LEKUAK
THE BASQUE PLACES OF BOISE, IDAHO

Master of Applied Historical Research
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Presented to
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and Committee Members
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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my daughter, Erin Ann Jensen.
May you always know the power of place.

Lekuak is also dedicated to the memory of
Dominique & Thérèse Alpetch Laxalt,
my immigrant grandparents who carried our ethnic heritage
from Tardets and Saint-Étienne-de-Baïgorri to
the hills, sagebrush, and pine of Nevada.
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Several years ago, Dr. John Bieter challenged me to a journey: to return to school and pursue my passion for learning. I thank him for being by my side for this journey. I could not have accomplished Lekuak without his guidance and patience. He served as my Committee Chair and advisor with his characteristic insight and kindness, always ready at a moment’s notice to help me.

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Lastly, but by no means the least, two amazing individuals have stood behind me with so much love and rock-solid steadiness: my daughter Erin Jensen and my husband Dennis Mackey. Thank you for believing in me.
ABSTRACT

*Lekuak* ("Places") traces how Basque places in Boise reflect the evolution of each generation’s expression of ethnic identity in response to American societal forces of the times. The first-generation *Amerikanuak* (late 1800s to 1920s) predominantly expressed their ethnicity as an internally-focused, solely-Basque ethnic group and built places such as boardinghouses and frontons that met communal needs. The *Tartekoak*, ("in-between" second generation, 1930s to the 1950s), mostly expressed a dual Basque and American ethnic identity. *Tartekoak* places often revealed the individuation of this generation with single-family residences and Americanized businesses, and the Basque Center with ancestry-based membership. The *Egungoak* ("today" from the 1960s to the present), who may have mixed ancestral heritage, often express their ethnicity through conscious choice and inclusivity and principally created educational institutions that are open to non-Basques, including the Basque Museum and the Boise’ko Ikastola preschool. Boise’s Basque Block represents the culmination of the evolution of Basque places over generations. Its visible, external expression of “symbolic ethnicity” contains examples of each generation’s places: a boardinghouse, fronton, museum, and social center, as well as Basque symbols that permeate the streetscape. Ultimately, *Lekuak* documents Basque cultural persistence for over a hundred years in one American Western city through the lens of place.
Gabriel Aresti’s poem, *Nire Aitaren Etxea*, *(The House of My Father)*, uses the ancient Basque house, or *etxea*, that has stood for centuries to symbolize Basque cultural persistence. The etxea, village, province, and country bound Old World Basques together. These Basque places can be viewed as symbols of cultural endurance.

The Basque homeland, *Euskal Herria*, is a small isolated region between France and Spain, near the Pyrenees Mountains and the Bay of Biscay. Some call the Basques *hasierak* or “the mystery people of Europe” because although their presence in this land has been speculated since prehistoric times, the exact origin of the Basques is still unknown. Some say the Basques may have originated during the Cro-Magnon period. Basques call themselves *Euzkaldunak*,

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literally “speakers of Euskara.” Euskara has unknown origins, and it is not related to any other Indo-European language, other than possibly Aquitanian. Basques continue to define themselves by Euskara today.

The Basques fiercely defended their place, which was reflected in their history of political, social, and religious conflict. They survived attempts by the Romans, Visigoths, and Franks to control their territory, which laid the foundation for the defense of Basque land and independence throughout history. This was testament to their sheer determination to persist.

The Basque Country historically was comprised of seven provinces, termed “Zazpiak Bat” or the “seven are one.” Ninety percent of all Basques live in the four Spanish provinces of Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Araba, and Nafarroa. The remainder lives in the three northern French provinces of Lapurdi, Nafarroa Behera, and Zuberoa. It is a small place, only about one hundred and twenty-five miles wide.

Basques also have a long tradition of mobility. Although Basques loved their country, there were many forces that pushed and pulled them away. As mariners, merchants, missionaries, miners and those involved in military efforts, they ventured far beyond their borders for

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6 North American Basque Organizations (NABO), Explanation of zazpiak bat (seven are one) and zortizuak bat (eight are one that includes diaspora) http://www.nabasque.org/old_nabo/NABO/zortziak_Bat.htm.

centuries. Basque whalers, ship-builders, and tradesmen were some of the first to navigate ocean waters, beginning as early as the eleventh century and in earnest by the 1500s.

Conflicts in places of migration and the homeland continued to shape Basque history. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the bloody and brutal Carlist Wars (1833-1840; 1846-1849; and 1872-1876) and the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) instilled deep divisions between the Basques and the Spanish, and fractured political parties and families for generations. The oppressive Franco dictatorship further cemented political, religious, and social discontent in the Basque Country from 1939 until his death in 1975.

This long-standing history of Basque resistance to control their land and fight for self-determination caused great division in the Basque Country. It also forced the exodus of many Basques from the Old World to the New. Despite attempts to suppress them and control their land, Basques persisted in both their homeland and various diaspora locations. Mark Kurlansky claimed in *The Basque History of the World* that the “singular most remarkable fact about the Basques is that they still exist.”

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Basques in the New World

“Basques have a tradition of loving their homeland – and leaving it.”

John Bieter

Building on a long history of exploration and settlement, Basques migrated in the mid-nineteenth and twentieth centuries primarily to the western United States. These Basques risked a move from their homeland to build better lives for themselves and their families, similar to millions of other European immigrants who also searched for improved fortune beyond their birthplace countries. The Gold Rush of 1849 drew Basque immigrants from the pampas of Argentina to California. Rather than gaining wealth from gold and silver, livestock opportunities prompted many Basques to venture into western states, particularly Nevada and Idaho.

In 1869, the new transcontinental railroad enabled faster, safer, and less expensive travel to the West. This second and more-traveled route triggered a larger stream of immigration into the western United States. Most entered through Ellis Island, and some Basques settled in New York. Many chose to board trains for a five-to-seven day journey across the country to the American West, often with nothing more than sheer determination. Work in the sheep industry in southwestern Idaho drew Basques to Boise. Most hailed from small villages of the Spanish Basque provinces of Bizkaia.

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13 Douglass and Bilbao, Amerikanuak, 403.
14 Ibid., 400.
15 Gloria Totoricaguena, Basque Migration and Diaspora Transnational Identity (Reno, Nevada: Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno, 2005), 48.
16 Totoricaguena, Basque Migration, 10.
17 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 34; St. John’s Parish records, Boise, Idaho, 1863-1952; Oral histories and other documents at the Basque Museum & Cultural Center from first- and second-generation Basques in Boise.
Generally, Basque males came first: usually poor, young, with limited education, and unable to speak English. Most intended to return to their homeland after “making it big in America,” or at least with enough savings to eventually return the Basque Country.18 Boardinghouses most often provided the first places in America for Basque immigrants. In this “home away from home,” they could speak Euskara, eat Basque food, and obtain contacts for prospective jobs.19

Many men took jobs that most Americans did not want, for little pay, and in physical conditions. The fast-growing American sheep industry drew Basque men to jobs as shepherders. For most, this was a daunting experience, as they had only tended to a handful of sheep in rural farms, or had no experience at all with animals if they harkened from fishing villages or the city. As the wave of immigration into the American West progressed into the 1920s, many Basques became part of chain migration that led to the first immigrants bringing their fathers, uncles, and brothers to join them as shepherders.20

Some women were also summoned to America to join their family or friends, others traveled as brides-to-be. Although many boardinghouses primarily housed males, they provided economic opportunity for Basque women who worked as domestic help.21 Boardinghouse proprietors filled the role of helping boarders navigate challenges such as language barriers, finances, and medical issues.22 Boardinghouses linked two places: the Old World homeland and the New World host country. Eventually, the immigrant generation merged their Old and New World ways in their places of settlement in America, including Boise.

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18 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 34.
20 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 34.
21 Ibid., 49.
Boise today has a large concentrated population of Basques that have remained in the city for over a hundred years.²³ It has been a stronghold of Basque culture in the American West for over a hundred years, revealing this ethnic group’s age-old ability to persist through time and place. In Lekuak, this story comes alive with the Basque Block.

INTRODUCTION

“A street that connects who we were to the ethnic mosaic we are.”

Todd Shallat and John Bieter

_Becoming Basque: Ethnic Heritage on Grove Street_\(^{24}\)

Boise’s Grove Street today is a tree-lined street with old brick buildings, bustling with people from morning until night. Tandem structures, at least fifteen feet tall, guard the street from Capitol Boulevard that look like giant forks. These are _laiak_, replicas of ancient Basque farming tools for tilling the soil. Green, red, and white folded metal banners symbolize the seven Basque provinces. Two large _lauburus_, ancient symbols of the Basque people, connect this place to the homeland.

In good weather, restaurant patrons dine outdoors on Bar Gernika’s patio, a postage-stamp sized Basque pub and eatery at Capitol and Grove, and the scent of garlic and peppers fill the air. Visitors are often shocked to find a tall and deep handball court that is hidden from street view next door at the brick Anduiza building. Shouts can be heard from this Basque _fronton_ that was once a boardinghouse. Basque flags (_ikurriña_) wave in the breeze along with American flags in a colorful display of national symbolism. The sidewalks contain granite blocks that are inset into the concrete: six have Basque coats of arms, four have Basque songs, and twelve are inscribed with hundreds of Basque surnames, each in a spiral shape around a single lauburu.

The Basque Museum & Cultural Center is adjacent to the Anduiza Fronton. Information about the museum’s educational exhibits and programs are displayed in the streetside windows,

\(^{24}\) John Bieter, Dave Lachiondo, and John Ysursa, eds., _Becoming Basque: Ethnic Heritage on Boise’s Grove Street_ (Boise: Boise State University, Center for Idaho History and Politics, 2014), 13.
where items from the gift shop are also visible. Sandwiched between the Museum and a European-looking stucco building is a small brick house, set back from the street with a white picket fence around a lawn and an oak tree. This is the Cyrus Jacobs-Uberuaga boardinghouse. A bronze National Historic Register marker near the front door notes the home was built in 1864 by Boise pioneer Cyrus Jacobs, and then later became a Basque boardinghouse in 1910.

The stuccoed, red-tiled Basque Center anchors the Sixth and Grove Street corner. Tambourine and accordion can sometimes be heard from inside the building, and dancers and musicians drift in and out for practices. Euskara is frequently spoken here. Bar patrons enjoy drinks at the cozy bar or outside when weather permits. Across the street, shoppers head into the tiny Basque Market that is loaded with Basque specialty food and wine, and in good weather, a giant pan of paella simmers outside on the sidewalk. The Basque restaurant, Leku Ona (“Good Place”), invites Basque diners to taste Basque food and visitors to stay at the boutique hotel.

Interpretive signs, attached to many of the buildings on the street, educate visitors about the multiple generations of Basques who have built their lives in this area. This is not a typical Boise City block. It is Boise’s Basque Block.

It is the only cultural district in the United States dedicated to Basque culture. This one spot reveals the evolution of each generation’s ethnic expression, within the context of American assimilation. Lekuak means “places” in the Basque language. This study examines the powerful intersection of people and place. Lekuak connects how the transformation of ethnic identity through successive generations impacted Basque places in Boise, Idaho.

The description of this process requires the application of key terms, such as ethnicity, ethnic groups, and symbolic ethnicity. It applies the social theories of Max Weber, Richard Alba, and Herbert Gans to this study. According to Max Weber, ethnicity is defined a “a human group
that entertains a subjective belief in its common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration. It does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists.\(^{25}\) Richard Alba states that *ethnic groups* include members that “recognize a boundary enclosing them; they share a ‘consciousness of kind,’ of being like others in the group, and consequently they tend to interact with them.”\(^{26}\) Finally, Herbert Gans claimed that later-generation ethnics (LGEs) display *symbolic ethnicity* visibly to express their identity.\(^{27}\) He argued that the element of choice was crucial to this display of symbolic ethnicity, conferred by the American principle of freedom of expression and the “right to find one’s own way of being ethnic.”\(^{28}\) Gans included ethnic ceremonies, dance, music, rites of passage, holidays and feast days, consumer goods, food, and signs such as flags as *ethnic symbols.*\(^{29}\)

*Lekuak* also applies sociologist Mary Waters’ principle of *conscious choice* as foundational to an outward expression of ethnicity in contemporary culture.\(^{30}\) Waters stipulated that this choice allowed later-generation ethnics to share publicly in traditional language, food, and symbolic celebrations as a voluntary part of their identity.\(^{31}\) Another social theorist, Jean Phinney, studied the evolution of ethnic expression, from first-generation “*given identity,*” to the second-generation’s *ethnic identity search,* to the third and later-generations’ *achievement of ethnic identity.*\(^{32}\)


\(^{26}\) Ibid.


\(^{28}\) Ibid., 13.

\(^{29}\) Ibid., 10.


\(^{31}\) Ibid., 115.

\(^{32}\) Jean S. Phinney, “A Three-Stage Model of Ethnic Identity Development in Adolescence” in
*Lekuak* reveals how Basques transferred Old World principles to America, such as that of community or neighborhood, called the *auzoa*. In the Old World, the formation and maintenance of Basque places were highly dependent upon members of the Basque community working together. In America, Basques applied the Old World principle of *auzolan*, which helped them resettle their lives on new soil. The concept of *auzolan* was foundational to the establishment and maintenance of places that expressed ethnic identity in the New World, and *Lekuak* identifies the application of *auzolan* throughout each generation’s places.

To comprehend the evolution of Basque ethnic identity and its impact on Basque places in Boise, *Lekuak* is structured chronologically by each successive generation. This approach follows the scholarly precedent of John and Mark Bieter, who followed the stories of Idaho Basques through the *Immigrant, Hyphenated, and Ethnic* generations. The Bieters demonstrated that each generation exhibited specific traits, from a purely Basque immigrant group to a dual Basque-American generation, to a generation that engaged in the revival of Basque culture.

*Lekuak* also examines the three generations through an institutional framework established by Carmelo Urza: the *Historical* (1848-1948) period when Basques were generally isolated as a cultural group; the *Modern* (1948-1967) period when the Basque social image was positive; *Post-Modern Age of Institutions* (1969-Present) that saw the rise of Basque educational institutions, organizations, and clubs. Lastly, *Lekuak* loosely parallels, with some exceptions

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34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Bieter and Bieter, *An Enduring Legacy*.

noted, the societal phases that William Douglass established in *Global Vasconia*: first-generation immigrants who relied solely on their internal networks to survive; second generation Basques who reject their parental Basque ethnicity; and the third generation culture “seekers.”

The overarching eras of *Lekuak* help align each generation with historical events, but not all generations, individuals, and time periods fit exactly within this schema. The following generational format is used in *Lekuak* to trace the relationship between Basque people and places in Boise:

- **Chapter I**: The first-generation *Amerikanuak* (late 1800s to 1920s) predominantly expressed their ethnicity as an internally-focused, solely-Basque ethnic group and built places such as boardinghouses and frontons that met communal needs.

- **Chapter II**: The *Tartekoak* (“in-between” second generation, 1930s to the 1950s) mostly expressed a dual Basque and American ethnic identity. *Tartekoak* places often revealed the individuation of this generation with single-family residences and Americanized businesses, and the Basque Center with ancestry-based membership.

- **Chapter III**: The *Egunoak* (“today” from the 1960s to the present) who may have mixed ancestral heritage, often express their ethnicity through conscious choice and inclusivity and principally created educational institutions that are also open to non-Basques, including the Basque Museum & Cultural Center and the Boise’ko Ikastola preschool.

Boise’s Basque Block represents the culmination of the evolution of Basque places over several generations. The visible, external expression of symbolic ethnicity today on the Basque Block validates the assertion of America’s ethnic mosaic, the cultural plurality that includes Basques as a distinct and valued ethnic group. The persistence of the Basques within the larger

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society in Boise today challenges “melting pot” theorists who say ethnicity is on the decline in America. *Lekuak* documents Basque cultural persistence for over a hundred years through the lens of place. It begins with the Amerikana generation, internally-focused immigrants who initially settled in the American West.
“Boise’s Grove Street was a Basque enclave in this period. Indeed, there were so many recently arrived immigrants in the area that it was possible to start school speaking only Basque, since all of the children in the neighborhood were foreign- or American-born Basque-speaking children. Basque was the language of the home and of the streets.”

- J. Patrick Bieter, *Letemendi’s Boarding House*

The Basque translation of *Amerikanuak* is “those who migrated to America of Basque descent.” Generally, these were first-generation immigrants who risked migration from their homeland for various social, political, and economic reasons to build better lives for themselves and their families in America. These immigrants predominately focused inward on their own ethnic group to help ensure a successful transition to American life. Amerikanuak adapted to external Americanization pressures throughout this era, and their given natal identity was manifested differently through time and place.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing into the early twentieth centuries, an astounding number of white Europeans migrated to the United States. Between 1880 and 1920, more than twenty-three million immigrants had entered the nation’s ports of entry. By the end of the 1920s, almost a quarter of the white American population included those who had been born to foreign-born immigrant parents. Amerikanuak joined many other Europeans who also searched for improved fortune beyond their birthplace countries.

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41 Ibid.
The sheep industry of the American West became a primary employer of Basque men who chose to come to America. Most Basques were willing to work in the high desert mountains as shepherders for a good part of the year a seasonal labor force.\textsuperscript{42} Although the jobs were physically and emotionally challenging due to harsh outdoor conditions, strenuous physical demands, and isolation from humans for long periods of time, Basques filled those positions with hopes of economic prosperity.

The 1900 U.S. Census counted 986 Basques, which was likely a low number because they were often counted as Spanish or French immigrants.\textsuperscript{43} By 1910, the U.S. Census showed that Basque numbers had swelled to 8398 migrants in the states of California, Nevada, Idaho and Wyoming, probably still an underrepresented tally due to misidentification of Basques as a unique ethnic group.\textsuperscript{44} That same year, 999 Basques were recorded in Idaho.\textsuperscript{45} In Boise, Basques joined other European ethnic groups such as the Irish, Germans, Italians, and Greeks.\textsuperscript{46}

Most of the Amerikanuak came from the rural countryside and fishing villages of the Basque Country. The first Basques were mostly men, but women soon followed the migration pattern, some even making the journey alone. The Amerikanuak had limited education, were usually unable to speak English, and rarely integrated with larger American culture. They

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 35-36.
\textsuperscript{44} Arrizabalaga, “A Statistical Study of Basque Immigration,” 91.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 92.; Arrizabalaga noted that almost all of the 999 Basques counted were first-generation immigrants, with 871 from the Spanish side and 28 from the French side. Second-generation Basques accounted for 5 French and 90 Spanish immigrants; the rest were not identified by generation in this study.
\textsuperscript{46} Note: Arrizabalaga’s entire study provides rich statistical data regarding immigration of Basques to the American West (1900-1910), especially the four states of California, Nevada Idaho, and Wyoming. An interesting source of information, besides U.S. Census and state, city, and county records, are church records. Catholic Church death records at St. John’s Parish illustrate the diversity of ethnic groups in Boise, in particular; See also Todd Shallat, \textit{Ethnic Landmarks: Ten Historic Places that Define the City of Trees} - Boise City Walking Series (Boise: Boise City Office of the Historian, Boise State University School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, 2007), multiple sections of the book.
primarily expressed their ethnicity as an internally-focused, solely-Basque ethnic group, and in their later years, almost always married within their ethnic group.

*Lekuak* examines the places of the Amerikanuak in Boise. These Basque places supported economic and social survival, so they are representative of the basic human need for shelter, food, and community. These immigrants were often separated from the larger American society that was experiencing an influx of immigrants who were assuming the role of a lower-class labor force. Amerikanuak places, therefore, were almost always solely-Basque, with the purpose of meeting communal needs as a cohesive ethnic group.

Immigrants constructed diverse ethnic communities during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by transplanting unique homeland traditions to their new places in America, which helped them transition to American ways of life. In Boise, the Basques constructed community based on their homeland traditions also, which resulted in a Basque enclave on Grove Street and near downtown. Greeks, Irish, Jewish, Germans, and Chinese formed similar ethnic enclaves in the city.

Irish historian Paddy Woodworth noted that ethnic groups were “often deeply dependent on memories of the homeland to nurture their sense of identity and self-worth.” The role of homeland memory was vital to the establishment of immigrant group communities. Memory of homeland, coupled with shared language and customs, assisted the first generation because it provided a foundation for operating within shared experiences of the ethnic group. Dependence

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47 Stephen Tchudi, ed. *Community in the American West* (Reno and Las Vegas: Nevada Humanities Committee, 1999), xiii.
on homeland memory also had the potential of isolating some members of the immigrant group from broader society.

Amerikanuak places in Boise included boardinghouses, frontons (pelota courts for Basque handball), and the nation’s only Basque church, Boise’s Church of the Good Shepherd. Most of these Amerikanuak places were not reconstructions of homeland places, though. They were largely American forms with Basque culture superimposed over existing structures. For instance, Basque boardinghouses were often repurposed dwellings that housed both boarders and some Basque proprietor’s families. Basques did not build their own ethnic churches. Boise’s Good Shepherd Church was comprised of existing secular buildings that were sold to the Catholic Church in 1911 to meet the needs of a fast-growing Basque community. Frontons, however, were distinctively Basque places that were reconstructed from homeland memory. Frontons almost always were connected to the boardinghouses in America; they were usually in close proximity to these living centers. This was a departure from the frontons that were usually attached to churches as a central part of Basque Country village plazas.

