into a general assumption. The influence of returnees in their village did not only depend on the years they had spent in America, but also the place where they settled, the extent of social mobility and their reasons for returning. All this without forgetting the setting, which was more or less conservative, in which the migrant tried to put into practice the knowledge acquired on the other side of the ocean. It is not

¹⁰⁶ Marcelino Iriani. *Art. Cit.*, p. 12.

unthinkable, quite the contrary, that the returnee went back home with the intention of consolidating family finances, to purchase more properties, tools or animals, and then spent some of these earnings on activities or sectors outside the family tradition, such as trade, services, etc.¹⁰⁷

As Marcelino Iriani has always considered that the evidence indicates that the material progress of the Basques in America was widespread, and their social insertion was outstanding, he concludes by stating that the number of migrants who returned was scarce:

From the point of view of opportunities and obtaining some parameters that allow us to observe general material progress among the euskaldunes, we should thus conclude that the returnees were scarce. The exceptionally profitable opportunities, access to property, but above all, the continuous outflow of Basques right through the period indicates general economic improvement for this group. The formation of Basque families in the new country; having children; requests for land in the new villages, as well as taking out loans to buy properties; all clearly explain these two phenomena. On the one hand, the intention of the euskaldunes to settle down; and on the other, the Basque contribution to building this land was clearly rewarded. However, what seems most obvious and denotes that a very important number of Basques obtained material improvement or a better quality of life, is not the larger or smaller number of them who returned, but the continuous arrivals throughout the period. Undoubtedly, good news had a significant impact on sustaining the migratory outflow from Euskalerría.¹⁰⁸

Optimism surrounding the widespread success of the Basque colony on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean is a leitmotif in Marcelino Iriani's work. Without criticizing his effusiveness, we think that he overstates when diminishing the importance of the return of Basques and Navarres to France or Spain. We do not have real statistics to support our perception, yet neither does Marcelino Iriani to prove the opposite. In our case, I am referring to the perception of the return, as I have also studied substitutions and return programs offered by Basque fellowship centers to poor immigrants. In my opinion, I think we should find the middle ground. As I have always considered, after having observed it myself, the Basque colonies notably contributed to the development of the American continent, and within this collectivity we find in equal measure stories of incredible success and resounding failure, while the rest of the collectivity enjoyed a dignified social position. There are some exceptional cases such as Chile, where the Basque Diaspora has obtained elevated socioeconomic levels. I like the following reflection by Professor Iriani:

We are historians, caught in a historiographical approach where questions are more common than answers. We are happy to have survived the times when political or quantitative approaches were the most important, including the macro visions that allowed the

¹⁰⁷ Marcelino Iriani. *Art. Cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸ Marcelino Iriani. *Art. Cit.*, p. 10.

researcher to see the wood but not the trees. We are not frustrated when we notice that the image of the returnee is somewhat blurred; if we look properly, we are dealing with people, and this is a step forward [...] After so many words, only one thing is clear. Return is not a synonym of anything; it was simply another possibility within the complex world of migrations. On the effect of the returnees to Euskalherria, we will state a hypothesis as profound as it is unlikely: that the effect was, on a national level, infinitely less important than that caused by emigrants leaving the country; however, in the universe of the village or the hamlets, it must have had the impact of a meteorite. At a later stage, we will have to test if this metaphor refers to the grandiosity of their arrival, the negativity of its effects, or both.¹⁰⁹

We could not agree more. It is clear that we must highlight how difficult and onerous it was to save enough money to return.

Between September 15 and 18, 2010, the *1810-2010: 200 años de Iberoamérica (XIV Encuentro de Latinoamericanistas Españoles)* International Congress took place at the University of Santiago de Compostela, where Marcelino Iriani (member of CONICET-Argentina) coordinated, together with Álvarez Gila, the thematic area 8, titled “De las independencias a los centenaries. Presencia del inmigrante en las repúblicas americanas”. The lecture by Professor Iriani had the suggestive title of “Pastores y rebaños dispersos. Inmigrantes vascos en Argentina en vísperas del Centenario”. Regarding its content, we will transcribe the author’s summary, so the readers can judge for themselves:

The Asylum and College Euskal Etxea Llavallol, which initiated its activities in the 1910s, is a synthesis that is more or less applicable to the rest of the Basques in the Río de la Plata region, in terms of the achievements of this migrant group over the course of almost a century. An elite class that achieved a social rank never previously dreamed of, returning the favor to the country during the centennial festivities by making a monumental effort, typical of a nation of workers who did not fear titanic endeavors. In a double-sided message, both to the local society and the Basque community, this is how these ethnic leaders forged themselves to demonstrate the material results of their deeds, and exchange them for status and social recognition. An important sector of the Basque-Argentinean community, which represented Basque medium-size producers in rural areas and the emerging urban middle class, supported this initiative regardless of its type, working hard to aid fellow citizens who ended up in the asylum, without having obtained the American dream. Euska Etxea was the greatest work of the Basques in Argentina, the “cherry on the cake”, if we share the still-existing generalized image of their contribution. What is clear is that the Basques who arrived in the 60 years before the opening of Euskal Etxea, made great efforts to acquire the flour, kneed it and bake the cake, so to speak. The elite adorned this institution to elegantly

¹⁰⁹ Marcelino Iriani. Art. Cit., p. 12.

present it to society on the centenary of their arrival. As at any party where the organizers expect many guests, the hosts have to “sweep the dust under the carpet”. This is what, rather crudely, can be inferred from some of the speeches given by the management boards, when they mentioned the honorable members of the Basque collectivity that due to the crisis associated with mass migration had distinguished themselves from the flock and detracted from the image of the Basque worker, mainly agricultural workers, who was normally respectable, self-sacrificing and always kept his word.

In any case, this lecture has brought to my mind, due to its thematic, conceptual methodological and even stylistic similarity, the previously mentioned work by Álvarez Gila and Iriani: “Euskal Echea, un intento étnico...” in *Sancho el Sabio* 22 (2005).

A specific aspect of Basque emigration from the Bayonne harbor is discussed by Albert Chabagno in his work “Le port of Bayonne et l’emigration des Basques in Amérique Latine”, *Actes du Congrès “Port of Bayonne: Passé, Present et Avenir”*, SSLAB Bayona, 2000. Another issue of particular interest, due to its significance for the dissemination of Basque culture, is found in Óscar Álvarez Gila’s proposal “La editorial Ekin de Buenos Aires”, in *Euskal Etxea*, Vitoria, 45–46, 2000. By the same author, “Los inicios del nacionalismo vasco en América, el centro Zazpiak Bat de Rosario (Argentina)” in *Sancho el Sabio*, 12, 2000. In this work, Professor Álvarez delves into a field that is yet to be valued or which has attracted little interest in Spanish or French historiography: the ideological and political activities of emigrants. When approached, it has been to study the nationalist ideology in its most conservative tone. However, it has never been used to research the Basque and Navarre emigrants who were active fascists, socialists, communists, anarchists or supporters of a right-wing ideology in any of its various shades (catholic, Phalange or Carlism), even though this final example was much more popular than the others¹¹⁰. As Álvarez Gila correctly indicates in the paper we are now analyzing: “In this way, a collective idea has been formed, which is deeply embedded among the descendants of Basque-Argentineans and in general shows a predominance of the “exiled” element in the formation of the Basque colony in this country, whether Carlist-fuerist in the 19th century or nationalist-Jeltzale in the 20th. This identification is perhaps due to the experience of exile after the 1936–1939 Civil War, suffered by those who had been the cultural directors of the Basque collectivity up until that time. Such an idea has even influenced more recent studies in the field of scientific history. The brief stories written about the Basque Center “Zazpirak Bat” in Rosario have not escaped this influence and that is why they reflect this view, point by point. Hence, according to the most recent of these stories (published in 1984 by the Federation of Basque-Argentinean Associations or FEVA), the Basque Center has maintained immutable, linear and unquestionable the nationalist ideology that was formed in the early years, from the initial shout of “Gora Euzkadi Azkatuta” at the first St. Ignatius Basque party in Rosario in 1912, until today. Only the higher or

¹¹⁰ If not, see in this regard: FEVA (*Federación de Entidades Vasco Argentinas. Euzko Argentinar Bazkun Alkartasuna*), Vitoria-Gasteiz, the Basque Government, 1984; or Andoni Astigarraga, *Abertzales en Argentina*, Bilbao, Alderdi Argitaldaria, 1984; or earlier: Andres de Irujo, “La hermandad panvasca y la Argentina”, in *BIAEV*, XVII, 1966.

lower amount of members can explain the moments of transitory decadence or renaissance in 1922 and 1937, respectively. However, a more detailed view of this evolution [...] reveals a situation that is quite different from this theoretical linearity. As we have already mentioned, the victory of Basque nationalism as the main ideology of this center, which became unquestionable in the years immediately before the Civil War, only occurred after a long process, filled with ups and downs, and during which its opponents (who held the ideology of the Spanish court) represented a far from negligible part of the Basque immigrant collectivity”.

This case is demonstrated by the fact that even in 1910 no association or institutional entity had been created to defend Sabino Arana Goiri’s political ideology. This is the gap that the Basque Center “Zazpirak Bat” in Rosario would fill in 1912, to quote its own words. Other than defining the Basque emigrant collectivity as a nationality, this paper stays within the inherent boundaries of scientific history, which is not very common when this theme is being addressed. Its content is genuinely interesting. One year before, both José María Tapiz Fernández and Óscar Álvarez Gila published “Prensa nacionalista y emigración a América (1900-1936) in *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, Seville, Escuela de Estudios Americanos-CSIC, 1996. The quality and innovative style make this paper recommendable both in terms of its content and methodological contribution.

Contrary to these historiographical works, which are truly commendable, there are other recent publications such as *La hora vasca del Uruguay. Génesis y desarrollo del nacionalismo vasco en Uruguay 1825-1960* by Xabier de Irujo Ametzaga and Alberto Irigoyen Artetxe, Montevideo, Euskal Erria Basque Center, 2006. This book is surprising for the early dates it studies, as it is illogical to refer to Basque nationalism in 1825. With respect to the rest of the book, we have included it in this section because the Basque nationalism that appears in Uruguay at the end of the 19th century and persists during the 20th has its origins in emigrants from Basque territories, both in Spain and France. Regarding its content, this book is a mix of texts supporting the pompous title, in which there is a lack of calm and fair interpretations of this phenomenon that, if approached properly, could be of enormous interest. From that same year, we have *Qué fue de ellos. El enigma de los etarras en el Uruguay* by Julio Parissi, a clear reference to the ETA terrorists who lived in this South American republic and all the social problems that arose as a result.

On the other hand, Elsa Stella Maris Caula, from the National University of Rosario in Argentina, published the article “Parentesco, Amistad y paisanaje: los vascos en el Río de la Plata”¹¹¹ in the same issue of the journal *Sancho el Sabio* (12). This article has a broad archival documentation base, which, by the way, is not common among works on Basque-American migration. The author studies the influence of kinship (Basque, in this case) and other primary bonds when forming solidarity groups that were linked to the colonial political power. In issue 13 of the same journal, Ivan Ureta Vaquero, from the University of Deusto, published a paper that was awarded a prize at the 2nd Academic Research Contest by the “Fundación Sancho el Sabio”, with the evocative title “Julio de Lazúrtegui 1859-1943. Introducción del concepto americanista en la

¹¹¹ *Sancho el Sabio*, 12, 2000, pp. 131-154.

Villa de Bilbao”¹¹². The figure and work of July Lazurtegui, an eminent businessman from Bilbao, who forged trade relations between the Basque Country (especially Bilbao) and Latin America, had already been studied by the author of this manuscript in a lecture he gave at the 2nd World Congress of Basque Collectivities (Bilbao, 1987), as we have already mentioned. In the text by Ureta Vaquero, we can also find a very well-documented essay, now a classic, by María Victoria Gondra Oraá: *El Bilbao de Julio de Lazurtegui*, Chamber of Commerce, Bilbao, 1984. The epigraph “Lazurtegui y Unamuno. Conversaciones en torno al americanismo” and “El centro de la Unión Iberoamericana en Vizcaya y su labor” are particularly interesting in my opinion.

