

University of Nevada, Reno

Homeward Bound: The Influence of Emigration and Return
on Aezkoa Valley and its Surrounding Rural Communities
in Northern Navarre at the turn of the 19th Century

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Basque Studies

by

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Abstract

The aim of this dissertation is to provide a study on Basque transnational migration from the perspective of the homeland. The goal is to see to what extent this transnational migration influenced and impacted local communities in the rural Basque area, concretely in Aezkoa Valley and other villages that surround it at the turn of the nineteenth century into the twentieth. The traditional focus of Basque migration studies has long been on male migrants and unidirectional migratory experiences. This study will address migration phenomena from the other side, attempting to deconstruct migration as a predominantly male and unilateral sphere by analyzing migration effects from the perspective of the homeland, women, children, and family.

By addressing the changes that both emigrants and returnees prompted in their hometowns in Aezkoa Valley, the flow of ideas and people in-between two worlds will be analyzed from the point of view of cultural encounters that led to hybrid practices. These encounters and interactions created new realities in the homeland, many times transforming the everyday life of the peasant as well as the society as a whole. These influences will be tracked through the study of different cases or vital experiences of those who decided to emigrate and to return to their homeland, some of whom went back and forth. The impact of these migrants and returnees on society affected areas such as landholding, family interactions and dynamics, and the opening of the rigid neighborhood system that existed in these societies.

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my family household, *Ramorena*, in Aritzu, as well as to my mother's family household, *Bortanea*, in Urritzola, and the people who inhabited and belonged to these two households in the past and in the present, who inspired me throughout this entire process.

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Eskermile aunitz guztioi!

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Dedication	ii
Acknowledgments.....	iii
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
Introduction.....	1
Part I: Contextualizing the Homeland.....	9
Chapter One: Theoretical Approach and Literature Review	10
Chapter Two: Contextualizing the history of Navarre and the society of Aezkoa Valley	35
Part II: Leaving Home	66
Chapter Three: Emigration from the Pyrenees to the Americas	67
Chapter Four: Beyond Emigration Lists	97
Part III: Returning Home	156
Chapter Five: The Influence of overseas money in the society of Aezkoa: Marriage strategies, dowries, and moneylenders.....	157
Chapter Six: Bringing modernity to the homeland:	204
Chapter Seven: Hybrid practices in the Irati forest exploitation.....	234
Conclusion	268
Epilogue	276
Primary sources:.....	278
Bibliography	281

List of Tables

Table 1 Quantities that distributed Domingo Elizondo to the households of Garralda from 1898 to 1904. AMGD. Box 37. Incendio	226
Table 2 Last costs of the Church made on October 27, 1917	227

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Aezkoa Valley and Navarre.....	viii
Figure 2: Emigrants on Garaioa's Census	77
Figure 3: Marital status of emigrants of Garaioa in 1861. Based on archival records.	79
Figure 4: Garaioa emigrants 1861-1897. Based on the archival records.....	80
Figure 5: Total emigrants from Garaioa. Made with archival records.	82
Figure 6: Garralda's emigrants 1890-1909. Based on archival records.....	83
Figure 7: Garralda's emigrants 1890-1899. Based on archival records.....	84
Figure 8: Garralda's emigrants, 1890-1899.....	84
Figure 9: Garralda's emigrants 1900-1909.....	86
Figure 10: Garralda's emigrants year by year, 1900-1909.	88
Figure 11: Garralda's emigrants 1910-1920.....	89
Figure 12: Garralda's Emigrants year by year, 1910-1920.....	90
Figure 13: Garralda's Emigrants, 1890-1920.	91
Figure 14: Garaioa's Emigrants, 1861-1897.....	91
Figure 15: Garralda's emigrants' destinations, 1890-1930.....	93
Figure 16: Irati Forest and Irati River	233
Figure 17: Domingo Elizondo's family.....	253
Figure 18: El Irati S.A. at Ekai. Sitna Navarra	262
Figure 19: The hybridity of the Irati Forest exploitation practices	264

