

A Home or a Country? What did Basque Emigrants Leave Behind?

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Introduction: A Dualism: Etxea (Home) and Herria (Land)

According to Robin Cohen's definition of diasporas, they are defined by nine features.¹ Basque emigration meets all of Cohen's criteria to a greater or lesser degree. Note that the term "homeland" appears in four of the nine criteria – but what exactly does it mean?

Searching the term "homeland" in Google, most of the millions of references are related to the popular series "Homeland" on Fox Channel; there is also a reference to a small town in California called Homeland (with 3,710 inhabitants). A more appropriate definition for present purposes refers to the "Country you were born in" (*Cambridge Dictionary*); "One's native land" (*Free Dictionary*); or "A state, region or territory that is closely identified with a particular people or ethnic group" (*Free Dictionary*). In migration studies the term is opposed to "host country" or "host society". Therefore, the issue of what emigrants left behind can be approached by disaggregating the compound noun "homeland" into "home" and "land."

Etxea

The anthropological and psychological points of view look retrospectively inward towards a moral status, sentiments and processes that transpire prior to the decision to emigrate (fear of leaving, dread of failure, panic over the unknown, separation anxiety over whether one will ever see their beloved family again). The emigrant's sacrifice implies abandoning "home" – the dwelling that represented security, wellbeing and affection; the warm hearth of winter. These factors characterize the migration experience whether departure is voluntary (as in the search for improvement in one's circumstances) or involuntary (the flight from adversity).

The term for "home" in Basque is *etxea*. The etymon *etx-* can be found in many common Basque nouns such as *etxeokak* (family), *etxaldea* (neighborhood), but also as a part of the names of farmhouses, usually with a geographical referent. Examples are *Goikoetxea* (The House Above), *Bekoetxea* (The House Below), *Etxandia* (The Big House) and *Etxeberria* (The New House). These are but a few of the many

examples. It should also be noted that most Basques take their last name from such a house name. Thus, Etxeberria and its variants (Echeverria, Etxebarria, etc.) is the most common Basque surname – akin to Smith or Jones in English. Furthermore, given the inheritance practices that will be considered below, many Basques resided in the ancestral residence that bears their surname. In this regard, the emigrant left behind not only his personal and ancestral *etxea*, but also his *etxeokak* or extended family of the same surname.

Herria

Regarding the land or territory, in the Basque case the question of just what the emigrant left behind remains very controversial. It has also evolved over time. The European Basque homeland has been divided for several centuries by the Spanish-French border. Each of the traditional four Spanish Basque territories (Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Araba and Navarra) and three French ones (Lapurdi, Benafarroa and Xiberoa) has its Spanish, French and Basque name. The “French Basque Country” is called in Basque *Iparralde*, whereas the four southern or “Spanish Basque” territories are designated as *Hegoalde*. In contemporary politics the three Basque entities of Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa and Araba constitute an autonomous region within the Spanish state, whereas Navarra is its own autonomous community.

This reflects several centuries of tension between the independent Kingdom of Navarra and the *Provincias Vascongadas* of the Kingdom of Castile. As for the whole of the Basque Country, there are the Spanish terms *Bascongadas*, *El País Vasco* and *Vasconia*. The common French rendering is *Pays Basque*. Basque

speakers denote their ancestral homeland as *Euskaria*, *Euzkadi* and *Euskal Herria*. Each of the foregoing terms has political connotations according to whether one is a Basque nationalist (of either a regionalist or independist variety) or a French and Spanish centralist. There have also been echoes of these distinctions at various times in different Basque diasporas as well.