Continuing with this commented list of papers published in academic journals, we find the prolific Professor Óscar Álvarez Gila once more, this time publishing in Galicia. In the journal *Estudios migratorios*, issues 11–12 in 2001, he presents the very well-constructed work “Emigrantes Americanos na literatura popular en lingua vasca”, about an issue we already anticipated in our doctoral dissertation *Los paraísos posibles*. This article deals with the importance that popular Basque literature (“bertsolarismo”) gave to migratory phenomenon, of which it was partly critical as we have already had the chance to analyze on a previous occasion. I concur with Professor Álvarez in the importance of cultural forms as historical sources. The part of the text titled “Los bertsolaris y la emigración” is very illustrative. On page 281, footnote 4, he insists once more on his preference for using the geographical area known in Basque as Euskal Herria for the sake of accuracy: “comprised of the territories where Euskera is the native language: the provinces of Araba, Biscay, Gipuzkoa, Navarre and the French Basque Country that currently forms part of the Pyrénées Atlantiques Department”. Luckily, there are not many similar cases among Basque historians when geographically contextualizing their research. In this study, it is surprising how the author shows off his knowledge of the Basque language in detriment to the translations that philologists have done on this subject of historical analysis. Otherwise, his obsession with the definition of the field of study and preference for Euskal Herria have been chasing the author since 1992. Indeed, in that year and in the journal *Estudios migratorios latinoamericanos*, no. 22, he repeats this issue *ad nauseam* in the summaries of his two books, insistently criticizing the choice of “only” the Basque-Spanish geographical setting as the framework of reference to study the issues we are discussing here.

In the same journal, Óscar Álvarez Gila publishes in 2002: “Cien reales para hacer viaje fuera de esta tierra: reflexiones a lóxica la emigración ultramarina no País Vasco (séculos XVIII-XX)”¹¹³. He begins with a considerable historiographical review. In the epigraph titled “A lóxica de emigración”, he embarks upon his main thesis, repeated in later works and through which the author seems to be distancing himself from most Basque historiographical scholars from the 1980s and 1990s (those he labels as “classic”), almost all of whom unanimously see issues such as agricultural activities in the 19th and part of the 20th centuries, the Carlist civil wars, “ganchos”, compulsory military

¹¹² *Sancho el Sabio*, 13, 2000, pp. 113-136.

¹¹³ *Estudios Migratorios*, no. 13-14, 2002, pp. 115-143.

service or political, judicial and institutional changes as important causes that explain and support Basque migration. None of these “classic” historians, as the author implies, have tried to brand the migration of people and their movements as exceptional. What is truly exceptional is that during the 1800s and 1900s, around fifty million Europeans migrated to America. Or is this degree of human outflow not particularly exceptional? Emigration and catastrophe do not always go hand in hand, as the author states; however, we know that this is often the case. Hence, as Álvarez writes: “most of the contemporary Basque migration to America in the final decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th occurs during the mining and industrial boom in Biscay and Gipuzkoa, which transformed these regions into some of the richest in Spain, in terms of GDP”. While we agree with this statement, this line of argument was already anticipated by Douglass and Bilbao in *Amerikanuak* and reflected in *Los paraísos posibles*. Professor Álvarez Gila informs us that industrial growth in the Basque Country at the turn of the century was based on emerging capitalism, characterized—among other elements—by cyclical crises and an underdeveloped job market, causing many workers to cyclically move into and out this market. Álvarez Gila highlights the extraordinary continuity of Basque migratory phenomenon beyond its borders, in the middle ages to Castile and Andalusia, in the modern age to Madrid, Seville or America, and in the contemporary age to America. “Obviously, this fact invalidates the recourse to socially and economically exceptional episodes as the main cause of Basque emigration. If this were the case, we would have to declare a permanent state of crisis in Basque society, which we know has never occurred”. I will not be the one to spend more than one line demonstrating the correlation between socioeconomic crisis and abundant migratory outflow in comparison with less turbulent times. It is sufficient to carefully view the official statistics. On the other hand, the majority of historiographical production from the scientific field that is included in this work sustains precisely the opposite of Álvarez Gila’s argument, who writes that emigration was, above all, a product of a long and thoughtful decision. And that more than an external element, or a system or factor of social breakdown, it is an internal process of mobility that could contribute to rebuilding traditional solidarities. He insists on the rationality of the actors and main characters of emigration, which “we, the historians, seem to refuse”. I do not deny this; however, in my doctoral dissertation, I describe in one of the chapters the paperwork required to migrate as a procedural formula of this rationality. Obviously, this rationality is not opposed to other external socioeconomic factors that form part of the social context in which those who decide to emigrate live. Álvarez Gila adds that this rational process occurs within groups more than individuals¹¹⁴ and that generally the limits of rationality do not go beyond a very specific human group, the home, understood as the economic network that sustains and unites a family group linked by consanguinity and with two elements—economic and affective—, which are both equally important for its maintenance. The aim of emigration, according to this model and as Álvarez argues, is to guarantee the survival and, if possible, the ascent of the family group. To strengthen his theory, he uses the example of some migratory networks between the 17th and 20th centuries, casting himself as

¹¹⁴ The testimonies we have researched reflect this assertion in some cases, but not always.

the flag bearer of the virtues of studying migratory networks as an exceptional explanatory model.

Without denying the considerable validity of his reasoning, we think that trying to explain Basque migratory processes to America from this isolated perspective is, at the very least, inaccurate. This is because, and I shall not elaborate too much, each emigrant's decision can be connected to Álvarez Gila's assumption or any other that is linked to the explanatory causes already studied by many authors. There can be one factor, or several interlinked factors, that may even change over time or differ according to the geographical area of departure. The family network, home, is vital in this process, and especially—we think—in rural areas, being less important in cities. As the reader can imagine, the task of penetrating the decision making process of each migrant is impossible and we can only approach this issue by approximation. Now that we have arrived to this point, we consider it relevant to include other publications by Álvarez Gila on different topics, which have helped to clarify several aspects of contemporary Basque emigration to America:

1. Óscar Álvarez Gila; "Euskal abertzaletasunaren ezarrera Argentinan: Rosarioko Zazpirak Bat euskal etxearen adibidea (1912-1935)" (The implantation of the Basque nationalism in Argentina: the case of the Zazpirak Bat Basque Centre in Rosario (1912-1935)), *Mundaiz*, 44 (1992), San Sebastián, Universidad de Deusto-EUTG.
2. Óscar Álvarez Gila; "Argentinako 1890 urteko krisialdiaren eragina Euskal Herriko emigrazioaren kontrako kanpainetan" (The influence of the 1890 Argentinian crisis in the campaigns against the emigration from the Basque Country), *Muga*, 86 (1993), Bilbao, Editorial Iparraguirre.
3. Óscar Álvarez Gila; "Emigración a América desde un municipio guipuzcoano, según las licencias de emigración: Ordizia, 1840-1862", *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, 24 (1993), Buenos Aires, CEMLA.
4. Óscar Álvarez Gila and José María Tápiroz Fernández, "Breves apuntes sobre el nacionalismo vasco desde 1876 hasta nuestros días", *Hoy es Historia*, XI, nº 63 (mayo-junio 1994), Montevideo, Fundación Hoy es Historia.
5. Óscar Álvarez Gila; "Ameriketako euskaldunak eta abertzaletasuna (1900-1940)" (The American Basques and the nationalism (1903-1940)), *Muga*, 93 (1995), Bilbao, Editorial Iparraguirre.
6. Óscar Álvarez Gila; "La formación de la colectividad inmigrante vasca en los países del Río de la Plata (siglo XIX)", in Mörner, Magnus y Mona Rosendahl (eds.); *Proceedings of the 48th International Congress of Americanists*. Actas del 48ª Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Estocolmo, ILAS, 1995, tomo II. Reimpreso en *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, 30 (1995), Buenos Aires, CEMLA.
7. Óscar Álvarez Gila; "Vascos y vascongados: luchas ideológicas entre carlistas y nacionalistas en los centros vascos del Río de la Plata (1900-1930)", en Escobedo Mansilla, Ronald; Ana de Zaballa Beascochea y Óscar Álvarez Gila (eds.); *Emigración y redes sociales vascas en América*, Vitoria-Gasteiz, Universidad del País Vasco, 1996.
8. Óscar Álvarez Gila; "Cultura, nacionalidad y pasaporte. Consideraciones sobre las "sociedades étnicas" como fuente para el estudio de la emigración europea a América", *Ibero-Amerikanische Archiv. Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaften und Geschichte*, XXI, 1-2 (1996), Berlín, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut.

9. Óscar Álvarez Gila and José María Tápip Fernández; “Prensa nacionalista vasca y emigración a América (1900-1936)”, *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, LIII (1996), Sevilla, Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos-CSIC.
10. Siegrist de Gentile, Nora L. and Óscar Álvarez Gila; “Jerónimo Matorras y su recuerdo de Lamedo en las disposiciones testamentarias conjuntas con su esposa desde Buenos Aires, 1756”, *Cantabria*, 2ª época, 3 (1997), Buenos Aires, Centro Montañés-Casa de Cantabria.
11. Óscar Álvarez Gila and José María Tápip Fernández; “Cinco siglos de presencia vasca en América (1492-1992)”, *Iberoamericana*, vol. XIX, nº 37 (1997), Tokio, Universidad Sofía.
12. Óscar Álvarez Gila; “Euskal Cow-Boys. Los vascos en el Far West”, in Mateo Pérez, Armando (ed.); *Imágenes y Realidades alrededor de la Historia Vasca*, Vitoria-Gasteiz, Asociación Cultural Paulo Freire, 1998.
13. Óscar Álvarez Gila; “Los exiliados no somos de ningún lugar. Análisis crítico”, *Studi Emigrazione*, 131 (1998), Roma, Centro Studi Emigrazione.
14. Óscar Álvarez Gila; “La emigración vasca al Río de la Plata en el siglo XIX (La América que encontró Iparragirre)”, in Mendibil, Gontzal (coord.); *Iparragirre. Erro-Urratsak. Raíz y Viento*, Igorre (Vizcaya), Keinu Producciones S.L., 1999, tomo II.
15. Óscar Álvarez Gila; “Opinión pública y vida municipal ante la Guerra de Cuba (Portugalete, 1895-1898)”, in Morales Padrón, Francisco (coord.); *XIII Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana / VIII Congreso Internacional de Historia de América AEA*, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Ediciones del Cabildo de Gran Canaria, 2000.
16. Óscar Álvarez Gila; “Métodos y Técnicas de investigación en Historia de América: una experiencia docente”, en Escobedo Mansilla, Ronald; Ana de Zaballa Beascochea y Óscar Álvarez Gila (eds.); *Metodología docente de la Historia de América*, Pamplona, Asociación Española de Americanistas, 1999.
17. Óscar Álvarez Gila and José María Tápip Fernández; “La formación de los Tercios Vascongados para la “Guerra Grande” de Cuba (1869)”, in Parcero Torre, Celia y María Emelina Martín Acosta (eds.); *Cuba y Puerto Rico: en torno al 98*, Tordesillas, Instituto de Estudios de Iberoamérica y Portugal, 1999.
18. Óscar Álvarez Gila; “La poesía popular en lengua vasca ante la guerra de Cuba (1895-1898)”, en Gutiérrez Escudero, Antonio y María Luisa Laviana Cuetos (coords.); *España y las Antillas: el 98 y más*, Sevilla, Diputación de Sevilla, 1999.
19. Óscar Álvarez Gila and José María Tápip Fernández; “Propaganda y actitudes ante la independencia cubana: los Tercios Vascongados (1869)”, en Centro de Investigaciones de América Latina (comp.); *De súbditos del rey a ciudadanos de la nación*, Castelló de la Plana, Universidad Jaume I, 2000 (Colección Humanitats, nº 1).
20. Óscar Álvarez Gila; “La editorial “Ekin” de Buenos Aires”, *Euskonews&Media*, 72 (24-31 marzo 2000), Donostia-San Sebastián, Eusko Ikaskuntza, edición electrónica (ISSN 1139-3629). Reimpreso en *Euskal Etxeak*, 45-46 (2000), Vitoria-Gasteiz, Secretaría General de Acción Exterior del Gobierno Vasco.