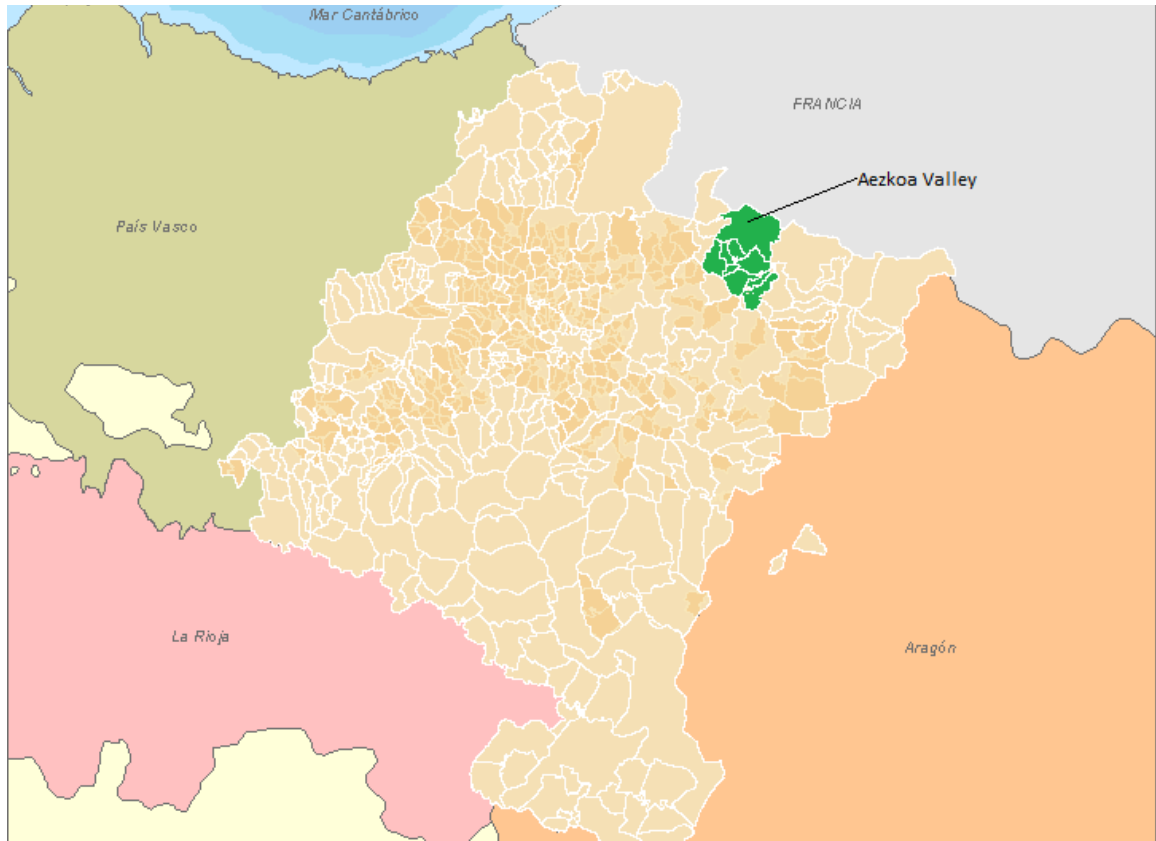


Figure 1: Map of Aezkoa Valley and Navarre. Source: Sitna Navarra

Introduction

At the beginning of 1916, four years after the sinking of the *Titanic*, Francisco Chiquirrín and his wife, Ana Alsina, accompanied by their nephew and niece, left the village of Garralda en route to Barcelona. This was just the first leg of their journey to Buenos Aires, a return voyage to visit Ana Alsina's family as well as a business trip for Francisco Chiquirrín to attend to his affairs in Argentina. On February 17, 1916, the whole family embarked in the port of Barcelona onto the ship *Principe de Asturias*, traveling to Buenos Aires in first class. The *Principe de Asturias* was one of the biggest and most luxurious ships of the Pinillos fleet, but this would be its last voyage. On March 5, 1916, the ship shipwrecked and sank in waters of the Atlantic Ocean, just off the coast of Brazil.¹

Francisco Chiquirrín Eguinoa and his wife Ana Alsina had embarked on the last of the many transnational voyages that they had taken throughout their lives, from Garralda to Buenos Aires and in-between. The story of Chiquirrín shows how emigration from Aezkoa Valley represented more than a one-way phenomenon, since many emigrants maintained relations with their relatives in their homeland and overseas. Thus, this emigration phenomenon was not unidirectional: the interaction between two continents during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, separated by the expanse of the

¹ Garralda's Peace Court. Box 5. Expedientes y certificados. 1917.

Atlantic Ocean, produced long-lasting changes and influenced both the Americas and the Basque Country in this back-and-forth communication and exchange. Throughout this dissertation, the encounter and interaction of emigrants between two territories will be addressed, identifying the influences and impact they produced and created in the small rural communities in northern Navarre. The ideas, knowledge, and capital that these returnees brought with them from the Americas to the Aezkoa Valley caused hybrid processes in the practices that were already established in the valley. Therefore, this study aims to identify the hybrid expressions in economic practices that were caused by transnational migration in the late-nineteenth century and in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Going from Garralda in the mid-nineteenth century to a distant city such as Buenos Aires, as Francisco Chiquirrín did, not only meant seeing and experiencing the Americas they had heard so much about from relatives or returnees, but also the encounter of big cities in the new continent, so far removed and exotic compared to their hometowns. Aezkoa Valley is located in the Pyrenees, where the main economy was, and still is, based on livestock raising and farming. These communities were rural, with only 100 to 600 inhabitants, and around 20 to 120 dwellings per village. Leaving this mountainous, green, and enclosed landscape in Aezkoa Valley, where they could admire the highest peaks of the Pyrenees from their own homes, and going to a sprawling metropolis as was Buenos Aires, profoundly impacted their minds and indeed, their lives.

Aezkoa Valley is located on the border that separates the Spanish and French Basque Country, and is composed of nine villages: Abaurrea Alta, Abaurrea Baja, Aria,

Aribe, Garaioa, Garralda, Orbaizeta, Orbara, and Villanueva de Aezkoa. All the villages are part of the same valley, and they are organized politically by the *Junta General* [municipal council or government]. It should be stressed that Aezkoa Valley at this time was an agrarian society, and the neighborhood system that controlled who did and did not have access to common-pool resources, shaped family standings within the community and their future possibilities in maintaining this rural lifestyle and economic base.

Strong family relationships and sense of loyalty to them, within a rigid societal structure, alongside economic problems, struggles, and wars, led many people to immigrate to the Americas in search of new opportunities overseas. The long voyage from the Basque Country to the Americas did not discourage Aezkoan youths and adults to emigrate. The memories of their ancestors and the impactful and disseminated propaganda of emigration produced the depopulation of the area as a consequence of emigration.

The aim of this dissertation is to provide a study on Basque transnational migration from the perspective of the homeland. The goal is to see to what extent this transnational migration influenced and impacted local communities in the rural Basque area, concretely in Aezkoa Valley and other villages that surround it.

This dissertation will address the changes that both emigrants and returnees prompted in their hometowns in Aezkoa Valley at the turn of the twentieth century. Emigration from the Pyrenees in the mid-to-late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth generated a flow of ideas and people in-between two worlds. These encounters and interactions created new realities in the homeland, many times

transforming the everyday life of the peasant as well as the society as a whole. These influences will be tracked through the study of different cases or vital experiences of those who decided to emigrate and to return to their homeland, some of whom went back and forth, as is the case of Chiquirrín. This transnational migration and return brought about changes in the society, in areas such as landholding, family interactions and dynamics, and the opening of the neighborhood system in these rigid societies.

The field work necessary for this research took place from 2015 until 2016, and was based on the study of two kinds of archives: The General Archive of Navarre, located in Pamplona, and the municipal archives of each of the villages that comprise Aezkoa Valley. These two types of archives offered different documentation and sources to address the influence of migration in home communities.

On the one hand, the General Archive of Navarre possesses the notarial records of the notary of the area of study, located in Auritz-Burguete. Analysis of Notarial Protocols provides valuable information on the research of emigration in northern Navarre. The notarial documents comprise marriage contracts, testaments, powers of attorney, and purchase sale agreements, among other papers, which reveal important data on emigration and the relationship between the family and the society of these communities. However, after 1900, the notary of Auritz-Burguete kept less documentation which led me to look into the notarial records in Agoitz-Aoiz, which is close to the area of study.

The study of these sources provides an opportunity to follow the circumstances of emigrants before and after their departure in more detail: to see the economic situation of their families and households, the money that they received from their families, the

circumstances from which they departed, and their marital status, as well as whether they returned. In the case of returnees, tracking them through marriage contracts and purchase documents reveals the capital that they brought from the Americas as well as how they invested it. Tracing emigrants and families through these kinds of records helps to approach emigrants and their interactions with the families who remained at home, as well as the situation of those families and relatives.

On the other hand, the Municipal Archives of each village provide different sources and information on the society, and therefore, about emigrants. These documents are mainly based on population censuses in which the emigrants can be tracked, and in some instances, the returnees as well. The documentation regarding the running of the municipalities, such as municipal ordinances, construction of basic infrastructure, education, and agreements, among other documents, provide rich information about investments and changes that emigrants and returnees caused in their hometowns.

Although the sources used here are not direct sources of emigration, looking at them in order to ask questions about family and emigration give valuable information about family dynamics in addition to emigration and return. In the case of marriage contracts, there are some sections in which the family members appear, making it possible to see if there were any family members overseas, and in what conditions they emigrated, as well as whether the family or households provided them with any assistance. In these same documents, there is a part provides information on the fiancé, in which information about the dowry that they brought to the marriage is included Then, even though notarial protocols are not strictly emigration sources, the information

gleaned from notarial documents enriches and expands our understanding of Aezkoan society and the impact of migration and return.