All of the Amerikanuak places were created by Basques for Basques, however, which was a hallmark of first-generation expression of ethnicity. Jean Phinney’s “Three-Stage Model of Ethnic Identity Development” can be applied to the places of the Amerikanuak. They expressed Phinney’s first stage of Given Identity, with pre-assigned ethnic identity from birth that produced strong natal ties to homeland language, values, and customs. This resulted in an internally-focused, communal monoculture that did not assimilate rapidly into the larger American society. This concept becomes apparent as the Amerikanuak evolved through time, which influenced

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51 Ibid.
both the development of immigrant given identities and their places. Boardinghouses reflect the Amerikanaak identity that begins as a strong attachment to the collective ethnic group.

**Boardinghouses**

The Basque ancestral house, or *etxea*, was the “the root and the axis around which life revolved.”52 The etxea was the most important place in traditional society, as it guaranteed the social and economic self-sufficiency of the larger community.53 As Woodworth suggested, the Basque memory of etxea traveled to America, whether the immigrants were *baserriak* (from the villages with rural farmhouse or *baserri*), or *kaletarrak* (literally “from the streets,” or more urban cities or coastal villages).

Faced with an uncertain future, Amerikanuak largely stayed together, beginning with their train trip across the country and again when they settled in western towns. Immigrants usually first arrived at a boardinghouse, or an *ostatua*. This central gathering spot was a communal living place where Basques boarded and socialized, with Old World values, language, food, and cultural customs that could be shared with other Basque immigrants. It also was where many Basques met their future spouses. The boardinghouse was a place that accommodated the given identity of the ethnic group, as it reinforced the internal cultural circle in almost all aspects of life. The boardinghouse was a major ethnic place in the cultural landscape of the American West, a unique creation of Basque settlement. It played a central role in the social, economic, and emotional survival of the first-generation immiigrants. It was etxea: the place of home.

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Jeronima Echeverria’s seminal work on Basque boardinghouses, *Home Away From Home*, credits the institution with a primary role in the preservation of Basque culture.\(^{54}\) Echeverria recounted stories about some of the “tens of thousands of Basques who immigrated to the United States between the years of 1890 and 1930. During those years, the *ostatuak* became the most important social and ethnic institutions in the lives of new Basque immigrants.”\(^{55}\) The boardinghouse network also led to the development of the first Basque ethnic enclaves in the western states of Idaho, Nevada, Wyoming, and California.\(^{56}\) Boise’s boardinghouse network was extensive: fifty-two boardinghouses operated between the late 1800s and the 1970s, peaking in the late 1920s and early 1930s.\(^{57}\)

The boardinghouse was a purely American Basque institution, created by first-generation Basque immigrants. There were no Basque boardinghouses in Euskal Herria, but the Basques transferred the concept of the etxea as the core of society, the center of family, and source of economic self-sufficiency to the boardinghouse of the American West.

*Amerikanuak* were committed to the traditional principle of auzolan. This was evident when Basques helped one another with securing employment, finding places to live, communicating with non-Basques, and raising families. The story of Maria Josefa Azpiri illustrates the principle of auzolan, from her first experiences in America to her family’s tradition of operating boardinghouses in Boise. Maria boarded the big steamer ship “La Lorraine” on September 10, 1910, in response to her father’s request to join him in America. José Mari Azpiri was a foreman on the dynamite crew at Arrowrock Dam near Boise who wanted his daughter

\(^{55}\) Ibid.
\(^{56}\) Ibid.
\(^{57}\) Basque Museum & Cultural Center, “Ostatuak: A Basque Sense of Home” boardinghouse display, Boise exhibit panels (Boise, 2015); Refer to Boise Basque boardinghouse map in Appendix.
near him. Maria crossed an ocean, lost her luggage, and saw a banana for the first time. Her travel was arranged by Basques who helped her navigate the journey from Euskal Herria to New York, and then on to Boise. She spent her first night in America with other Basques at Valentin Aguirre’s New York boardinghouse. Aguirre then arranged her five-day journey by train to Boise, Idaho. When Maria arrived in Boise, she was met at the train station by Basques who had been contacted by Aguirre from New York, who helped her walk to her new “home away from home” at Mateo Arregui’s boardinghouse. There, she rolled up her sleeves and got to cooking and cleaning as a maid, a job that had been arranged for her. 58 Maria’s entire immigration experience was a product of auzolan, Basques committing communal work to benefit the greater whole ethnic group.

A dashing young Basque sheepherder, Felipe Aldape, who was staying at Arregui’s boardinghouse on a break, caught Maria’s eye. Eventually, Maria and Felipe married in 1911. On their wedding night, Maria slipped out of her beautiful wedding gown and into working clothes so that she could return to work scrubbing boardinghouse floors. Boardinghouse operations became a way of life for the couple, as did many Basque couples who built lives in Boise. Eventually they operated the Eagle Hotel at 910 Grove Street from 1929 to 1931. The Aldape’s daughter Angeles and her husband Justo Murelaga later continued the family boardinghouse tradition with they opened Economy Rooms in 1936. 59 The boardinghouse networks were forms of auzolan, and most maintained close internal ethnic connections solely within the Basques, some even into the second generations.

Boardinghouses were the first permanent places of this ethnic group, although the lives of their inhabitants were almost also transitional and temporary. Although boardinghouses were not

58 Angeles Aldape Murelaga, interview with author, 2007; and Basque Museum & Cultural Center, Angeles Aldape Murelaga oral history.
59 Ibid.
distinctively Basque in form as they were usually repurposed structures, but their purpose was essential to the initial survival and eventual cultural maintenance of the Amerikanuak generation. Boardinghouses were symbols of ethnic expression that impacted the cultural landscape for many years. Of fifty-two documented boardinghouses in Boise from the late 1800s to the mid-1970s, six still survive as icons of Basque communal living:\(^\text{60}\)

- **Anduiza Hotel and Fronton** (619 Grove St.; Operated by Juan and Juana Gabiola Anduiza from 1914-1945)

- **Arriola’s/Saracondi’s** (211 S. Sixth St.; Juan and Juana Arriola Uberuaga, 1909, and it also appears in records from 1917 to 1921)

- **Belaustegui’s** (The first was at 117. S. 7\textsuperscript{th}; Augustin and Francesco “Patxa” Balaustegui, from 1918 to 1935; later opened at 117 S. Sixth - a boardinghouse with the addition of the “Chico Club” which the family operated until 1957)

- **Valencia Hotel and Restaurant** (620 W. Idaho St.; Benito and Asuncion Camporredondo Ysursa; 1941 - Tomas and Antonia Ysursa worked in partnership with the Modern Hotel, and then they built across the street to 612 W. Idaho St., a second-floor restaurant that was open to the public)

\(^{60}\) Refer to the map of Boise’s Basque Boardinghouse in the Appendix. Most of this research was conducted by Toni Berria and Connie Urresti for the Basque Museum & Cultural Center, July, 2015.
• **Star Lodging House** (José and Felipa Garrechena Uberuaga operated from 1906-1913 at 512 W. Idaho; later named **Star Rooming House**, operated by Francisco and Gabina Goitia Aguirre from c. 1915-1972 at the same location)

• **Uberuaga’s** (607 Grove St.; previously operated by Simon and Josepha Alegria Galdos in 1910, followed by Ciriaco and Mari Cruz Bicandi, and finally, José and Hermegilda Uberuaga rented it from 1917 to 1928 when they purchased it and operated until 1969)

Most Basques of the Amerikanuak generation lived primarily within their tight ethnic group circle. They usually socialized with other Basques, spoke Euskara, and maintained their food and other cultural customs in the boardinghouses. The boardinghouses were instruments of cultural community that were fundamental to the establishment and maintenance of ethnic enclaves. Echeverría’s claim that “Basque *ostatuak* were key to establishing what is today a still-thriving Basque colony in southern Idaho [Boise]” is validated by the fact that over a hundred years ago, these internally-focused institutions provided critical social and economic stability for the Amerikanuak.

Amerikanuak relied on their given identity to maintain a cohesive ethnic group amidst the larger forces of Americanization. Basque places such as boardinghouses reflected the retention of given ethnic identity. The places that remained represent the persistence of Basques during a period of immigration and assimilation into American society.61 This “home away from home” was also a place where the principle of auzolan supported economic and social needs: it was the etxea of the New World. The boardinghouse ensured community cohesion and continuity of cultural tradition, especially with shared language, food, dance, and music. Unmistakably rooted

61 Ibid.
in Old World tradition, these ethnic places enabled the initial Basque settlement of Boise.

**Frontons**

The fronton, also called a *pelota/pilota* court, was another communal place of the Amerikanuak generation. It was the only distinctively Basque feature built on the American West landscape that was transplanted from Old World form and function. For centuries, the fronton was the communal gathering place where all generations, male and female, watched players compete in fast and tough handball games. The stronger men played *pelota* with their bare hands, and the game became *pala* if paddles were used. Besides the etxea and the church, the fronton was one of the central places in Euskal Herria.

The traditional Basque handball game was transplanted to America in Basque form, and the frontons were initially Basque-only places. They were social and recreational places where Basques could share time with one another and compete in their national sport.  

At least four frontons were built in Boise between 1910 and 1914 by the Amerikanuak generation. Frontons later introduced the Basque culture to many non-Basques, as spectators watched the Basques play handball. An *Idaho Statesman* news story about a pala game at the Anduiza Fronton in 1915 recalled, “Shouts and hurrahs coming from the vicinity of Sixth and Grove streets caused some conjecture as to what might be the matter Friday afternoon. It is an odd game played in a walled court, the ball is batted about with small paddles.”

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Boise Basque Henry Alegria documented Boise’s frontons in *75 Years of Memoirs*. Domingo Zabala built Boise’s first fronton in 1910 at 631 Lovers Lane, (near today’s River and Ash Streets). Zabala borrowed $1000 ($25,700 in today’s dollars) from fellow Basque José Eiguren to build a small court.\(^6^4\) Eiguren purchased the fronton from Zabala in 1913. As was the tradition with many Amerikanuak, Basques often kept business within their own ethnic circles, so another Basque, Manuel Aberasturi finally operated the fronton from 1914 until 1915.\(^6^5\) The fronton walls eventually evolved into the walls of Marcelino Arana’s Basque Bakery.\(^6^6\)

Archaeologist Pam Demo’s “South Side of the Tracks” study focused on the River Street neighborhood near the railroad, where the Zabala fronton existed. Demo’s research revealed Basque names such as Bicandi, Alegria, Bastida, and Aberasturi, members of Boise’s Basque community who gathered at this neighborhood fronton to play handball.\(^6^7\) She also documented other ethnic groups who lived in this multiethnic neighborhood of Basques, African-Americans, Austrians, and Croatians, which opened a new area of ethnic study for Boise.

Basques moved away from River and Ash, as did many of the remaining ethnic groups, and city progress obliterated the fronton and the bakery site. Evidence of the River Street fronton had been lost forever to city development, covered by years of asphalt, soil, and grass. Archaeologist Bill White’s *River Street Archaeology Project* during the summer of 2015, however, rediscovered Boise’s ethnic past when he and his team of archaeology students uncovered remnants of the Zabala fronton in an archaeological dig. White triumphed about the significant historical discovery of this marker of Basque cultural persistence:

\(^{64}\) Henry Alegria, *75 Years of Memoirs* (Caldwell: The Caxton Printers, 1981), 139.
\(^{65}\) Ibid.
\(^{66}\) Ibid.
We found the earliest Basque handball court in Boise, something historians believed was lost. This solidified the character of our work as truly multiethnic and bigger than a simple discussion of African Americans in the West. It also allowed the sizeable Basque community to connect with a project they may have not been otherwise interested.68

The second Basque fronton in Boise was built in 1910 by Basque pioneers and brothers Antonio and Augustin Azcuenaga, and their close friends José Navarro and Pedro Arritola.69 This fronton was attached to the west side of the three-story Hotel Iberia at 213 S. 9th (later the Oregon Hotel) across from the train station.70 It is not known whether the addition of the fronton was intended to draw more Basques to the Azcuenaga boardinghouse, or whether it was intended to serve a larger communal need, but the new fronton was a curiosity to those outside the Basque culture, as can be seen by a 1910 December Idaho Statesman story:

The mystery of the Bastille-like walls which have recently been erected at the rear of the Hotel Iberia, which have aroused the curiosity of many passersby, has been solved through an interview with A.B. Azcuenaga of the Hotel Iberia who stated that the frowning gray walls which tower to a height of 50 feet on two sides of the lot at the rear of the hotel were not built with any idea of a prison, but for sheer pleasure, in order to enable the natives of sunny Spain and the province of Basque, who are now living in Boise, to indulge in their national game of ball. The court is filled with players from morning until dusk each day. It cost the sum of $1000.71

A year after the Azcuenaga fronton was erected, and not far from 9th Street, José and Felipa Garrechena Uberuaga built another outdoor fronton on the west side of their Star boardinghouse at 512 W. Idaho St. It is possible José Uberuaga, known as Arotxa or “the

69 Alegria, 75 Years of Memoirs, 139-143; Reference from an Idaho Statesman story, (exact date unknown) December, 1910.
70 Ibid.
carpenter,” an avid pelota and pala player, built the fronton himself. This fronton was unique because it also had a canopy that protected the players from the weather, which drew many more players to the spot. Gabina Goitia Aguirre and her husband Francisco, (“Frank,” also known as “Zapatero” for his shoe store and repair skills), managed the Star from 1915 through 1974. One remnant wall of the fronton still stands today. Although this was predominately a place of given Basque ethnic identity for the Basques, the Star fronton attracted Boiseans of various ethnic backgrounds who watched the traditional sport. The Star fronton remnant remains a visible record of the cultural persistence of Basques today.72

“Big Jack” and Juana Anduiza built a new boardinghouse at 619 Grove Street in 1914. Big Jack also constructed the city’s largest and only indoor public fronton, attached directly to the boardinghouse. The Idaho Statesman reported on this Basque place on Grove Street:

A building, probably unique in the West, has been commenced on the south side of Grove Street between Sixth and Seventh, where Juan Anduiza is putting up a rooming house enclosing a handball court. The court will be 28 feet wide and 122 feet long. Opening directly on the court will be sleeping rooms, a dining room, and a kitchen. On the street grade, the building will have 11 rooms. These will open on a wide balcony which overlooks the court.73

Anduiza’s handball competitions also included betting with cash prizes, which netted more spectators than at the non-betting outdoor fronton games.74 Known for his intense competitive demeanor, Anduiza set up thousands of Basque handball competitions, often between towns such as Mountain Home and Boise. Anduiza’s fronton was spectacular, and generations of Basques played and watched competitions there, cementing it as a Basque communal place until 1945 when Anduizas sold the building. The building was subsumed by

72 Alegria, 75 Years of Memoirs, 139-143.
74 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 56.
American assimilation during the Tartekoak generation, into the hands of the U.S. Department of Veterans’ Affairs, and then later to the Briggs family engineering firm until 1972.\textsuperscript{75}

Some argue that the Basques did not leave a notable ethnic mark on the American landscape. Basque frontons, however, were distinctly communal places that originated in the homeland and were usually constructed within internal Amerikanuak internal enclaves. They were closely associated with the Basque boardinghouses in America.\textsuperscript{76} Anduiza’s boardinghouse and handball court is an example of an internally-focused, Basque-only place, but it grew to a public spot where some non-Basques became interested in the Basque sport and supported the games. The Anduiza Fronton left a visible trace of ethnicity on the Boise landscape. It remains today as the oldest standing indoor public fronton in the United States, and it is one of two frontons in the American West stand still remain (the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center built their fronton in 1982.\textsuperscript{77}

The fronton was an extension of communal living space, an integral part of social sustenance and cultural maintenance. The frontons of the Amerikanuak generation were initially used only by Basques, which mirrored the response of many immigrant cultures to greater American society to first operate within their own ethnic enclave. Frontons stand as a symbol of both Old and New World Basque ethnic tradition, and they paved the way for the integration of Basque sport with American culture.

Frontons were Amerikanuak places that represented the first-generation transplantation of their national sport, a homeland tradition, in form and function to American soil. Initially internally-focused, they align with social theory that first-generation ethnics retained their given

\textsuperscript{75} Bieter and Bieter, “Wrigley Field,” in \textit{Becoming Basque}, 79.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{77} Totoricaguena, \textit{Boise Basques: Dreamers and Doers} (Vitoria-Gasteiz: Central Publications Service of the Basque Government, Urazandi Collection, 2002), 213.
identity, even after immigration to a new host country. As Basque immigrants asserted their homeland sport within the larger American culture, they both enclosed themselves within their own ethnic group as members who knew the sport, and they also exposed their ethnic uniqueness to non-Basques who watched the game. The fronton was the only distinctively Basque place that was transplanted from the Old Country to America, and it retained its form and function in the Amerikanuak era until the Basque boardinghouses declined. Later in Lekuak, the reclamation and active use today of the Anduiza Fronton underscored the persistence of Basque culture on the modern landscape.

*The Church of the Good Shepherd*

Religion was integral to Basque culture and identity, and the Amerikanuak transferred that value to their new country. Similar to other immigrants like the Irish, Italians, Polish, Jews and Orthodox Russians, this practice reinforced the internal structure of the ethnic groups. Susan Hardwick noted this in her study of Russians who settled in California’s Sacramento Valley during the early twentieth century, “Religious connections forge strong ties among immigrants and their families, and emotional bonds within religious groups intensify as individuals struggle to establish their new lives in an often challenging new place.”78 Basque religious connections in America helped to establish and maintain strong cultural ties among the immigrants, and their religious practices often stabilized the ethnic enclaves by gathering immigrants tighter into their own circles. Religion for the first-generation immigrant was a social unifier, which was a manifestation of first-generation given identity.

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In the Old Country, almost every Basque village had a church. Usually the focal place in the village plaza, the church was possibly one of the most important social places of the Basque Country. The church was also a significant place for the Basques in America. When young immigrant Florencio “Pancho” Aldape arrived in Boise he recalled, “I assumed the Capitol building was the church, since in Euskadi the biggest building was always the church.”

In the early Amerikana era, St. John’s was the primary Catholic parish. In 1910, the Basque immigrant congregation was growing fast, and the church needed extra support to administer to this growing congregation. That year, thirty-eight Basque marriages had been performed in Boise, but language posed a communication and record-keeping issue for both the Basques and the priests who could not speak Euskara.

There was the perception that Basque immigrants were clannish and non-integrated into American society, however. Carmelo Urza noted that the Basques of this era were perceived to be “on the margins of society…generally isolated as a group, who kept to their own kind, and no one knew or cared too much about them.” Bishop Alphonse J. Glorieux knew about the Basques though, and he did not want to risk losing these European Catholics. He recognized that language was a primary issue for the Basque congregation, so he arranged for a Basque priest to come to Boise to administer to the Basque “foreign-born flock.”

Eventually the high tide of foreign immigration overflowed from the eastern seaboard to distant Idaho. Numerous Basque people entered the wide sheep ranges of southern Idaho and several colonies of Italians followed the railroads. They were Catholics in their homelands, and

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80 Totoricaguena, Boise Basques, 21.
81 Sue Paseman, “The Church of the Good Shepherd,” in Becoming Basque, 50.
82 St. John’s Catholic Parish and Mission records: Registrum Matrimonium Hispanorum 1896-1922.
83 Urza, “Age of Institutions,” in Community in the West, 234.
the possible loss of their faith in a foreign land, whose language they knew not, gravely troubled the apostolic Bishop. He arranged with the Bishop of Vittoria, Spain for the services of a Basque priest, Rev. Bernardo Arregui, who arrived in Boise, July 11, 1911.\textsuperscript{85}

When Father Arregui was assigned to the Basques that summer, his native language of Euskara became an immediate connection among the Amerikanuak parishioners, both for prayer and fraternity. The Basques gathered as a cohesive ethnic group to support one another during this period, which reinforced their internal, monocultural lifestyle, and in turn, may have slowed the assimilation process.

The Basque Catholic community grew even more between 1911 and 1919, and church records show the Basque priest from Tolosa was stretched thin, both with his Basque congregation and with his travel to a large geographic area that extended beyond Boise.\textsuperscript{86} Between August and December of 1911, Father Arregui conducted fourteen Basque marriages in Boise alone, not including the towns outside the city he was traveling to for weddings, baptisms, First Communions, and burials. Bishop Glorieux’s replacement, Bishop Daniel M. Gorman, decided that the answer to accommodating the large number of Basques in Boise was to seek approval for a solely-Basque church near Boise’s Basque boardinghouses and frontons where most of this ethnic group lived and worked. City Councilman Thomas Finnegan sold two buildings at Fifth and Idaho Streets to the Catholic Church in Boise: one for a church and another for the parish rectory for $18,000 ($463,000 in today’s dollars).\textsuperscript{87}

On March 2, 1919, Bishop Gorman blessed the Church of the Good Shepherd at 422 W. Idaho Street, the only Basque church in the United States. Father Bernardo Arregui delivered the

\textsuperscript{85} Ibid..
\textsuperscript{86} Various St. John’s Catholic Parish and Mission records contain information about Fr. Arregui’s extensive travels for marriages, baptisms, and burials throughout Idaho, Oregon, and Utah between 1911 and 1921.
\textsuperscript{87} Paseman, \textit{Becoming Basque}, 50-51
homily in Euskara to a capacity congregation of about a hundred attendees. Arregui drew connections between the old Basque Country and the Basques’ new homeland, as he reminded his Basque parishioners that this place was “an ornament to this hospitable city in which you live and to which you owe so much, and a joy and satisfaction to your parents who live on the other side of the broad Atlantic…the church will be an inestimable inheritance for your children.”