21. Óscar Álvarez Gila and Juan Carlos Luzuriaga; “La preparación ideológica del exilio vasco: actitudes ante la Guerra Civil en la prensa uruguaya (1936-1937)”, in Mancebo, María Fernanda, Marc Baldó y Cecilia Alonso (eds.); *L'exili cultural de 1939. Seixanta anys després*. Actas del I Congreso Internacional, Valencia, Biblioteca Valenciana, 2001, volumen I.
22. Óscar Álvarez Gila and Juan Carlos Luzuriaga; “La Guerra Civil en el País Vasco, el exilio y la opinión pública uruguaya (1936-1940)”, *Vasconia*, 31 (2001), Donostia-San Sebastián, Eusko Ikaskuntza.
23. De la Granja Sainz, José Luis; Iñaki Bazán Díaz (coords.); Santiago de Pablo Contreras; Óscar Álvarez Gila; Alberto Angulo Morales; Eliseo Gil Zubillaga; Carmelo Landa Montenegro (compilador); “Bibliografía General de Historia de Vasconia (1998). Euskal Herriko Historiaren Bibliografia Orokorra”, *Vasconia*, 31 (2001), Donostia-San Sebastián, Eusko Ikaskuntza.
24. Óscar Álvarez Gila and Jesús Ruiz de Gordejuela Urquijo; “La emigración como estrategia familiar: encartados y ayaleses en México y América (siglos XVIII-XIX)”, en Garritz, Amaya (ed.); *Los vascos en las regiones de México. Siglos XVI-XX*, México D.F., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, tomo VI, 2002.
25. Óscar Álvarez Gila; “La memoria de un virrey que nunca fue: Pedro Celestino Negrete, entre México, Carranza y Burdeos”, in Garritz, Amaya (ed.); *Los vascos en las regiones de México. Siglos XVI-XX*, México D.F., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, tomo VI, 2002.
26. Óscar Álvarez Gila and Jesús Ruiz de Gordejuela Urquijo; “El empréstito Murrieta y la fundación de las colonias Portugalete, Santurce y Algorta (Santa Fe, Argentina): 1887-1890”, in Iñaki Reguera Acedo y Rosario Porres Marijuán (eds. lits.); *Poder, pensamiento y cultura en el Antiguo Régimen*. Actas de la I Semana de Estudios Históricos Noble Villa de Portugalete (Lankidetzan, nº 23), Donostia-San Sebastián, Eusko Ikaskuntza, 2002.
27. Óscar Álvarez Gila; “Reflexiones sobre la racionalidad de la emigración y el aprendizaje del “oficio” de emigrante: País Vasco, 1750-1820”, in Latasa, Pilar (coord.); *Reformismo y sociedad en la América borbónica. In memoriam Ronald Escobedo*, Pamplona, EUNSA, 2003.
28. De la Granja Sainz, José Luis; Iñaki Bazán Díaz; Santiago de Pablo Contreras (coords.); Óscar Álvarez Gila; Alberto Angulo Morales; Eliseo Gil Zubillaga; Carmelo Landa Montenegro (compilador); “Bibliografía General de Historia de Vasconia (1999). Euskal Herriko Historiaren Bibliografia Orokorra”, *Vasconia*, 33 (2003), Donostia-San Sebastián, Eusko Ikaskuntza.
29. Irigoyen Artetxe, Alberto y Óscar Álvarez Gila; “De la influencia de la diáspora nacionalista en un requeté navarro o la historia de un bertsolari que le cantaba a sus vacas. Ignacio Arguiñarena (1909-1997)”, *Litterae Vasconicae*. Euskeraren Iker Atalak, 9 (2004), Bilbao.

Other sectoral papers that have significantly interested me, particularly the one written by Sonesson, are: Blanca E. Santibanez Tijerina, “Lopez de Letona: familia vizcaína de empresarios profirianos” in Agustín Grajales Lillian Illades (comps.); *Presencia española en Puebla, siglos XVI-XX*, Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Puebla, Embassy of Spain, Puebla (Mexico), 2003; Birgit Sonesson *La emigración de Carranza a Puerto Rico en el siglo XIX (Mercadeo y capital indiano)*, School of Hispanic American studies, Seville, 2003.

In 2002, Carlos Larrañaga, Professor at the University of the Basque Country, published online *Guerras Carlistas e Inmigración*, in Foundation Juan de Garay. This book is a good summary on the issue.

On 18 May 2005, Juan Carlos Luzuriaga Contrera published in Eusko Sare (a telematic network), *Los vascos y su integración en la sociedad uruguaya del siglo XIX*. The article begins with a school book interpretation of the host society: Montevideo and the Eastern Bank in the 17th and 19th centuries. Subsequently, he discusses the risks and rewards of emigration, its impact, referring to the Great War (1839–1851) in the tone we already mentioned. Afterwards, we can find the epigraph—which is much more interesting, by the way—titled “El rechazo al extranjero” or “El establecimiento de los inmigrantes en el siglo XIX”. Finally, on page nine we arrive to Basque migration, where he narrates the situation, facts and well-known interpretations. We find the data on endogamy and exogamy, patronymics and the calendar of saint’s day more relevant. Once we finally reach the conclusions, Luzuriaga contradicts himself, firstly because he supports his book with a study conducted by himself and Martha Marenales in 1990, *Vascos en el Uruguay*, stating that these Basques achieved more socioeconomic success than any other collectivity. However, in the next paragraph, he writes: “If this is true for some emigrants, the rest, the majority, could at least placate the basic food needs that they had back in the hamlet. The list of successful Basques presented by Martha Marenales is undoubtedly a clear example of those who achieved a high social position. It does not imply that all or most of them followed this path. It is understood that most achieved their objectives, their own or for their descendants”. Juan Carlos Luzuriaga does not like that some historians have agreed on the importance of the “ganchos”, which we have already documented in depth, as one of the main reasons for Basque emigration to America. He strongly disagrees and criticizes José Colá y Goiti, who lived during those events: “Finally, of several contributions there is one that stands out from the rest: his work on the painter and calligrapher from San Sebastián Juan Manuel Besnes e Irigoyen. Alberto Irigoyen has made several contributions to the knowledge of Basque migration to Uruguay, including his foray into the world of the historical novel. In this framework, he published an innovative work on the first Euska Etxea in Uruguay and the world, known as Laurac Bat. This is an achievement that is somewhat spoiled by value judgments and daring statements, along the same lines as Azcona and Muru. A clear example is the sentence: ‘Hooking’ emigrants became a succulent business that involved widespread infamies which are normally neglected by historians.” This affirmation deserves, on our part, at least some comments. For the purpose of historiographical renovation, normally those people considered historians, at least with respect to Uruguayan history, are the pioneers from the 19th and mid-20th centuries, in summary: Francisco Bauza, Pablo Blanco and Luis Pivel Devoto. All three, lawyers and historians in their times, were educated in the French positivist school, gave relative importance to migratory issues, which they had also suffered themselves. In the last four decades of the 20th century, the works of professional historians, such as Juan Antonio Odone and Carlos Zubillaga, began to emerge, both of whom treat this issue with the correct perspective. Regarding Basque migration, Dr. Martha Marenales has studied this issue in general terms. Both her research and José Azcona’s were part of their doctoral theses in Paris and Deusto, respectively. All of them observed migrant

exploitation by those who benefitted from this process. However, they understood this as a normal phenomenon at the time, understandable in its context, and inherent to all migratory experiences during the period, as even Irigoyen indicates in the case of Irish emigrants in the United States”¹¹⁵.

I have always thought that this rejection may be based on a kind of exultant patriotism, which could be a fitting description of Professor Luzuriaga when defending his country, as he states: “When processing immigration analysis, the affective side can be relevant for defining the initial motivation to select a particular topic: considering yourself Basque, or the Basque roots, or the overvaluation of their contribution, or their popularity, are facts that are always lurking. This is evident in Otaegui’s work and paradigmatic in this sense. Irigoyen exhibits a similar inclination with different nuances in his preoccupation and indignation regarding the treatment of emigrants. The person writing these lines also cannot be excused for having become affectively involved in Basque migration. It is my duty to warn of and draw attention to this fact. As a descendant of an Araban who went to the Río de la Plata in 1857 at the age of 18 to *try his luck*—as his father instructed—, I see his life and adventure reflected in many other Basque immigrants. Moreover, the writer is a Uruguayan who is proud of the opportunities that his nation gave emigrants from every corner of the world”¹¹⁶. In addition, this author does not cope very well with the extermination of the natives by Uruguayan inhabitants after the secession from Spain, or with how the black population was pushed towards the Brazilian border. It is so common for certain professors in the field of scientific history, as Álvarez Gila likes to say, to use nationalism as an ideology in order to give their essays coherence, in which criticisms of their countries are rarely admitted, and least of all, if these negative comments come from abroad. We have witnessed these outrages many times.... Luzuriaga’s work concludes with suggestions for different analyses of Basque migratory phenomena. Readers can judge him for themselves: “*Defining the objective*. Naturally we have to define our hypothesis, decide upon our main objective and act accordingly. It is one thing to study the entire migration field, trace the causes and effects, doubts and viewpoints; and another to focus on one issue, moment or specific character. Evidently, if we narrow our research or publishing efforts to the latter, the challenge is going to be easier to take on. Once this aspect is settled, we then look for the best possible tools to conduct our research. At this point, we have to think of the possible options and combinations, without disregarding anything. Micro-history, statistics, economic history, genealogy, photographic and graphic analysis. It is convenient to adopt an interdisciplinary methodology with a focus that best suits our possibilities and aims”¹¹⁷. At the same time, and we fully agree on this point, he insists on the need for greater communication in the Río de la Plata, with more frequent academic activities and interdisciplinary teams. Before this and also on the data transmission network “Euskonews and Media”, Martha Marenales Rossi and Juan Carlos Luzuriaga Contrera published *Los vascos en el Uruguay*, which we highlight for its educational nature; a similar style can be found in José Manuel Azcona’s text *Causas de la inmigración vasca contemporánea*, published on the same data transmission network.

¹¹⁵ Art. Cit., p. 17.

¹¹⁶ Art. Cit., p. 19.

¹¹⁷ Art. Cit., p. 20.

It is possible to access online a book divided into four independent works titled *Algunas migraciones de vascos a Argentina: 1906-1927*, written by Nora Siegrist and Óscar Álvarez Gila in 2009. This is one of the best titles I have seen, which, without renouncing the accessible nature of the site where it is published, works within a professional framework, with a lot of useful data for those of us who study these particular issues and emigration scholars in general.

From the sociological approach it has been written – not many, in fact – essays which gives to the historian a point of view which should be taken into account. The first serious one is written by Alfonso Pérez-Agote, Jesús Azcona and Ander Gurrutxaga, *Mantener la identidad. Los vascos del Río Carabelas*, Publishing Service of the University of the Basque Country, Bilbao, 1997. A conceptual and identitarian framework is obtained after reading the text written by Ignacio Irazuzta “Símbolos de ausencia. La identidad de los colectivos de descendientes de inmigrantes en la Argentina contemporánea”, in *IV Basque Congress of Sociology*, volumen II, Basque Association of Sociology, Bilbao, 1998. From the same autor we highlight “La construcción ritual de la identidad. Etnicidad y nacionalidad en la Argetina contemporánea” in *Ignuruak*, June 23, 1999; but also “¿Intereses vascos en Buenos Aires? Nuevas miradas sobre viejas extranjerías en Argentina” in *Papeles del CEIC*, Tec of Monterrey, September 2001. It deals with the Basques in the light of the past, present and future visualized, as to quote the author. The culture among the anthropological subject of study and the feeling of belonging is still studied. In the year 2001 he published at the University of the Basque Country: *Argentina: una construcción ritual. Nación, identidad y clasificación simbólica en las sociedades contemporáneas*, which somehow had been anticipated in the chapter of the book “Cuestiones de piel. Impresiones somáticas sobre las clasificaciones del ciclo biológico en la tardomodernidad” in *Las astucias de la identidad*, a book which was published by the UPV/EHU and coordinated by Gabriel Gath and Iñaki Martínez de Albeniz. The Basque Diaspora appears in the volumen *Basque Society, structures, institutions and contemporary life*, published by Gabriel Gath, Ignacio Irazuza and Iñaki Martínez de Albeniz.

Research on the identity of Basque migrations can be found in Gloria Totoricaguena’s *Identity, Culture and Politics in the Basque Diaspora*, University of Nevada-Reno Press, Nevada, 2003. This book offers methodological accuracy on the concept of emigration and subsequently deals with the migratory landscapes of Basque territories on either side of the border, concluding with the transnational identity issue, which stimulates a lot of interest in the United States. These issues are constructed around local associationism and the preservation of customs and traditions. We can find some very interesting reflections in this voluminous work of 595 pages, as well as an accurate bibliography, but the fieldwork is less significant. On the whole, this book is interesting. Similarly, we must refer to the work by Pedro J. Oiarzabal, *Towards a diasporic and transnational reading of Basque identities in time, space and history*, Center of Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno, 2005. We already mentioned the essay by Joxe Mallea-Olaetxe, *Basque tree carvings in California and Nevada*, Reno, Nevada, University of Nevada Press, 2000, which studies the tree carvings that Basque shepherds did in the West American mountains during the long periods they spent herding their sheep.