This dissertation tells the stories of those transnational emigrants who left the valley as well as the ones that decided to go back to Aezkoa. The personal cases that are the basis of this study give valuable information on the influences that they generated and provoked through absences, as well as through return in the local communities of the area of study. However, the sources that are used in this study have some limitations in terms of social representation. Because of that, in addition to their localization in a small valley of the Basque Country, this study provides just a slice of the society in the whole of the Basque Country. However, this focus on a small valley in northern Navarre offers in-depth information of what happened in times of mass migration to the societies of these communities. Therefore, results or conclusions from this study are not to be generalized for all of the Basque Country, since the Basque Country as a whole is very heterogeneous.

This dissertation is organized into three different sections. The first section starts with a brief introduction to the theoretical approach into migration studies, as well as a review of Basque migration literature. This dissertation has been carried out through a transnationalist lens, through which the flow of ideas, goods, knowledge, and people will be addressed. Chapter two will address the historical context of Navarre as well as the societal structure of the Aezkoa Valley.

The second part of this dissertation will be focused on the study of how transnational migration influenced family relationships, as well as familial interactions and dynamics. Throughout chapter three, the emigration rates of Aezkoa Valley, focused on two villages, Garaioa and Garralda, is analyzed. This chapter will determine whether the rates of both villages demonstrate emigration as a homogeneous phenomenon or if it affected both villages in different proportion.

Chapter four will explore the influences that emigration produced in Aezkoa Valley and the surrounding area, giving new perspectives of emigration causes that led people of this area to emigrate. The emigration of family heads and household heirs, alongside their absence from the familial environment, will be addressed to understand how emigration generated new realities in the society. The influence that those absences provoked affected the emigration of single people more deeply. The focus of study will be to analyze the influences that this separation from the family unit could cause in the household organization and in family interactions. In these terms, the separation of family units created split-household families as well as transnational ones. Because of this, these absences in familial units at times provided new roles for women in the local patriarchal communities.

This chapter will give special attention to the role of women in emigration as well as in the absence of their husbands and male son migrants. In these familial division circumstances, the wives who remained at home became “white widows” in local societies. These wives acted and behaved as widows, but without partaking in mourning practices. In this vein, the influences in the upkeep of the household duties, as well as

how labor was divided will be addressed to understand to what extent these circumstances influenced the children of those families.

The third section of this dissertation will address how transnational emigrant homecomings influenced the local communities. Return migration is not only the physical return but also the short visits of those transnational migrants, as well as the capital that many migrants sent from overseas. Chapter five will address how overseas money influenced the society, in the sense of how these returnees invested their American capital. The following chapters, six and seven, will look at how successful transnational emigrants and returnees brought modernity to their homeland, or in other words, the extent to which the ideas, knowledge, and capital that they brought from the Americas influenced and modernized their communities of origin. Chapter seven will analyze whether hybridity processes in economic practices, such as those in the exploitation of the Irati Forest's natural resources, were in part due to the creation of El Irati S.A., a company founded by a returnee.

The three parts of this dissertation focus on the processes of emigration and return with the aim of understanding the transformation of local, rural, Navarrese societies. Although the people represented in the documentation at times give a narrow story of those who succeeded in the migration phenomenon, their journeys and return movements deeply impacted both Aezkoa Valley and the Basque Country in general. Migrants are also part of larger networks of family and society and must be represented as such. Migration is not unidirectional and must take into account both the homeland and host societies, in order to understand the larger impact of this phenomenon in this era.

Part I
Contextualizing the Homeland

Chapter One

Theoretical Approach and Literature Review

Scholars have analyzed the human migratory phenomena for more than a century. They have developed and utilized many theories in order to understand and explain this historical process. In this regard, migration studies have often addressed migration phenomena as unidirectional patterns, focusing on the permanent settlement of migrants. The object of study has been the assimilation, acculturation and even other “ations” of migrants in the host country.

Ravenstein established a classical theoretical framework that continues to influence scholars today, the *push and pull model*. Ravenstein developed “The Laws of Migration” in 1885, which is often regarded as the first seminal work on migration theory, and is a foundation for future theoretical approaches. He coined the term “push and pull factors,”² and developed a complete explanatory framework about migratory phenomena. For Ravenstein, migration is understood as movements of populations forced by the capitalist market as well as by supply and demand. Accordingly, economic motivations are the most important reasons for population movement. They also

² E. G. Ravenstein, “The Laws of Migration,” in *Journal of the Statistical Society*, XLVIII, II (1885): 198-99, and “The Laws of Migration. Second Paper,” in *Journal of the Statistical Society*, LII, II (1889): 241-301.

influence migrants' choice of destination, the most significant migration being from rural areas to urban or commercial and industrial ones. Ravenstein's theory, therefore, refers to the powers that are generated in the arrival and origin places of migration. This model established the existence of the pull and push factors based on economic criteria as well as in the disparities in the economic development of different areas.

Other scholars built upon Ravenstein's approach to migration in the first half of the 20th century. These works include, among others, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth century*, (1899) by A. F. Weber; *Labour migration in England, 1800-1850* (1976) (First edition 1926) by A. Redford; *Migration and Business Cycles* (1926) by H. Jerome; *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1927) by W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki; "The theory and Consequences of Mobility of Farm population" (1940) by Stillwater, Oka; "Subregional Migration in the United States, 1935-1940" (1953) by D. J. Bogue and M. M. Hagood. Each of these authors builds upon Ravenstein's economic model of push and pull factors.

Nowadays the pull and push theory is still used to explain migration. However, the methodology has many limitations, and other approaches have been developed. In 1966, E. Lee reformulated Ravenstein's "Laws." In his work, he took Ravenstein's theory to build his own, which is based on 18th hypotheses that complete the explanatory frameworks of "pull and push factors."³ In the 1970s, an important revisionist movement challenged classic theories of migration by developing macroeconomic and microeconomic models that were the origin of the Neoclassical Economic theory.

³ Russel King, *Return Migration and regional economic problems* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 1.

As mentioned, the revisionist scholars developed a macroeconomic and a microeconomic perspective on migration. The macroeconomic model is based on the study of large population groups and utilizes aggregate data such as population census, civil registries, and temporal statistical series that cover a long period of time. The macroeconomic approach has dominated studies of migration for two reasons. First, the macroeconomic approach seeks to understand the big picture of the migration phenomena while the micro economic approach focuses on the grassroots level of smaller geographical spaces.

Second, if the researcher has appropriate sources, macro-analysis entails fewer methodological difficulties and gives more representative results in a general context. This approach explains migration as the result of large economic laws. The objects of study include migratory flows, the age, gender, and marital status of migrants, the pull factors that attracted them to the host country, and the opportunities offered there.

In this context of macro-analytical approach, scholars have developed different theories. J. R. Harris and M. P. Todaro (1970) formulated a theory of “dual model,” based on the concept of “expectation profits.” For the authors, the continuity of migration flows from rural to urban areas is a result of salary differentials.⁴ The “dualist” or “of disequilibrium model” theory emerged following the demographic explosion that occurred in many third world countries. With this model migration is explained as a result of the disequilibrium between rural and industrialized areas. Articulated by A. L.