Basque Collectivism during the Colonial Era

William A. Douglass and Jon Bilbao, co-authors of *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World*,² arguably the foundational “bible” of Basque diaspora studies, begin at the beginning with evidence that the mutiny during Columbus’s first voyage was instigated by the Basque crewmen on the *Santa María* (a vessel constructed in a Basque shipyard). When the admiral left a group of men behind on Hispaniola while he returned to Europe for reinforcements, the weakened “colony” was slaughtered by the indigenes after a schism in its ranks caused the “Bizkaians” (the generic Spanish term for Basques at the time was *Vizcaínos*) to retreat as a group to form their own settlement.³

In 1540, the Basques resident in Seville and thereby engaged thoroughly in the “American Run,” founded the *Congregación de Nuestra Señora de la Piedad* (The Congregation of Our Lady of Piety) as a religious society. It was comprised exclusively of natives of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa – Navarrese were excluded.⁴ The first New-World Basque ethnic association was founded in Lima, Peru, on February 13, 1612. This *Cofradía de Aránzazu de los vascos de Lima* (The Lima Basque Brotherhood of Aránzazu)⁵ constructed a chapel and allowed Navarrese into the

membership. Hence, all “Spanish Basques” were eligible. Subsequently, there were other *Cofradías de Aranzazu* established in the New World. There was one in Mexico City dating from 1681 and other Mexican ones appeared in Guadalajara, Puebla de los Ángeles and Zacatecas. In 1715, the Basques resident in Madrid established a *Real Congregación de naturales y originarios de las tres provincias vascongadas* (Royal Congregation of the Natives and Descendants of the Three Basque Provinces), thereby excluding Navarrese. In 1767, Basques (including Navarrese) founded the *Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola*⁶ (or The College of Saint Ignatius of Loyola) in Mexico City to provide asylum for indigent women, including some non-Basques. It has functioned continuously for 250 years down to the present. Finally, in 1764 the Basques of Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa and Araba founded the *Real Sociedad Vascongada de los Amigos del País* (Royal Basque Society of the Friends of the Country). It was designed to foment liberal Enlightenment thought and scientific projects as part of the modernization of the Basque economy and society. Chapters were chartered throughout the Basque diasporas, including Manila. Eventually the Navarrese were incorporated, as were the Basques of Iparralde, but all non-Basque Spaniards and Creoles were excluded. Some scholars have even discerned the beginnings of modern Basque nationalism (essentially a twentieth-century and continuing movement) in this initiative.⁷

Nevertheless, there are examples in which this Basque ethnic exclusiveness was denounced by non-Basque Spaniards and/or Creoles. In 1582, Basques and Extremadurans in Potosí engaged in a

“race war” while contesting economic and administrative control of the rich mining settlement.⁸ In 1728, Gipuzkoan Basques established the *Real Compañía de Caracas* (Royal Gipuzkoan Company of Caracas), chartered by the Spanish monarchy as a trade venture that ultimately came to dominate the Venezuelan political and economic affairs. Indeed, this provoked a reaction against Basque ethnics by the Creoles.⁹

It should be noted that it was in the Basque diasporas, rather than the homeland, that unity of all Basques received its greatest expression. While Basques in the homeland tended to see the world through the lens of their respective historical territory (Bizkaian, Xiberoan, Navarrese, etc.), it was in the diasporas that such inclusive notions as *guztiak bat* (“all as one”), *denak bat* (“altogether”), *anaitasuna* (“brotherhood”) and, more recently, *zazpiak bat* (“the seven are one”) gained currency.¹⁰

The “New” Emigration

By the first half of the nineteenth century the majority of Basque emigrants were departing for southern South America, notably Uruguay, Chile and, above all, Argentina. Some were simply economic refugees leaving a relatively impoverished and overpopulated pre-industrial homeland; others were self-exiles fleeing the Napoleonic clashes and the two Carlist Wars that swept across the Basque Country. Basques, primarily from rural backgrounds, were established as sheep men throughout the pampas by the 1830s. However, this emigration thrust drew upon all sectors of Old-World Basque society – including the professional classes.

By mid-century the siren song of Cali-

ifornia gold initiated the second “modern” movement. Yet Basque fortune seekers, like most of the “Argonauts,” failed. Several were drawn from the ranks of established Basque shepherders in the pampas, and in the vast unoccupied (except by a few indigenes) rangelands of southern and central California they discerned an opportunity akin to that in Argentina and Uruguay. By the early 1870s, Basque shepherders were crossing the Sierra Nevada mountains into the Great Basin states beyond. By 1900, to say “shepherd” throughout the American West was to mean “Basque.” Since then the Basques have dominated the region’s sheep industry from herder to rancher.