This statement indicated that the concept of place was central even from the religious perspective, and that the church represented primary Basque values on both sides of the Atlantic. Yet, Father Arregui’s message was representative of the Amerikanuak ethnic expression: it was internal, focused on Basque given identity, and tied to the motherland.

On March 19, 1919, Candido Aboritz Arrutia from the Basque town of Gabica Ereño, and Ygnacio Azqueta Ysasi from Gernika were the first Basque couple to be married by Father Arregui at the newly-established ethnic church, followed by forty-three more in the little church until 1921. Including the years before the Church of the Good Shepherd existed, Father Arregui also had presided over 196 Basque burials in Boise up to 1921. The records certainly support the assertion that the church was also a primary place for the Amerikanuak in Boise.

By 1921 a larger societal phenomenon was occurring, however. The country was becoming fearful of immigrants from ethnic groups who had entered the United States, and a movement to exclude them from entering, working, or praying in America emerged. The Amerikanuak generation witnessed the “closing of the gates” to immigrants. The anti-immigrant sentiment had begun a few years previous, when restrictive congressional legislation in 1917 required literacy tests for all immigrants over the age of sixteen, and imposed immigration

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88 Bieter and Bieter, *An Enduring Legacy*, 63-64.
89 St. John’s Parish and Mission records, *Registrum Matrimonium Hispanorum 1896-1922*.
90 Ibid.
quotas largely due to xenophobic fears of the World War I period, the patriotic Red Scare, and the belief that ethnic groups posed harm to American society.\textsuperscript{91}

The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 was aimed at preserving homogeneity in the country.\textsuperscript{92} Accordingly, American Catholic Church leaders followed a new policy of integrating ethnic parishes into the larger “American Church.” In an effort to display loyalty only to the United States of America, church leaders closed all ethnic churches, and followed the announcements with indications that there was also a fiscal need to consolidate.\textsuperscript{93} This action led to the “abrupt end of the Church of the Good Shepherd as a Basque chapel. Its closure dealt a blow to the Basque community.”\textsuperscript{94} Father Arregui, the beloved Basque priest who had been such a part of Boise’s Basque cultural community for just over ten years, was relocated to Twin Falls. From 1921 to 1928, St. John’s Cathedral reduced weekly Mass to only once a week, but not in Euskara, and not solely for the Basques. The ethnic church’s doors had been officially closed and primary attendance for Basque Catholics (as American Catholics) was directed to St. John’s Cathedral.\textsuperscript{95}

Good Shepherd could not stand up to the larger American cultural shift that gained momentum after 1921. The Immigration Act of 1924, also known as the Johnson-Reed Act, limited the number of immigrants to the United States, which further restricted the legal entry of many Basques into the country.\textsuperscript{96} Under the 1921 Emergency Quota Act, Spanish immigration

\textsuperscript{91} Bieter and Bieter, \textit{An Enduring Legacy}, 64.
\textsuperscript{93} Bieter and Bieter, \textit{An Enduring Legacy}, 62-66; Paseman, “The Church of the Good Shepherd,” in \textit{Becoming Basque: Ethnic Heritage on Boise’s Grove Street} (Boise: Boise State University “Investigate Boise” Community Research Series, Basque Studies program, and the Basque Museum & Cultural Center, 2014), 49-63; Interpretive sign at the former Church of the Good Shepherd, Idaho Street, Boise, Idaho.
\textsuperscript{94} Basque Museum & Cultural Center, Interpretive sign at the former Church of the Good Shepherd, Idaho Street, Boise, Idaho.
\textsuperscript{95} Paseman, in \textit{Becoming Basque}, 56.
\textsuperscript{96} Bieter and Bieter, \textit{An Enduring Legacy}, 64-65.
was limited to 912 persons per year; the 1924 Act reduced that to 131 annually, which prompted the Bieters to declare that this law “ended Basques’ large-scale entry into the American West – or at least their legal entry.”

This was just the tip of the iceberg, as prejudice and suspicion of ethnic groups besides Basques also increased, such as against the Chinese and Germans. The impact of ethnic suspicion and the pressure on immigrants to be “American” also brought a close to a primary Amerikanuak place: the Church of the Good Shepherd. The Church of the Good Shepherd, the only Basque Church in America, was an example of the Amerikanuak generation’s given identity that was expressed in an internally-focused manner, although it only existed for a short time.

Summary

Phinney’s sociological model of ethnic identity development can be applied to the Amerikanuak. The first phase, *Given Identity*, asserts the first generation’s pre-assigned ethnic identity from birth, which produces an internal, communal monoculture that does not easily assimilate into larger society. The Amerikanuak might well have largely stayed with their given identity if not for external pressures of Americanization. The places of the Amerikanuak were mostly created by Basques, for Basques. The Basque principle of auzolan guided Amerikanuak migration, settlement, and development of places. This internal dynamic of communal work was not the sole determinant, however, as the Amerikanuak were faced with external challenges in America of the 1920s. These pressured the Amerikanuak to move out of their internal ethnic

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98 In 2015, Boise’s Basque Catholics have another priest: Father Anton Egiguren Iraola, who was born in the baserri Arretxea in the town of Bidegoian. It is just outside Tolosa, coincidentally, the home village of Father Bernardo Arregui; *Artzai Ona*, Boise Basque Catholic Community, http://basquecatholic.org
groups and into assimilation. Here we see the power of both time and place at work.

This era produced powerful economic and political determinants, influencing the “push” factors of assimilation. The 1929 stock market crash and the Depression brought the sheep industry to its knees with declining lamb and wool prices. The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 further restricted economic opportunities in the sheep industry for the Amerikanuak. This, coupled with the intense scrutiny on immigrants forever changed the economic, social, and political outlook in the American West for the first generation immigrant.

The Amerikanuak’s boardinghouse, fronton, and the short-lived Church of the Good Shepherd were places of physical, economic, and social survival. They were places of natal ethnic identity. The boardinghouse provide a “home away from home,” but also a portal of integration. The fronton was an extension of communal living space, initially only used by Basques. We will see later in the Egunoak generation, how the repurposed fronton paved the way for the integration of Basque sport with American culture. Finally, the Church of the Good Shepherd embodies the response to segregate this ethnic group as a separate entity, and its closure reflected the emphasis of that era on an American “melting pot,” even with religion.

By the 1930s, rather than looking inward within their own cultural community to survive, Basques demonstrated adaptability, and lipped into the Tartekoak period of dual American and Basque culture, upward mobility, and wartime assimilation.

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100 Bieter and Bieter, *An Enduring Legacy*, 81-83.
CHAPTER II: TARTEKOAK

The Second Generation (1930s to 1950s)

“All of us together were of a generation born of old country people who spoke English with an accent and prayed in another language, who drank red wine and cooked their food in the old country way, and peeled apples and pears after dinner.

We were among the last whose names would tell our blood and the kind of faces we had, to know another language in our homes, to suffer youthful shame because of that language and refuse to speak it, and a later shame because of what we had done, and hurt because we had caused a hurt so deep it could never find words.

And the irony of it was that our mothers and fathers were truer Americans than we, because they had forsaken home and family, and gone into the unknown of a new land with only courage and the hands that God gave them, and had given us in our turn the right to be born American. And in a little while, even our sons would forget, and the old country people would be only a dimming memory, and names would mean nothing, and the melting would be done.”

Robert Laxalt, *Sweet Promised Land*

The Basque translation of *Tartekoak* is “between” or “intermediate.” These children of immigrant parents grappled with what it meant be Basque, American, and finally, a “hyphenated” Basque-American. *Tartekoak* found themselves bridging gaps between two cultures, which almost always left them questioning whether to align with their parents’ birthright Basque ethnicity or if they were born in the United States, their American citizenship. Tartekoak dual identity was generally expressed their Basque heritage privately at home or in their internal ethnic circles, and then publicly expressed their claim to “being American.”

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and Mark Bieter noted that these second generation Basques were very much straddling both American and Basque worlds:

They had grown up in Basque homes, speaking Basque, hearing Basque music, eating Basque food, but their years in American schools, American neighborhoods, and American churches changed them...by the 1930s, most second-generation Basques consciously – or not – had moved into the almost irreversible pattern of American living.\(^{102}\)

A gap exists in the establishment of Basque places between the 1930s and the late 1940s, more than half of this era. This was a transition period when some of the larger American society had become wary of the foreign-born, and immigrant loyalty to the United States was questioned. This placed pressure on the Tartekoak generation to demonstrate their allegiance to America, not to their places of birth.

Despite being descendants of an ethnic group that had once been targeted for obliteration by oppressive leaders such as Franco in the Basque Country, many Basques during this period deemphasized their Basqueness in favor of open displays of Americanization. World War II also united Basque-Americans in the war’s efforts. Some Basque men served in war, and others such as the Basque Company of the Ada County Volunteers, supported the war with public display of their American patriotism in public halls, parades, and humanitarian war efforts.\(^{103}\)

As Amerikanuak Basques merged into a World War II society where the primary goal was to be American, Tartekoak spoke English publicly, played baseball instead of pelota, and ate hamburgers rather than lamb or solomo. Eustaquio Garroguerricaechivarvia was transformed into “Ed Garro,” and Tartekoak children carried baptismal names such as John or Mary.\(^{104}\) These were open declarations of American allegiance. Yet, the Tartekoak were Basque by blood and

\(^{102}\) Bieter and Bieter, *An Enduring Legacy*, 87.
\(^{103}\) Ibid., 95-97.
\(^{104}\) Ibid., 74.
foreign-born parentage. This generation’s expression of ethnic duality deeply influenced both the dearth of solely-Basque places during a good part of this era, and the Basque places that were created by the Tartekoak, which represent the evolution of Basques into Basque-Americans.

Tartekoak often revealed individuation from their immigrant Basque parents’ homes and other ethnic places. The majority of first-generation Basques had moved out of the ethnic boardinghouse neighborhoods and to the suburbs, where owning and living in a private single-dwelling residence demonstrated an American goal. This was a watershed development for the Tartekoak, a huge step above the previous generation’s lower-class communal living patterns and a jump toward assimilated American society.

Economic, geographic, and educational mobility were key to this period. Access to education separated families geographically, especially compared to the homeland where it was rare to even travel 20 miles from one’s birthplace. This new-found mobility in America encouraged Basque dispersion due to education, employment, and even marriage. Tartekoak were given opportunities to study outside their city, state, and sometimes, nation. Intermarriage also encouraged Basque mobility during this period, which accelerated the process of assimilation for those who moved outside their ethnic circle to other places. One study of Basque marriage patterns concluded that although most first-generation Basques did not intermarry, the second generation married non-Basques by a 6 to 4 ratio.105

Because Tartekoak were usually proficient in English, they acquired jobs beyond the Amerikanuak labor-oriented occupations that demanded little in terms of language or education. As Tartekoak gained degrees, professional experiences, and specialized skills, they became more socially accepted into American businesses, sports, churches, and the military. As they were

elevated above the immigrant working class, some Basques became respected community members, elected officials, businesspeople, and professionals. This elevated the status of the Tartekoak socially and economically. Basques worked frequently within the American mainstream, but some formed their own independent businesses and places of work during the Tartekoak period. Conversely, the older-generation Amerikanauk places began to fade.

The frontons grew silent, as Basque handball lost to the popularity of American sports. The Boise Capital News reported in 1937, “The two courts [Basque handball courts] don’t ring with the shouts of young Basques engaged in competition. The new Basques like the gridiron, the basketball court, and the baseball diamond.”

The Church of the Good Shepherd closed, its Basque priest transferred out of Boise, and many members of the all-Basque congregation were entrenched in St. John’s Cathedral or other local American parishes. Tartekoak were the first generation to bury a large number of fellow Basques on American soil. The value of religion remained strong with the second generation, and most chose to have Catholic funerals followed by burials in the St. John’s Catholic section of the Morris Hill Cemetery. The cemetery remained one Basque place that demonstrated ethnic expression as a separate group, visibly marked by headstones.

The Tartekoak retained their desire to gather communally after the Amerikanauk boardinghouses had declined and most Basques had moved to single-family dwellings. The Tartekoak resorted to temporary gathering places such as parks and rented social halls to serve the need for communal social activity within the ethnic group. It would not be until the last years of the Tartekoak period (1948-1950), however, that a solely-Basque place for communal gathering was created: Boise’s Basque Center.

As this generation approached the cusp of the 1950s, an impending social shift among the Tartekoak occurred, due to the recognition that assimilation endangered their ethnic identity:

Persons who clung to their native language and who continued to manifest Old World life-ways were suspect. However, the cumulative effects of two World Wars, the Great Depression and increasingly restrictive U.S. immigration legislation meant that by the 1950s nearly half a century had transpired since America’s gates had opened wide to the world’s (or at least to Europe’s) ‘huddled masses.’ As the numbers of new immigrants dwindled and the ethnic neighborhoods aged and withered, it was time for second thoughts. What had we lost in demanding that our forefathers renounce their ethnic essence in order to become Americans?¹⁰⁷

Several dynamic Boise Basques grappled with what had been lost in the Americanization process: Juanita Hormaechea, Joe Eiguren, Jimmy Jausoro, to name a few. They represented the sociological theory of Jean Phinney that most second-generation members question their identity and search for ethnic expression, which some also state is a crisis of self-identification. Some Tartekoak believed that their ethnic expression was imbalanced, as the pendulum had swung toward American assimilation rather than to the retention of their unique ethnicity. Fewer Basques gathered as a separate ethnic group, and interest in Basque cultural traditions waned. These local Boise Basque leaders worked to reverse the loss of Basque culture to Americanization as they emphasized the Basque part of their dual identity, using traditional Basque dance, language, and music.

This first push to resurrect Basque cultural community was in defiance of those who “predicted a gloomy future for the survival of their culture” due to the “children of immigrants [who] were Americanizing and discarding typical Basque cultural traits at a rapid pace.”¹⁰⁸ Some believe that it was Juanita “Jay” Hormaechea’s 1949 Boise Music Week production, “Song of the

¹⁰⁷ Douglass, in Laxalt, Sweet Promised Land, Foreword, x.
¹⁰⁸ Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 155.
Basque,” that marked a cultural shift. “Song of the Basque” brought notoriety to the Basques of Boise, which sparked welcome interest in the culture from non-Basques. It also resurrected the ancient principle of auzolan among the Tartekoak. This successful display of Basque culture provided the impetus for some Tartekoak to push for a new place to connect with their ethnic group, away from the larger American society. This ultimately spurred the creation of a Basque-only organization, Euzkaldunak, that began construction of Boise’s Basque Center in 1949 and finished it in 1950. The Center would be open only to Basques who could prove their ancestry.

Residences

Tartekoak mostly raised their families in single-family residences among larger non-Basque culture during this time. Private family residences blurred the dual Tartekoak into the homogenous American neighborhood grid. The Tartekoak home still represented cultural transmission, and family was the primary transmitter of Basque culture, though. Internally, Tartekoak continued their Basque cultural traditions and language at home, but externally, they conformed to American social practices.

Tartekoak homes rarely, if ever, displayed ornamentation that would mark it as a Basque residence externally. These homes also did not emulate the distinctive baserri farmhouse style of the Old Country. Although some Basque families moved away from the ethnic boardinghouse enclaves, they retained their close cultural connections with other Basques by clustering as smaller family groups into neighborhoods such as Boise’s North End. They may have adopted American ways outwardly, but they still retained their ethnicity within the confines of the home, supporting Phinney’s second phase of identity search and conflict.
The dual nature of this generation blurred the lines of family roles, and their places. Homes became schools, as Basque children helped their parents and other Amerikanuak navigate the social barriers of language and ethnicity – something that was usually learned at home. For instance, Teresa Aldape tutored her cousin Pancho on school grounds, who had arrived in Boise at the age of fourteen, unable to speak English. Her goal was to help Pancho learn the English language and American ways so that he could not only be promoted to a classroom with kids his same age and size, but also could learn American customs, or as Teresa once said, “proper things like carrying books for the girls, manners, and how best to talk, walk and dance.”

Graduation from an American high school was a priority. Many Amerikanuak parents expected, if not forced, their Tartekoak children to acquire college educations. Julio Bilbao recalled, “There was one thing we understood from the beginning. The message was that education is the most important thing in the world, and if you’re going to have opportunities, you’ve got to have an education. So it was just expected that we were going to go on to school.” The Tartekoak, therefore, often left their Basque homes for school in other locations, which began to connect Tartekoak to non-Basques.

Tartekoak completed their American educations, gained employable skills, served in war, and acquired occupations and professional careers in the greater non-Basque society. Tartekoak were distinctively different from their Old Country ancestors, and their Amerikanuak parents, because they were the first to make a living with their minds, not their hands. Their places, therefore, were far from the hills and Basque-only enclaves.

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110 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 69.
111 Laxalt, Sweet Promised Land, 134.
Workplaces

Some Tartekoak embraced their hyphenated Basque-American identities that were not so obviously ethnic. Many Tartekoak ventured into independent private businesses to earn a living, away from the boardinghouse, old ethnic neighborhoods, or land bosses. More Tartekoak than ever before established independently-owned businesses and purchased property. These were significant achievements for an ethnic group whose parents had only dreamed of land or independent business ownership. The emergence of Basques in businesses signaled that the Tartekoak had inched further toward greater American assimilation.

From boxing to barbershops, restaurants to grocery stores, Basques established businesses amidst non-Basques. Many of this generation’s workplaces were more “mainstream America,” with little to no outward expression of their Basque identity. This was a shift from their parents’ internal, ethnically segregated places. William Douglass noted that this generation “had learned the hard way to limit expressions of their heritage to the privacy of the home or the semiprivate context of the Basque hotels found in the towns of the sheep-raising districts.”

The Americanized business names of the Tartekoak that carried very little, if any, evidence of Basque ancestry. Boiseans now patronized “Ed Garro’s Barber Shop,” unaware that Eustaquio Garroguerricaechevarria owned and operated the business. Justo and Angeles Aldape Murelaga named their store the “Corner Grocery and A-1 Meats.”

“Berritxu” and Benito “Benny” Garate operated their own taxi company, “Idan-ha Taxi,” out of the Idanha Hotel at 928 Main Street from 1932 to 1945. They eventually operated the


113 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 74; Basque Museum & Cultural Center oral histories. Adelia Garro Simplot, interview conducted by Patty Miller, 12/18/01. http://basquemuseum.com/content/simplot-adelia-garro-0

“Boulevard Service Station,” located near the intersection of Grove Street and Capitol Boulevard. These were outwardly American places, not Basque.

Many of the Tartekoak businesses maintained close connections to their Basque community despite operating under the banner of American assimilation. Basque barbershop owners often operated as sole proprietors of outwardly-expressed American businesses that also served non-Basques, although they remained connected with Basques by also catering to them. Basque barbershops were a smaller substitute for the communal gathering places of the Amerikanuak. The Basque barbers and their clientele would speak Euskara to catch up on community news, share sports tales (and bets), and extend support for Basque-owned business. As with some other Basque businesses during this time, Basque barbershop proprietors advertised with more Americanized labels. Interestingly, they retained individual identity by almost always naming the business after the barber, who almost always had assumed an Americanized first name: “Ed Garro’s” Barber Shop, Vicente Echeverria’s “Vince’s Barber Shop,” Cecil Sarriarte’s “Cecil’s Barber Shop,” and Al Berro’s Barber Shop. “Pete” Mendieta, known in Boise as “Barbero,” operated his iconic barbershop in the Egyptian Theatre Building for thirty-three years, where he served Basques and non-Basques. Basque barber shops were primarily workplaces, but they also served as social gathering places of the Tartekoak generation. Tartekoak workplaces epitomize Phinney’s theory of identity search due to their expression of ethnic duality, as can be seen by Basques who used Americanized business names publicly rather than their ethnic surnames or Basque words to label the business.

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116 Patty A. Miller, Basque Museum & Cultural Center, various records and oral histories; See also Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 75.
117 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 75.
The Morris Hill Cemetery: St John’s Section

Bicandi. Uberuaga. Garmendia. These, and many other Basque surnames, grace the headstones in Boise’s Morris Hill Cemetery, mostly in the St. John’s Catholic Church sections 4 through 13.¹¹⁸ Church and city records demonstrate that Basques chose their burial places based upon three reasons: a desire to be buried among the one’s family and Basque community, and religious preference to be buried in the Catholic section of the cemetery. Church and mortuary records indicate that families almost always contacted their parish priest immediately prior to or upon death for the administration of last rites and sacraments, along with requests for a Catholic funeral.¹¹⁹ Many Basques purchased family burial plots in the St. John’s Catholic section at Morris Hill to ensure that generations of relatives could be buried together. If Basques had no family in America, the task of making end-of-life decisions sometimes rested on boardinghouse proprietors such as Mateo Arregui. Arregui was known to cover funeral expenses, which ensured that Basque immigrants could be buried in the St. John’s section with fellow Basques.¹²⁰ Basque mutual aid societies also set aside special funds to assist with Basque funeral and burial costs, and the Sociedad de Soccoros Mutuos provided funeral insurance for their members.¹²¹

The Tartekoak generation was the first to bury their parents and fellow foreign-born Basques in public American cemeteries rather than in ancestral burial grounds or local Old Country village cemeteries, called hilarrieta. A visit to the St. John’s section at Morris Hill Cemetery tells the story of those who chose to build lives in another place far from their homeland. Some achieved their dreams and some fell short, but the cemetery demonstrates most

¹¹⁸ City of Boise, Department of Parks & Recreation, Morris Hill Cemetery, burial records: St. John’s Sections 4-13; Cemetery plats.
¹¹⁹ Liz Hardesty’s “Unmarked Basque Graves Project,” 1996 that was based on church, mortuary, and city cemetery death and burial records; and St. John’s Catholic parish death and burial records.
¹²⁰ Author interview with Liz (Arregui-Dick) Hardesty, July 16, 2015; See also “Don’t Let Me Be Forgotten,” IGS Quarterly, Autumn 1998; and Gloria Totoricaguena, “Yes, We Remember You,” date unknown.
¹²¹ Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 48; See also Totoricaguena, Boise Basques, 222.
Basques lived and died within their ethnic circle. It seems fitting that their final earthly places were shared with one another as a powerful expression of ethnicity and cultural community. The cemetery is a Basque place that honors cultural persistence with visible markers for those left behind to honor and respect their ancestors – and their homeland places.