LAST MONOGRAPHIC TEXTS

The authors Augustine Otondo and Patricio Legarraga Raddatz published "Emigración del Valle de Baztán a Chile en el siglo XX", in *Revista de Estudios Históricos. Órgano del Instituto Chileno de Investigaciones Genealógicas*, Santiago de Chile, 42, 2000-2001. On the other hand, Miguel Laborde Huronea launched *Los vascos en Chile, 1810-2000*, s.e., Santiago de Chile, 2002. This same year, José Manuel Azcona publishes "Tipología de la emigración contemporánea hacia América", in *Revista Rábida*, no. 21. In the next number of the same journal he also published "Emigración española y francesa en la costa Oeste norteamericana en el siglo XX".

In Mexico we highlight Amaia Garritz (ed.) *Los vascos en las regions de México, siglos XVI-XX*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México D.F., 1993-2002, IV volumes. By Jesús María Valdaliso, "Comerciantes e industriales en México, banqueros e industriales en Vizcaya. Una nota sobre los indianos Aresti, López de Letona, Hernández Mendirichaga y Maíz" in *Illes i Imperis*, Barcelona, 6, 2001. Pilar Arcelus Iroz published in 2001 *Presencia de Navarra en México, 1980-1950*, Government of Navarre a book with a classic approach in which she reviews the contemporary presence of Navarres in this Aztec country. Commencing with a brief overview of the Old Kingdom, a list of professions and economic/financial activities in Mexico is then provided, as well as a section dedicated to emigrant women. Associationism, the local sphere and exile are not overlooked. There is also a section on what the author refers to as the silent work of missionaries from Navarre, as well as their important social contribution on the other side of the Atlantic. The over 1,600 entries in this book are more than useful, including departure points, dates, arrivals to the host country, marital status, professions, geographical locations in the Republic of Mexico, and place and date of death. While this work provides primary sources, it lacks a methodology that is acceptable for academia. Nonetheless, its bibliographical contribution reveals important deficiencies in what had been written on this topic prior to the publication of this book. There is no discussion on the current state of these issues; however, this does not minimize the enormous compilation effort, which is its real strength.

Likewise, we do recommend the essay by Carlos Herrero, *Los empresarios mexicanos de origen vasco y el desarrollo del capitalismo en México (1880-1960)*, Mexico D.F. Metropolitan Autonomous University, 2004. The author conducts a laborious study of family networks with Basque origin in this Aztec country and their participation in the economy, the banking system and trade, with a plethora of representative examples that bring to light a tangled mess of characters and the economic spider webs of Basque families that effectively contributed to the development of the capitalism in Mexico from the end of the 19th until the middle of the 20th centuries. In 2008, the Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País, the Gipuzkoa Regional Council and the Basque Government Department of Culture, published the text by Jesús Ruiz de Gordejuela Urquijo titled *Los vascos en el México decimonónico, 1810-1910*. This is an excellent essay that begins by demonstrating the "main aspects of the Basque identity in the 19th century". Mainly orientated towards the Mexican market, it deals with the causes of Basque emigration to America, the regulation of the Diaspora, as well as the Basque presence in Mexico during the 19th century in its various facets: settled Basque population, associationism,

spatial distribution and emigrant-owned businesses. It also studies Basque participation in the Mexican Revolution. This is an impeccable work.

A more specific viewpoint on the Basques in Idaho is given by John Sieter and Mark Bieter in *An enduring Legacy. The story of Basques in Idaho*, University of Nevada Press, Reno, 2000. This book is filled with anecdotes about shepherds and the mountains.

In 2002, Óscar Álvarez Gila and Alberto Angulo Morales, as editors, published with the University of the Basque Country Press, *Las migraciones vascas en perspectiva histórica (siglos XVI-XX)*, in which the author Santiago Aguerreta, from the University of Navarre, contributes with the chapter titled “Emigración y estrategias familiares en el siglo XVIII: la familia Goyeneche”¹¹⁸. Even if the topic has already been explored, this text is still worth reading. In fact, we think that it is faultless, well-structured and interesting in its conception, offering a long list of suggestive archive sources that provide unknown or unstudied information on this successful family which combined power and relevant positions in the Spanish administration with trading and financial activities. I can say the same about the work by Victoria Martínez del Cerro, also from the University of Navarre¹¹⁹, “Movimientos migratorios internos. Hombres de negocio navarros y vascos en el Cádiz del siglo XVIII”. As excellent as it is innovative, is how I would define the methodological approach of the chapter by Angulo Morales titled “El más feliz éxito de su destino. Medios de integración del emigrante vasco en América y Europa durante el siglo XVIII”¹²⁰. From a more classical perspective, Jesus Ruiz de Gordejuela Urquijo introduces us to the “Antecedentes históricos de la expulsión de españoles de México (siglos XVIII y XIX)”¹²¹. The chapter by Claude Mehats “Etat des recherches françaises sur XIXeme et l'emigration basque en Amérique aux XXeme siècles par des contemporains du phenomene”¹²² is essential to analyze and contextualize the Basque-French publications on emigration to the New World during the 19th century from populationist and political-administrative perspectives, in most cases. This text seems short to us, but its content illustrates the structural framework to which we have referred.

Óscar Álvarez Gila's work: “Los vascos de Buenos Aires a la luz del censo de 1855: las parroquis de Catedral al Norte y San Miguel”¹²³ undoubtedly relates to other texts on the same topic by Marcelino Iriani and Nora Siegrist. In any case, this work is extremely good, with a wonderful documentation base and accurate analysis, both of the data and interpretation. The graphs and charts are very useful, as well as the very detailed table at the end of the text. As the selected geographical context is limited, one cannot help but wonder to what extent the data used is representative. The chapter by José María Tapiz Fernández, from the University Kansai Gaidai (Osaka-Japan) “La actividad

¹¹⁸ In Gila Álvarez, Óscar and Angulo Morales, A. (Eds.) *Las migraciones vascas en perspectiva histórica...*, pp. 51-71.

¹¹⁹ Ibidem, pp. 72-91.

¹²⁰ Ibidem, pp. 93-111.

¹²¹ Ibidem, pp. 113-127.

¹²² Ibidem, pp. 130-138.

¹²³ Ibidem, pp. 139-178.

política de los emigrantes: el caso vasco (1903-1936)”¹²⁴, despite being similar to Óscar Álvarez Gila’s works on this topic, is quite valuable due to the already mentioned lack of texts on the political action of the Basques abroad.

Marcelino Iriani (from IEHS-UNICEN, Tandil, Argentina) studies an aspect that is not very well-known among scholars dealing with the Basque Diaspora: everyday life¹²⁵. I found this chapter very interesting and think that it could initiate a new line of research. In this search for interpretations, we should include the text by Adrian Blázquez, Ariane Bruneton-Governatori and Michel Papy, from the University of Pau (France) “La documentación privada y la emigración: La correspondencia de emigrantes bearneses hacia América”¹²⁶. In spite of the fact that everything which relates to the personal correspondence has been studied more than everyday life, this chapter is still very useful and accurate. Distancing itself from more anecdotal works, it uses the correct methodology to generate a plot. This book concludes with a text by Juan Bosco Amores from the University of the Basque Country: “Presencia de los navarros en Cuba al final del periodo colonial”, which adopts a very careful methodology and provides useful documentation. In my opinion, the types of texts that appear in this book improve the scientific quality of the historiography field of Basque emigration to America. Even if it does not have a leitmotif¹²⁷, as it mixes various topics and different geographical areas¹²⁸, this book is still useful for those studying Basque migration.

Txomin Peillen coordinates in 2003 *Euskaldun etorkinak Amerikatan*, Utrisque Vasconiae, San Sebastián, and by the same author *Bosquejos vasco-uruguayos*, Dakija Argitaldaria, San Sebastián, 2004. In both works we find again the traditional Basque-American rhetoric.

In 2004, Ángeles de Dios Altuna de Martina publishes *Santiago Ibarra: historia de un inmigrante vasco*¹²⁹, a very interesting family story with very useful primary documentation. In this same line of research, I will highlight, by its great importance and value, the text written by Hernán Sorhouet Gelos, *Una historia como tantas, pero es nuestra historia: Sorhouet*, Euskal Erria, Montevideo, 2007.

In 2005, the Basque Government Central Publications Service edited in Vitoria the text that won the 2004 Andrés de Irujo Award, with the title *Organisation et aspects de l’émigration des Basques de France en Amérique: 1832-1976*, and whose author, Claude Mehats, limits his research to the causes of Basque-French migration to America, after which he proceeds with the impact of this demographic movement in France. He analyzes the propaganda against emigration in the local poetic literature during the second half of the 19th century and then studies the emigrants in America, both in the North and South

¹²⁴ Ibidem, pp. 179-189.

¹²⁵ Ibidem, pp. 190-207.

¹²⁶ Ibidem, pp. 209-233.

¹²⁷ There are inescapable shortcomings, gaps and selections that are inherent to all works conducted with this same academic “blend”.

¹²⁸ It gives the impression that the editors requested certain texts by authors they had chosen and, as a result, this book never came to life.

¹²⁹ Eusko Jaurlaritza/Basque Government, Presidency, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, Vitoria, 2004.

of the continent. Migratory associationism and the way of life of the Basque-French emigrants in their host countries conclude this book, based more on already existing bibliographical contributions than field work that could have provided new conclusions. In addition, a detailed bibliography at the end is lacking.

A highly recommendable monographic work on a municipality in Navarre, where the departure of its inhabitants to America was significant, is *Sumbilla, pueblo de emigrantes (1898-1993)*, Sumbilla Council, 2006, written by José Luis Altzugarai et al. It provides a description of the municipality and specific migration analysis, as well as an exploration of the special relationship between shepherds and migration. With an earlier release date, Juan Javier Pescador published *The New World inside a Basque Village: the Oiartzun Valley and its Atlantic emigrants: 1580-1800*, Reno, Nevada, 2003.

An analytical view of Basque emigrations in the geographical scope of all the Ibero-American countries can be found in José Manuel Azcona Pastor: *Possible Paradises. Basque Emigration to Latin America*, University of Nevada Press, Reno, 2004. The same author gave a lecture at the *XIV Encuentro de Latinoamericanistas Españoles* (Santiago de Compostela, September 15–18, 2010) titled “Las campañas de prensa antiemigración: José Cola y Goiti y el caso vasco-navarro”. In brief, these are its contents:

One of the most significant features of Basque-Navarre emigration to America is the literature that it generated, both in the newspapers in Araba, Biscay, Gipuzkoa and Navarre, but also in the French Basque Country or Iparralde. For this reason, we have studied in detail the opinions expressed in the daily papers such as “El liberal”, “Irurac Bat”, “El Nervión”, “El anunciador vitoriano”, “La Concordia”, “El eco de Navarra”, “El pensamiento Navarro”, “Diario de la Mañana”, “El porvenir vasco”, among others. Similarly, we will analyze in depth the texts edited in the French Basque Country. We will pay special attention to the work edited in Vitoria, “La emigración vasco-navarra”, by José Colá y Goiti, a teacher who migrated to Uruguay and wrote a book criticizing Basque emigration to America. After conducting the fieldwork, we will organize its content in chronological and thematic order. We will also address other printed works that dealt with Basque-Navarre migratory issues. In this way, we will obtain a more precise picture—we think—of what really occurred in relation to this topic in the Basque and Navarre newspapers and communication media during the 19th and 20th centuries.

The conclusions the author reaches are different: almost all the Basque (Spanish) and Navarre mass media condemned the migratory process of the natives of those lands to America. Only on some occasions, there was an attempt to relocate this Diaspora to other Spanish areas, or Cuba, Puerto Rico or the Philippines.

I do not want to conclude this section without referring to the works of a writer whom we consider a serious researcher: Jon Ander Ramos, whose subject of study is Basque emigration to the island of Cuba, one of the least studied territories. In the already mentioned *Encuentro de Americanistas Españoles*, he

presented the lecture: “Los inmigrantes en Cuba, de región a nación (1880-1902)”. This is the abstract that the author gave:

Cuba was, along with Argentina and Uruguay, one of the destinations selected by Spanish emigrants throughout the 19th century. Theoretically, it was still another province but in reality this was far from the case. The lack of need for national institutions, except the role of Spanish Casinos, gave rise to many associations that were legally characterized as regional or even local: Galicians, Catalans and Basques, to mention some of the most relevant emigrant groups who came from the metropolis, recreated their respective social spaces on the island. After Cuba became independent and the change of sovereignty in 1902, the Spaniards became a group of foreign immigrants in a newly independent country.