In Latin America, Basques established both a rural and urban presence that encompassed a wide spectrum of occupations. In the United States the concentration of Basques in sheep husbandry meant that most of the immigrants were drawn from the rural Basque countryside. In both South and North America, the magnitude of Basque immigration was such that it quickly established the basis for extensive further chain migration, as established immigrants facilitated the emigration of their kinsmen and acquaintances. In short, continued Basque immigration received an external stimulus from the Basque diasporas themselves. In the Latin American case in particular, there was periodic public support of European immigration as governments sought to populate vast hinterlands with agriculturalists. In 1976, Argentine President Avellaneda promulgated a law of Immigration and Colonization that afforded land to newcomers, thereby formalizing what Juan Bautista Alberdi, the father of the Argentine constitution, stated in

1853 – “to govern is to populate”. Thus, there emerged professional recruitment in which emigration agents from both sides of the Atlantic enticed potential candidates for emigration.

Furthermore, during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, Basques, having lost their “foral” privileges after defeat in the Second Carlist War, were subjected to obligatory military conscription for the first time. It was a time in which Spain needed conscripts for its bloody wars against insurrectionists in both Cuba and North Africa. Consequently, many young males from Hegoalde crossed the Pyrenees surreptitiously and emigrated out of a French port to either a South or North American destination – to be received there in most cases by established kinsmen or acquaintances.

Then too, there was the flight of Basque political refugees, largely to Latin American destinations, after their defeat in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). These included Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Chile and Uruguay. In 1941, Argentina’s President Ortiz opened his country to these exiles.

Against the backdrop of all of these foregoing extraordinary circumstances, there was a constant factor spurring Basque emigration over the centuries – including the nineteenth one. Reference is to an inheritance system in which a single heir was designated in each generation for the family patrimony. The heir or heiress co-resided with his or her parents (the classic stem family household), while the disinherited siblings were dowered and expected to leave. Some married the heir or heiress of another rural *etxea*; others professed religious vows or migrated to employment in a nearby urban center.

However, over the generations, virtually every rural *etxea* produced multiple candidates for international emigration. Indeed, it was not uncommon for the residences of its *etxeokak* to encompass members in both Latin American countries and North America.¹¹

So, if Basques had a well-developed emigration tradition, constituting, as it were, one of Europe's prime seedbeds of emigrants, there was also the pan-European explosion of transatlantic emigration from the mid-nineteenth century through the 1920s. José Moya speaks of the five "revolutions" that stimulated this massive population transfer: the demographic explosion in Europe; the liberal revolution, the agricultural revolution, the industrial revolution and the revolution in means of transportation.¹² This transfer of Europe's "huddled masses".¹³

Basque Diasporic Ethnic Institutions

In his "New World" the Basque emigrant also found an alternative "home away from home". Reference is to the Basque hotel that emerged to accommodate Basque immigration into the host society. While present throughout the Latin American diasporas, the Basque hotel was less critical and pervasive there; given that the immigrants had some competence in the Spanish language and likely had established kinsmen or acquaintances in the venue disposed to provide both temporary respite and assistance in securing employment. Therefore, it was in the American West, where Basque immigration was both shallow-rooted and spread over an immense geographical expanse, that the boardinghouse or hotel became a critical social institution.¹⁴ Strategically

located near railway stations to enhance their visibility for the immigrants, it was there that the newcomer could speak his language, eat familiar cuisine and share the comradeship of fellow ethnics (including over time that of Basque-Americans who frequented the hotels in search of their ethnic "roots").

As early as the late nineteenth century in several Latin American countries, and the early twentieth century in the United States, Basques were founding another type of ethnic institution – the so-called Basque "clubs" or voluntary associations. Some had physical locales while others did not. Most encompassed both Old-World-born Basque immigrants and New-World hyphenated ones in their leaderships and memberships. In this regard, they were contexts in which to formulate (and, at times, contest) ethnic identity, while projecting it to the outside world. In any event, they were referred to, quite tellingly, as *euskal etxeak* (Basque houses). In short, these constituted the new "big house" in which to accommodate an enhanced form of extended *etxeokak* – namely the Basque community abroad in its many diasporic incarnations.