⁴ Harris, J.R. and Todaro, M.P. “Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector analysis” in *American Economic Review*, 60 (1970): 126-142.

Mabogunje (1970) and I. Wallerstein (1974) among others, the “dual market” theory emerged at the end of the 1970s. This theory argues that migration is a consequence of pull factors rather than push factors. Therefore, people emigrate because the arrival countries have more developed economies than their home country. For this theory, developed countries attract people to them, or, in other words, pull them to emigrate.

Another theory behind the macro-analytical field is the “World System Theory,” which originated in the context of the migratory movements at the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. According to this theory, migration is conceived as a result of economic globalization and the trans-nationality of markets in the capitalist world.

Owing to the limitations associated with macroeconomic analysis, some scholars, such as I. Gordon, developed a micro-analytical approach that was micro-historical, focused on the study of small geographical areas, and methodologically concerned with more details of the everyday life and forms of human behavior.

Transnationalism

However, in the 1990s, the migration studies panorama changed as the transnational turn affected the social science and humanities. This new approach changed the way to address the migration phenomena globally. Traditionally, History had been a discipline based on national histories. In the narration of history, the history was used as a tool for the services of the nation, i.e. historians have focused on their own nation states’ history. Migration studies have also been related to the nation-states’ identities, with a focus on the settlement of national emigrants overseas, in order to show and emphasize

the successful experience of their emigrants. In the late 1980s, with the publication of *Imagined Communities* by Benedict Anderson, nationalism began to be approached from a new perspective. His concept of the nation and nationalism as something made up and imagined – a product of human actions and manipulation – provoked a revolution in the social science disciplines. Historians started analyzing international spheres, rather than nation-states. The proliferation of global histories and imperialism histories produced a new perception of history.

This new field of history as a discipline is transnational history. It has been developed in the last couple of decades, with deeper emphasis since the 1990s. The proliferation of publications, and conferences, mark the beginnings of transnational history as an approach for history scholars. However, there is not a unique definition of what transnational is, or what is involved in transnationalism. Scholars have understood transnational history in many ways, especially because the term itself is quite abstract.

The traditional migration studies collapsed in the 1990s and had to address their subjects with different frameworks of analysis such as borderlands, transnationalism, colonialism and postcolonialism, diaspora, and hybridity. Migration connects two worlds, the one that migrants left behind and the one that migrants arrived in. As migration influences both worlds (homeland and host country), it can no longer be seen as a unidirectional phenomenon.

In 2006, the American History Review (AHR) organized a conversation on Transnational History, which included C. A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly,

Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed.⁵ In those conversations they discussed the transnational history field. They came up with some relevant guidelines to understand transnational history. To Wendy Kozol, transnational history would examine “how cultural practices and ideologies shape, constrain, or enable the economic, social, and political conditions in which people goods circulate within local, regional, and global locales.”⁶ According to Beckert, transnational history is a “way of seeing.” He points out that much of the writing of history has been limited by its explicit or implicit nationalist vision. Transnational history focuses on uncovering connections across particular political units.”⁷ As mentioned, transnational history would move away from the national histories to the international sphere. Therefore, transnational history field can be understood, as the flow of ideas, goods, and peoples away from nation states, taking part in international spheres. On this matter, Beckert states, “it pays attention to networks, processes, beliefs, and institutions that transcend these politically defined spaces.”⁸

Since 2006, Transnational history has had much development. Many scholars have been focusing on this field in order to explain the changes that have been produced throughout history. In this regard, many authors have tried to define what transnationalism is. One of these authors is Pierre-Yves Saunier. According to him, transnational history is “an approach that focuses on relations and formations, circulations and connections, between, across and through these units, and how they have

⁵ Beckert Bayly, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed, “AHR Conversation: On Transnational History,” in *American Historical Review* 111 (December 2006): 1441-1464.

⁶ *Ibidem*, 1451.

⁷ *Ibidem*, 1454.

⁸ *Ibidem*, 1459.

been made, not made and unmade.”⁹ Therefore, Saunier is in the same vein as the previous authors, since he relates transnationalism to the flows and connections in transnational structures.

As mentioned, transnationalism as a field developed in the 1990s with the proliferation of studies called transnational. Scholars have produced different ways to address transnationalism in history. These englobe different aspects: oceanic system, core and periphery, diaspora, cross-cultural boundaries, migration studies, borderlands, etc. In consequence, scholars have written in different ways and forms about transnational history. However, it can be argued that all of them share the study of the flows of ideas, people, and goods between the nation states, and the analysis of the influences of the transnational encounters that these flows have created. The idea of transnational encounters defines in an appropriate way the significance of the transnational meaning: international exchanges by human actions. Apart from that, transnational history addresses the processes, influences, and consequences of those transnational interactions or encounters.

The lack of a single methodology to address transnationalism in a homogenized way is the field’s major inconvenience. In this regard, scholars have adapted methodologies from other historical fields to develop their researches. They usually take those methodologies from Cultural History, and Economic History.

⁹ Saunier, Pierre-Yves. 2013. *Transnational History: theory and history* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 2.

Because of the different topics that transnational history addresses, it is possible to organize the transnational history approach into different sub fields: Oceanic systems (Atlantic and Pacific Worlds), migration and diasporic studies, movements and exchanges of ideas across borders, as well as the movements and exchanges of goods. Transnational history may be understood as an umbrella of those “subfields.”

First of all, in this division, it is possible to introduce early models of transnational history. One of these early models can be found in the work of Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, which was published prior to the 1990s. Mintz was a pioneer in analyzing the interaction and exchange across continents. In a pre-transnationalism context, he viewed a transnational idea on the influences between the metropolis and the colonial products. At the time that it was published, *Sweetness and Power* was considered as a provocative book, because imperialism and colonial studies were treated from a new perspective. Mintz, for instance, addresses the process of the dietary changes in the British Empire by the commodities from the colonies. This relationship between core and periphery influences in daily life were exemplified by the consumption of the sugar and tea. He concludes that the relationship between the colonies and metropolis caused changes in the metropolitan society. To a certain extent, these changes were a consequence of the production and exchange of sugar. Mintz’s main contribution was to establish a base for future investigations, which was focused on the consequences of the interaction between the metropolis and colonies.¹⁰

¹⁰ Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1985).