Temporary Places: Basque Picnics and Mutual Aid Society Events

Although the Tartekoak generation had become a “hyphenated” group that balanced being Basque and being American, their Basque roots were still evident: “they saw their future in America, yet some felt it was important to hold on to elements of the past culture.” The need to retain connections with their Basque part of identity prompted Tartekoak to find ways to gather as an ethnic group because the communal boardinghouses were no longer available.

The Tartekoak resorted to group events in outdoor places, or in rented spaces where they could share language, food, and customs with other Basques. They attended summer picnics in local city parks, Barber, Dry Creek, or the Mode Country Club. Some of the mutual aid societies were sources of communal activity, and often those groups hosted charity functions within the Basque community in homes, churches, and social halls.

One social organization during the Tartekoak was the Basque Girl’s Club, formed in 1936. These women held regular meetings at one another’s homes and hosted Basque social events, usually with community service goals. Their civic efforts included holiday parties for Basque children, fundraisers, and blankets for war efforts. Tartekoak tried to speak English as much as possible publicly, mindful that Euskara was an undeniable ethnic marker in the greater American realm. Basque Girl’s Club member Juanita Hormaechea confessed to lapsing into their

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122 Bieter and Bieter, *An Enduring Legacy*, 73.
123 Totoricaguena, *Boise Basques*, 91-93.
native language, “We start out in English, then just fall into [Basque]. Habit, I guess. It’s easier…We’re Americans first, you understand, but we are proud of our Basque heritage too.”

This women’s club was integral to cultural retention, as the women contributed to the inner Basque circle with events and activities, and Euskara was maintained. Their activities were tied to place, although they resorted to temporary places such as halls and rotated private residences. This association, one of several during the Tartekoak such as the mutual aid societies, drew attention to the absence of a central spot for Basque social or recreational activities in Boise.

Basques socialized at clubs and bars, such as Augustin and Francisca “Patxa” Belaustegui’s “Chico Club” that opened in 1935 as part of their boardinghouse at 117 Grove Street. The Chico Club served Basque meals and drinks for a membership fee of $1.00, and annual dues of an additional $1.00. Reflective of Tartekoak dual ethnicity, the Chico Club accepted dues from Basques and non-Basques, and English was spoken as well as Euskara. The Chico Club met the needs of Basque social gatherings, and it also acknowledged the reality of Basques operating in the larger American society.

If dueling identities were not enough to challenge the Tartekoak during this period, internal conflict also arose in the Tartekoak community. John Archabal, (formerly Juan Achabal), one of the community’s leaders, mediated two competing Basque mutual aid organizations, La Sociedad de Socorros Mutuos and La Fraternidad Vasca Americana. The two groups were opposed to one another on several issues, and Archabal sought to finally dispel the contention among these two Basque groups in 1929. Archabal devised the Boise Sheepherders’ Ball, a charity fundraiser that sought to set aside their differences and join together with common civic cause. Archabal created this annual Christmas dance and lamb auction to raise much-

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124 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 99.
needed funds for Basques in need of fiscal support for medical issues, family misfortune, or other matters of dire need. Archabal was extremely successful in his effort to unite the Basques by focusing their energies on others in need.\textsuperscript{126} By 1936, the fundraiser grew beyond the inner ethnic group, with non-Basque participation and influences from the greater American society such as contemporary popular music in addition to traditional Basque music for the dance. That year, the \textit{Boise Capitol News} covered Archabal’s popular community gathering, “Black-eyed sons and daughters of the Pyrenees danced their beloved ‘jota’ with snapping fingers and nimble feet Friday evening at the annual Sheepherders’ Ball…Basque musicians, playing the Old World tunes, can be heard at one end of the hall [Jimmy Jausoro’s famed Basque band] and at the same time an American orchestra is playing at the other end.”\textsuperscript{127}

The story underscores the \textit{Tartekoak} generations’ dual ethnic expression: they were living partly in the Basque world, and partly in the American. Their dual ethnic expression also led to inner conflict of identity as well as community division. Regardless, Basques united for this annual Christmas event that contributed thousands of dollars to well-deserved recipients of the donations.\textsuperscript{128} The Sheepherders’ Ball was significant for three reasons. It unified Basques in a communal cause, it addressed the duality of Basque and American identity, and it represented the need for a central, more permanent location for the Basques to gather. Today, the Sheepherders’ Ball remains one of Boise’s biggest social gatherings and charity fundraisers, for Basques and non-Basques. The Basque Center, a permanent Basque place, currently hosts the event.

Basque gatherings in temporary places during the \textit{Tartekoak} generation were precursors to the larger traditional festivals for which Boise has become internationally renowned. These bursts of cultural activity in temporary gathering spots rather than in permanent Basque places

\textsuperscript{126} Bieter and Bieter, \textit{An Enduring Legacy}, 100.
\textsuperscript{127} \textit{Boise Capitol News}, December 19, 1936, in Bieter and Bieter, \textit{An Enduring Legacy}, 100.
\textsuperscript{128} Gloria Totoricaguena, \textit{Boise Basques}, 234-35; Bieter and Bieter, \textit{An Enduring Legacy}, 100-101.
confirm ethnic identity, but with an important distinction: Tartekoak begin to include non-Basques. This was a cultural shift during the Tartekoak generation. The temporary gathering places reflected the evolution from Basques to Basque-Americans, and with that, the *Tartekoak* widened the circle beyond the core ethnic group.

Most boardinghouses in the *Tartekoak* were in decline, so Basques usually ate meals as smaller family units in their residential neighborhoods. This dispersion drove Basques from communal boardinghouse kitchens and tables of the past. The Ysursa family chose to honor the Basques’ important ethnic practice of communal food sharing by opening the second floor of their Valencia boardinghouse as a restaurant. When the Ysursas placed an advertisement in the newspaper for restaurant’s traditional Basque cuisine, it marked a societal transformation of identity.¹²⁹ Tartekoak had moved outside their inner circle, by expressing dual Basque and American identity, which influenced the transformation of Basque-only boardinghouse kitchens and eating areas into the public non-Basque places. Restaurants became a mark of the *Tartekoak* that contributed to cultural persistence, where culture was sustained by also including a broader non-Basque patronage, literally – to the table. Today, Basque restaurants are often the last vestiges of external Basque ethnic expression in communities in the American West.

*The Basque Center*

As the ethnic circle broadened, some Basques worried that their language and cultural traditions were headed for extinction. Jay Hormaaecha feared that Basque culture would be absorbed into the larger American culture. This spurred her to begin traditional Basque dance lessons in 1948, acknowledging that dance and music were foundational to the preservation of the culture into the next generations. She taught Basques of all ages, from little children to

¹²⁹ Valencia advertisement, Ysursa family.
adults, in rental halls and temporary places since there were no communal gathering spots to practice. The generational impact of these dance lessons during the close of the Tartekoak generation was significant. Former Hormaechea dance student and founding Oinkari dancer Al Erquiaga said that his parents enrolled he and his sister because they ascribed to the belief that if they did not actively support Basque culture at that time, it could be lost.

Jay’s 1949 Boise Music Week production, the “Song of the Basque,” drew thousands of attendees to the dress rehearsal and show. Representative of the Tartekoak generation, this seminal cultural event also occurred in a temporary place. It balanced Basque and American culture, as both “God Bless America” and “Gore Amerika” were both sung in the two respective languages. The “Song of the Basque” rekindled pride in being Basque, and it balanced Tartekoak dual identity between ancestral heritage and American community. It spurred interest in the Basques by those outside the culture. It also called attention to the lack of communal space for Basques to again share their common language, food, and customs, including dance. The need for a permanent Basque communal place in Boise was even more clear to the Tartekoak. Place, in other words, had become a driving force for cultural persistence.

In 1949, five hundred charter members founded Euzkaldunak, Inc. with the intent to build a Basque social center. A group of Basques sold $200,000 worth of bonds to purchase a lot at the corner of Sixth and Grove Streets, near the once-thriving Basque enclave of the Amerikanuak generation. Meaningfully, the lot was adjacent to the Uberuaga boardinghouse, on the spot where Hermenegilda Uberuaga once gardened outside her Basque boardinghouse at 607 Grove Street. Basques gathered in the tradition of the auzolan to build the Center with their bare hands: the etxea of he Tartekoak. By 1950 a bar, basement meeting rooms, restrooms, and

130 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 104-107.
131 Totoricaguena, Boise Basques, 226; The 2015 Jaialdi Program lists all of the charter member names.
upstairs card room were ready for use. The second construction phase added a main dance hall, a basement dining area, and a kitchen.\textsuperscript{133}

The Basque Center at 601 Grove Street honored the Amerikanuak boardinghouse tradition of communal gathering. A critical difference, however, was the new Basque Center was not a living space. The social and economic underpinnings of the Tartekoak were completely different from the previous generation. Tartekoak had evolved into a dual ethnic group, and the American part of this reality affected the form and function of their places.

Membership in this sponsoring organization reached into Basque roots, however. Euzkaldunak required proof of Basque heritage or marriage to a person of Basque descent. This is still true today.\textsuperscript{134} Boise’s \textit{Euzkaldunak} Basque Club endures as one of the largest Basque organizations in the United States, with 952 members.\textsuperscript{135} \textit{Euzkaldunak} is responsible for the ownership and operation of the Basque Center that includes space for dance and music practice, weddings, and cultural events. It is open to the public for rentals and the bar, but otherwise only Basques have access to the Center’s activities, facilities, and management.

Boise’s Basque Center was the only place of this generation built by Basques, solely for Basques. The Basque Center was a tribute to the Amerikanuak legacy. In turn, it is also a tribute to the Tartekoak steadfast dedication to Basque cultural persistence in the larger American society.

\textsuperscript{133} Totoricaguena, \textit{Boise Basques}, 226; See also Christine Hummer, “Basque Center,” in \textit{Becoming Basque: Ethnic Heritage on Boise’s Grove Street} (Boise: Boise State University “Investigate Boise” Community Research Series, Basque Studies program, and the Basque Museum & Cultural Center, 2014), 157-167.
\textsuperscript{134} Hummer, “Basque Center,” in \textit{Becoming Basque}, 158.
\textsuperscript{135} Membership as of January 31, 2015. Personal communication, Annie Gavica, \textit{Euzkaldunak, Inc.} and Basque Museum & Cultural Center, September 14, 2015. Of note, the Basque Center (Euzkaldunak) membership is restricted to Basques only. The Basque Museum & Cultural Center’s membership is open to all, and its 2015 membership was 578 “households.”
Summary

Most Tartekoak had moved out of the older immigrant generation’s ethnic enclave, and they no longer used boardinghouses for living or social quarters. For the most part, the days of communal living and employment in the hills were relegated to the past. Basque residences and workplaces became integrated into larger society, virtually indistinguishable as ethnic places. The cemetery retained expression of ethnic identity, but only identifiable through Basque symbol or surname. The Tartekoak experienced a crisis of ethnic identity due to dual Basque and American forces. They also were divided as a group socially and politically on both American and homeland fronts.

The Tartekoak aligned precisely with Phinney’s second stage of ethnic identification crisis, as John Bieter noted: “When asked how they identify themselves, as Basques or Americans, the second generation individuals responded with all possible combinations: Basque, Basque-American, and American-Basque.”\(^{136}\) The lack of Basque-only places during this generation revealed the reality, though, that the Tartekoak’s future rested not in the homeland, but in America.

Carmelo Urza’s “Modern Period,” (beginning in 1948), aligns historically with the period when Boise’ Basque leaders were resurrecting their culture with work on the production of “Song of the Basque.” Urza contended that assimilation pushed the upward mobility of the Tartekoak, and therefore influenced a positive change in their external social image. This can be seen in the Tartekoak places that represented Basques who had become successful, including single-owner retail businesses.

William Douglass postulated that the American-born children of immigrants rejected the cultural heritage of their parents, and therefore did not express their identity fully. This does not

\(^{136}\) Bieter, “Basques, Basque-Americans, American-Basques,” 44.
track with Phinney’s notion that asserts second-generations were caught in a search for identity during a difficult period of dual ethnic expression. Many also retained some parts of their ethnicity, so they did not reject, they actually chose to exhibit both American and Basque ethnicity. The element of choice becomes more imperative when defining the Egungoak generation, but the Tartekoak laid groundwork for conscious choice of ethnic expression toward the end of the era with “Song of the Basque” and the construction of the Basque Center.

The Tartekoak supported social theories of second-generation identity crisis; assimilation into the greater American melting pot; and the desire to externally express dual Basque and American ethnicity. For instance, the street-facing sign at the Basque Center is in English. No Euskara words appear anywhere externally on the building. The duality of Euzkaldunak’s “Basque Center” is in its very name, and in its mission to serve two publics: the internal Basque culture and the larger non-Basque community. Membership in Euzkaldunak remains restricted to Basques today. Most events at its Basque Center are for Basques unless the public is contributing fiscal support. The Center’s website indicates, “The Basque Center is a cultural center with a public bar and rental venue for the Basque community and general public.”

The Basque Center is a place that remains a symbol of cultural persistence today, representing solely-Basque ethnic expression.

Temporary places served an important role in both the Basque community and the retention of ethnic heritage in Boise. These places evolved into external, public efforts in the later Egungoak generation such as Jaialdi, San Inacio, and the Oinkari Basque Dance Club’s famed Chorizo Booth. It was this new public acknowledgement of Basqueness that enabled cultural sharing with those outside the circle, which in itself was a step toward enabling cultural persistence. The places of the Tartekoak generation underscored the duality of being Basque and American.

137 Euzkaldunak, Inc. Basque Center Website, http://www.basquecenter.com
American. They foreshadowed what was to come in the 1960s with the *Egungoak* generations, when being Basque became legitimized, and their places became more public and externally-focused as their Basque ethnic identity was achieved.
CHAPTER III – EGUNGOAK

Today’s Generations (1960s to the Present)

“Jaialdi has become the main Basque festival in the United States since it was celebrated in 1987 in Boise…What was first organized as a Basque-American festival has now evolved into an international event, to which thousands of visitors are attracted, not only from the United States, but from many other countries in the whole Basque diaspora. Only Boise could organize such a terrific event…The tradition of the ‘Auzolan,’ which was the basis of the cooperative being of the Basque farmers and has spotted our cooperative industry making us unique in the world, can be see portrayed now in the organization and celebration of Basque Culture in Boise. That is the key for the preservation of our identity.”

Lehendakari Iñigo Urkullu Renteria, Welcome Address to Boise for Jaialdi 2015

The Influence of Education

Egungoak is translated from the Euskara word eguna, or “those of today,” which represents the third generation, the grandchildren of first generation immigrants. Egungoak, who may be of mixed ancestral heritage, often express their ethnicity through conscious choice and inclusivity of non-Basques. Many actively celebrate their Basque heritage, both internally and externally. This generation led an energetic charge to display their ethnicity publicly. A fundamental part of the Egungoak psyche is education. To comprehend the influence of education on the Egungoak generation, a short history of the development of Basque educational institutions, including some efforts outside of Boise are included in Lekuak.

Egungoak generation members were products of the “cultural identity pride” movement of the 1960s and 1970s, when a groundswell of renewed pride in ethnic heritage occurred for

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139 Bieter, “Basques, Basque-Americans, American-Basques,” John Bieter first termed these three generations of Basques in the American diaspora in this master’s thesis.
many Americans, regardless of generation or ethnic identification.\textsuperscript{140} This pushed Egungoak to connect with others of their Basque heritage in the Basque Country, other American cities, and even other diaspora locations globally. Due to transportation and technology, seemingly once-disparate Basque places suddenly were connected, which resulted in a global effort to recapture Basque. This phenomenon also occurred with other ethnic groups in America, spurring searches for family histories, the creation of ethnic dance troupes, classes in multicultural studies, and travel to homeland countries. It was in many ways, a unifying movement for the generation that had experienced great social divide in America over the Vietnam War, racial issues, and other public issues.

Historian Jill Gill likened this occurrence to the previous generation, “Just as World War II had encouraged unity under ‘Americanization,’ so too did the cultural pride movement.\textsuperscript{141} This movement propelled Egungoak Basques to learn more about the cultural heritage of their grandparents, which placed the value of education at the forefront of their efforts. Some Egungoak places that have an educational focus include the Basque Museum & Cultural Center, the Jacobs boardinghouse living history museum, the Unmarked Basque Graves Project, Boise State University’s Basque Studies Program, and the Boise’ko Ikastola.

If the Amerikanuak were characterized by being a singular, internal Basque culture, and the Tartekoak modeled duality of Basque and American culture, the Egungoak represented a new era of external cultural plurality. Egungoak were proudly Basque even if their ancestry had become diluted. They chose to acknowledge their Basque roots, and sometimes gave it priority over other ancestral blood. Non-Basques who spoke Euskara, danced the jota, and played the txistu helped the Egungoak revive Basque culture.

\textsuperscript{140} Jill Gill, Boise State University History Department, personal communication, September 2015.  
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid.
Mixed cultural identity was gaining social acceptance in America in the ’60s and ’70s, especially with increased social, educational, and economic mobility. Many Egungoak had intermarried, and a number of them had relationships with others of different ethnic heritage. This aligned with the greater American story of the ’60s and ’70s, when the country had been preoccupied with the Vietnam War, civil rights, and racial tension. Alex Haley’s “Roots” encouraged personal quests for knowledge about family histories, and public awareness was focused on the plurality of America’s various ethnic and racial groups. William Douglass noted the impact of multiculturalism on the greater American culture, “A renewal of ethnic pride was a critical …a pride that could only be ratified through a new understanding of each group’s worth and past contributions to American culture.”142

The Egungoak era was also characterized by internal migration within America due to greater educational and employment opportunity that encouraged social, economic, and geographic mobility. Americans began to move more freely between regions, cities, and neighborhoods, away from the “familiar relatives and neighborhoods of one’s childhood.”143

The physical separation from one’s family and core ethnic group encouraged integration with larger American society. Few Egunoak had traveled to the Basque Country though, and even fewer spoke Euskara, since they had been raised by Tartekoak parents who usually self-identified as “American,” or at least “Basque-American.” Many Egungoak, therefore, had to look outside the home and beyond their American community to reconnect with their Basque culture. Egungoak engaged, therefore, in an external quest for information and connection to their heritage. One they gained the knowledge, they shared it with others, often publicly.

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142 Douglass, “Foreword,” in Laxalt, Sweet Promised Land, xi.
143 Ibid.
Their immigrant Amerikanuak grandparents had established education as a primary goal for their children, the Tartekoak gained education, and the Egungoak applied education to their lives. Some Egungoak chose to learn more about their Basque cultural heritage through university courses, private lessons, independent research, and travel. The Egungoak’s grandparents had chosen to migrate to America from the Basque Country, and a good number of Egungoak made a conscious choice to learn about their grandparents’ experience.

The Egungoak, descendants of Basque immigrants led an ethnic revival, using educational tools to move it along. They worked hard to reestablish cultural identity through learning Euskara, dance, music, and history. The Egungoak also instituted the blurring of geographic boundaries, sharing education among Basques outside their cities and states. Improved automobiles, air travel, and technology greatly aided the transformation of ethnic identity, and local place was no longer the sphere of influence for ethnic expression. For instance, Boise Basques worked with Nevada Basques on scholarly endeavors. Chino, California dancers performed with Buffalo, Wyoming dancers. The North American Basque Organizations (NABO) was formed in 1973, and Basques from diaspora nations collaborated globally with each other and the Euro-Basques in the Basque Country.144 This also ushered in greater collaboration with Basques in the homeland, with study abroad opportunities, international projects, and shared academic research.

The Basque Government and American Basque entities dedicated fiscal and political support of educational efforts, which resulted in increased communication, commerce, politics, and partnership-based shared culture. The Egungoak story therefore moved beyond disconnected individual communities in local places, and connected Basques in America to the Euro-Basques, other diaspora Basques, and those outside the ethnic group who were simply interested in Basque

144 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 121.
culture. People and place truly intersect in this generation, aided by education and shared communication. Egungoak places also indicate the importance of time: this generation experienced rapid social change from the 1960s until today, not just in America, but across the world. Egungoak places were the result of the evolution from small ethnic enclaves to broader American neighborhoods to the global community.