The earliest Basque *euskal etxea* (called *Laurak Bat*) in the New World was founded in 1876 in Montevideo,¹⁵ followed quickly by an association of the same name in Buenos Aires (1877). *Laurak bat* means "four in one" and refers to the four historical territories of *Hegoalde*.¹⁶ Their creation was part of a reaction against the loss of the *fueros* that was centered primarily in the homeland.¹⁷ These associations would protest against this loss in their annual assemblies as well; demanding their restoration. Consequently, this could be viewed as a diasporic expression of

the unity of all Basques everywhere in a common cause.¹⁸ In 1884, Montevideo's *Laurak Bat* changed its statutes to include *Iparralde* Basques as well, and the name of its publication was broadened from *Laurak Bat* to *El Euskaro* ("The Basque"). The earliest such association in North America was the *Centro Vasco-Americano, Sociedad de Beneficencia y Recreo* ("The Basque-American Center, Beneficent and Recreational Society") established in 1913 in New York City by the Basque collectivity resident in the key port of entry. This latter name captures perfectly the fact that all of these associations were initially intended to provide assistance to the destitute (e.g., return passage to the homeland, medical care and funeral expenses for indigent Basques) and subsequently evolved more into recreational and cultural organizations that taught the language and folk dances, sponsored sporting events like handball and *jai alai* and organized an annual festival that welcomed their non-Basque neighbors while projecting a positive image of the Basque ethnic identity.

The Basque Nationalist Movement

The politician writer and ideologue Sabino Arana y Goiri (1865–1903) is considered to be the father of modern Basque nationalism – a movement that informs Basque politics to the present day. During his short life (he died at 38), he designed the current Basque flag (1894) and founded the Basque Nationalist Party (1895). His maxim was *Jaungoikua eta Lege Zarra* ("God and the Old Laws"). Thus, Basques were to adhere to their traditional Catholicism and *fuerism*. The aphorism JEL came to identify the nationalists as the *JELtzaleak*, or followers

of JEL. Arana romanticized rural life and symbols (in contrast to the urban industrial developments in parts of the Basque Country that were attracting job-seekers from throughout Spain that were marginalizing the language and diluting Basque culture). He emphasized Basque racial purity and denigrated Spaniards. An *euskoberria*, or "new Basque speaker" (i.e. someone who learns the language after childhood) himself, he authored a grammar and tried to renovate the Basque language by inventing many neologisms to replace foreign (primarily Spanish and Latin) loan words.

He coined the slogan *Zazpiak Bat* to refer to a unified *Hegoalde* and *Iparralde* within a single and independent Basque nation that he called *Euzkadi* – a politicized term that he preferred to the more benign *Euskal Herria*. Nevertheless, unlike other contemporary European ethnic movements, Arana did not consider territoriality to be an essential feature of nation.¹⁹ Arana wrote that "Nation is measured in terms of race, history, legislation, tradition, character and language ... Our *Euskeria* would still be *Euskeria* if we took it to an island in the Pacific".²⁰ This emphasis upon *ius sanguini* instead of *ius soli* is scarcely surprising, given that Arana's "entity," the seven Basque territories had been pulled in differing directions – the kingdoms of Castile and Navarra; Spain and France – for a millennium. A corollary was that anyone who was descended from Basques was Basque – including diasporic persons to be sure. Indeed, there is the interesting phenomenon evident in the older diasporas of persons with one remote Basque ancestor, yet practically no knowledge of Basque history or culture, joining a Basque club. Then too, we might

mention the abortive 1897 project of Florencio de Basaldúa, a pioneer in the Basque Nationalist Party and emigrant to Uruguay and Argentina. He proposed to the Argentine government establishment of a vast Basque agricultural colony in the province of Tucumán that would receive 50,000 immigrants. If not a transfer of Euzkadi to the South Pacific, this might be regarded as creation of the eighth Basque territory – a Basque Country removed from Europe.²¹

Arana also felt that every Basque had an obligation to learn and use the language. He coined the motto *Euskaldunon Aberria Euzkadi da* (“Euzkadi is the Nation of Basque Speakers”). Despite the essentialism in these positions, Arana’s ideology contained the kernel of the postulate that “anyone who felt Basque and who was willing to learn the language was thereby Basque”. As we shall see, this has become a tenet of contemporary Basque nationalism.