Other scholars have developed transnationalism in geographical and spatial spheres, in *Oceanic Systems*; *Atlantic World* and *Pacific World*. On one hand, there is the Atlantic Ocean as Atlantic system or even as Atlantic History. Bailyn argues that “Atlantic history is the story of a world in motion.” The author understands the Atlantic History as a way “to describe not the abstracted, meta-historical structural elements but the phasing of the developments of this world, its motion and dynamics-to grasp its history as process.”¹¹

In this field, the Atlantic Ocean is seen as a key to the transnational idea. After the conquest of America and the following development of European Empires, the Atlantic waters took an important role in the development of those empires. Therefore, the Atlantic waters made possible the connections between goods, people, and ideas by the American trade. These flows produced triangular connections between Africa, America and Europe. In this context, the empires and colonies have a special importance. But in other fields, Atlantic History has been criticized by historiography. Philip Morgan and Jack Greene took the criticism and gave answers to them. They argue that “the task therefore is to demonstrate the connections and explore contrast,” saying that the main object of the Atlantic History is to explain the connections throughout the Atlantic waters. Regarding the defense of the Atlantic history, they also argue that “it encourages broad perspectives, transnational orientations, and expanded horizons at the same time

¹¹ Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and contour* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 61.

that it offers chance for overcoming national and other parochialism.”¹² As a consequence, they are defending the Atlantic history as a tool to analyze the history in the transnational field, saying that the history has to go beyond national histories.

On the other hand, the Pacific World is a newer field of studies, which has been developed in the last decades. David Igler defines what the Pacific World is, calling it Great Ocean instead of Pacific Ocean. “The Great Ocean examines interactions between different groups – indigenous, “ocean peoples” mainland native communities, and a wide variety of foreign voyagers, who encountered one another through the pathways of the ocean during a period of rapid change”¹³ Therefore, at the same time that he explains the development of the Pacific World, Igler also focuses on the American coastline, and explains how the conception of the American coastline from the Pacific east to the American Far West changes too. From the first pages of the book, the author refers to the coastal Americas as the *eastern Pacific*. On this matter, through the chapters of the book, he connects the development of the Pacific World with the American expansionism and its exceptionalism in the nineteenth century. Both Worlds address the transnationalism by connection on the sea as well as the development and importance of the empires and imperialism.

In comparison with the previous examples, in the oceanic system, transnational connections are based on the oceans. In this regard, the relationship among these nation

¹² Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, *Atlantic History. A critical Appraisal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 8.

¹³ David Igler, *The Great Ocean: Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 5.

states and people, goods, and ideas created transnational encounters, in terms of the flows of people.

The crossing borders of goods, people and ideas are other ways to analyze history in a transnational field. In that regard, transnational migration scholarship in Asian-American and Latino Studies has increased in high proportion. There are other examples that address the interaction and exchange of goods, ideas, and peoples across the borders. In the case of the goods, Beckert uses cotton as a key to explain the development of capitalism in the western world. He gives the name of global history in the sense that cotton made possible the transnational flows and networks around the World.¹⁴

In the case of the exchange of ideas, the book of Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* is an important contribution to transnational history. This book addresses the Progressivism by transnational focus lens. In the book, the author develops the progressives' encounters in the Atlantic Ocean, and how the social politics of the progressive age in the western world were developed. Its main topic is the influence of the American ideas in Europe, with the application of the New Deal into the devastated post-war Europe and the introduction of American machinery into Europe. Rodgers analyzes how the transnational encounters and the interaction among different countries influenced the development and the spread of ideas, concretely in the Progressive era.

¹⁴ Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: a Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014).

Other issues that transnational historians address are the borderlands, and how the interaction and exchange in the border produce changes in borderland societies, as well as in the nation itself. These analyses of the borderland belong to the transnational field that study the changes and its processes by the human encounters between border countries.

As mentioned before, the appearance of Transnational history changes migration studies dramatically. Until 1990, migration scholars used to approach migration as a unidirectional phenomenon. However, with the appearance of the transnational framework, this tendency changed and studies started focusing on the influence of migration in both directions, in how migration affected the sending countries and the receiving countries.

Diasporic studies must also be included as a subfield of transnational history migration studies. In this regard, the transnational field in migration studies is able to “see the ways transmigrants are transformed by their transnational practices and how these practices affect the nation-states of the transmigrants’ origin and settlement.”¹⁵ According to *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation States*, the transnational field in migration studies and in its history, is related to see how the interaction between the host country and homeland affect both societies. This book is considered the first to analyze migration in a transnational field.

¹⁵ Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc. *Nations Unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized nation-states* (Langhorne: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 8.

Transnational migration stresses the influence and the fusion of politics and cultures in both worlds, in the homeland and in the host communities. In the context of oceanic worlds, the work of Alison Games's *Migration and the Origins of the England Atlantic World*, published in 1999, has to be mentioned. This book gave a new methodology to migration studies. There, Games studied the colonial documentations and port records in order to identify and follow the lives of emigrants who settled in the Caribbean English colonies coming from England. In so doing, Games ended up showing the complicated migration system across the Atlantic, representing continuing migrations, separation of families, reconstruction of former families, etc., i.e. giving steps to the following studies on migrations in the England Atlantic Empire of the seventeenth century.

An example of this proliferation of interest in transnational focus migration is Madeline Y. Hsu's *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home*¹⁶, a main contribution to migration studies from a transnational approach. Hsu's book studies the transnational interaction among migrants in both shores of the Pacific Ocean, in two rural towns, one in China and the other in California. She analyzes the situation of migrants' realities and their behavior in both sides. In so doing, she shows the importance of analyzing the influences of migration not only abroad but also at home. Hsu's work is inspiring to all the scholars who address the migration effects through a transnational approach. The study of the interrelationship that migration created not only in the Chinese Diaspora but

¹⁶ Madeline Y. Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home, Transnationalism and Migration between the United States and South China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).

also in the Taishanese community (the rural Chinese town that is the center of the study) created a turning point in the way scholars face migration history.

The Taishanese case is relevant in order to address the influences of migration at home, and Hsu's book personally inspired my dissertation. Hsu speaks about the split household families as well as the female head of the households, crucial themes to my research. She addresses the impact that massive migration from a single village in China had for the local society, and more concretely in the structure and organization of the family economy and in the family relationship, as well as in the relationship among the neighbors of the village. It is important to note that, even though transnational migration is a new field, many scholars have already begun addressing the influences of those transnational migrations in the homelands. Besides Hsu other important authors must be mentioned. This is the case of Donna R. Gabaccia, a migration scholar who has focused on Italian migration and diaspora. Her book *Italy's Many Diasporas* (2000) addresses the transnational migration influences in the origin communities. Gabaccia, like Hsu, also addresses the influences of family separation, and the impact that those temporary migrations had in their communities of origin as well as the presence of these *amerikanuak* in their homeland.

These transnational approaches have also applied gender studies in order to analyze migration phenomena. In that regard, Gabaccia's contribution is very significant. Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta edited *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives, Italian Workers of the World* (2002). The book is a compilation of several articles that address migration through a focus on gender. The first article of the book, written by

Linda Reeder, analyses the influences of mass migration on Sicilian womanhood, not only on those women who remained at home when their husbands emigrated, but also on the lives of the women who emigrated. Reeder denies emigration as a male phenomenon and, consequently, also denies women a passive role regarding emigration. This introduction of gender in transnational studies was just a starting point; from 2000s on, many authors have addressed the importance of women in migration phenomena, for instance Patricia R. Pessar, Sarah J. Mahler, among others.