Many Egungoak actively shared their rediscovered roots with pride, publicly and inclusively. In 1959, the first impetus toward public Basque expression as a means of cultural persistence occurred not in Boise, Idaho, but Reno, Nevada. The first Basque Festival was hosted in Sparks, Nevada. This is important to note because it was a catalyst for the current Basque festival cycle that occurs throughout the American West today. The Boise Basques took their ethnic expression further from the Nevada event, and transformed small, internal, localized efforts into widely-recognized external celebrations such as Jaiáldi, an international event that occurs every five years in Boise and hosts thousands of visitors.145

Boise’s acclaimed Oinkari Basque Dancers also formed in 1960 on the heels of the inaugural Nevada Basque festival. Initially, the group performed within a short radius of Boise in the Basque Center, on the streets, and for public events. This dance group later performed at the Seattle World’s Fair in 1962, and by 1964 had stunned crowds at the World Fair in New York.146 Although some point to the Jay Hormaechea “Song of the Basque” as the seminal event that rejuvenated Basque pride, the Oinkari Dancers’ efforts of 1960s exposed that pride externally, well beyond Boise’s city limits. The Basque Block is one spot in Boise where there Oinkaris dance today, but they also perform liturgical dances at St. John’s Cathedral, and traditional

145 William Douglass, Global Vasconia, 274.
146 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 115-118.
dances at a host of public ceremonies, special events, and school activities. Place is essential to Basque dance, as it provides a means for public cultural transmission and maintenance.

The Basques call themselves by their primary marker of ethnic identity: Eukzaldunak, which literally means “those who speak Basque.” One hallmark of the Egungoak generation is their serious effort to recover Euskara by speaking as a key to cultural preservation. As this happened, a significant change occurred: Basques studies became institutionalized. Carmelo Urza supported this assertion with his Basque institutional phases, and some of Boise’s Basque places reflect educational institutions as another critical element of Basque persistence today.

Egungoak educational efforts took a serious first step in 1972 when Congress appropriated funds for the national Ethnic Heritage Studies Program Act. This paved the way for a $52,285 grant through the National Endowment for the Humanities to establish a Basque Studies Program in Boise. The goals were to create a robust program with Basque language and cultural studies, a Basque library, and a six-week summer study abroad program to the Basque Country. Comparatively, in today’s dollars, the grant would have been worth $293,599. Boise’s Basque Studies Program sponsored language classes, cultural studies, a Basque choir, music and dance, and the 1972 “Holiday Basque Festival,” the precursor to Boise’s Jaialdi. Boise’s Basque Studies Program was a substantial effort, spurred on by Egungoak Basques to apply education to the cultural revival, with the goal of cultural persistence into the future.

Place was a central factor in the next phase of the program when in 1974, Boise State University’s Pat Bieter, his wife Eloise, and others established the first study abroad program in the Basque Country in the Gipuzkoan town of Oñati. Pat Bieter recognized that in order for the

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147 Douglass and Bilbao, Amerikanuak, 9; See also Boise State University Basque Studies website, http://basquestudies.boisestate.edu/gutaz-basques/basque-basics.
148 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 122-123; See also Bieter, “Basques, Basque-Americans, American-Basques,” 57.
149 Ibid.
program to be successful, the students needed immersion in Basque language and culture. That connection could not occur without physically locating the students in the Basque Country. That fall, seventy-five students, five faculty members, and the entire seven-person Bieter family became the first American academics to live and study on Basque soil.\textsuperscript{150} One Egungoak student of the Boise-Oñati program insightfully remarked, “To know who you are and where you come from is important in directing where you’re going in the future.”\textsuperscript{151} This underscored Phinney’s third and final stage of ethnic identity development: \textit{Ethnic Identity Achievement}, underscored the third generation’s security in the meaning of ethnic identity and clarity of purpose in regaining their ethnic heritage.\textsuperscript{152} The language-intensive Oñati study abroad program continued until 1980 when Boise State University, University of Nevada, Reno, and other schools formed the larger consortium program in Donosti/San Sebastian.\textsuperscript{153}

The seeds of Boise’s Basque educational places were planted during this seminal study abroad program that bridged the Basque Country and America. Numerous collaborative educational efforts throughout the Egungoak’s period firmly established educational places as a critical factor of cultural persistence. Today the Egungoak can claim the Basque Museum & Cultural Center, Boise’ko Ikastola, Boise State University, and the Cenarrusa Foundation for Basque Culture as educational institutions - places that demonstrate and support Basque cultural persistence in Boise, Idaho.

Boise State University and the University of Nevada, Reno, as well as other American universities, share staff, funds, and place with numerous educational programs in several cities. These institutions support the multi-partner University Studies Abroad Consortium (USAC),

\textsuperscript{150} Bieter and Bieter, \textit{An Enduring Legacy}, 126.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., 127.
\textsuperscript{152} Jean S. Phinney, “A Three-Stage Model of Ethnic Identity,” 71.
\textsuperscript{153} Bieter and Bieter, \textit{An Enduring Legacy}, 127.
with language-based learning the Euskal Herria and other countries. In the summer of 2015, the Etxepare Basque Institute announced the addition of an academic chair position in Boise State’s Basques Studies Program, in honor of Boise Basque Eloise Bieter. The University will also be adding a Masters program in Basque Studies. The Egungoak generation chose to be Basque, and built educational places as one of its pillars of support. Carmelo Urza’s contention that this period was characterized by the creation of institutions, particularly educational institutions, was quite true.

_The Basque Museum & Cultural Center_

The American-born daughter of a Basque immigrant was almost single-handedly responsible for establishing one of the most important Basque communal places in the United States: the Basque Museum & Cultural Center. Adelia Garro Simplot was the daughter of Ed Garro, whose barbershop business was a model of Basque community. Adelia used her Basque family’s well-earned Basque reputation to focus on cultural pride and preservation in the City of Boise. In the 1980s, Adelia was disturbed to see the Uberuaga boardinghouse in a state of disrepair on Grove Street, because it was one of the last testaments to the first Basque generation and the humble beginnings of this ethnic group. True to auzolan, Adelia wanted to gather her ethnic group together to preserve this symbol of Basque culture. She realized a group commitment to communal work would be necessary if the historic boardinghouse at 607 Grove Street was to be saved.

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154 Boise State University, Basque Studies Program, Boise: http://basquestudies.boisestate.edu
155 Boise State University, Basque Studies Program, _Joan Etorri Symposium_, July 2015, Boise: http://basquestudies.boisestate.edu
On November 28, 1983, Adelia purchased the building from José and Hermengilda’s children, Serafina Uberuaga Mendiguren, Joe Uberuaga, and Julia Uberuaga Coleman, for $60,000 dollars ($143,000 in today’s funds).\textsuperscript{157} Adelia’s action led to the preservation of this historic place, Boise’s first brick building that was built by Boise pioneer Cyrus Jacobs in 1864. It was an act that would prove to be in the best interest of both the Basque and the larger Boise community for years to come.

Adelia was visionary, but she was not naïve: if Basque culture was to be preserved in Boise, it would require Basques to connect with their ancestral roots in the Old World tradition of auzolan because this was to be a community effort. Later in 1985, she led the effort to form the non-profit Basque Cultural Center of Idaho, dedicated to the preservation of Basque history and culture.\textsuperscript{158} She established the Basque Cultural Center in place that so many Basques had called home: a Basque boardinghouse. The Articles of Incorporation stated that the educational purposes were to “stimulate the interest of the public…in the development and offering of Basque literature and language studies, history, and the assembling and maintenance of a collection of Basque-related artifacts.”\textsuperscript{159}

The Basque Museum & Cultural Center, the first museum in America dedicated to Basque heritage was opened in 1985, with the help of many in the Basque community and beyond. On October 5, 1986, over a thousand people stood on Boise’s Grove Street to attend the museum’s first public Open House. Richard and Adelia Garro Simplot personally made the mortgage payments on the property from November 1983 to December 1986, when they deeded it as a gift to the museum organization, “For and in consideration of our love and affection for

\textsuperscript{157} Totoricaguena, \textit{Boise Basques}, 174-180.
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{159} Ibid.
the Basque heritage and history in the State of Idaho.\footnote{160} The Basque Museum & Cultural Center’s official dedication occurred June 19, 1987, with support from attendees from Boise to the Basque Country.\footnote{161} This was a moment of international pride for Basques of all generations from both the Basque Country and America. It marked the Egungoak’s first educational place that was open and inclusive: anyone could enter and learn about Basque history and culture there.

Adelia did not stop with the Museum project to preserve Basque culture. On December 1, 1988, she purchased the 611 Grove Street building adjacent to the boardinghouse for $125,000 ($250,000 today). This property became the Museum exhibit and operations headquarters. Adelia’s action was instrumental in preventing the demise of yet another historic Basque building in Boise because property owner Robert F. Barney was ready to demolish the building for another city parking lot.\footnote{162} The Basque community coalesced over the museum’s extensive list of needs: planning, construction and renovation, flooring, exhibit building, artifact and collection building, painting, administration, library services and a myriad of other needs for a bona fide cultural museum.

In 2003, the museum embarked on an extensive historic preservation project to restore the boardinghouse at 607 Grove Street to period authenticity so it could be used as a living history museum for public tours. Executive Director Patty Miller and Museum Curator Jeff Johns directed the truly auzolan effort. Basques and non-Basques worked side-by-side to restore and preserve one of Boise’s last-standing symbols of Basque culture. The museum’s restoration project added a living dimension to Basque education, and established the project as yet another first for Boise and the American West. The renovated Cyrus Jacobs-Uberuaga boardinghouse

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item[160] Ibid.
\item[161] Ibid., 176.
\item[162] Ibid., 177.
\end{itemize}}
was a nod to the past, and a leap to the future. It became a public ethnic symbol of Basque cultural persistence, located in the middle of Boise’s Basque Block, a central downtown district.

The Basque Museum & Cultural Center has remained a guiding force of cultural maintenance throughout the Egungoak period. Institutionalization of culture through educational places was one way to ensure the Museum’s mission “to preserve, promote, and perpetuate Basque history and culture.” Another Egungoak hallmark is the choice to look to future perpetuation of culture, which was also articulated in the museum’s mission statement. To achieve this, Egungoak required a stable physical place that could reach others beyond the Basques to sustain its mission. The Museum’s website states, “As a cultural center, it is a gathering place for events and educational opportunities – in which people of all backgrounds can participate in Basque activities.” In short, the Museum looked beyond its internal Basque structure, and moved externally by opening its membership and doors to all visitors. Anyone, regardless of Basque ancestry, can obtain a membership in this educational organization. It appears to be working, with an average of 12,000 visitors annually to the museum, plus thousands of off-sites individuals touched by off-site presentations in schools and other programs.

The Basque Museum & Cultural Center was reflective of Phinney’s third phase of ethnic identity achievement, and it has produced steadily increasing interest and support of Basque culture. In contrast, the Basque Center represented a different need. It was established as a social center solely for Basque immigrants and their families, which retained a more internally-focused

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163 Basque Museum & Cultural Center Mission Statement, https://www.basquemuseum.com/visit/about
164 Basque Museum & Cultural Center, “About Us” Website, https://www.basquemuseum.com/visit/about
165 Annie Gavica, Personal Communication, Basque Museum & Cultural Center: As of September 2015, the Museum had 13,392 visitors and 12,504 off-site individuals served. In 2010, Museum visitors numbered 10,326, and 11, 376 off-site individuals were served.
purpose. In order to prevent the decline of ethnicity that Gans and Alba predicted, both approaches may help Boise’s Basque places remain as symbols of cultural persistence.

The collective actions of the Egungoak, including the Basque Museum & Cultural Center’s educational efforts, have allowed generations of Basques and untold thousands of others to learn, about and celebrate Basque culture. The Basque Museum & Cultural Center is the quintessential place of public Basque education in the American West. The Egungoak generation can be credited with the foundational shift that revitalized Basque culture: the establishment of education as the primary link to Basque cultural persistence.

_The Anduiza Fronton: Reclaimed_

In 1971 the Idaho Basque Studies Program secured funding for a program “about Basques, but it is a program for all people, Basque and non-Basque,” with broadened objectives beyond Basque-only culture, “strengthening cultural pride and preserving cultural characteristics which lend variety and richness to our diverse American society.” As part of the Basque Studies Program, Egungoak Basques entered into an agreement later in 1972 with Briggs Engineering to return the Anduzia Fronton to its original purpose as a Basque handball court. Immediately after the agreement was signed, volunteers cleaned up thirty years of garbage, re-roofed the failing structure, installed lights and safety screens, and painted the fronton so that the first pelota classes, player practices, and matches could begin.

To some, this was in defiance of a sociologist who predicted that the handball courts would “probably remain as ruins when the last foreign-born pelota player has passed away.”

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166 Bieter and Bieter, _An Enduring Legacy_, 123.
167 Bieter and Bieter, “Wrigley Field” in _Becoming Basque_, 79.
168 Bieter and Bieter, _An Enduring Legacy_, photo caption, pala photograph, courtesy Basque Museum & Cultural Center
The Bieter brothers, *Egunoak* themselves, noted the cultural gains of the successful reclamation of the American Anduiza Fronton instead, “Refuting earlier predictions about these courts, a group of volunteers painted the court’s lines and repaired the roof, and the studies program organized regular pala and handball tournaments.”"\(^{169}\)

The Egunoak dream to reclaim the distinctive indoor court was fulfilled when the first public pelota tournament was played in 1976, sponsored by *Idaho’ko Euzko Zaleak* and *Anaiak Danok*.\(^{170}\) Interest swelled in both watching the games and competing in the sport. The only distinctively Basque structure that had been transplanted from the Old Country to America was back in play, literally, by 1989 when Boise Basques formed the *Boise Fronton Association*, with 20 members, that has grown today to more than 50 members.\(^{171}\)

The story did not close there, however. Adelia Garro Simplot, still zealous in her quest to preserve Basque heritage, joined forces with another Boise Basque, Rich Hormaechea. The two Basques purchased the historic Anduiza boardinghouse and fronton from the Briggs family for $255,000 in 1993.\(^{172}\) They leased the handball court to the Boise Fronton Association, and as with most all *Egunoak* efforts, anyone – Basque or not - is welcome to play for a small membership fee.\(^{173}\)

Today, international and national championships are played at the Anduiza Fronton, rivaling play at the only other indoor public court in San Francisco, California. The Anduiza Fronton stands again as a distinctive ethnic place for Basques of all generations, with larger numbers of players and crowds than ever before. This would not have been possible without the

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\(^{169}\) Ibid., 123.
\(^{171}\) Annie Gavica, Basque Museum & Cultural Center, Euzkaldunak and Boise Fronton Association – email reply from Jerry Aldape, Boise Fronton Association.
\(^{173}\) Bieter and Bieter, “Wrigley Field,” in *Becoming Basque*, 82-83.
conscious choice of Egungoak to claim their ethnic heritage and bring it into the public spotlight.

The renovation and purchase of the Anduiza Fronton represents the Old World tradition of recreation, and it pays tribute to a time when frontons were integral to the boardinghouses. Its active existence marks Basque cultural persistence in Boise today.

The Basque Center Façade

In 1972, Egungoak added a distinctive Basque feature to the Basque Center’s simple exterior walls that faced both Grove and Sixth Streets: a baserri façade. The previously ordinary and utilitarian concrete building of the earlier generations reflected an inward focus, and a non-descript American exterior with no outward expression of Basque identity. The white stucco, wood beams, red tile roof, iron grates, and double barn-type doors signified a public expression of Basque culture through a visible connection to homeland baserriak. No other Basque places in Boise displayed these iconic architectural features, except for possibly the red-tiled roofs and stucco of some residences such as the Basque Uranga home on Bannock Street.

The addition of the façade eventually was accompanied by the flying of the ikurriña, or Basque flag. To members of the Amerikanuak generation, that instilled a deep sense of pride because the ikurriña had been prohibited during the Franco years from 1939 to 1975; some Basques were reticent to even raise it publicly. This symbol of Basque nationalism flies along with the American flag, representing both cultures. This is yet one more example of the Egungoak outward expression of ethnicity, and the conscious choice to do so amidst the larger culture. The Basque Center facelift added cultural significance to the Tartekoak-period building, and it also publicly acknowledged Basque cultural persistence externally.

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174 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 153.
175 Dave Lachiondo, personal communication, October 2015.
The Unmarked Basque Graves Project

In 1993, the Basque Attorney General, Inãki Goikoetxeta arrived in Boise to visit the grave of his immigrant shepherder grandfather, José. José Goikoetxeta was born in 1890, immigrated to Idaho from Bizkaia to work as a herder, and died in Boise in 1938, leaving a widow and several small children in the homeland. When Iñaki searched for his grandfather’s grave at Boise’s Morris Hill Cemetery, it was discovered that it was unmarked. In fact, a number of Basque gravesites in the St. John’s Section at Morris Hill were unmarked.\(^{176}\)

Boise Basque Liz (Arregui-Dick) Hardesty spearheaded a research project to follow up on previous work by Basque Dolores Totorica to match death records and burial sites so that unmarked Basques could be properly honored in their final resting places within their ethnic community. Liz, who is the granddaughter of Mateo Arregui, had a personal stake in the effort. Her aitxitxe (grandfather) Mateo Arregui and his first wife Adriana, and Mateo’s second wife Maria Dominga Goicochea, were long-time boardinghouse operators in Boise.

They took their role as “second parents” to many of their boarders seriously, as they sometimes paid the funeral and burial costs for those Basques who had no family or funds. Costs for preparing the body for burial, hearses, and funerals usually then fell to the boardinghouse owners.\(^{177}\) Liz’s aitxitxe had signed various funeral home records of deceased boarders who had been at his boardinghouse, and he had also worked with Boise’s mutual aid societies to help fund some funeral and burial costs for these immigrants. The two primary organizations were the *La Sociedad de Soccoros Mutuos*, founded in 1908 with about 200 Basque members, and the *La Fraternidad Vasca Americana*, founded for men in 1928, later conjoined with its women’s

\(^{176}\) Author interview with Liz (Arregui-Dick) Hardesty, July 16, 2015; See also the *IGS Quarterly*, Autumn 1998, and Gloria Totoricaguena’s article “Yes, We Remember You,” date unknown, and the Unmarked Graves Project Memorial Program, June 23, 1996.

\(^{177}\) Gloria Totoricaguena, “Yes, We Remember You,” date unknown.
auxiliary in 1930. Liz believed as her aitxitxe (grandfather) cared for Basque people in life, she
to would carry out his legacy by caring for Basques in their after-life by ensuring they were
properly honored.\footnote{Author interview with Liz (Arregui-Dick) Hardesty, July 16, 2015.}

Three years and thousands of volunteer hours later, 130 unmarked Basque graves were
discovered. Due to Liz Hardesty’s hard work and the volunteers she championed, more than 60
“lost” names and more than 60 graves were identified, giving respect and name recognition to
members of the Basque community. Dorothy Bicandi Aldecoa, another Boise Basque,
amanently paid for all of the grave markers and a monument to honor the Basques. The tall
granite stone, topped with a lauburu symbol, is inscribed: “With respect and pride, we honor the
memories of our Basque ancestors in this sacred place. You are not forgotten…”\footnote{Meggan Laxalt Mackey, “Cultural Landmarks,” in Becoming Basque, 113-115.}

The Unmarked Basque Graves Project linked Basques in Boise and the homeland, and
among the generations. It not only acknowledged that burial places and cemetery headstones are
permanent markers of one’s life, but that they are also powerful places of symbolic ethnicity that
demonstrate Basque cultural persistence.

\textit{The Boise’ko Ikastola}

Basque cultural persistence into the future now rests on the shoulders of the
\textit{Etorkizunekoak} generation, and the young students of the \textit{Boise’ko Ikastola} will have to lead the
way. The Ikastola is the only Basque language preschool outside the Basque Country. It was
established as a language immersion preschool in 1988 as a link between the past, present and
future. the During the Franco years, Basques in Euskal Herria operated clandestine schools in
nursing homes, churches, garages, and home basements. Brave teachers and parents supported
the forbidden ikastola schools, so that Basque children would learn and maintain their native language, Euskara. Dedicated Basques risked this education for their children, even if it could result in political problems, because they recognized the possibility the language could be permanently removed from the Basque people, which was their primary means of identity. The immersion method used to teach language to children was a strong attempt by the Basques to ensure that Euskara did not die out. Years later the Egungoak in America embarked on the same process to recover the language, although this time with open expression of ethnic identity, designed to consciously choose cultural persistence.

In 1998, a group of Boise Basque parents, led by Nerea Lete and her husband Chris Bieter, wanted to ensure that Basque children learned both the language and culture of the Euzkaldunak. They formed the Boise’ko Ikastola with help from the Basque Museum & Cultural Center, gained State Board of Education approval, and reached out to members of the Basque community. Together, auzolan produced the preschool through fiscal, inkind, and equipment contributions. It has earned an honorable distinction in both America and Euskal Herria as the only Basque preschool outside the Basque Country.

Jeanne Alzola once commented about the first generation’s reaction to the establishment of an Ikastola on American soil, if they had been able to witness it, “If they could just see us now! You know our parents and grandparents came here to escape political and economic problems. Many were not allowed to speak Basque. Well look at this! This is a memorial to

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180 Personal communication with Nerea Lete, co-founder of the Boise’ko Ikastola; Also Lete lecture, “To Be or Not To Be: Identity,” University Foundations UF100 course, Boise State University, October 2015.
181 Totoricaguena, Boise Basques, 106.
182 Author e-mail interview with Nerea Lete, co-founder of the Boise’ko Ikastola, and Izaskun Kortazar, Euskara teacher and former teacher at the Boise’ko Ikastola, in response to questions about “Ikastola and Cultural Persistence,” September 2015.
183 Ibid.
184 Berriochoa, “Saving Euskara,” in Becoming Basque, 38-47.
185 Ibid.
them.”186 If future generations retain the Basque language, their connections to Basque culture will remain, which will help ensure cultural persistence into the future.