In short, there were anomalies and irreconcilable postulates sprinkled throughout Arana’s ideology. It could be alternatively exclusive and inclusive. It weighed race (descent), language and territory differently depending upon context.

Basque Diasporas in the Post-Franco period

The present Spanish Constitution was approved in 1978 after a national referendum in which the “no” vote along with the abstentions were in the majority in the three Basque provinces, excluding Navarra. However, shortly thereafter the Basque electorate, at the urging of the Basque Nationalist Party, approved a Statute of Autonomy under which each of Spain’s seventeen regions were allowed

to constitute an autonomous community. In December of 1979, the Basques passed their own Statute of Autonomy of Gernika that established the autonomous community of Euskadi²² (Navarra constituted its own). Under its provisions Euskadi has its own president, parliament, police force and considerable control over fiscal matters. It raises its own taxes and makes an annual agreed payment to Madrid for the expenses of the national government (most notably its defense costs).

Article 6.5 of the Statute of Gernika states that “Given that Euskara or Basque language is the heritage of other Basque territories and communities” the Basque Autonomous Community is empowered to sign mutual cultural agreements (including with entities in Iparralde) with them to conserve the Basque language. Article 7.1 defines who is considered to be “politically Basque” as anyone residing in a municipality of the Basque Autonomous Community. This incorporates the forty percent, or so, persons without Basque genealogical credentials into the “Basque electorate” – a clear case of *ius soli*. Nevertheless, Article 7.2 incorporates into the Basque Autonomous Community persons from the Basque homeland living abroad and their descendants. While primarily an emphasis upon *ius sanguini*, in theory it could include the descendants of a non-Basque born in the Basque Country who now reside in, say, Argentina. Those whose last residence before emigrating was the Basque Country, and who retain their Spanish citizenship, can claim the same rights in the Basque Autonomous Community that are enjoyed by its residents.

Regarding its relations with the Basque diasporas, the Basque Parliament passed unanimously Law 8/1994. It committed

the Basque Government to foster maintenance of the Basque language and culture among the several diasporas around the globe that were founded beginning in the early nineteenth century in Latin America. It was in part recognition of the support given by many of these collectivities to Basque political refugees from the Spanish Civil War.

Article 3 of Law 8/1994 defines the three groups that constitute members of Basque diaspora. First, Article 3.1. defines the scope of those who are eligible under Article 7.2 of the Statute of Gernika: these are the “politically Basque” because they can vote in the elections under two conditions: last residence in the Basque Autonomous Community and retain their Spanish passport. Second, Article 3.2 regards those born in Euskadi, but evacuated from it during the Spanish Civil War, and who remain resident abroad. After eighty years, most are deceased and the survivors languish without targeted assistance from the homeland.

Third, Article 3.3 grants Basque community membership to members of Basque Centers (primarily *euskal etxeak* but also including certain Basque cultural associations as well) recognized by the Basque Government. This, in effect, expands the horizon of what constitutes “Basqueness” beyond those with specific connections to Euskadi. Thus, many of the recognized *euskal etxeak* are dominated by descendants of Iparralde and/or have considerable contingents of Navarrese in their memberships. The Autonomous Community of Navarra has nothing comparable to Law 8, although it has a grants program that provides assistance to eight Navarrese diaspora centers outside of Europe. Iparralde has no institutions pro-

viding assistance to the Basque diasporas, although some are under consideration.

According to Sho Hagio²³, “the elaborated article 3.3 shows a significant importance in that it expanded a new horizon of the Basque collectivity with its openness beyond the principles of nationality in terms of lineage and territoriality in terms of birthplace of the member of Basque centers”: Hagio mentions that there still remains the question of territoriality from the angle of the “homeland” “or a vague image of home in their collective myths or aspirations, even if such a “homeland” does not contain a strict territorial sense. A deterritorialized diasporic situation might counterbalance a longing for a stabilized territory”, as the Basque Government often incorporated various institutions and artists of Nafarroa and Iparralde into its diaspora projects. Professor Hagio even speaks about a potential leading to a “reterritorialization” of the “Basque mainland”.