Little, however, has been written about migrants who return permanently to their homeland. Takeyuki Tsuda, in the book *Diasporic Homecomings, Ethnic Return Migration in Comparative Perspective*, argues that “[a] number of scholars have examined how Diasporas have continued to evolve through further migratory scattering, but relatively few have studied how certain diasporic peoples have also been returning to their ethnic homelands.”¹⁷ In that regard, Mark Wyman argues, “until recently the idea of emigrants returning has rarely been broached by historians of emigration.”¹⁸

In this context of analyzing the effects that transnational encounters have produced in the origin communities of migrants, hybridity framework is important. Hybridity has been related to the influences and mixtures of migrants’ traditions in the receiving societies; however, these transnational encounters also affected the homeland of those migrants. In this sense, some of the practices that migrants acquired in the host

¹⁷ Takeyuki Tsuda, *Diasporic Homecomings, Ethnic Return Migration in Comparative Perspective* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 1.

¹⁸ Mark Wyman, “Emigrants Returning: the Evolution of a Tradition,” in Marjory Harper *Emigrants Homecoming: The Return Movement of emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 16.

country were translated by them to their homelands, in many cases creating new practices that could be understood as hybrid expressions. In this regard, hybridity is going to be an important point and analysis framework of the influences that emigrants provoked in their home communities.

The main object of this dissertation is to address the influence of migration through a transnational approach, analyzing the influences that migrants created and provoked in the sending community that they came from. This field is quite new in the case of Basque migration studies. Although there are some studies that addressed it, there is a necessity for more in-depth research, as some authors has pointed out. One of the scholars who have written about return migration in Navarre is Imizcoz Beunza. In his book *Navarra y America*, Imizcoz Beunza writes that

The emigration to America was a round-trip adventure. Studies of migration often address more the way of travel flows, mechanisms, and the life in America rather than the effects of returning home. For both the community and individuals in Navarre there is still no research that examines the repercussions of such emigration throughout its history explain.¹⁹

Azcona Pastor has also written about return migration in *El ámbito historiográfico y metodológico de le emigración vasca y Navarra hacia América*: “In the Basque Country and Navarra, a true geographic scope of migrants exporter, it still needs

¹⁹ José María Imízcoz Beunza, “Los Navarros y América: motivos de ida, efectos de vuelta,” in *Navarra y América* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 379-380. Translated by the author: “La emigración americana fue una aventura de ida y vuelta. Los estudios de la emigración suelen ocuparse más de la ida, con sus causas, flujos y mecanismos, y de la estancia en América, que de los efectos de la vuelta. En Navarra no existe todavía ninguna investigación que analice las repercusiones que tuvo aquí tal emigración a lo largo de su Historia.”

to carefully study the influence of overseas exodus in the social, economic, and cultural development of both territories. It is a large field of possible investigations.”²⁰

In that regard, this dissertation attempts to fill the gap in Basque migration literature that needs yet to be studied: the influences that emigration and return migration have provoked in Navarre, showing how these transnational encounters affected homeland’s communities.

Basque Migration Literature

Basque migration literature started in the late 19th century with a work of anti-emigration propaganda: José Cola y Goiti’s *La Emigración Vasco-Navarra*, published in 1882. The main intention of Cola y Goiti’s work was to establish the failure and the false myth of emigration. However, as it is going to be demonstrated in the next chapters, his work did not impede mass migration in Navarre as well in the whole Basque Country. Later on, in 1916, Hilario Yaben published *Los Contratos Matrimoniales en Navarra y su Influencia en la Estabilidad de la Familia*. There, Yaben addressed the emigration topic, although the main object of his study was the analysis of the inheritance system and its relationship with the stability of the family in Navarre. Yaben commented that, as a consequence of the family structure as well as of the inheritance system, non-heirs used to emigrate to America in search of a better life. In that regard, Yaben addressed

²⁰ José Manuel Azcona Pastor, *El ámbito historiográfico y metodológico de la emigración Vasca y Navarra hacia América* (San Sebastián: Gobierno Vasco, 2011), 221. Translated by the author: “Tanto en el País Vasco como en Navarra, verdaderos ámbitos geográficos exportadores de emigrantes, aún falta por estudiar con detenimiento la influencia del éxodo ultramarino en el desarrollo social, económico y cultural de ambos territorios. Es un gran campo de posibles investigaciones.”

migration, but the focus of this study is related to the family structure and inheritance traditions.

Basque historiography has focused more on the Diaspora and in how the Basques have influenced the host society, rather than on the influences and impact of emigration on the homeland. It was not until 1975, when William A. Douglass and Jon Bilbao published *Amerikanuak, Basques in the New World* that Basque scholars did not look at migration phenomena as an object of study. Therefore, Basque migration literature can be said to have begun in the 1970s with the publication of Jon Bilbao and William Douglass's book. This book was the pioneer in the study of the Basques in the Americas, and more specifically in the United States. They serve as a foundation for more in-depth research, becoming an indispensable book regarding Basque migration.

The publication of *Amerikanuak* provoked an offspring in the subject of Basque migration studies. The book became the bible to Basque Migration Studies. Nowadays, after the 41st anniversary of its publication, *Amerikanuak* is still the main and obligatory reference in the topic. The book analyzes the Basque migration phenomena since the first years after the American conquest until the twentieth century. However, William Douglass had already addressed migration phenomena before the publication of *Amerikanuak* in 1976 in the book *Echalar and Murelaga*, published in 1975. As in Yaben's work, Douglass addresses migration in an indirect way, in relation to the family composition, family members and its tradition. Emigration appears as a solution to the non-heir family members' future among other perspectives. In the book, there is an epigraph dedicated to the migration influences in those villages. Douglass makes a

comparison between two places, Etxalar and Murelaga, analyzing briefly the impacts and influences of emigration, while focusing on marriage and household influences. In that matter, the author argues that “a number of men did return to the village to select wives.”²¹ He also explains briefly what happened with the household, saying that migration “does not play an important role in the economic wellbeing of the individual household.”²² In that context, the return migration as well as the migration impact on the homeland was still vaguely studied in researches from the 1970s.

It is relevant that the first contribution for Basque migration studies came from America rather than being produced in the homeland. Douglass made some appreciations about it in the preface of the last edition of his book in 2005. There he highlights the lack of interest in Basque migration until the publication of *Amerikanuak* in 1975, which coincided with Franco’s death and the end of Franco’s dictatorship.²³

In this regard, *Amerikanuak* book served as a guide to other scholars who wanted to research migration. In the following decades, the migration studies literary production on Basque Country began to slowly increase. In 1989, Ángel García-Sanz Marcotegui and Alejandro Arizcun Cela published in *Essays in Basque Social Anthropology and History*, edited by William Douglass. In this chapter, “An estimate of Navarrese Migration in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century (1879-1883),” the authors, as demography historians, give an approximation to the emigration rates in Navarre in the

²¹ William A. Douglass, *Etxalar and Murelaga: Opportunity and rural exodus in two Spanish Basque Villages* (London: C. Hurst & Co. 1975), 124.