According to co-founder Nere Lete, the Egungoak “wanted to help our children to learn Euskara and [become] immersed in the Basque culture so they could connect in a very special way with grandparents and Basque-speaking family members here and in the Basque Country.”187 More importantly, the Boise Ikastola is a distinct Basque place. It was intended to lay the groundwork for American-Basques of the future, already of mixed ancestry, to connect Basque culture between time, place, and the generations. Lete noted that the Ikastola serves as “the habia (nest) of Basque culture in Boise. Our children learn about the language and the culture…the Ikastola helps our youngest generation and young families make an emotional and cultural connection with our elders.”188 The Boise’ko Ikastola is now housed at 1955 Broadway Avenue, in a permanent building owned and operated by the Basque Museum, reflecting a commitment to cultural education.189

The Basque Government also played a major role in the establishment of this and other educational places in Boise, signaling that connections between the Basque Country and America are a critical element of Basque cultural persistence in both places. Boise Egungoak have maintained strong partnerships between Basques in both countries, such as the Basque Government and the Etxepare Basque Institute. These cross-country partnerships, essential Egungoak efforts, support the argument that ethnicity is not in decline, but rather Basque culture is in a current state of strong cultural persistence

The Boise’ko Ikastola may possibly be the most important Basque place yet, as it is

186 Totoricaguena, Boise Basques, 108.
188 Ibid.
189 Boise’ko Ikastola website, http://www.boisekoikastola.org/ikastola-history
dedicated solely to the transmission and maintenance of Basque culture into the future. The youngest generations are learning that ethnicity is shared and global, and that cultural diversity is valued in America today. The Ikastola is a link to the future between the Basques and a broader community, as demonstrated by its open enrollment: non-Basque children are welcomed.

Summary

In summary, *Egungoak* efforts toward Basque cultural persistence demonstrate outward ethnic expression, conscious choice to preserve culture, and an emphasis on education as a central tool. The places of this generation reveal the evolution of Basque ethnic expression and the effect that had on their places, many which are operating today as educational institutions.

The shift from the internal ethnic expression of the Amerikanuak supported sociologist Marcus Lee Hansen’s theory, “What the son [of immigrants] wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember.”\(^{190}\) It also aligned with Herbert Gan’s “symbolic identity” principle with outward expression, and demonstrated Mary Waters’ theory that later descendants of immigrant generations in America actively chose their ethnicity.

The Basque Museum can be viewed as the Block’s cultural anchor, an educational institution with a mission to “preserve, promote, and perpetuate Basque culture.”\(^{191}\) This is where the foundation is laid for cultural understanding and historical context. The Anduiza Fronton stands in tribute to the Basque national sport, and to the only distinctive Old World Basque architectural structure that stands in America. The Basque Center facelift demonstrated public recognition of homeland culture amidst the greater American society on the heels of a dual generation that did not always publicly express ethnicity. The Unmarked Basque Graves Project

\(^{190}\) Bieter and Bieter, *An Enduring Legacy*, 5.

\(^{191}\) Basque Museum & Cultural Center, mission statement, http://www.basquemuseum.com/visit/about
pays homage to all those who made the courageous decision to build lives in America, far from their homeland. This project also demonstrates respect for those who worked hard on American soil and may not have had family or friends to send their souls “home,” where the cemetery was their final connection to their ancestors. The Boise’ko Ikastola is testament to Basque cultural persistence of the future.

Each of these Basque places evolved through time, and they all represent the Egungoak element of conscious choice to actively and publicly retain ethnicity. The Egungoak epitomizes the Bieter’s “Ethnic Generation” construct because they are largely responsible for sustaining Basque culture in a public manner, where “choosing to be Basque” is an element of cultural persistence. Lekua demonstratess that Gans’ symbolic ethnicity is not only alive and well, but it is thriving on Grove Street, in Basque cultural festivals, and in various Basque educational efforts today. The Basque Block is loaded with ethnic symbolism.

Clearly, the Egungoak have reached Jean Phinney’s stage of ethnic identity development that is secure in its expression and achievement. The places of the Egungoak support Carmelo Urza’s accurate assessment of the contemporary “Post-Modern Age of Institutions,” through the success of the Basque Museum & Cultural Center, Boise’ko Ikastola preschool, and Boise State University’s Basque Studies Program. Lekua challenges Douglass’ assertion, however, that the Egungoak are “culture seekers.” Lekua contends instead that Egungoak align with Waters, the Bieters, and even Gans as “culture choosers.”

Lekua also takes issue with Douglas’s one-time position that the Basques have “contributed little to the landscape in the form of bricks and mortar.”192 In his defense, this statement was made in 1992, prior to the development of Boise’s Basque Block, the preservation

of the Jacobs boardinghouse, the reclamation of the Anduiza Fronton, or the permanent Ikastola school in Boise. Additionally, frontons were distinctive Basque structures that were transplanted from the Old Country throughout the American West, and Boise had four. The Anduiza Fronton just celebrated its 100th anniversary, another testament to the power of Basque people and place. It could also be suggested that although Boise’s Basque Center is not a reproduction of a baserri or any other homeland structure, it is a bricks-and-mortar structure, built by Basques, for Basques, on the greater American landscape.

The Egunoak contributions to both the places and people of Boise are numerous and significant through time. The evolution of places from the boardinghouse to the Basque Block demonstrates the parallel evolution of Basque ethnic expression that ultimately leads to the conclusion that Basque culture persists today in Boise. Lastly, Lekuak contends that at least in the Boise Basque case study, the public expression of ethnic identity did not herald the decline of ethnicity as Gans and Alba predicted. Rather, it has demonstrated a sustained display of cultural diversity that appears to be vibrantly moving forward.
CONCLUSION

*The Basque Block: Symbolic Ethnicity, Cultural Persistence of the Basques in Boise, and the Significance of Cultural Diversity in America Today*

“The Boisetarrak are not stuck in the past, and they certainly don’t spend all their time paying homage to their ancestors. This is an active community. The Boise Basques have managed to keep Basque feelings and traditions alive thanks to the tenacity of hundreds of volunteers who have taken it upon themselves to pass on to the next generation the legacy their parents handed down to them.”

- Iñaki Aguirre Arizmendi, General Secretary of Foreign Action for the Basque Government in Euzkadi

*Lekuak* begins with a visit to Boise’s Basque Block, the only district in the United States dedicated to Basque culture. Basque places that have existed in Boise for over a hundred years stand as testament to the legacy of generations of Basques. It is fitting that *Lekuak* concludes with a return journey to the Basque Block for an examination of the evolution of the Basque expression of ethnic identity through time, people, and place.

A visitor can experience places of several generations on the Block: the historic Jacobs boardinghouse, the Anduiza Fronton, the Basque Center, and the Basque Museum & Cultural Center. Contemporary places of Basque culture also contribute to this ethnic experience, such as Bar Gernika, the Basque Market, and Leku Ona restaurant and hotel. A person can also observe Basque culture from a walk on the Block without setting a foot in any of those places, largely because of the visible symbols on the streetscape. It is possible to see the nexus of immigrant and contemporary Basque generations when Euskara is spoken, traditional dance and music are performed, and educational programs are conducted. The Basque Block began as a place of internal community in the first generation and it has evolved into an external expression of

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community today.

The foundational Basque principle of auzolan, or community work, is critical to the history of Boise’s Basque places. There is a Basque saying, *Indarrak biltruk obro doke ezik barriatrulk*, which means “the sum of the strengths is greater than each individually.” Auzolan assisted the Amerikanuak transition to American society as they worked to help one another survive economically, socially, and culturally. Auzolan helped the Tartekoak when they were challenged to favor American cultural expression over their ancestral roots, which resulted in the Basques working together to build the Basque Center. Egungoak Basques joined forces with the larger non-Basque community, again with auzolan, to create educational institutions, pay tribute to ancestors at the cemetery, reclaim the Anduiza Fronton, and develop the Basque Block.

The Basque Block is a story of the evolution of people and place, and how conscious choice of ethnic expression has sustained Basque culture in Boise. Boise Basques Adelia Garro Simplot and Rich Hormaechea invested in historic buildings on Grove Street to preserve the structures from extinction throughout the 1980s and 1990s, which set the city in motion for cultural preservation efforts on Grove Street. The Basque Neighborhood Marketplace, Inc. organization followed on those efforts with their 1987 push to preserve historic Basque buildings further on Grove Street. This influenced the city to task Jerome Mapp in 1988 with developing a master plan for the renovation of Grove Street, including a concept for an open-air market that would draw a greater, non-Basque public to this part of the city.

The next ten years indicated growing support for a Basque-focused district on Grove Street, with dual purposes: to preserve Basque culture and to support the City of Boise’s

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194 Jennifer Shelby, “Remaking Grove,” in *Becoming Basque*, 195; The Basque Marketplace group was comprised of an organization represented by Mary Kay Aucutt, Francis “Patxi” Lostra, the Basque Museum & Cultural Center, *Euzkaldunak, Inc.*, and the Oinkari Basque Dancers.

195 Ibid.
economic development. By the 1990s, it appeared that both goals were reasonable and attainable. Interest in the Basque community increased, as the 1990 and 1995 Jaialdi celebrations demonstrated, with large crowds that visited Boise for the cultural events. The idea to create a Basque cultural district on Grove Street gained solid traction by 1999. Capitol City Development Corporation (CCDC) pledged over $100,000, and business owners on Grove Street (the Basque organizations, Bar Gernika, Heath’s Business Interiors of Idaho, and Bar de Nay) also collectively committed another $100,000 in funding, plus in-kind contributions.\textsuperscript{196} The City of Boise added another $100,000, and the Ada County Highway District (ACHD), contributed $50,000.\textsuperscript{197}

In January of 1999, the Basque community and the City of Boise suffered a tremendous blow. Pat and Eloise Bieter, Boiseans who had dedicated years of service to Basque culture and education, were tragically killed in an auto accident. This terrible event galvanized Boiseans into action to transform tragedy into what would become a source of ethnic and civic pride for the city. The City’s Visual Arts Advisory Committee appropriated another $28,000, and earmarked it for a Basque public art project in honor of the Bieters that would be installed on Grove Street as part of the beautification plan.\textsuperscript{198} That was the magic touch, and from that point forward, Basques and non-Basques committed thousands of hours to transform Grove Street into the Basque Block.

The Basque Block was a risk, but it was a demonstration of the significance of cultural diversity in America. The official grand opening of Boise’s new Basque Block occurred during that year’s international Jaialdi celebration on July 28, 2000.\textsuperscript{199} Thousands of people, Basque and

\textsuperscript{196} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{197} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{198} Totoricaguena, \textit{Boise Basques}, 195-199.
\textsuperscript{199} Ibid.
non-Basque, attended the memorable event, including a delegation from the Basque Government. The project was widely supported and recognized as a contemporary cultural district nestled near downtown, in honor of one of Boise’s most persistent ethnic groups: the Basques. No other community in the United States has developed a comparable Basque place.

The Basque Block reveals the evolution of the Basques through time in Boise. It is comprised of Basque places that represent each generation, such as the Amerikanuak Jacobs boardinghouse and Anduiza Fronton, the Tartekoak Basque Center, and Egungoak Basque Museum. Before the opening of the Basque Block, the Bieters analyzed the third generation’s choice to return to the ethnicity of their ancestors because it “fulfilled both the need for a unique identity and the simultaneous desire to be part of a community.” Shortly after this perceptive declaration, the Basque Block was born, and it became the community where Egungoak could choose various means of exhibiting their ancestral culture through language, food, dance, or other customs, without the challenges the previous generations endured. Clearly this was not a return to previous eras or a re-creation of days past. Rather, the Basque Block embodied Herbert Gans’ principle of symbolic ethnicity: the Egungoak’s way of expressing their ethnic identity.

Specific places on the Basque Block can be viewed as symbols of ethnicity. “Given identity” focused the immigrant Amerikanuak inward, knowing ethnicity was “a legacy that we received at birth, without seeking it or working for it, and it is not sufficient for us to tacitly fail to accept it.” The Jacobs boardinghouse and Anduiza fronton symbolize the legacy of the Amerikanuak generation, and the places of that generation that aided the immigrant transition to America. The Basque Center signifies Tartekoak dual ethnic identity of being Basque, yet also being American. The Center is intended for solely-Basque purpose and function, but it is also a

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200 Bieter and Bieter, *An Enduring Legacy*, 120; See also Mary Waters’ social theory elsewhere in *Lekuak.*

201 Pello Salaburu, *Koldo Mitxelena: Selected Writings of a Basque Scholar* (Reno: University of Nevada Reno, Center for Basque Studies, Basque Classics Series, no. 4, 2008), 47.
place that admits non-Basques under certain criteria. It is a place that symbolizes a distinct cultural group that openly expresses its ethnicity amidst the larger non-Basque society. The Basque Museum is an educational institution of the Egungoak generation, a symbol of Basque cultural preservation. Its non-restricted access to museum membership, exhibits, and educational programs connects Basques directly to their heritage and also expands the cultural reach beyond the inner Basque circle through education.

Basque symbols fill the Block as connections to homeland culture, also true to Gans’ concept of symbolic ethnicity. The imposing laïak are symbols of Basque strength. The oak tree at the Jacobs boardinghouse is a sapling from Gernika, representative of the Gernika’ko Arbola (the Oak Tree of Gernika). This tree signifies ancient Basque laws, or foruak, that represented the right of self-determination, autonomy, and freedom of the Basque people.202 Traditional Basque lauburus, sidewalk Basque family surnames, and provincial coats of arms are more obvious displays of Basque identity, and their presence in granite and concrete symbolize permanence. Around the corner from Bar Gernika, the Basque mural represents the transition from Old Country to New World, depicting the challenges and triumphs of Basque immigration and transition to life in America. The Basque food at Bar Gernika, the Basque Market, Leku Ona, and during block celebrations are also symbolic ethnicity. Dances, concerts, and festivals such as San Inacio and Jaialdi fall in this same category. All of these symbols on the Basque Block are a public, outward expression of symbolic ethnicity.

The Basque Block serves as a reminder of the Old World culture, but it also currently represents those who claim Basque heritage today and express their ethnicity publicly. Basques and non-Basques alike can share in the Block’s celebrations, food, and other customs, though. Visitors to the Block can also patronize the non-Basque businesses without choosing to connect

with Basque culture. Non-Basque businesses support Basques by their presence on the Block, but they also are representative of the larger non-ethnic community that is integral to this place as a thriving Boise downtown district.

The Basque Block represents the importance of ethnic place in contemporary times. It contributes economically, socially, and culturally to the City of Boise. The evolution of Basque places in Boise through the generations, from the internally-focused Jacobs boardinghouse to the externally-shared, symbolic Basque Block, reflects a societal transformation that is uniquely visible in one place. Boise’s Basque Block is a place that symbolically demonstrates the persistence of Basque culture in the twenty-first century. It signals a greater appreciation for and acceptance of ethnic expression today, not a decline of ethnicity.

A newspaper editorial once observed Basque ethnicity and its impact on American society, “Basque blood runs strong, even in the second and third generations. A Basque will always be a Basque – proud, vigorous, and self-confident – even if he is an American. And America is so much richer for it.”

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The Academic Contribution of Lekuak to the Study of Basques in the American West

Lekuak focuses on a new area of Basque cultural study: the persistence of Basque cultural expression through place. This study traces how Basque places reflect the evolution of each generation’s expression of ethnic identity in response to American societal forces through time. It applies the lens of place to the case study of Basques in Boise, Idaho, to document the cultural persistence of this ethnic group for over a hundred years. An overarching theoretical framework of ethnic expression is applied to Lekuak. It claims that place is a valid construct from which culture can be examined. It is precisely the intersection of people and place through time that allows for this rich investigation.

Scholars have contributed to studies of Basques in the American West for almost sixty years. Lekuak supports, challenges, and extends the work of Basque scholars John Bieter, Mark Bieter, Carmelo Urza, and William Douglass. These scholars have used generational, institutional, and societal parameters to examine Basque culture in the American West. Their scholarly precedent supports the organizational structure of Lekuak.

Basque historians and brothers John and Mark Bieter published a pivotal book in 2000, An Enduring Legacy: The Story of Basques in Idaho. The study was organized by successive generations through time: the Immigrant, Hyphenated, and Ethnic Generations. An Enduring Legacy expanded the story of Basques in the American West by shifting the story of immigration and assimilation into the sphere of sociology, based on sociologist Marcus Lee Hansen’s “third

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204 The beginning of the historiography of Basques in the American West is most often credited to the 1957 publication of Sweet Promised Land by Robert Laxalt, a story of his immigrant sheepherder father’s return to the homeland. This was a story about Basque and American identity, and the cultural forces that surrounded the issues of immigration and assimilation into larger American society for the Amerikanuak and Tartekoak Basques.
generation theory” that ethnic revival occurred with the third [Basque] generation.\textsuperscript{205}

*Lekuak* parallels the Bieters’ generational model. By doing so, it confirms the Bieter’s characterization that *The Immigrant Generation* operated within their ethnic group almost exclusively. Similar to the Bieter’s *The Hyphenated Generation*, *Lekuak* illustrates the second-generation’s ethnic duality of being both Basque and American. It also supports the Bieters’ assertion that *The Ethnic Generation’s* conscious choice to publicly express their Basque culture was core to the resurgence of ethnic expression.\textsuperscript{206} The co-authors ended their story in 2000 with *The Ethnic Generation’s* symbolic ethnicity and the element of “choosing to be Basque” as potential pillars of Basque cultural persistence into the future.

*Lekuak’s* generational study concludes similarly, and it fully supports their application of symbolic identity as a demonstration of cultural persistence in contemporary time. *Lekuak* also overlays various aspects of sociological study to understand each generation’s ethnic identity development. This is extended to the transformation of the various generation’s places, similar to the Bieters’ use of Gans’ symbolic ethnicity in the third generation.

*Lekuak* is published fifteen years following *An Enduring Legacy*, however, and significant place-based events have occurred since the publication of that work. *Lekuak’s* methodology, the use of place, to understand the evolution of ethnic expression through several Basque generations diverges from the Bieters’ approach.

Since the publication of that work in the year 2000, the Basque Museum has gained many new members, and it has significantly expanded its collections, exhibits, and educational programming at the Museum and at off-site locations. The Museum garnered large fiscal support from donors and in-kind support from Boise citizens to renovate the Jacobs boardinghouse as a


\textsuperscript{206} Ibid., Bieter and Bieter, *An Enduring Legacy*, 5.
living history museum. Euskara classes have filled at the Museum year after year, with persons of many heritages studying this ancient language. The Anduiza fronton celebrated a hundred-year anniversary, and it supports the active Boise Fronton Association’s games between local and out-of-town players for tournaments. The Basque Center is continuously booked full with Basque and non-Basque community events. Most significantly, since the publication of An Enduring Legacy, Boise’s Basque Block has grown to be a seminal place for those of Basque ancestry to express their ethnic heritage, as well as a primary downtown cultural district for locals and visitors alike. It is the culmination of symbolic ethnicity, where the evolution of each generation’s ethnic expression is represented through place. Lekuak therefore, is an extension of the Bieters’ work through time period and place, and the Basque Block is the most recent example to confirm Egungoak ethnic expression and cultural persistence.

Carmelo Urza considered the evolution of Basque presence in the American West through institutional periods. Lekuak loosely parallels Amerikanuak, Tartekoak, and Egungoak places along Urza’s institutional theory that is divided among three similar time periods. Urza’s Historical (1848-1948) period when Basques were generally isolated as a cultural group aligns with Lekuak’s Amerikanuak generation, with places such as their internal boardinghouses; the Modern (1948-1967) period, when assimilation influenced a change in the social image and structure of the Basques, is applied to the Tartekoak’s development of identity through Americanized businesses, picnics, and the Basque Center; and Lekuak fully adopts Urza’s Post-Modern Age of Institutions (1969-Present) claim that that this period witnessed the flourishing of Basque clubs, associations, festivals, and educational institutions.\footnote{Urza, “The Age of Institutions,” in Community in the American West, 231-251.}

Lekuak echoes Urza’s claim that the Basque institutions of this time intend to “educate the larger society, as well as the Basque community; [to] contribute to ethnic maintenance; and
[to] strengthen the very social fabric of the ethnic community.” Boise’s Basque educational institutions, Egungoak places such as the Basque Museum, Boise’ko Ikastola, and Basque Studies at Boise State University, demonstrate that educational institutions are essential to cultural persistence, using place to support Urza’s theory.

In Global Vasconia, Basque scholar and anthropologist William Douglass referred to a three-tired societal structure to explain the Basque diaspora’s ethnic identity. Lekuak supports Phase I because the places of the Amerikanuak reflect those who Douglass described as immigrants who traveled “straight from the Pyrenees with no need to step outside an established Basque network.” Lekuak aligns with this diaspora phase because boardinghouses, frontons, and the Church of the good Shepherd demonstrated that first-generation Basques were in survival mode, highly dependent on one another, and used their internal ethnic networks to maintain social cohesion.

Douglass characterized the American-born children of immigrants as “rejectors” of parental Old World heritage, language, customs, and politics in his Phase II. Lekuak confirms that the Tartekoak actions revealed a period of identity questioning and exploration, because they were “in-between” being Basque and being American. Places such as residences in suburban neighborhoods, Basque businesses that had American names, and temporary gathering places indicate the Tartekoak did not display solely-Basque ethnicity of their parents, but instead, a hybrid Basque-American identity that becomes evident when examining the paces of this generation. By the end of the Tartekoak period, or Douglass’ Phase II, Boise’s Basques had built the Basque Center, clearly a move from rejection to embracing their ethnic heritage.