At present, the official register of recognized Basque entities established by Law 8/1994, contains a total of 191 entries of *euskal etxeak* and cultural associations in 25 countries on five continents (all the inhabited ones except Africa). Altogether they number 36,000 members. Approximately half antedate the promulgation of the legislation; it might be posited that the proliferation of such associations subsequent to it might actually be in part in response to the financial support offered by Euskadi to the Basque diasporas.

Of interest as well is the fact that more than eighty Argentine Basque entities have constituted themselves into FEVA, or the Federación de Entidades Vasco-Argentinas (Federation of Basque-Argentine Entities). In 1973, modeling their initiative on

FEVA, North American Basques consolidated their more than 30 entities into NABO (North American Basque Organizations). We might consider these two organizations to be respective *etxaldeak* writ large. In these two diasporas (as well as Uruguay and Chile), the several *euskal etxeak* now share a common cultural purpose (fomenting the Basque language and identity) that make them “neighborhoods” on a national scale.

Conclusion

We might now underscore that much is happening with regard to both relations among the traditional Old World Basque territories and between them and the diasporas. In January of 2017, Jean René Etchegaray, President of the newly-created community of Basque municipalities in Iparralde (its first such collective institution) met with Euskadi’s President Iñigo Urkullu and the Navarra’s President Uxue Barkos to discuss common projects. This was the first such encounter ever and it underscores the growing awareness that all European Basques share a common ethnic heritage that can be best preserved by pursuing a collaborative agenda. By the same token, there is now considerable interaction between the various diasporas and the Basque homeland. Law 8/1994 of Euskadi’s Parliament played no small part in creating such bridges. FEVA and NABO both facilitate the visits of hyphenated Basque youth to their ancestral homeland. Both promote the tours in their respective host countries of Old-World Basque performing artists.

Finally, we might mention that the Internet now facilitates the existence of a planetary Basque *etxaldea*, as Basques from throughout the diasporas interact

horizontally with one another and vertically with institutions and individuals in the ancestral European homeland. Indeed, it seems fair to say that the future Basque “nation,” whatever form(s) it may acquire over time, may be best configured from the eighth territory, i.e. the diasporas. It is there that the universalist and inclusive view prevails, rather than the territorialism and essentialism that sometime divide Basques from one another in the European homeland. It is important to remember that there are easily twice as many “Basques” (immigrants and their descendants) residing outside of the Basque Country than there are within it.

Notes

1. These include: “1) Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions; 2) alternatively or additionally, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions; 3) a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history, suffering and achievements; 4) an idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration safety and prosperity, even to its creation; 5) the frequent development of a return movement to the homeland that gains collective approbation even if many in the group are satisfied with only a vicarious relationship or intermittent visits to the homeland; 6) a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history, the transmission of a common cultural and religious heritage and the belief in a common fate; 7) a troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance or the possibility that another calamity might