This same author will soon publish in the journal *Sancho el Sabio* “La Asociación Vasco-Navarra de Beneficencia de La Habana (1877-1902)”, and in volume 5 of the journal *Guregandik* (from the Arturo Campión Study Center), he published another text on this question in Basque in 2009. In 2008 and in the same journal, he edited “Manuel Calvo y Aguirre: una eminencia en la sobra”. In the book directed by Óscar Álvarez Gila, *Organización, identidad e imagen de las colectividades vascas de la emigración (siglos XVI-XXI)*, Bilbao, University of the Basque Country, 2010, we can find the chapter by Jon Ander Ramos, “Los inicios de la prensa vasca en Cuba. Laurac Bat de la Habana (1886-1895)”.

All these essays display the academic and scientific value that the text by Cecilia Arrozarena lacks: *El roble y la Ceiba. Historia de los vascos en Cuba*, Tafalla, Txalaparta, 2003. On the other hand, we give more serious consideration to the works published by Izaskun Álvarez Cuarteto about the Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País in Cuba.

Recently, in 2010, Óscar Álvarez Gila published (as director) a new work with the University of the Basque Country Press. He uses the brilliant and academic title (that sets high expectations of an interesting text) *Organización, identidad e imagen de las colectividades vascas de la emigración (siglos XVI y XXI)*. This book was translated into English to give it an international dimension. The authors are—once again—Álvarez Gila’s permanent team, even if there are some new names such as David Río, Monika Madinabeitia, Alicia Ugarte or Jon Ander Ramos. The rest, as we will explain later, are the usual figures in this circle of Basque-American studies. We could say that some of the scholars behind this volume belong to the nationalist school, whose influence is more than obvious in this area of historiographical knowledge.

Once we move beyond the promising title and observe the list of contents, serious doubts arise as to whether what we are going to read is authentic field/archive work (or any other typical methodology), or whether perhaps it has already been read, said, heard, dreamt or done. As with any collective work, there is a little bit of everything. Let us make some comments: we found the work by Alberto Angulo Morales very interesting, which treats the association of Basque natives and locals in the territory of the Hispanic monarchy during the modern age, and congratulate the author for his innovative approach and use of primary archive sources. We can say the same about the text by Nora L. Siegrist

de Gentile on dowries in the Río de la Plata and other regions during the Habsburg and Bourbon monarchies. These are two outstanding works.

While Marcelino Iriani already wrote about the emergence of an euskaldun social space in Tandil in his book *Hacer América (1840-1920)*, he now focuses on the mid-20th century, with very interesting epistolary references and field work to support his thesis, on which the title itself sheds light. Álvarez Gila's work "Rebuilding virtually the homeland: Immigrants' Institutions in Host Countries, between Integration and Self-Preservation" is less innovative as the analysis is based on printed sources (typical bibliography).

On the other hand, Juan Carlos Luzuriaga deals with the institutions in Uruguay during the Civil War in a short chapter where he refers to other works on Basque emigration to Uruguay in the 20th century, together with journalistic sources. Ana Isabel Ugalde Gorostiza studies the happiness and fortune of the mestizos Juan and Pedro de Mondragón in Peru and Eskoriatza at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. Ana de Zaballa further develops what she foresaw in 2009 with a chapter on religious associationism primarily based on print sources.

In Alberto Irigoyen's work "Identidad y pensamiento público en las colectividades vascas de Uruguay (1876-1900)", he writes much about Uruguayan history, as well as how Basque was the main language of the emigrants who went there, quoting Álvarez Gila, the Argentinean President Domingo Sarmiento, Ortiz and St. Pelagius (a prominent disseminator) to that end, as well as some Basque advertisements (a few) and religious missions. Fuerism and Basque associations are studied in the rest of the chapter. Therefore, we find much identity and political thought (Basque, Fuerism and nationalism) but nothing from other areas such as fascism, liberalism, socialism, anarchism and communism, as if Basques had never been involved with these dogmas. Let us remember that Irigoyen studies the end of the 19th century, a time when these political ideas were beginning to gain importance. This same author studies the Basque periodicals in Uruguay. Since he also writes historical novels, his narrative style tries to be graceful, majestic and suggestive.

Alicia Ugarte studies Basque immigrants in Argentina through epistolary sources and as she states, she only analyzes one case. I must admit my surprise as this is the first time in my professional career that I have read a chapter in an academic book which is only sustained by one model. Moreover, the bibliography reveals significant deficiencies.

In "El árbol en el bosque. Otra mirada a la inmigración", Marcelino Iriani offers interesting reflections on future methodologies and studies regarding Basque migration to Argentina. He refers to the importance of micro-history and studies of the everyday life of Basque collectives in this country. We could not agree more. As a curiosity, we have observed an evolution in the typology of what Professor Iriani writes, with increasingly richer language and structure in his Spanish texts. Perhaps this could be due to his other professional activity as a science fiction writer, which appears on his brief curriculum vitae attached to the lecture he gave in Bayonne in 2007 at the *IV Congress Euskal Herria Mugaz Gaindi*.

In my opinion, the works in this book by David Ríos and Monika Madinabeitia were less suggestive and their contents of poorer quality. However, the approach by Matteo Manfredi to the photography and images of

emigration is quite interesting, asking whether they reflect reality or are merely propagandistic constructions.

EXILE AND CULTURAL SCENE

I have always had doubts about considering exile as a traditional way of migrating. Some authors include in their works on emigration a chapter about exile or exiles when analyzing historical periods in which political turbulences, wars or social upheaval caused the forced migration of thousands of people due to politics or ideology. Other authors, in contrast, exclude exile from the ordinary methodology of human migration. Be this as it may, Basque exile in contemporary America has been poorly addressed by specialized historiography. To begin with, there is not a single monographic work on the departure of Carlist exiles to the New World after the 19th century wars; a sad fact as we think this could provide knowledge on a little recognized episode in our history. As we have already mentioned, together with Professor Álvarez Gila, it is really difficult to differentiate between “free” migration and Carlist exile, whose protagonists lost all the 19th century battles they fought against the liberals.

Exile after the 1936–1939 Civil War has not motivated many scholars either. This is the case even when the final publications would surely be of interest to our society. They would clarify another stage of our history that is yet to be discovered. It is advisable to study not only nationalist exile, but also traditional republican, socialist, communist or Basque anarchist exile. In any case, this is what has been written up until the present: Iñaki Anasagasti (coord.) *Homenaje al comite pro-inmigración vasca en Argentina (1940)*, San Sebastián, Txertoa Publishing House, 1998; Koldo San Sebastián and Peru Ajuria, *El exilio vasco en Venezuela*, Basque Government, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 1992; Koldo San Sebastián, *El exilio vasco en América, 1936-1946, Acción del gobierno*, San Sebastián, Txertoa, 1988; Ángel García-Sanz Marcotegui (coord.) *El exilio republicano navarro de 1939*, Pamplona, Government of Navarre, 2001. Regarding the 19th century exiles, both of the Carlists as well as of the liberals, Manuel Ortuño Martínez, *Xavier Mina, guerrillero, liberal, insurgente*, Pamplona, UPNA, 2000; Juan Ignacio Gil Pérez, *La obra de Cayetano Garviso (1807-post. 1871). Cirujano vasco-navarro liberal en América*, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona, Seminari Pere Mata, 2001.

Regarding the culture developed in the American exile, we recommend reading the book by Pierre Xarriton, *José Mendiague (1845-1937). Haren bizia eta haren kantuak*, San Sebastián, etor, 1992; Gontzal Mendibil (coord.), *Iparragirre. Erro-Urratsak. Raíz y viento*, Igorre (Vizcaya), Keinu-Producciones S.L., 1999, 2 volumes; Magdalena Mouján Otano, "Un poeta vasco en Argentina", in *Euskaldunak Munduan-Vascos en el Mundo*, Vitoria-Gasteiz, Basque Government Press, 2001, vol. 3. Likewise, Xabier Apaolaza, José Ángel Ascunce and Iratxe Momoitio (eds.) *Hirurogei urte geroago, sesenta años después. Euskal erbestearen kultura, la cultura del exilio vasco*, San Sebastián, Saturraran Publishers, 2000, 2 volumes; Iñaki Adúriz, *Eugenio Imaz: bizi konpromisoa*, San Sebastián, Saturraran Argitaletxea, 2000; Juan José Ibarretxe, Gallastegui Victorian, Juan José Goiriena de Gandarias et al., *Justo Garate*, San Sebastián, Eusko Ikaskuntza, 2000; Andima Ibiñagabeitia and Patri Urkizu (ed.) *Erbestetik Barne-Minez, gutunak 1935-1967*, San Sebastián, Sousse, 2000; Patri Urkizu published in 1995 *Exiliatuak ez gara inongoak*, Vitoria-Gasteiz, Provincial Council of Alava; José Ángel Ascunce and José Ramón Zabala, *Eugenio Imaz, asedio a un filósofo*, San Sebastián, Saturraran Publishers, 2002.

Published in America we can find Xipri Arbelbide, "Californiako Euskal Herria" in *Eugène Goyheneche. Omenaldia-Hommage*, Eusko Ikaskuntza, San Sebastián, 2001. By the same author, *Jean Pierre Goytino eta Kaliforniako Euskal Herria* Euskaltzaindia-BBK Fundazioa, Bilbao, 2003.

CLERICAL EMIGRATION

The truth is that in 1987 when I began my doctoral dissertation on Basque emigration to the Río de la Plata in the 19th century, I could not have imagined that the departure of priests to this destination, mainly, but also to other Ibero-American countries, would be the subject of Professor Álvarez Gila's enthusiastic research. There are obviously other authors who have broadened this topic, such as his colleagues in the area of American History at the UPV/EHU, Juan Bosco Amores, Ana de Zaballa and the now deceased Ronald Escobedo, as well as Nora L. Siegrist de Gentile in Argentina. In many other cases, interest in these issues comes from the very ecclesial ranks and religious orders from which missionaries departed. I must admit that I have never given much attention to this migratory aspect with a scent of incense. Óscar Álvarez Gila's explicit knowledge on these issues is really surprising, which, by the way, is unique among those who do not belong to the corresponding clerical association. His doctoral dissertation *El aporte europeo a la Iglesia en el Río de la Plata: la presencia religiosa vasca (1835-1965)* is a benchmark work on this topic. It was published in 1999 with a slightly different title: *Euskal Herria y el aporte europeo a la Iglesia en el Río de la Plata*, by the University of the Basque Country Press. On the book jacket, one can read that this text won the 5th "Alonso Quintanilla" International Prize, awarded by the Oviedo Council in 1997.

After a brief chronology, where he elaborates on the Basque religious presence in the Río de la Plata and explains the general reasons (or causes) for this religious settlement, he then discusses Basque vocational fecundity and its implementation in emigration. Thus, he argues that as Argentina and Uruguay were two of the main receptors of Basque migration to America, this adds several peculiarities to the Basque religious contribution in these countries with respect to other departures of missionaries. He asserts that at these destinations there were many priests whose presence was due to the Basque outflow overseas in general, not the departure of professed clergy from Europe¹³⁰. However, he does not show such assertiveness and even the author states that: "these emigrant vocations are difficult to locate and define, as they require a study of each individual case to elucidate—if the sources allow it—their inclusion in the group". He insists that he uses as an indicator the place where the clergy began their consecrated life, although he does not forget the "mixed" character of the semi-native vocations. We believe that this book does not connect well with other important and broader aspects of Basque emigration to America; for instance, the departure of fellow citizens from the Basque Country and Navarre. There is neither an exhaustive analysis of the Basque priesthood's contribution to the socioeconomic developments of these territories—except when he talks about traditional Catholic education or assistance in prisons—nor a serious analysis of Basque religious culture in the context of migration culture, nor is there an attempt to situate the clergy in the overall framework of the Diaspora. The book basically adopts the format of a narrative chronicle on the movement from one continent to another by the clergy, especially to the Río de la Plata in the contemporary age. We do not share some of the author's assertions but this

¹³⁰ Art. Cit., p. 42.

is a matter of academic discrepancy. Moreover, we believe that the book is in itself a declaration of intentions.