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208 Ibid.
Douglass indicated that *Phase III* was comprised of the “children of the immigrants’ children,” (the American-born grandchildren), whom he identified as Basque culture “seekers.” Lekuak examines the Egungoak generation’s places, finding that they choose to seek out the ethnic heritage of their ancestors, as Douglass contended. Lekuak extends this beyond merely seeking Basque culture, however. The Egungoak seek their culture out, choose which parts of it to retain, (similar to Waters’ assertion), and then publicly display their ethnic associations symbolically in places such as Boise’s Basque Block.

Lekuak agrees with those who assert that although Basques had a longtime presence in the American West, they did not alter the landscape in any large-scale physical manner. William Douglass once stated this observation in the 1992 publication of *To Build in a New Land: Ethnic Landscapes in North America*, “If we pose the question of what kind of ethnic mark the Basque-American community has implanted upon the [architectural] landscape of the American West, the answer must be, practically none...The Basques contributed little to the American landscape in the form of bricks and mortar.”

The case study of Boise challenges Douglass’ assertion in the 1992 ethnic landscape study, primarily because Egungoak places gained significance as Basque contributions to the American landscape in the later 1990s. Although Basque places in America rarely looked like those of the homeland, their functions connected Basques symbolically to the memory of their homeland, which did result in some visible “bricks and mortar” contributions to Boise’s landscape. The Anduiza Fronton that still stands in Boise today represents a visible ethnic mark that has been restored and maintained as a primary Basque place. The Basque Center is a “bricks

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210 Ibid.
212 Douglass, “Basques in the American West,” in *To Build in a New Land*, 392.
and mortar” contribution, but it is hardly a distinctive Basque place on the landscape. The Basque Block of 2000, however, with its symbolic ethnic expression, does leave a tangible legacy of Basque culture that is vibrantly expressed today.

*Lekuak* applies sociological theories of ethnicity by Jean Phinney, Herbert Gans, Mary Waters, and Richard Alba to analyze the parallel evolution of ethnic identity and place in Boise, Idaho. This study of place aligns key aspects of Jean Phinney’s “Three-Stage Model of Ethnic Identity Development” to each generation’s places and expressions of ethnicity.\(^{213}\) *Lekuak*’s generation-by-generation examination of Boise’s Basque places parallel Phinney’s assertions that ethnic identity develops through time. The Basque places also evolve, from first-generation places of birthplace or given identity such as the boardinghouses and frontons; to the second generation places that reflect dual ethnic identity as with the Basque Center; and finally to the third generation’s achievement of open ethnic identity, as evidenced by the Egungoak’s Basque Block.\(^{214}\)

*Lekuak* confirms that Boise’s Basque Block contains all of the elements that Gans contended confirm expression of ethnicity: ethnic organizations and institutions that are promotional, commercial, performing, preserving; private ethnic practices; and outward expression of ethnic identity.\(^{215}\) All of these elements appear in Boise’s Basque places today, well-positioned to continue into the future. *Lekuak* fully ascribes to the Herbert Gans’ theory of symbolic ethnicity, particularly with the Basque Block as the pinnacle of outward ethnic expression where symbols connect Basques to their cultural heritage.

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\(^{213}\) Phinney, “A Three-Stage Model of Ethnic Identity Development.”

\(^{214}\) Ibid.

This study, however, challenges Gans’ conclusion that symbolic ethnicity represented a “coming period of darkness,” a harbinger of the final stage of ethnic acculturation and assimilation that indicates the decline of ethnicity in America.\(^\text{216}\) Lekuak also challenges Richard Alba, who also argued similarly that the “twilight of ethnicity is the secular decline in the significance of ethnicity.”\(^\text{217}\) Alba posited the opinion that high social mobility, intermarriage, post-secondary education, and the success in gaining top-tier workforce economic status have negatively impacted ethnicity.\(^\text{218}\) For Alba, these combined forces herald the decline of ethnicity in America, which support Gans’ conclusion of the inevitable homogenous American “melting pot.”\(^\text{219}\) The Lekuak study of Basque places, and of the Basque Block in particular, directly challenges Gans and Alba’s contentions that the melting pot has swirled away America’s diverse ethnic groups into one amalgamation. Lekuak considers the Basque Block as the culmination of symbolic ethnicity, which is visibly alive today, and this points to the cultural persistence of the Basques at least in Boise, not a signal of the ultimate decline of ethnicity.

Lastly, Lekuak applies a cornerstone element of conscious choice to the third generation’s places that publicly express ethnic identity.\(^\text{220}\) This supports sociologist Mary Waters’ premise that ethnic groups in America today have choice of ethnic identification, as well as choice to demonstrate ethnicity publicly. Waters claimed that the combination of involuntary heredity and personal choice allows for the individual expression of ethnic identity, which ultimately leads to “pride of heritage and pluralist values of diversity.”\(^\text{221}\) The Basque places of Boise demonstrate diversity through the manifestation of choice to “be Basque,” particularly with the Egungoak


\(^{218}\) Alba, “The twilight of ethnicity,” 780-785.

\(^{219}\) Ibid.

\(^{220}\) Ibid.

\(^{221}\) Waters, Ethnic Options, 16 and 89.
generation’s deliberate expression of symbolic ethnicity. This can be seen in Egungoak expression of outward symbols, such as icons, cultural festivals, food, language, dance, music, and educational institutions that are highly visible on the Basque Block.

This study supports Water’s further assertion that ethnicity is foundational in defining American identity: “more than ever, to be American is defined as being an immigrant or the descendant of an immigrant, and this reinforces people’s links with their immigrant pasts.”222 Lekuak demonstrates that the Basque Block is one link of a particular ethnic group’s immigrant past. It stands strong as an ultimate symbol of ethnicity, a tribute to the foundation of America’s multicultural identity. This is the power of the intersection of Basque people and place through time that is revealed in Lekuak.

POSTSCRIPT: WHY BOISE?

Some have asked, “Why Boise? “What is the ‘special sauce’ for Basque preservation in Boise in the twenty-first century?” “Why don’t we see Black-American persistence through place in Boise, for instance?” Lekuak’s sociological and historical frameworks partly answer these queries. A short examination of additional factors, however, may provide some other reasons to consider: demographics (population and geography), economics, race, and relations between Boise Basques and the homeland.

Demographics (Population and Geography): The Basque population in Boise is perceived to be substantial, as evidenced by Boise Basques hosting the international Jaialdi celebration every five years, and because this ethnic group has an entire urban city block dedicated to its culture. In 2000, the U.S Census counted 6,637 persons of Basque ancestry in Idaho out of 57,793 Basques nationally.\(^{223}\) By 2014, anecdotal estimates tally Boise’s population between 7,000 and 10,000 people, or about 3.2% of the city’s overall population of 216,282, which indicates there is a high concentration of Basques in a relatively small geographic area.\(^{224}\) Comparatively in Nevada, 6,096 Basques were counted among an overall population of 236,995 people, or a little more than 2.5% of the total population, dispersed across an expansive statewide

\(^{223}\) North American Basque Organizations (NABO), “U.S. Basque Population in 2000,” http://www.nabasque.org/us_basque_population.html; http://www.nabasque.org/old_nabo/NABO/zenbat_gara.htm; The estimates were based on self-identification and a sampling of Basque ethnicity; Western state estimates included California, 20,868 Basques; Idaho, 6,637 Basques; Nevada, 6,096 Basques; Washington, 2,665 Basques; Oregon, 2,627 Basques; and Wyoming, 869 Basques. These estimates may an under-representation, as many Basques who did not distinctly self-identify as a separate ethnic group identified themselves as “white” or “caucasian.” Also, the 2000 census number was derived from a sampling (John Ysursa, personal communication, November 2015).

The largest concentration of Basques in a western city, however, is in Winnemucca, Nevada, where Basques comprise 4.2% of the total citywide population of 8,000. When populations are concentrated in small geographic areas such as Boise or Winnemucca, as opposed to being dispersed across a larger region, or if dense clustering of Basques in certain towns such as Boise that also have more visible gathering places in centralized locations, cultural persistence may be stronger.

Basques have remained clustered in a central area near Grove Street throughout Boise’s history, as evidenced by living, work, and worship places that were first formed near the downtown center of business and state government. Other ethnic groups, including the Greeks, Chinese, Germans, and Jews also established places of business, worship, and social gatherings near downtown, but they did not remain as long as the Basques near centers of commerce.

One other ethnic group, the African-Americans, had some members who settled near Boise’s River and Ash neighborhood in the late 1800s and early 1900s. That area was farther

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227 Preservation Idaho, “Boise Architecture Project,” boisearchitecture.org/structuredetail.php?id=1715: The German Turnverein Society meeting hall was built in 1906, but closed by 1916 due to pre-World War I anti-German sentiment; Boise City Department of Arts & History, http://www.boiseartsandhistory.org/media/21688/BoiseChinatownGuide.pdf: Various Chinese sites existed in Boise from 1898 to the 1940s, even under the U.S. Chinese Exclusion Act, but anti-Asian eradication and urban renewal claimed most Chinese sites; Preservation Idaho, “Boise Architecture Project,” http://boisearchitecture.org/structuredetail.php?id=1417: The Sts. Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Church was built in Boise’s North end, but later, in 1951. It remains today and is one example of Greek cultural persistence, along with the Jewish Synagogue (Temple Ahavath Beth Israel), that was originally built in 1896 near downtown at Eleventh and State Streets, and was later moved to Latah Street in 2003: Preservation Idaho, “Boise Architecture Project,” http://boisearchitecture.org/structuredetail.php?id=108; For further study of other immigrant groups in Boise, see: Todd Shallat, Ethnic Landmarks: Ten Historic Places that Define the City of Trees - Boise City Walking Series (Boise: Boise City Office of the Historian, Boise State University School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, 2007), multiple sections of the book - Chinese: 91-97; German, 75-81; Greeks, 123-129.

from business and government hubs near the south side of the railroad tracks as a distinctly segregated settlement with others of minority ethnic or racial origin. Through Boise’s history, there have been even fewer Blacks than Basques, which is supported by the most recent 2014 population estimate that indicated 3,043 African-Americans in the city, or 1.5% of the total population.229

Another possible demographic consideration is that Boise is the capital city of Idaho, and the Basque Block is steps away from the Statehouse. Close proximity to lawmakers in the seat of government has allowed Basques to influence the city’s economic and social infrastructure. Basques have contributed to state, city, and county government in various ways, including legislation regarding homeland Basque politics; economic trade missions; city development; and cross-cultural exchanges. Basques have served in elected positions as well, including Pete Cenarrusa who was Idaho’s longest-serving elected politician for fifty-two years in the legislature and as Idaho Secretary of State; Ben Ysursa, another Basque who followed Cenarrusa as Idaho Secretary of State; J. Patrick Bieter, Idaho House of Representatives; and Dave Bieter, who served in his late father’s House seat and has since served as Boise’s four-term Mayor. During the 2005 Jaialdi celebration, Mayor Bieter paid tribute to Boise’s sister city, Gernika:

In 1992, the City of Boise established a sister city relationship with a town that is very close to the hearts of many in Boise: Gernika, Bizkaia. Over 100 years ago, the first immigrants from the Basque Country came to the Treasure Valley to make their way in the new world. These Basque settlers came from different towns in the Basque Country, many coming at the behest of a family member who told them work was available in Idaho. Although these men and women came from many different towns Lekeitio, Aulestia, Mundaka to name a few, virtually every Basque immigrant who came to the Boise area was born within a 30-mile radius of the City of Gernika. But the City of Gernika has even greater than a geographic significance to the Basques in Boise and around the world. Gernika is where Basque leaders, in an early example of proportional representation, met to discuss issues under the Tree of Gernika, and where the kings and

229 U.S. Census data: Boise City, 2010-2014, http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/16/1608830.html; Solely-white population of Boise was 89%; Hispanics/Latinos 7.1%; Asians at 3.2%.
queens of Spain affirmed their commitment to Basque Autonomy. How fitting, then, that the City of Trees and the town of the Tree of Gernika have become sister cities... And so we come here today to reaffirm our sister city relationship; to renew our commitment to strengthen our cultural, educational, and governmental ties.230

Ties between the two cities have deeply influenced politics, economics, and education – all of which are critical to Basque persistence Boise. They are indicative also of strong international ties between the Basque Country and Boise today, as is addressed later in this analysis.

Demographic factors, including population numbers and a concentration of Basques across a small area, combine to strengthen cultural persistence in Boise. Political connections, however, also have influenced persistence, most usually when they have aligned with economic development of Boise.

Economics: Boise’s Grove Street has been a place of Basque business since the late 1800s and early 1900s with the establishment of Basque boardinghouses. Economics have played a role in the sustainability of Basque culture in Boise, similar to the Italian restaurants and food markets of “Little Italies” in the eastern United States, “Little Tokyo” flower markets in Los Angeles, or Chinatown shops and restaurants in San Francisco and Seattle.

Today, the Basque Block is integral to the economic stability of the City of Boise. It is a primary cultural district cornerstone that draws locals as well as visitors, bringing tourist and local dollars to the city. The city and county have supported the Basque Block since its creation in 2000 through grants, public programs, street development, property maintenance, and other civic benefits.231 No doubt the city also reaps economic benefits from the thousands of tourists

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231 Jennifer Shelby, Becoming Basque, 195; The city and county have supported the Basque Block since its creation in 2000 with economic support through grants, public programs, street development, property maintenance, and other civic benefits. Just to establish the Block, the City dedicated $100,000; Boise City’s Visual Arts Advisory Committee appropriated $28,000; Capitol City Development Corporation (CCDC) revamped Grove Street at a cost
that enter Boise, along with local support, for Basque festivals such as Jaialdi. From hotel rooms to restaurants, this Basque festival brings tourism dollars to the city, as Basque Museum & Cultural Center educational director Annie Gavica stated, “At the fairgrounds for the weekend, there were 20,000 tickets used to get in, 5,000 tickets sold at Sports Night, 2,000 tickets sold for Festara at the Morrison Center, and an innumerable number of people on the Basque Block at all times. This was the biggest Jaialdi yet, both in numbers of people and amount of money raised.” Quite possibly, the Basque Block is as important to the city’s identity as it is to Basque ethnic identity in modern times. This symbiotic effect may indeed support cultural persistence because each is dependent upon the other for economic stability.

Another economic consideration is considerable financial support from a small number of Boise Basques. For example, Adelia Garro Simplot and Rich Hormaechea provided funding for the acquisition of historic buildings on Grove Street, which paved the way for the development of the Basque Block. This enabled a solid geographic base of multiple buildings that few ethnic groups can claim, except perhaps the Jewish and Greek churches. The Basque Museum & Cultural Center relies on membership dues, fundraisers, and philanthropic giving programs to aid cultural efforts. Memberships to the Boise Basque Center, and comparatively, to the San Francisco Basque Center, provide an opportunity for Basques to be part of their ethnic community in a central gathering spot which strengthens persistence. Membership dues, liquor sales, and rental income help support the maintenance of culture through economic gain. Boise has educational institutions, memberships, the Basque Block, and a Basque Center, which provide a diverse base of fiscal and cultural support. Conversely, Reno has the University of Nevada, Reno’s Douglass Center for Basque Studies, the national Monument to the Basque

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Sheepherder (“Solitude”), a Basque dance club, and two Basque restaurants, but it does not have a Basque Center. A Basque Center in this city could provide a more stable economic base and cohesive unifying place for Nevada Basques to demonstrate their cultural persistence as well. To be certain, cultural persistence is greatly supported by fiscal contributions of the internal Basque cultural community.

Support from outside the cultural circle should not be underestimated, either, as significant influence on Basque cultural persistence. Non-Basques contribute in-kind donations and spend thousands of dollars supporting Boise’s Basque Block, Jaialdi and San Inacio, the 2015 Basque Soccer Friendly exhibition game, museum exhibits and programs, food, wine, and gift sales.

A key factor in cultural persistence is Basque restaurants, which the Ysursa family recognized years ago when they opened the doors of the Valencia Restaurant to non-Basques. Today, many Basques and non-Basques frequent Boise’s Bar Gernika, Leku Ona, the Basque Market, the Oinkari Chorizo Booth at festivals, and Epi’s Restaurant in nearby Meridian. The San Francisco Basque Center has a restaurant, which draws patrons outside the Basque community that help to sustain the Center fiscally. Reno has two restaurants, Louis’ Basque Corner and the Santa Fe, which have been patronized by locals for years. The same can be said for many Basque eateries across the American West: these places remain the most visible elements of Basque culture today. Because they are inclusive and accessible to non-Basques, they serve as economic support to cultural persistence.

Ensuring non-Basque contributions is critical to sustaining Basque culture long-term. When persons of non-Basque heritage can participate in “being Basque” they also help Basques preserve their culture. Marty Peterson confirmed this at the City Club of Boise luncheon during
Jaialdi 2015 when he said, “During Jaialdi, everyone’s a little bit Basque…” More than twenty-thousand attendees demonstrated this through their wallets and time in 2015 at both Jaialdi and the Soccer Friendly game between Spain’s La Liga Athletic Bilbao and Mexico’s Liga MX Club Tijuana.

Race: Racism and ethnicity in Boise, however, cannot be ignored in Lekuak. Boise’s Chinatown area once harbored temples and shops, but it was exterminated by racism and urban renewal. Boise’s African-American community did not establish a strong commercial center in town, as many Blacks worked as laborers, domestic help, or in other occupations in early Boise instead. Well into 2007, only .2% of Boise’s businesses were Black-owned.

During the Amerikanuak period, Basques initially were equated to the African-Americans or the Chinese who were viewed with suspicion and treated with prejudice. The Bieters recalled a 1909 Caldwell Tribune article about the problem of Bizkaian Basques in the sheep industry, “Bascos are on par with those of the Chinaman,” but even worse than the Chinese, the Basques were derogatorily coined “dirty black Bascos,” who were “filthy, treacherous, and meddlesome,” and “unless something was done, they would make life impossible for the white man.”

The Basques, likely because they were white Europeans and not Asian or Black, eventually integrated into the mostly-white, larger Boise community through the years. On the

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234 KTVB television, “Athletic Bilbao defeats Club Tijuana in historic event,” July 18, 2015, http://www.ktvb.com/story/sports/2015/07/18/basque-soccer-friendly-recap/30371835; the official count for the historic first-time Basque soccer event in Boise was 21,948 attendees in Boise State University’s Albertsons Stadium. Another first with this event: the blue turf was replaced with live green grass.
238 Bieter and Bieter, An Enduring Legacy, 39.
other hand, economic opportunity often evaded large numbers of Blacks in Boise, as with Black communities in other cities across the United States. An economic gap between Blacks and Euro-whites has historically existed in Idaho, and this racial divide can be seen when Basque and Black places in Boise are considered side-by-side. African-Americans in Boise were, and still are, relegated to their own internal economic means for cultural education and persistence, with comparatively little economic support from outside the ethnic group, including city grants.

One example of this is the St. Paul Baptist Church, which was established in 1908 as a central cultural place for Boise’s Black community. The church was moved from its original location at 128 Broadway Street to Idaho State Historical Society property in Julia Davis Park in 1998. The move was funded by Boise City Parks and Recreation, and authorized by the Boise City Council. That was the primary source of fiscal support for this church as an historic site. Today, the small church is home to the non-profit Idaho Black History Museum, but it relies mostly on membership and donor dollars, not city support.

Another indicator of racial economics is city grant funding for Black cultural projects. The Boise City Arts & History Department publicly announces grant awards, but the numbers of projects and funding amounts for African-American projects are low from 1997-2016, when compared to Basque and other ethnic group recipients of grant funds. Information about grant


244 Boise City Department of Arts & History, Grant Recipients 1997-2016; [http://www.boiseartsandhistory.org/cultural-programs/grants/arts-history-grants/city-arts-history-grant-current-and-past-recipients](http://www.boiseartsandhistory.org/cultural-programs/grants/arts-history-grants/city-arts-history-grant-current-and-past-recipients). For the grant years 1997-2016, the Basques have received many grants including substantial
applicants or project proposals is not noted on the City’s website, which would clarify if grants for Black projects have been denied or if few applications have been submitted through the years. Whether the African-American community has not been able to apply for grants or they have not been selected for awards, the net result is a lack of public visibility for this ethnic group when compared to the Basques, or even the more recent exposure of the Bosnian-Herzegovinians. This could negatively affect their ability to develop cultural places or activities in the city that would support cultural persistence, such as those of Boise’s Basques.

The racial divide continues to be an American issue today, and race economics indicate Boise is not immune from this. Ethnicity has worked to advantage of the white-European immigrant group more often than not in America, as can be seen by city and public support of the Basques in Boise for many years. The transformation of the Basques from a denigrated ethnic group in the 1900s to a celebrated one in the 2000s, however, indicates attitudes about race and ethnicity can change in America.

*Relations between Boise Basques and the homeland:* Boise was the first city to institute a formal university-level Basque Studies Abroad Program in 1974. This was foundational to the establishment of a long-standing relationship between the Basque Country and Boise. By the late 1990s, relations between the Basque diaspora and the homeland grew stronger, with a concerted focus on maintaining Basque culture through dedicated Basque government-funded programs in dance, music, language, economics, and education.²⁴⁵

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Today, the Basque Autonomous Government provides fiscal support to American cultural and educational institutions such as the Basque Museum & Cultural Center, the Boise’ko Ikastola, and Boise State University’s Basque Studies Program, as well as student and faculty exchanges, university courses, and community programs. The Basque Museum & Cultural Center has garnered Basque Autonomous Government fiscal support since 1996. Funding from the Basque government has included multiple annual grants up to twenty-five thousand dollars each for Ikastola programs and educators, oral histories, exhibits and programs, equipment, and museum gallery support. The Etxepare Basque Institute and Boise State University will establish the Eloise Garmendia Bieter Chair position in the University’s Basque Studies program in 2016. This position is part of a coordinated effort between the Basque government and the University to support Basque cultural exchange, which demonstrates not only cultural persistence in this large diaspora location, but confirmation that the city is considered to be a stronghold of Basques worthy of an international program.