²² *Ibidem*, 125.

²³ William A. Douglass and Jon Bilbao, *Amerikanuak, Basques in the New World* (University of Nevada Press, 2005), xi-xiii.

late nineteenth century. Their research is based on the interview made by the Social Reforms Commission in 1883 in Navarre. In that context, the authors do not analyze the returnees. This last question is answered infrequently and unreliably; consequently, we will exclude it from consideration.”²⁴ Therefore, they did not treat the influences of the returnees in Navarre, due to the lack of documentation to do so.

It was not until the 1990s that the theme of Basque migration started to grow among Basque scholars. In 1992, coinciding with the quincentenaries’ of America’s conquest, emigration literature raised in the Basque Country and in Spain. However, this proliferation of works in Basque migration has normally been directed to the analysis of the Basques overseas rather than focusing on how the high rates of migration affected the homeland. In other words, these contributions are again more related with the Basque Diaspora than the study of the consequences and impact of that migration in the Navarre society as well in the Basque Country.

In this vein, in the book *Navarra y America* (1992), a chapter is dedicated to the influences of emigration and return migration in Navarre. In this chapter, Imizcoz gives a brief explanation about return migration, in which he addresses the lack of return migration studies, as well as studies that address the migration influence and impact in the homeland. In this regard, Imizcoz states that “studies of migration often address more the way of travel flows, mechanisms, and the life in America rather than effects of returning home.” Therefore, Imizcoz is arguing for the necessity of more in-depth

²⁴Ángel García-Sanz Marcotegui, and Alejandro Arizcun Cela. “An Estimate of Navarrese Migration in the second half of the nineteenth century,” in William A. Douglass, *Essays in Basque Social Anthropology and History* (Reno: Basque Studies Program, 1989), 240.

research on the influences of those migrants in the homeland. Highlighting the necessity of studies of these characteristics in Navarre, as well as in the whole Basque Country, Imizcoz notes that “for both the community and individuals in Navarre there is still no research that examines the repercussions of such emigration throughout its history.”²⁵ Unquestionably, in 1992, there was still a vague knowledge about the migration influences in the homeland. Imizcoz takes Douglass’ examples of the influences on marriage and on the household, explaining how Navarrese emigrants came back to marry, as well as how they used to help improve their household.

Due to this, the studies of transnational approaches on the impact of the homeland is a recent phenomenon. As return migration has got less attention than diaspora in the Basque historiography, so did the influence of transnational encounters in the homeland. In this respect, Basque Migration studies followed the same tendency of other migrants’ communities until recent times.

In 2004, Azcona Pastor published *Possible Paradises*. The book is influenced by the *Amerikanuak* book. Pastor’s research focuses on Latin American Basque Diaspora. Therefore, he argues about the lack of transnational studies in Basque Historiography. The author denounces that Basque Migration historiography is almost a unidirectional phenomenon. Azcona also argues that there are almost no references to the returning to homeland in the Basque case. In this matter, he argues, “one of the subject largely

²⁵ José María Imizcoz Beunza, «Los Navarros y America: Motivos de ida, efectos de vuelta.» in José Andrés-Gallego, *Navarra y America* (Pamplona: Colecciones Mapfre, 1992), 321-399.

ignored by the historiography of the Basque Country is the connection maintained between its emigrants and their place of origin during and after their stay in America.”²⁶

From the 1990s to the present days, many authors are involved in the development of Basque migration literature: Álvarez Gila, Amores Carredano, Angulo Morales, Aramburu Zudaire, Ramos, and Oiarzabal are working on Basque migration in different aspects. Their works have contributed to develop the field of Basque migration in different chronologies, geographical scopes, topics, and methodologies; from the colonial period in the Spanish America to the presence of Basque emigrants in Hollywood’s movies.²⁷ Through these authors, Basque migration studies are giving more presence to the subject in an international sphere.

On the other hand, in the Americas – from the United States to South America – a huge development of Basque migration literature has occurred. From Boise or Reno, to Mexico, Argentina Cuba and in-between. One example is the last book edited by William Douglass, *Basques in Cuba*. This book gathered the papers presented in a Conference

²⁶ José Manuel Azcona Pastor, *Possible Paradises* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004), 152.

²⁷ This group has developed large literature about Basque migration along the Americas. See Óscar Álvarez Gila, Ana de Zaballa Beascochea, and Ronald Escobedo Mansilla, *Euskal Herria y el Nuevo Mundo, La Contribución de los Vascos a la Formación de las Américas* (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial Universidad del País Vasco, 1996); Óscar Álvarez Gila, Ana de Zaballa Beascochea, and Ronald Escobedo Mansilla, *Emigración y Redes Sociales de los Vascos en América* (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial Universidad del País Vasco, 1996); José Miguel Aramburu Zudaire, *Vida y Fortuna del Emigrante Navarro a Indias (siglo XVI y XVII)* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1999); Óscar Álvarez Gila and Alberto Angulo Morales (ed.), *Las Migraciones Vascas en Perspectiva Histórica (siglos XVI-XX)* (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2000); Óscar Álvarez Gila, *Organización, Identidad e Imagen de las Colectividades Vascas de la Emigración (siglos XVI-XXI)* (Bilbao: Servicio editorial Universidad del País Vasco, 2010); Óscar Álvarez Gila and Juan Bosco Amores Carredano (ed.), *Del Espacio Cantábrico al Mundo Americano, Perspectivas Sobre Migración, Etnicidad y Retorno* (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2015). Among other contributions into Basque migration literature.

occurred in Cuba in 2014²⁸, in which the main important authors in the field of Basque migration gathered.

In this vein, it is clear that the return migration in the Basque Country was a less interesting topic for Basque migration historians than Diaspora. In the context of transnational and return migration studies, an important study that addresses the influences of transnational migration in the Basque lands is the book by Juan Javier Pescador, *The New World inside a Basque Village: the Oiartzun Valley and its Atlantic emigrants 1550-1800*, (2004). This book is a micro-history study of Oiartzun (a small valley from Gipuzkoa) that addresses the changes in the society as result of the back and forth migration between the Spanish Empire in the Atlantic Ocean. Pescador specially focuses on the social interactions and connections of these migrants who went back and forth, and their relatives and neighbors from the Oiartzun.