In this well-structured work from an administrative perspective, which reminds us of others created by the clergy for their own use, the chronological and geographical trajectories are excellent. A logical order, on the one hand, that explains the reasons for the migration of the clergy, which the author criticizes in relation to non-religious migration (!). He highlights the timid attempts of the organized missionary expansion, writes a single chapter on the Second Republic and the Civil War, which, from my point of view, is the only interesting chapter in the book, and refers to the period between 1940 and 1962 as “the golden years of Basque religious transfer”. He spends two pages on religious activities. Page 153 to 173 deals with pastoral activities, such as soul healers, missions and contemplative life. Popular missions, “missionary activities with the Argentinean natives”, contemplative orders, worker circles and Catholic Action all play a very important role in this book. I found it more appealing to read “Los vascos y la prensa católica” or the pages on social action. It is chapter 6, “El proceso de integración y adaptación de los sacerdotes vascos”, which in my opinion should have been further developed due to its importance for the migratory configuration of the Río de la Plata.

Thus, this is a work that has been written with good intentions and correct documentation, although the archival sources are completely outnumbered by the printed works and there are almost no sources from America. In addition, the linear-administrative structure is very simple, combining chronological and geographical criteria. The corresponding scent of incense and its narrative monotony make its intellectual digestion quite difficult¹³¹. This is a failed attempt to offer a relatively necessary general synthesis—with more social ambience—of the participation of the emigrated Basque clergy in the social construction of the Río de la Plata during the contemporary age. This would have been preferable to a catalogue of religious orders that sent missionaries to preach in the Southern Cone. By the way, we do not agree with the assertion, which is now a classic by Professor Álvarez, that these brotherhoods are the only precedent to the Basque Centers (Euskal Etxeak). We do not agree because their causes, purposes, methodologies or associative structures are not similar or continuous. I have studied the brotherhoods from Falces (Navarre) in the modern age and their prolongation, in some cases, in the contemporary age, as well as having analyzed some Basque Centers in America. My thoughts are that these are two contrasting examples of associationism. One has a religious-care nature and the other functions as a socio-cultural meeting point.

In 1998, the same author published *Misiones y misioneros vascos en Hispanoamérica (1820-1960)*, Bilbao, Labayru Ikastegia. It is very similar to the previous work. The chapter division shows this solution of continuity: Basques and missions, expulsion and refuge (1835–1851), missionary schools (1851–1868), the second expulsion, religious restoration and the first Spanish missions (1876–1887), the appearance of Basque missions, difficulties and compulsory migrations, and popularization and boom and winds of change. Subsequently, he discusses the Franciscan province of Cantabria, the Augustinian Recollects, the Carmelite province of San Joaquín de Navarra, the

¹³¹ This is also due to the abundance of data and notes in the text.

Capuchin province of Navarre-Cantabria-Aragon, the Basque Benedictines. He does not forget to mention the Passionists, Jesuits or Piarists. He writes about “generalities and particularities of the actions of Basque missions” and their adaptation to the American destinations. Once more, the sources are exclusively Spanish (Basque-Navarre), that is to say: Archive of the Franciscan province of Cantabria (San Sebastián); Archive of the Discalced Carmelite of San Joaquín of Navarre (Vitoria); Archive of the Passionist province of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Bilbao); Archive of the Capuchine province of Navarre-Cantabria-Aragon (Pamplona); Archive of the Vice-postulation of Esteban de Andoáin (Capuchines, Pamplona); Archive of the Basque dioceses missions of Vitoria (Vitoria); Archive of the Basque dioceses missions of Urkiola (Urkiola); Archive of the diocesan mission of Navarre (Pamplona); Archive of the Curia of the Jesuit province of Loyola (Bilbao). The printed sources used by Álvarez Gila are: *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (Roma); Official Bulletin of the Bishopric of Vitoria; Official Bulletin of the Bishopric of Pamplona; Bulletin of the Sociedad Vascongada de Amigos de País; *El siglo de las Misiones* (Oña-Bilbao, Burgos); *Gure Mixiolaria-Nuestro Misionero* (Vitoria); *Franciscan Missions* (Oñate); *Scriptorium Victoriense* (Vitoria).

I am not going to repeat the ideas that I previously shared but I must insist that this is a work on the history of the Church and it should be listed as such. A text based on Spanish and not Ibero-American sources, whose narrative seems to be aimed at the clergy and their intellectual use. There is no relationship to general Basque migration or the specific structure of the Basque Diaspora. It is as if they were two antagonistic worlds. In terms of the rest, the use of sources is impeccable, with the rigor that characterizes this author, and the encyclopedic compilation of missions and missionaries is highly commendable. A good work on Basque ecclesial history, as with the previously mentioned text.

Other works on the religious Basque migration in América are: Óscar Álvarez Gila, *Mons. Martín Elorza. Obispo Pasionista. Prelado de Moyobamba*, Bilbao, provincial Passionist Curia, 1999. Saranyana, Josep-Ignasi (ed.), Carmen Alejos-Grau (coord.), Óscar Álvarez Gila, Montserrat Galí Boadella, Fermín Labarga, Celina A. Lértora Mendoza, Víctor Martínez de Artola, Javier Navascués, Ramiro Pellitero and Hans-jürgen Prién; *Historia de la Teología en América Latina, volumen III: “El siglo de las teologías latinoamericanistas (1899-2001)”*, Madrid-Colonia, Vervuert-Iberoamericana, 2002. Óscar Álvarez Gila and Idoia Arrieta Elizalde (eds, lits.) *Las huellas de Aránzazu en América. I Congreso Internacional Arantzazu y los Franciscanos Vascos en América*, Donostia-San Sebastián, Eusko Ikaskuntza, 2004. Óscar Álvarez Gila, “Fuentes Eclesiales en Euskalerría para el estudio (cuantitativo y cualitativo) del Exilio Religioso Basco a Francia a causa de la Guerra Civil (1937-1940)”, in *Espanoles en Francia 1936-1946*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1991. Óscar Álvarez Gila, “El Exilio Religioso Vasco en Francia: La Provisionalidad (1937-1940)”, in *Espanoles en Francia 1936-1946*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1991. Óscar Álvarez Gila, “Bizkaitar jesuita garaikideak Hegoamerikan – Jesuitas vizcaínos contemporáneos en Hispanoamérica (1820-1960)”, in *Jesusen Lagundia Bizkaian-La Compañía de Jesús en Bizkaia*, Bilbao, the Provincial Government of Bizkaia, 1991. Óscar Álvarez Gila, “El Misionerismo y la presencia religiosa vasca en América (1931-1940): Dificultades y emigraciones forzosas”, in *Mundaiz*, 42, 1991, San Sebastián,

University of Deusto-EUTG. Ronald Escobedo Mansilla and Óscar Álvarez Gila, "Navarra y la Iglesia en América", in *Segundo Congreso General de Historia de Navarra. Conferencias y comunicaciones sobre América*, (Prince of Viana, LIII, 1991, annex 13), Pamplona, Institution Príncipe de Viana, 1991. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "Diversos aspectos de la presencia religiosa vasca en América", in *Boletín del Instituto Americano de Estudios Vascos*, Buenos Aires, American Institute of Basque Studies: 170 (jul.-sep. 1992); 171 (oct.-dec. 1992); 172 (Jan.-sep. 1993); 173 (Apr.-jun. 1993), 174 (jul.-sep. 1993). Óscar Álvarez Gila, "Francoren garaiko euskal Eliza eta Amerika: babeslekua eta arazoan iturburua" (The Basque Church at the time of Franco and America: a place of refuge and a source of problems), in *Muga*, 84, 1993, Bilbao, Editorial Iparraguirre. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "El exilio en la conformación del clero argentino. El caso vasco (1840-1880)", in *Actes du Colloque Europe Amérique Latine: Réceptions et réélaborations sociales, culturelles et linguistiques aux XIXe et XXe siècles*, Angers (France), Université d'Angers, 1993. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "La participación femenina en la atención espiritual a los vascos en Argentina y Uruguay : las Siervas de María de Anglet (1905-1991)", in *Actas del I Congreso Internacional del Monacato Femenino en España, Portugal y América, 1492-1992*, Leon, University of Leon, 1993, volume I. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "Un ejemplo de actuación completa indigenista en un territorio de misión colombiano : los carmelitas descalzos vascos en Urabá (1918-1941)", *Proyección histórica de España en sus tres culturas*, Valladolid, Castilla y Leon, 1993, volume II. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "Argentinarako Euskal emigrazioa eta Hazparneko misionestak" (The Basque emigration to Argentina and the Missionaries of Hasparren), in *Muga*, 87, 1993, Bilbao, Editorial Iparraguirre. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "Exilio religioso vasco en Argentina (1835-1960): Religión y política de los Pirineos al Rio de la Plata ", in *Mundaiz*, 46, 1993, San Sebastián, University of Deusto - EUTG. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "Bibliografía sobre emigración y presencia religiosa navarra en la América contemporánea" in *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* LI, 1994, Sevilla, Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos-CSIC. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "El exilio en la conformación del clero argentino. El caso vasco 1840-1940", en *Archivum*, XVI, 1994. Buenos Aires, Junta de Historia Eclesiástica Argentina. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "El intent de fundación de los franciscanos para la atención de la colonia vasca de Caracas (1956-1957): el doble lenguaje", in *Cuadernos de Sección de Eusko Ikaskuntza, Historia-Geografía*, 22 (1994), San Sebastián, Eusko Ikaskuntza. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "Las misiones católicas y los vascos. Notas sobre el apoyo y la propaganda misional en Euskalerrria (1883-1960)", in *Hispania Sacra*, XLVI, No. 94, 1994, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Históricos-CSIC. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "Eliza, Euskal abertzaletasuna eta Ameriketarako erbesteratzea. Ikuspegi orokor bat (1898-1940)" (Church, Basque nationalism and exile to America. An overview (1898-1940)), in *Uztaro*, 13, 1995, Bilbao, Udako Euskal Unibertsitatea. Óscar Álvarez, "Apuntes historiográficos para el estudio del clero rioplatense", in Josep-Ignasi Saranyana, Enrique de la Lama and Miguel Lluch-Baixauli (eds.); *Qué es la Historia de la Iglesia*, Pamplona, University of Navarra, 1996. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "Urrunako 1853ko Euskal Jaiak, Ameriketarako Euskal emigrazioa eta Eliza" (The Basque Festivals of Urrugne of 1853, the Basque emigration to America and the Church), in *Antoine d'Abbadie. 1897-1997, International Congress Ezohiko Kongresua*, Hendaye-Sare, 1997, San Sebastián, Eusko Ikaskuntza -Euskaltzaindia, 1998. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "La

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of Religious in the Basque Country and Navarra. Proceedings of the First Congress of History of the Families and Religious Institutes in the Basque Country and Navarra / Histoire des appeared au Pays Basque. Actes du Premier Congr d'Histoire des familles et Instituts au Pays Basque, Oñati (Guipuzcoa), Editorial Franciscan Arantzazu, 2004, volume II. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "La documentación de las partituras musicales en el archivo del Convento Franciscano de Arantzazu (Oñate)", in Néstor Auza, Eduardo Bierzychudek and Celina Ana Lértora Mendoza (eds.); *II Simposio sobre Bibliotecas y Archivos del área franciscana en América, España y Portugal: un aporte a la cultura de los siglos XVII-XX*. Buenos Aires, Editorial Castañeda, 2004. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "La América colonial en los archivos y bibliotecas franciscanas del País Vasco: posibilidades y problemas", in the *Primer Congreso Sudamericano de Historia*. Proceedings, Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia), Museum of History, University Autónoma Gabriel Rene Moreno, Pan-American Institute of History and Geography, 2004. Óscar Álvarez Gila, "La Iglesia vasca frente a la cuestión migratoria: una visión de conjunto", in *Guregandik*, 1, 2005, Laprida (Argentina), Centro de Estudios Arturo Campión.

The thematic and conceptual variety is obvious, so the reader must be the one to judge. However, we will state once more that in our opinion these publications may not be very interesting for the scientific knowledge of history, as the apparent fragmentation exalts small and minimal details. Of course, we do not mean to say that this entire collection of papers, book chapters and other works is sustained by an obsession for the specific, exclusively focusing on the particular case of Basque clerical emigration. As we have already mentioned, what we really value in Óscar Álvarez Gila is his splendid knowledge of the reality of Basque clerical migration¹³², making this author the highest authority on this matter. However, among such a neat accumulation of research works, some of which have an unquestionable scientific quality, and in other cases, we can find texts that are very local or purely educational¹³³, and therefore, less interesting for historians dealing with non-religious migration issues. Of this overwhelming production of written texts, we find those dealing with religious exile or the Basque Church and its involvement with nationalism more thought-provoking. This is just an opinion.