The importance of Basque government support and interactions with Boise also cannot be underemphasized. Boise Basques have cultivated and maintained the fiscal, political, and cultural relationships with their Euro-Basque counterparts for many years. Cultural exchanges between these two entities support the maintenance of Basque identity that signals a symbiotic Basque persistence in Boise and the homeland. The ultimate effect of strong Boise-homeland relations is a global, transnational exchange that supports economic, social, and educational stability of both the diaspora and Basque homeland populations today. Basques in Boise and the Basque Country have also formed longstanding interpersonal relationships, which has served to support economic and cultural exchange, bolstering outward ethnic expression among Boise Basques.

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Boise is unique in the diaspora, and there are many considerations that support the assertion that Basque cultural persistence is observable in this city today. Boise’s Basques have been beneficiaries of a “perfect storm” in many ways. A combination of factors have supported cultural persistence, such as demographics, economics, race, and relations between Boise Basques and the homeland, in addition to generations of Basques and innumerable non-Basques who have proudly supported Basque culture.

Few if any other ethnic groups in Boise, Idaho, have been able to claim cultural persistence in demonstrable ways today. Place remains central to Basque cultural persistence in Boise, as the Basque Block epitomizes, but these additional thoughts about “Why Boise?” close Lekuak with a forward-focus. Responses to changes in these factors in the future will affect Basque preservation in Boise, including the next generation’s attitude toward place in the twenty-first century’s global and digital world.

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247 See Lekuak Appendix, “Boise: Uniquely Basque.”
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APPENDIX
APPENDIX 1

THE PUBLIC HISTORY PROJECT

Audience and Goals

*Lekuak* is for both general public and academic audiences, Basques and non-Basques. It aims to (1) document Basque cultural persistence for over a hundred years in Boise, Idaho, through the lens of place; (2) produce printed and digital public history tools to improve accessibility to Basque history; and (3) stimulate conversation about cultural diversity and ethnic heritage in America.

Components and Budget

The student has identified the following *Lekuak* public history project components. The various components emphasize different approaches to public history that will reach several audiences and improve overall accessibility to the information. Descriptions of the project components and estimated resources needed to accomplish production of the components follows:

1. *Basque Museum & Cultural Center (BMCC) “Basque Boise” Walking Tour Brochure*  
   ($1000 – funded; project in review as of November 2015 at Basque Museum)

The graduate student wrote, designed, and researched this brochure, as well as compiled research from the BMCC. It enables visitors to easily locate Basque places in Boise that are visible today by providing an easy and accessible walking tour. It also indicates Basque places that no longer exist in Boise to provide historical context. It was funded with a $1000 grant from the Boise City Department of Arts & History. The grant award covered printing expenses. The graduate student contributed in-kind writing, research, graphic design, and print coordination services to produce the walking tour brochure.
2. Production: Book Printing, estimate $7,000 to 10,000 (1,000 copies)

The graduate student designed this public history project as a printed book that would enable the reader to read about Boise’s Basque places and people through history. The book supports greater accessibility to the information through graphics, photographs, and visual timelines. It is envisioned to be a commercially-printed softcover book in full-color, and will be perfect-bound. Funding will have to be secured for this part of the public history project. The following bids were obtained in August of 2015:

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<th>Printing Company</th>
<th>Quantity 1,000</th>
<th>Quantity 1,500</th>
<th>Quantity 2,000</th>
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<td>Joslyn and Morris Printing</td>
<td>$10,254.00</td>
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<td>Alexander-Clark Printing</td>
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</table>

3. Audio Production of Lekuak, estimate $1,500

The graduate student has planned for *Lekuak* to also be produced with audio files, either as a downloadable podcast or an audio CD that will be digitally available on websites and mobile devices. Funding will have to be secured for this part of the public history project. Another option may be for the graduate student to produce an i-Book for Apple platforms that would be a condensed version of the book that contains digital audio files of people speaking Basque, playing traditional music, and engaging oral histories.

4. Basque Museum & Cultural Center: Ostatuak: A Sense of Home Interpretive Exhibit and Dantza Interpretive Exhibit, costs funded
The graduate student contributed in-kind writing for the Museum’s Ostatuak interpretive exhibit/public history project, and completed all the graphic design and interpretive exhibit coordination services to produce and install the exhibit. The graduate student also contributed interpretive exhibit coordination services for the production and installation of the Dantza interpretive exhibit.

5. Basque Museum & Cultural Center and City of Boise: Basque Boise Electrical Box Wrap on Grove Street, costs funded, project completed July 2015.
The graduate student wrote, designed, and produced Basque Boise, a public art piece on one of the Basque Block’s electrical boxes. This public history project on Boise’s Grove Street includes a small map of Basque places in Boise, common Euskara words, Basque symbols, and photographs of some Basque places, including existing boardinghouses and the fronton.

6. Lekuak Workshop: Boise State University Basque Studies, costs funded
The graduate student will teach a weekend Lekuak workshop spring semester 2016 through Boise State University’s Basque Studies Program on April 2 and 3, 2016 at Boise State University’s BoDo Center. The workshop will include walking tours of Boise’s Basque places.

7. Grant Submission to Boise City Department of Arts & History: City of Trees, Roots of Diversity City Sidewalk Markers (submitted/not awarded, may resubmit 2016)
The student and two other graduate students wrote and submitted a grant to Boise City Department of Arts & History to produce and install bronze medallion sidewalk markers that would indicate ethnic places of Boise, including some places that are included in Lekuak. The grant submission was not awarded, but students received generally positive feedback about the project, except for weakness in coordination between Boise City and Ada County Highway District (ACHD) for installation coordination and walking tour brochure distribution. At some time in the future, it is possible the student(s) may consider resubmitting a proposal for a similar project for Boise (multiethnic or Basque).

8. Draft Grant Submission to Idaho Humanities Council: Lekuak Printed Materials

(not submitted, may resubmit in 2016)

The graduate student submitted a draft proposal to the Idaho Humanities Council for printing support for the production of Lekuak. Feedback received very favorable feedback from Executive Director Rick Ardinger. The proposal was not resubmitted for the September 2015 grant cycle due to two reasons: individuals can not submit a mini- or major-grant proposal without a sponsoring organization, and a fellowship is not available to individuals without a master’s degree. It is likely the student will submit a proposal for Lekuak in the January grant cycle focused on K-12 educational materials, teacher workshop, and associated digital components of the project.

Sources

Lekuak is not an exhaustive study of Basque places in Boise. It is a public history project that examines ethnic expression and cultural persistence through a sampling of some Boise’s Basque places from the late nineteenth century until present time. The project relies on historical
research and oral history interviews that were conducted by the student, and on a compilation of an extensive body of research conducted throughout many years by others to whom credit is given if known. The omission of places, people, and stories is not reflective of lower priority or decreased interest. It is hoped that this selection of Basque places will tell the story of cultural persistence through the generations, and will also stimulate conversation and further study.

*Lekuak* is derived from (1) primary sources - oral histories, historical/legal documents, passports and immigration records, letters, personal communications and correspondence, government documents; (2) secondary sources - articles, journals, newspapers, books, blueprints; (3) public records - city directories, county, state, SHPO, census data, commercial architectural and building permits; (4) Catholic Church records; (5) historic photos of people and places; (6) contemporary photographs of people and places; (7) maps of the Basque Country, the United States, Idaho, Boise; Sandborn fire insurance maps and other geographic aids; and cemetery plats; and (8) artifacts and audio recordings.
APPENDIX 2

TIMELINE
INSERT TIMELINE AND PHOTO CREDITS FOR TIMELINE
APPENDIX 3

LIST OF TERMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ama</td>
<td>Mother</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amuma</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aita</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aitxitxe</td>
<td>Grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amerikanuak</td>
<td>First-generation Basque immigrants to America</td>
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<tr>
<td>Argizaiola</td>
<td>The “offering of light,” made for the deceased. The wood block was carved,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and then wax candles roped around it. It was lit in remembrance of the</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deceased both to protect the soul with light and to remind the living of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the light that soul shone while on earth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Auzoa</td>
<td>Rural Basque community, neighborhood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Auzolan</td>
<td>Shared work of the community</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bai</td>
<td>“Yes” in Euskara (Ez = no)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baserri</td>
<td>Rural ancestral Basque farmhouse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baserriak</td>
<td>Basques who resided in the rural, countryside/farm areas of the Basque</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Country</td>
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<tr>
<td>Basque Provinces</td>
<td>Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Alava (BAC - Spain)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nafarroa (Autonomous Navarre - Spain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Behe Nafarroa, Lapurdi, Zuberoa (France)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td><em>Oxford Dictionary:</em> A group of people living in the same place or having</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a particular characteristic in common;” and “people [of a district or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>country] considered collectively, especially in the context of social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>values and responsibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Community</td>
<td><em>Library of Congress Folklife Center:</em> Living expression of culture in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>everyday life — anyone's culture — learned and passed on informally from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>person to person. It must be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
alive and current...though it may have existed over long stretches of time.

Diaspora  Literally, a “dispersed Seed.” Dispersed ethnic populations living outside their ancestral and historical homelands from their homeland, often traumatically (due to political, social, economic, religious reasons), and in search of work, trade, colonial ambition.

ETA  “Euskadi Ta Askatasuna,” (Basque Homeland and Liberty), the violent Basque separatist group that formed in 1970 to push for greater independence and the end of oppression, abuse of human rights, and disregard for civil liberties by the regime of General Franco against the Basque people. In 2010, a permanent ceasefire was declared. In 2012 the group negotiated an end to the operations.\textsuperscript{248}

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diaspora</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egungoak</td>
<td>Third+ generations (grandchildren of 1st gen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliza</td>
<td>Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etorkizunekoak</td>
<td>Future generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etxea</td>
<td>Home/House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etxekoandre</td>
<td>Woman of the House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etxekojaun</td>
<td>Man of the House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euskal Herria</td>
<td>The entire Basque Country, seven provinces between Spain and France.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euskara</td>
<td>Basque language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euzkadi</td>
<td>Three provinces of the Basque Autonomous Community BAC = Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Araba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euzkaldunak</td>
<td>Speakers of Euskara (Basque language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foruak</td>
<td>Ancient Basque foral laws (Spanish = fueros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fronton</td>
<td>Basque handball court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gernika (Bombing)</td>
<td>On April 26, 1937, Gernika’s civilians, mostly women and children on market day, were bombed by German and Italian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{248} Author e-mail interview with Dave Lachiondo, “Basque Politics,” September 2015.
airplanes dropping approximately thirty tons of explosives and incendiary bombs. Fleeing civilians were machine-gunned from the air, with the total number of killed approximately two thousand and another one thousand wounded. Artist Pablo Picasso illustrated the horrors suffered in this act of war in a mural, called “Guernica,” that became an international icon of repression, war, and horror.²⁴⁹

Gernika’ko Arbola

The entire town of Gernika was destroyed by the 1937 bombing, except for the church and the parliament building with an oak tree in front of it. The “Oak Tree of Gernika” (Gernika’ko Arbola) has stood ever since as a symbol of Basque freedom and endurance. The Lehendakari (President) takes an oath of office under this tree.²⁵⁰ Boise has two saplings from the Gernikako Arbola: one on Idaho Statehouse grounds, and the other in front of the Basque Museum’s Uberuaga boardinghouse on Grove Street.

Habia

Nest

Hasierak

“Mystery people” (A term for the Basques)

Herria

Place + People

Heogalde

The four Spanish Basque provinces = Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Araba, Nafarroa

Hilarrieta

Village cemetery in the Old Country

Hilarriak

Gravestones/Markers/Funeral Stelae in the Old Country, often decorated with a lauburu, stars, sun, tools of the trade and name of the house.

Ikastola

Basque language school

Ikurriña

Basque flag

Iparralde

The three French Basque provinces = Behe Nafarroa, Lapurdi, Zuberoa

Jaialdi

“Big Celebration” = Boise’s international Basque festival that is held every five years. The next Jaialdi will be in 2020.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.
²⁵⁰ Bieter and Bieter, Enduring Legacy, 20.
Jarleku  The sepulterie/sepulchre seat in the church was once a burial area and the seat of the etxekoandre, the woman of the house. This funeral bench was used for funeral offerings.

Jota  A traditional Basque dance

Kaletarrak  Basques who resided in the urban, city areas of the Basque Country

Kalimoxo  American-Basque drink made of Coca-Cola and cheap red wine, over ice.

Karro Kampo  Sheepwagon (Basque-American)

Lauburu  Basque symbol (four seasons, cardinal directions, elements of water, earth, water, fire)

Lehendakari  Basque President

Lekuak  Places

Makila  Traditional Basque walking stick that was sometimes also a weapon.

Mari  In Basque mythology, she is the supreme being and most powerful, or mother, of all beings. She lives in the center of the earth, especially connected to caves, and can take many shapes – human, animal, wind, or fire.

Oinkari  “On one’s feet,” name of Boise’s Basque Dancers

Olatak  Funeral food and drink offerings

Omenaldia  Anniversary remembrance ceremony, usually with a Mass celebrated near All Souls’ Day to honor the souls of the departed.

Ostatu/Ostatuak  Boardinghouse/Boardinghouses

Pelota/Pilota/Pala  An ancient Basque handball game, played by hitting a hard rubber ball with one’s hands against a wall with hands on a 2- or 3-walled court (fronton). It becomes pala if a wooden paddle is used.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Picon Punch</td>
<td>American-made drink with Amer Picon, sparkling water or ginger ale float of brandy, maraschino juice and cherries, with a lemon twist on ice. “One is good, two is great, three you don’t remember.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pintxo</td>
<td>Small appetizer-sized plates of food, shared with others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tartekoak</td>
<td>Second generation (children of the first generations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transnational</td>
<td>Extending or operating across national boundaries with culture; “here and there”: two cultures with dual allegiances; sharing of goods, resources, remittances, money, food, drinks, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Txapela</td>
<td>Basque beret/hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zazpiak Bat</td>
<td>“The Seven are One” (Seven Basque provinces)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 4

MAP OF THE BASQUE COUNTRY
APPENDIX 5

BOISE: UNIQUELY BASQUE

Boise is uniquely Basque. Here are some considerations to support the contention that Basque cultural persistence is observable in this city. Almost all of these items required auzolan, and they each represent ethnic expression throughout the generations, from Amerikanuak to Tartekoak to Egungoak.

- A large concentrated Basque population that have remained in the city for over a hundred years
  o Boise, Idaho

- The only cultural district in the United States
  o The Basque Block, between 6th/5th and Capitol Blvd., Boise

- The oldest standing indoor public fronton in the United States, still in use
  o Anduiza Fronton, built 1914

- The only Basque Museum and Cultural Center in the United States (with Euskara classes, archives and special collections of oral histories, artifacts, photos, exhibits, on-site and off-site educational programs, gift shop)
  o Basque Museum & Cultural Center

- The only living history boardinghouse museum
  o Cyrus Jacobs-Uberuaga Boardinghouse (operated by the Basque Museum & Cultural center)

- The first Basque dance group to perform internationally
  o Oinkari Basque Dancers
- The first University Basque Studies Abroad program
  o Boise-Oñati, 1974, Boise State University
- The only Ikastola in the United States (State Board of Education-approved)
  o Boise’ko Ikastola
- The first Basque Mayor
  o David Bieter, Boise
- The first Idaho Secretary of State; and successor Secretary of State
  o Pete Cenarrusa, followed by Ben Ysursa
- The first interpretive exhibit about immigration that traveled to Ellis Island
  o “Hidden in Plain Sight,” by the Basque Museum & Cultural Center and Boise State University
- Only Basque mural in the United States
  o Basque Mural on Capitol Blvd., by the “Letterheads”
- Largest area of cultural interpretation in the United States
  o Basque Block: interpretive educational signs, Basque surnames, Basque songs and coats of arms, arborglyph interpretation, public art
- The second social center to be built in the United States for the Basques, but first in the West
  o The Basque Center, owned and operated by Euzkaldunak, Inc.
- The only international Basque cultural festival; held every five years
  o Jaialdi, in Boise
- A large number of historic boardinghouses during an extended period of time (see Basque boardinghouse map and key); and six structures that remain today; and a
research effort to collect information about boardinghouse era from families in the
west (Basque Museum & Cultural Center)

- The first Etxepare Institute Basque Studies Chair in honor of a woman (2016)
  o Eloise Garmendia Bieter Chair at Boise State University, Basque Studies

- An oak sapling planted from the Tree of Gernika
  o Oak tree in front of the Jacobs Boardinghouse

- A Basque church, and a Basque priest assigned to administer to the Basque
  congregation
  o Church of the Good Shepherd, Father Bernardo Arregui
  o 2015: a Basque priest to administer to today’s Boise Basque congregation,
    Father (Aita) Annton Eigiguren

- Some of the largest membership numbers and visitors served in Basque clubs, fronton
  associations, and museums in the United States
  o Basque Museum & Cultural Center: membership of 578 households; 13,392
    visitors January-September, 2015
  o Euzkaldunak: 900+ members
  o Boise Fronton Association: over 50 members

- Cultural leaders: a few notable persons, not a compete list
  o Basque Language/Euskara - Joe Eiguren
  o Basque radio show - Espe Alegria
  o Basque dance - Juanita Uberuaga Hormaechea
  o Basque music - Jimmy Jausoro and Domingo Ansotegui;
    Ordago, Amuma Says No, Txantxangorriak music school
- Basque Market and Basque Food
  o The Basque Market
  o Bar Gernika, Leku Ona, Epi’s (Meridian)
  o Oinkari Basque Dancers’ Chorizo Booth for festivals, public events

- Large number of Basque mutual aid societies and associations
  o Basque Girl’s Club
  o La Sociedad de Socorros Mutuos
  o La Fraternidad Vasca Americana
  o Aitzan Artean
  o Anaiax Danok
  o Cenarrusa Foundation for Basque Culture
  o Basque Student Club at Boise State University

- One of the largest Basque cemetery sections, and the only cemetery dedication to unmarked Basque graves
  o Morris Hill Cemetery, St. John’s Catholic Sections

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251 This Basque Boise list was compiled from various sources, including Basque Studies class lectures at Boise State University (Dr. John Bieter, Dr. John Ysursa, Argia Beristain, Izaskun Kortazar, Xabier Irujo; Personal communication with Patty Miller and Annie Gavica, Basque Museum & Cultural Center; Boise’ko Ikastola personal communication and records; exhibit information from the Basque Museum & Cultural Center; St. John’s Parish and the Boise Catholic Diocese church records; Boise City Parks & Recreation cemetery records; Basque Center/Euzkaldunak records and website; Boise’ko Fronton Association records; The Etxepare Basque Institute lecture at “Joan Etorri” Basque Symposium, 2015; Bieter, Shallat, et. al, Becoming Basque; Oinkari Basque Dancers; Jaialdi programs.
APPENDIX 6

OSTATUAK: BOISE’S BASQUE BOARDINGHOUSES
APPENDIX 7

MORRIS HILL CEMETERY: ST. JOHN’S SECTIONS 4-13

PLOT MAP (1935)
MORRIS HILL CEMETERY: ST. JOHN’S SECTIONS 4-13

PLOT MAP (1950)
APPENDIX 8
BASQUE BOISE WALKING TOUR BROCHURE

(INsert)
LEKUAK was designed by Meggan Laxalt Mackey in Boise, Idaho. The typefaces were chosen to honor the distinctive typography of the Basque Country (Euskal Herria).

Headlines were typeset in Kara Display, a digital variation of the traditional typefaces of Euskal Herria. Kara was designed in 2012 by Olivier Gourvat, who was inspired by Basque type.\(^{252}\)

Body copy was set in EHU Sans, a typeface designed by the University of the Basque Country (Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatera, hence, “EHU”). In 2011, the University wanted a strong international corporate identity that would also accommodate the needs of a multilingual society. A small team worked on the project, including Eduardo Herrera, Leire Fernandez, and Maria Perez, who worked with digital type designer Aida Diaz.

The result was the debut of a new typeface: EHU. The distinctive slab-serif typeface, EHU serif, was recommended for use with Basque (Euskara). EHU Sans, streamlined without serifs, was suggested for non-Basque purposes. EHU has an open-letter architecture with shorter x-heights and a characteristics of traditional chiseled Basque lettering. On November 21, 2013, the font was exhibited in the Axular Bizkaia Aretoa Bilbao exhibition hall. The typeface was a complement to the University’s logo that was designed by Eduardo Chillida in 1997 that is a hallmark of contemporary Basque identity.

EHU is accessible today from any place in the world due to digital typography. This typeface demonstrates the evolution of Basque lettering through history. The presence of EHU today in the twenty-first century is testament to the transmission of Basque identity beyond Euskal Herria, making it a visible symbol of Basque persistence.\(^{253}\)

Boise, Idaho
November, 2015

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\(^{252}\) Mostardesign released this typeface August 23, 2012, through myfonts.com. The font was contemporary use, and its debut indicated almost immediate international acceptance by typographers and designers alike. https://www.myfonts.com/fonts/mostardesign/kara

\(^{253}\) “EHU and Sans Serif, the corporate typeface for the University of the Basque Country,” http://tipografiadigital.net/ehu-sans-serif-tipografia-corporativa-universidad-pais-vasco. See also http://luc.devroye.org/basque.html