- befall the group; 8) a sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement even where home has become more vestigial; and 9) the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host societies with a tolerance of pluralism.” Cohen, Robin, “Diasporas and the State: From victims to challengers,” *International Affairs* 72 (3), July 1996: 507–20.
2. Douglass, William A. and Jon Bilbao, *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World*, Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1975.
 3. *Ibid*, 74.
 4. Muru Ronda, Fernando, “Las colectividades vascas de Sudamérica: Pasado, presente y futuro” in Douglass, William A., Urza, Carmelo, White, Linda and Zulaika, Joseba (eds.), *The Basque Diaspora/La Diáspora Vasca*, Reno: Basque Studies Program, University of Nevada, Reno, 1999: 94–107.
 5. De la Puente Brunke, José, “La Cofradía de los vascos de Lima” in *Las huellas de América. I Congreso Internacional Arantzazu y los Franciscanos Vascos en América*, Eusko Ikaskuntza, Donostia-San Sebastián, 2004: 103–113. The Virgin Mary was purported to have appeared to a shepherd on a Gipuzkoan mountain and is the object of Basque devotion to this day. There is a significant monastery on the site that has devolved a practical and political role in Basque history that is quite akin to that of the Monastery of Montserrat for Catalans.
 6. Patron saint of Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan Basques. The College was also known as the *Colegio de las Vizcainas*.
 7. Douglass and Bilbao, *Amerikanuak*, 104–112.
 8. *Ibid*, 81.
 9. *Ibid*, 88–94.
 10. This is not to say that the Old-World divisions, as we shall see, were not at times manifested in the New-World settings as well. By the late nineteenth century some Basques in Buenos Aires, disaffected with the increasingly politicized agenda of *Laurak Bat*, the city’s main Basque association, founded *El Centro Vasco Francés* (“The French Basque Center”) and *El Centro Navarro* (“The Navarrese Center”). *Ibid*, 164.
 11. During the twentieth century the list would come to include Australia, many of the countries of the European Union and even contemporary China.
 12. Moya, José, *Primos y extranjeros. La inmigración española en Buenos Aires, 1850–1930*, Buenos Aires, Emecé, 2004.
 13. Handlin, Oscar, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People*, New York, Little, Brown and Company, 1951.
 14. See Echeverría, Jeronima, *Home Away from Home: A History of Basque Boardinghouses*, Reno and Las Vegas, University of Nevada Press, 1999.
 15. Irigoyen Artetxe, Alberto, *Laurak Bat de Montevideo primera euskal etxea del mundo, 1876–1898*, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Editorial del Gobierno Vasco, 1999.
 16. Chueca, José, “El asociacionismo vasco en América” in Juan Andrés Blanco (ed.), *El asociacionismo de la emigración española a América*, Uned-Zamora, Salamanca, 2008.
 17. The Basque troubadour, José María Iparragirre, author of the song *Gernika’ko Arbola* (“Tree of Gernika”) that is the de facto Basque national anthem for nationalists, emigrated to Uruguay and Argentina after the loss of the *fueros*. After a disastrous run as both a shepherd and tavernkeeper, the Basques of southern South America raised money to pay for his return to Europe. (Douglass, William A., “El vasco antitético: Iparragirre en América” in Mendibil, Gontzal *Jose Maria Iparragirre: Erro-urratsak/Raiz*

- y viento*, Igorre, Bizkaia, Keinu, 1999, vol. 2: 161–172. He also penned the song popular among Basque emigrants whose first verse is *Gazte gaztetatikan erritik kanpora Etranjeri aldean pasa det denbora. Errialde guztietan toki onak badira. Bañan bihotzak dio: zoaz Euskal Errira* (“Since I was very young I have spent time abroad. But although there are good places everywhere, the heart says: go back to the Basque Country”).
18. Nevertheless, in 1877 a similar association was founded in Havana with the name *Laurak Bat*. Its founders were aligned with Spanish centralists against the Cuban independence movement. So in this case “four in one” meant that Spanish Basques were in accord with Madrid’s colonial policy. See Irigoyen Artetxe, Alberto, *La asociación vasco-navarra de beneficencia y otras entidades vasco-cubanas*, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Urazandi, Gobierno Vasco/ Eusko Jurlaritzza, 2014.
 19. Toticagüena, Gloria Pilar, *Identity, Culture and Politics in the Basque Diaspora*, Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2003.
 20. Cited in Heiberg, Marianne, *The Making of the Basque Nation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989: 52.
 21. Basaldua, F.: “Eskal-Berri” in *Bol. Inst. Amer. Est. Vascos*, 142, 1985: 136–144.
 22. This is a modification of Arana’s term “Euzkadi” that designates the entire Basque Country. That use is politically charged to this day and refers to an independent Basque state encompassing all of Hegoalde and Iparralde, irrespective of the desires of the Navarrese and French Basques (where such sentiment remains in a distinct minority). Use of the term Euskadi to refer to the Basque Autonomous Community does not have the same radical political connotation and is accepted by Madrid.
 23. Hagio, Sho, “Nationality and Territoriality in Basque Diaspora Politics” in Azcona, José Manuel (Ed), *Identidad y estructura de la emigración vasca y navarra hacia Iberoamérica siglos (XVI–XXI)*, Thomson Reuters Aranzadi, 2015: 555–570.