When proofreading this work, we came across two papers with very clear and accessible language on the thematic website *Cervantes Virtual*, written by this same author, which we will list here: "Clero vasco y nacionalismo: del exilio al liderazgo de la emigración (1900-1940)" and "El misionerismo y la presencia religiosa vasca en América (1931-1940): Dificultades y emigraciones forzosas". They are of general interest. More recently, at the already mentioned "1810-2010: 200 años de Iberoamérica" International Congress (Santiago de Compostela, 15–18 September 2010), Álvarez Gila gave the lecture "El clero

¹³² Obviously, he is not the only person who has studied these issues in depth. We have already discussed the texts on the religious Diaspora by Nora Siegrist. In addition, we could add, without wishing to offer a compilation, other authors that I simply find interesting: Maria Milagros Ciudad Suárez; Isabel Arenas Frutos; Modesto González Velasco; Jesus Paniagua Perez; Idoia Arrieta or Antonio María Artola.

¹³³ Take note of expressions such as "servant of God" when writing about Monsignor Martin Elorza, a Passionist missionary bishop, and other similar "vocations", or annotation on musical scores.

vasco y la expulsión de los peninsulares tras la independencia de Argentina (1810-1820)". The brief abstract by the author on its contents is:

Independence was a vital choice for many inhabitants of America, both peninsular-born and creoles, who had to choose between their affinity to the old homeland or their new host countries that emerged after the emancipation processes. The process of establishing these new states brought a shifting policy regarding the situation of peninsular-born Spaniards, going from integration to expulsion. We will briefly discuss this process in the Río de la Plata, using as an example the attitudes and consequences of independence among the secular and ordinary clergy from the Basque Country.

This lecture is linked to the author's main line of research. Obviously, Álvarez Gila is not alone in this enthusiastic passion for the history of the Basque Church in America. Ignacio Arana and the now deceased Ronald Escobedo began this saga, which new authors have joined, such as Ana de Zaballa or Nora Siegrist among others. The former, together with Álvarez, is a member of the American History Area of Knowledge at the University of the Basque Country (a public institution). Recently, Professor Zaballa published (in 2009) "Aránzazu y San Ignacio: iconos de los vascos en Nueva España" in *Eusko Sare*, where he analyzes the role of devotion to the Virgin of Aránzazu and St. Ignatius of Loyola in their religious contexts and the way in which they were common among all Basques who settled in the New World. In 2002, Euskonews (Eusko Ikaskuntza) published Francisco de Ugartua's work "La primera cofradía de América". In 2004, Óscar Álvarez Gila, together with Idoia Arrieta Elitalde, as editors, published "Las huellas de Aránzazu in América", which compiled the lectures from the 1st International Congress of Arantzazu and the Basque-Franciscans in America, San Sebastián, Eusko Ikaskuntza.

In my opinion, this is a unique case (which is rather astonishing) of a public university in Spain using public resources to systematically study issues regarding the Catholic faith, even if they try to link them with broader associationism issues. The name and essences of the already mentioned congress should be the initiative, in my opinion, of the Catholic Church or Franciscan Institutions. I do not know the reason for this passionate analysis of Basque religious phenomena in Ibero-American countries. Perhaps it relates to a mix of personal feelings and interests that are later transferred to the academic sphere, and whose symbiosis produces these printed works that smell of incense and sacristy.

WHO WE ARE, WHERE WE HAVE COME FROM, WHERE WE ARE GOING

The first thing that struck me after preparing the pages that precede this section, is the healthy situation—in my own opinion—of studies on Basque migration to America. Therefore, I will not be the one to include here the common expression that we can find in almost all scientific texts on social sciences and humanities, which normally goes something like this (with variations): “In comparison with other issues, there are no significant works with the suitable rigor that we had hoped to find”. This expression, which is so common, tries to dignify the rigorous scientific work that (sometimes) comes after, as it is normally stated in the introduction of the text. Therefore, I do not think that this cliché which we read over and over can be applied to the area we are now studying. I think that the historiographical production on Basque-Americanism in general and Basque emigration to America in particular can be defined as good, plural, versatile and sometimes of very high quality, with a great number of written texts. It is clear that within this broad scope, there are significant contrasts regarding the quality and objects of analysis. Indeed, countries such as Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico, Chile, Venezuela, Colombia and the United States have attracted more attention from professional historians or non-academic scholars. Central America and the Andes have been less fortunate in this geographical definition of the field of study. The same can be said of Brazil. However, it is true that the existence of previous works may have had transcendental importance when selecting these areas, as well as the fact that the number of our Basque and Navarre ancestors who migrated to such areas has been larger. Therefore, I think it would be interesting, and this is my first suggestion, for the essays, doctoral dissertations and other research conducted in future on this topic to keep this circumstance in mind, in order to clearly understand the structure and features of Basque migration to those areas of the American continent that we do not know much about, following the rigorous parameters that they deserve.

Another central problem that those of us who research migratory issues find is the lack of a unique and general theoretical framework with which to develop an accurate methodology that covers the complexity of international migrations. As Malgesini stated in 1998, migration is a complex phenomena that is difficultly categorized within a unique theoretical framework. He insists that it is not an issue of eclecticism, but rather of adapting existing theoretical knowledge to the explanations of specific processes, in time and space, to quote his words. Therefore, we have different theoretical approaches, which may sometimes seem contradictory among them. In this sense, I do have a general tendency to respect, in an absolute way, the theoretical and conceptual framework that each researcher chooses, without assuming that those chosen by myself are the most ideal, but this attitude is abnormal among some scholars.

At the beginning of this work, we offered a summary of the different theoretical areas in the study of the migrations, where we concisely considered the virtues and defects of each. Nowadays, the latest methodological trend is the Basque migratory chains, led by Professor Álvarez Gila, who is included by Rocío García Abad in the list of Spanish historians who adopt this approach. I think this is an interesting conceptual perspective; however, it is not definitive, among other reasons, because I have scarcely viewed relevant sequences of

migratory chains over reasonable periods of time, as they are quite difficult to document. Moreover, before long there will be new methodological approaches criticizing the “magnificent explanative virtues” of migratory chains to apprehend the ins and outs of international migratory processes. Time will tell.

Another interesting aspect for some scholars dealing with Basque migration to America and that has gained a lot of importance in the last five years, is the identity of Basque collectivities and their organization into brotherhoods and fellowship centers. The image of these organized Basque collectivities is generating passion among the scholars. Here one can include all the identity features of Basque groups in America, such as their language (which has been lost) and cultural, culinary and religious traditions. These identity features (supposedly) significantly distinguish them from other Spanish collectivities, but also from other nationalities.

I will also not be the one to imply, not even superficially, that while several historians used to study these issues some time ago, they are no longer of interest. I think that when working in historiographical production, each author is free to choose the object of their research. Why do scholars have to study one and only one line of research during their careers? According to what can be deducted from some comments mentioned some pages earlier, lines of research must be continuous in time and methodology, i.e. in scientific production. Merely writing these words makes me uncomfortable. Even if we accept that conceptual and methodological dispersion is bad for any historian, the fact of always having to work on one issue could lead to a narrow set of questions and the repetition of ideas, concepts and methods, or even worse, excessive localism that would arouse little or no interest beyond the minimal personal or geographical circles selected. Furthermore, I claim the possibility, which is licit and a healthy intellectual exercise, to alternatively resume interest in the study of certain themes as main and secondary lines of research, without having to seek forgiveness from the profession. For this reason, on behalf of those of us who study Basque-Americanism, I have a few words for others who would like to contribute: they should do so regardless of whether they were around before or after the 5th Centenary of the discovery of America, obtained funds from the Basque Government or other institutions, or have conducted a continuous line of research. Even if they are dealing with these issues for the first time, we welcome them all, so that we can acquire better and deeper knowledge of Basque and Navarre emigration to America, a topic on which some of us have done our doctoral dissertations and that causes sincere emotion beyond our interest in what is occurring around it. I will not obsess over the geographical framework that each researcher chooses either, or whatever it may be called, a question on which there is no general agreement for defining the concept of Basque in a fixed territory. We have already discussed this issue so I will not repeat myself; however, I will insist on the territorial framework chosen by each author and that there is no obligation to accept Euskal Herria as the real definition.

Regarding the commemoration of historical anniversaries that foment research activity, my position could not be clearer: I fully support them. It is blatantly obvious to me that such events, beyond their social dimension, bring nothing but benefits to the scientific impulse, so any further comments are unnecessary. On this issue, I agree with Miguel Ángel Aramburu Zudaire: “Overall, a dividing line in the history of what has been written on this topic,

which will come as no surprise, is the almost mythical date of '92, whether we like it or not, as it marks a before and after, as if there were two main periods in the historiographical assessment. Indeed, even though the task of a historian is quite relevant and even unseasonable, the effect of this event on bibliographical production about everything related to America is irrefutable. From public and private institutional support to the celebration of congresses, seminars, projects, programs, etc., it encouraged many professionals, young and old, and people who were interested in history, to work harder, resulting in many works with differing quality. However, I believe that the general assessment is positive, if only for the impulse given to historical research, which has been progressing over the last decade in an area that is far from exhausted, as none of the areas in our discipline are, and which we now understand better and more thoroughly than in previous periods, thanks to the new approaches, methodological criteria, sources, etc.”¹³⁴

One of the other problems that I find among those who work on Basque migratory processes to America relates to the almost unilateral study conducted from Spain (the Basque Country and Navarre) and not both sides of the Atlantic. I understand that while it is not an easy or inexpensive task to research in America, it is still essential. If not, our object of study is considerably minimized. A reasonable means to solve this problem could be the formation of research groups on both sides of the Pyrenees and the Atlantic, with a final result of mutual enrichment. In addition, by adding interdisciplinary approaches, our perspective would be much more interesting. In 1999, William A. Douglass mentioned some other essential elements:

I would like to contribute with an external point of view, based on my experience over the more than three decades that I have studied the Basque Diaspora, both in West America, Australia and several countries in Latin America. Another facet that I would like to contribute is knowledge of the academic literature on the persistence of ethnicity, defined by the country of origin, among the different groups of immigrants that, through their movements, have significantly contributed to the economic, political, social and cultural configuration of the world we live in today [...] Working to preserve Basque culture, especially within the Diaspora, seems like a life sentence, because there are always opposing factors, which constantly change according to the circumstances that arise [...] We should also take into account the present drawbacks and future needs of the new Basque Diasporas in formation. I am referring to the fact that there is practically no continuation of transatlantic Basque migrations and the Basque collectivities overseas are ageing. Rather, there is a notable dynamism of Basque migration here in Europe. Two of the most notable destinations within Spain are Madrid and Barcelona. Also, and given the new configurations and possibilities within the European Union, the Basques in London are significant enough to have opened an association there. It is not difficult to anticipate Basque associations in places such as Rome or Milan, Strasbourg, Brussels, Berlin and Copenhagen. So there is a noticeable Europeanization of the Basque Diaspora, which is constantly being

¹³⁴ Art. Cit., p. 22.

evaluated by the electorates and entities here, upon which the persistence of their success will depend. Thus, a triumph in Buenos Aires will benefit Boise and a failure in San Francisco will also affect Sydney.¹³⁵

Professor Douglass' theses on the difficulties in operation are well-known, both in the long and short term, and in the safeguarding of a collective identity and its orientation towards the home country of any immigrant group. The possibility of losing the national soul as a result of too liberal immigration policies is always perceived as a risk, mainly concerning immigration in Europe. The debate is focused in terms of the challenge posed by the presence of ethnic groups that are enclosed in their own worlds, speaking their own languages and even worshipping a different god. There is extensive Argentinean literature on such circumstances in which the Spanish community is almost absent. In America it is difficult to perceive the nationals of the old metropolis as an ethnic group with its own entity, and even less so, as a collectivity that could threaten the culture of the American host country. The same is true of the British in Australia, Canada or the United States. Therefore, as a rule, we could say that immigration is noticeable in those areas where immigrants are an alternative to the national cultural paradigm. In this sense, a Spaniard or Basque in Argentina or Uruguay is not a foreigner but a compatriot, even if they are not defined as a fellow citizen. Conversely, the same Basque emigrant who undertakes a migratory adventure to the United States, Canada, Australia or New Zealand becomes a foreigner belonging to an exogenous culture and, in most cases, is doomed to spend the rest of his life in a more or less marginal situation with respect to the society and dominant culture.¹³⁶

We think these considerations are very relevant, perhaps due to the consequences of more than twenty five years of nationalist government in the Basque Autonomous Community, or the nationalist ideology in some of the studies of this phenomenology, which is also held by the coordinators of Basque Centers in America. They have tried to show with much insistence that Basque collectivities have kept their own identity, separate from other groups of Spaniards, which has made them different from the other peninsular collectivities, and of course, other European nationals who have participated in the overseas Diaspora. One thing is the continuity of identity features, as with Galicians, Asturians, Catalans... and another is the universal singularity that has been mentioned so many times. Globally, the fact that some members of the Basque community speak a unique and specific language is now connected to gastronomy and less so to folklore or relative knowledge. Their location in Spain is well-known, while in France this is not the case. Unfortunately, there is also an identification of Basques with the ETA terrorist phenomenon. Consequently, as asserted by Douglass, the Basques of the Diaspora generally have a very archaic image of their country, stuck in a rural world of fishing and shepherding, a picture of how things used to be in hamlets. They brought this picture with them before the Second World War or even at the beginning of the century:

¹³⁵ Presentation by Professor William A. Douglass at Euskadi Munduan Malerusik Eraikitzen-World Congress of Basque Collectivities, 1999.

¹³⁶ William A. Douglass, *La diáspora vasca*, or/m, s/f, p. 10.

It was the world left behind by the young emigrant who became a father, grandfather and great-grandfather. He transmitted to his descendants an increasingly anachronistic vision of the Basque reality. For those who receive this information, the global experience, the importance of their Basque descendants, become a part of their lives, at least once a year, when the party at the local Basque Center is held. But it is hardly an event that has an impact on their everyday life. In this pessimistic image, over time, the Basque identity dies, not suddenly and noisily, but step by step, without leaving any traces or regret.¹³⁷

Douglass believes that Basque Centers could have good potential if they adapted to new realities. For instance, they will not last long if they exclusively base themselves on the symbolism that characterized them initially, anchored in folkloric and nostalgic memories of a bucolic Basque Country or Happy Arcadia. Of course, he does not suggest that they should disappear; rather, he insists that we are facing the problem of an ageing Basque Diaspora, as logically there is no colonial framework that will replace it or a context of massive and abundant free immigration as in the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. For this reason, he suggests taking advantage of the Basque Government's initiatives to assist the Basque-American Diaspora, such as technological and communication advances to spread the Basque essence and culture to areas where its protagonists have a strong presence.

Presently, the new researchers, and I agree with Óscar Álvarez Gila on this point, are moving towards studies of the internal structure of Basque groups settled in host countries, after abandoning the quantification method, which attracted so many scholars in the 1970s and 1980s and even later. This numerical obsession has been defined by Professor Douglass as bio-genealogical and it is necessary for the study of any aspect of Basque emigration. However, on many occasions, the means have become the end. In most of these quantitative studies, the effort begins and ends with the enumeration and possible identification, often according to surnames, of every Basque or potentially Basque emigrant in a specific time period and limited spatial area. It should be remembered that these emigrants rarely appear as Basques in the registries of these American republics, but as French or Spanish citizens. Regarding this issue, William A. Douglas asserts: "I personally believe that such works are telephone books more than studies. Just like telephone books, they have some defects. They tend to admit suspicious candidates, such as when they admit one in every eight people with a Basque surname, or when they consider Aguirre as a surname, even if the person could be a descendant of a native who was baptized with this surname long before. Such studies focus more on the elites, as there is a higher probability of them being registered or having left traces behind in these historical lands"¹³⁸. We could not agree more.

It is at this point where it seems reasonable, according to William A. Douglass, to cut down the long list of protagonists of the Basque Diaspora and

¹³⁷ William A. Douglass, *Construyendo el futuro*, the Basque Government Central Publications Service, 1995.

¹³⁸ William A. Douglass, *La diáspora vasca*, p. 15.

only leave those who have a Basque ethnic and cultural awareness, and appear in a set temporal and spatial framework determined by their origins, at least in relative terms. This is evident in endogamic marriages, the creation of businesses with fellow Basques, the use of Euskera, Basque sports or participation in genuinely Basque associations. From this perspective, the mere fact of gathering two hundred people with a Basque surname at the Buenos Aires center in the mid-19th century is not sufficient. As one may expect, the methodological difficulties are heightened because if looking for Basque emigrants and their descendants can be detective work, finding elements of ethnicity and “pure” group endogamy makes our task very trying indeed.

Both in the Basque Country and Navarre, the main geographical area from which emigrants departed, there is a need to study in detail the influence of overseas exoduses on the social, economic and cultural development of both territories. This is a huge field of research. Unsurprisingly, we must consider that for numerous emigrants, any migratory act forms part of a lifelong process in which migration is perceived as a global strategy. Therefore, people can emigrate more than once in their own country or to Europe before departing for the New World. As Professor Douglass narrates¹³⁹, the majority of Basque people who arrived to California in the years of the gold rush came from the Southern Cone and not Europe, as demonstrated in *Amerikanuak*. Today there are Basques living in Vancouver who emigrated a second time after having worked as sugarcane cutters in Australia. The Basque colony in Vancouver, which already has a fellowship center, is composed of a larger number of Basques from Australia than Europe. The incorporation of new immigrants increases the critical mass imbued with ethnicity, as if they can speak Euskera, have a Basque doctor, lawyer or priest, there is obviously a sufficient number of individuals to give support and sense to the social, economic and cultural features of an ethnic group labeled as such and that actively practices endogamy. However, in 2010, what remains of endogamic ethnicity in America? The battles of language and “blood” have been lost. One of the most illustrative examples of this was given by Ángela Querejeta, the widow of José María Iparraguirre, who gave a concert in a theater in Buenos Aires in 1877. He wanted to raise funds to go back to the Basque Country to escape the state of poverty in which he lived. While listening to the poet sing his verse, his fellow countrymen, Basque and Navarre immigrants, began to cry, at the same time that their descendants, who were Argentineans and did not speak a single word of Euskera, laughed at what was occurring on stage and the tears of their parents. This is because the grandchildren want to remember what the children would prefer to forget. The children of immigrants want to escape their parents’ roots. They are ashamed of them because of their lack of culture. They want to be good Americans, Argentineans, Uruguayans or Chileans.... Therefore, they refuse difference instead of being proud of it. It is the grandchildren who will later cry for the loss of their ancestors’ language and their lack of Basque cultural values. Among the original participants of the exodus, Basques from many regions and with different passports lived together. As Álvarez Gila highlights, in America it is not difficult to find peculiarities such as the building of a Basque identity based on common elements, such as language, and the rise of the nationalist ideology

¹³⁹ In *La diáspora vasca*, pp. 22 and 23.

“many years before this processes develops in Euskal Herria”¹⁴⁰. I think it is more accurate to assert that these were pre-nationalist or proto-nationalist actions. In any case, the quote is useful to illustrate another deficiency: the monographs on the organization and dissemination of political ideas in America by the Basque collectivity: liberalism, Carlism, Sabinian nationalism, socialism, communism, anarchism, fascism and the Catholic right¹⁴¹. I am under the impression that the outcome of this type of analysis could provide a good example of the political-ideological plurality of the Basque-American colony. Until now, as we have already mentioned, we only have texts that subscribe to the nationalist ideology. Again, I agree with Professor Álvarez Gila when he insists that this should be included in the studies on contemporary Basque history of migratory phenomena to America, and all its intrinsic circumstances, as for the moment, we have only seen individual case studies or the incorporation of legacy as a secondary topic. These are his exact words:

The canon of contemporary Basque history, as far as we understand it, should be re-elaborated to fairly assume and recognize the originality of these formulations, and how their history belongs to the main core of Basque history, since unsurprisingly they are the product of some moments when emigration was very important and deeply rooted in the Basque Country, as Pierre Lhande remembers so well: “to be an authentic Basque, three things were essential: to have a surname that denoted its origin, to speak the language of the children of Aitor and... to have an uncle in America”.¹⁴²

It would also be fruitful to leave the stereotypes regarding migratory issues and myths behind. I would really like to read a rigorous essay on the issue. In Spain and France, authors often construct images of Basque life in Argentina or West America in a legendary fashion, verging on mythical. On the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, some notions of the Basque Country are simple and incorrect, not to mention old-fashioned. In this sense, we can claim that there are several Basque Countries in the collective imagination of the Diaspora, which are formulated by the emigrants who left many years ago, as well as their children and grandchildren. Almost none of these formulations reflect everyday life in the Basque Country and Navarre. Therefore, dialogue between these territories and their Diasporas is based not only on information exchanges, but also misinformation, or rather, information that is distorted and adulterated with the passing of time. This is unreasonable in our opinion.

It would also be interesting if the socio-political plurality that characterizes Basque society were transferred to the Basque fellowship centers on the American continent, as this would generate a clearer reflection of reality, something which is currently not occurring. And it is not occurring at these meeting and association points because they only nurture nationalist ideology, whether the Sabinian and Herri Batasuna version. The predominant discourse is sectarian, non-plural and filled with anti-Spanish attitudes; although, this does

¹⁴⁰ Óscar Álvarez Gila, *De América y los vascos...*, p. 300.

¹⁴¹ In a recent book that I published on political violence and state terrorism in Argentina between 1930 and 1983, there are numerous and significant Basque surnames among the characters that shaped the fascist dogma in this southern country.

¹⁴² In *De América y los vascos* p. 300.

not happen with France, at least in general terms. In truth, we ask for peace and harmony for those who come from Basque-Navarre lands; peace and harmony that we would like to call eternal on European soil, with a radical respect for all socio-political approaches (which is the foundation of parliamentary democracy). We hope that these circumstances could also operate among the Basque collectivities in America. This may seem obvious and such an appraisal possibly comes as a surprise the reader. However, what has happened over the last thirty years of local nationalist governments, under the acronym of PNV, is the implementation of a foreign policy that promotes the construction of Basque collectivities outside the Basque Autonomous Community with an exclusively nationalist perspective, as we have mentioned. The vision that has been exported from Vitoria to the rest of the world, and especially the American continent, is an Aranista nationalist Euskadi. In addition, as is well-known, this does not reflect reality. The political-institutional confrontations between either the Lehendakaris Ardanza and Ibarretxe and the Spanish ambassadors in America are widely known. These conflicts were sometimes grotesque, as the Basque delegations declined to attend institutional acts in which the Spanish flag was raised. This provoked the outrage of the hosts. I would rather not recall these events. We will insist on what is obvious: that the Autonomous Community of Euskadi is one of the most plural geographical and political areas in the western world, as anyone who visits this territory can verify, or as the elections constantly remind us (facts are stubborn), showing diverse and legitimate political options and means of understanding everyday life, as well as different ways of accepting our relationship with Spain, from the goal of independence to the wish of other citizens for the eternal permanence of Euskadi in this nation. For this reason, I maintain the idea that Basque collectivities in America should exhibit a similar plurality. This will happen one day and then, we, the historians, will do meticulous studies filled with plurality in which we will provide information on realities that differ from the nationalist vision of Basques that is commonly promoted to the outside world, which is only one of many visions. I have faith that this circumstance will soon arise. Consequently, what happens to the Basque colonies in America will be a solid reflection of what happens in the Basque Country. When this time comes, a newer and richer historiographical essay will be in order. And perhaps we will be able to analyze, including the successes and failures, what I think is very relevant: the Basque contribution to the modernization and progress of the societies where they have settled, as well as the transmission of the universal values of our culture, together with the hospitality, eagerness for a job well done, sense of equity and justice, social egalitarianism and entrepreneurial character of the Basques, without forgetting our scientific and technological contributions, the great missionary and religious activities in defense of the rights of the weakest members of society, and the ecclesiastical contributions to the achievement of more social, equitable and modern circumstances in America from a socioeconomic viewpoint. The official statistics in rigorous and serious academic studies vouch for our noble position in these areas. We will not elaborate further on the issue. The truth is that it would not be out of context if in the future someone were to focus their efforts on studying the Basque contribution to the socioeconomic development of host societies based on these, or any other, parameters, to offer a more complete picture of the issue. This is, at least, our hope and dream.