Pescador demonstrates how important were these transoceanic relations in the everyday lives of the inhabitants from Oiartzun. Pescador analyzes the process of different households that became prominent by consequence of the migration career in the American colonies of the Spanish Empire. They were merchants, bishops, and in fact, important people from the colonial America. In the process of changes these figures of *Amerikanuak* (or, in this case, *Indianoak*) changed Oiartzun's society and the relations among these families. Bailyn, speaking about Pescador's book argues that "the lives of peasants in obscure Basque communities in the western Pyrenees were transformed by

²⁸ William A. Douglass, *Basques in Cuba* (Reno: Center for Basque Studies, 2015).

their contacts with the New World”²⁹. In this matter, we can consider Pescador’s book as the pioneer research that connects both worlds, referring to the influences that those transnational encounters produced in Basque Country. As Pescador argues, “the ‘Indianos’ socioeconomic impact on their birthplace ended up creating a new local gentry based on colonial riches and transatlantic networks.”³⁰ Therefore, although Douglass argue that the impact of migration on the economic was limited to the household, Pescador’ book demonstrate that the influence of overseas was bigger than what scholars had initially thought. In that regard, the necessity for more research in that line is needed in order to deeply address the impact that these *Amerikanuak* have had in the Basque Country.

In this vein, in 2011, Azcona Pastor repeats in his book *El ámbito historiográfico y metodológico de la emigración vasca y Navarra hacía America*: “The influences of overseas exodus in the social, economic, and cultural development of both territories still needs to be carefully studied.”³¹ With all these references in mind, it is reasonable to conclude that transnational encounters on Basque Country needs more careful dedication by historians. By decades the Basque migration scholars had pay attention to this phenomenon, take the idea of the “American uncle or relatives,” the ideal *Indiano* who came back enriched, and helped their fellowmen.

²⁹ Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and contours* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 95.

³⁰ Juan Javier Pescador, *The New World inside a Basque Village: the Oiartzun Valley and its Atlantic emigrants 1550-1800* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004), 126.

³¹ José Manuel Azcona Pastor, *El ámbito historiográfico y metodológico de la emigración vasca y Navarra hacía America* (Vitoria-Gasteiz: Gobierno Vasco, 2011), 221.

During the modern history, and continuing through the early 20th century, the relation between transnational emigrant and their fellow men from the homeland was uninterrupted. The importance of the household continued in the Basque values of the New World. Some of the enriched *amerikanuak* sent not only money to their household, but also gifts to their' home town, churches, etc. Usually they invested in their family households, and also contributed to the development or the improvement of their hometowns: In many places of Navarre, they built schools, town halls, fountains... as well as send silverwares to the churches. In this context, art historian from Navarre has researched more on the influence of those transnational emigrant in the art production, such as Azanza López among others.³²

From the beginning of the twenty-first century interest on return migration has increased, as an example the work of Oiarzabal, as well as his project of *memoria bizia*. In this project Oiarzabal gathered the personal experiences of returnees through the Basque Country.³³

³² José Javier Azanza López, "Aproximación a la arquitectura de los Americanos en Navarra (en el centenario del traslado de Bearin, 1904-2004)," in *Principe de Viana* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2004): 421-474; Heredia Moreno, M. C, M Orbe Sivate, y A Orbe Sivate, *Arte Hispano Americano en Navarra* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1992).

³³ Pedro J. Oiarzabal, "Aproximación al estudio de la migración vasca de retorno: hacia la pequeña historia personal a través de los testimonios orales de emigrantes retornados," in *Migraciones en el Tercer Milenio: Una mirada desde el País Vasco*, ed. Ana Ugalde Zaratiegui (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial Universidad del País Vasco, 2014), 107-125.

Chapter Two

Contextualizing the history of Navarre and the society of Aezkoa Valley

Since the conquest of Navarre in 1512 by the Castilian Kingdom, Navarre kept its status as Kingdom and in consequence, Navarre maintained its *Fueros*³⁴ and its institutions. The Kingdom of Navarre's location along the French border meant that it had to secure and control the border, which in turn affected the Kingdom's budget.³⁵ However, the complaisance to the Kingdom of Navarre, its institutions, and peculiarities would be defeated throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, reducing the Kingdom of Navarre to a province of Spain in 1841.

After the Spanish Succession War in 1714, the Bourbons started reforms in the administration of the Spanish territory. These reforms were made in attempt to centralize Spanish politics and economy through the central government, which was located in Madrid. These reforms were against the interests of the Kingdom of Navarre, since the reforms attacked the *Fueros* and its autonomy. In this context, Floristán Imizcoz argues,

³⁴ *Fueros*: Charters or old laws of the Kingdom.

³⁵ María Isabel Ostolaza Elizondo, "La hacienda real en Navarra durante la etapa de los Austrias," in *Príncipe de Viana*, vol. 68, issue 240 (2007), 226-227.

Kings made efforts trying to regulate the internal life from Navarre, as well as the whole Spain, by their royal cedula³⁶ and not by the particular laws of the Cortes³⁷. The royal cedula regulates aspects that are away of the monarchy traditional interests; as the organization of customs, diversions, charity, education, internal market, which before were by the control of Navarre. Viceroys denied to admit this as *contrafuero*³⁸, and they showed less accessible than ever before to the petitions of the new particular laws from Navarre.³⁹

Those reforms provoked a confrontation between Navarre and the central government of Madrid, focused in three main areas: contributions, mandatory military service and *aduanas* or customs.

During the Crown of the Austrias, the army became professional and was composed of mercenaries. However, with the Bourbons, the Spanish government implemented reforms that affected the army, by which the French recruitment system of mandatory military system was introduced. Such reform in the army did not pass unnoticed by the Navarrese Government. In 1772, the Government of Navarre refused the mandatory military system since it was against the *Fueros*, in which the Navarrese people only had the obligation to join the army when wars occurred in Navarrese territory. However, Castile replied that, according to the *Fueros*, all Navarrese were obligated to participate actively in the war if the King requested.⁴⁰ However, according to Mina Apat, the Navarrese Government obtained exemption from the central government in order to

³⁶ Real Cédula was a certificate signed by a king who granted a favor or dictated a certain disposition on a matter that concerned the one who received it.

³⁷ Parliament of the Kingdom of Navarre.

³⁸ Laws that were against the *Fuero*.

³⁹ Alfredo Floristán Imizcoz, *Historia de Navarra*. Tomo 3. *Pervivencia y renacimiento (1512-1808)* (Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1994), 129-130.

⁴⁰ The General *Fuero* of Navarre gathered that the vassal had to give arms service if the King demanded. But the obligation was not equal for all of them. On the one hand, the nobility had to contribute with some conditions and for an established period. On the other hand, the peasant had to contribute without conditions.

contribute people to the Castilian army in 1772, as well as in 1776. This confrontation in 1772, with the imposition of military service, became the starting point of the resistance against those centralist reforms. In this sense, Mina Apat argues,

In this context of financial crisis and military compromises we should try to understand the central power's abolitionist politics, against "foral" regions (Navarre and Basque Country) that resisted to contribute in money and soldiers to Castile's necessities. We have to add the mercantilism economic policy and protectionism, typical of the Enlightenment Despotism. The Enlightenment Despotism saw the customs autonomy of the Basque Country as a disloyal competency to Castile's industry and market.⁴¹

Then, the financial and military crisis that the Castile crown suffered were excuses to attack the Kingdom of Navarre and its institutions.

In the late eighteenth century, the French Revolution and the political ideas behind it spread across Europe. The fear of liberal ideas in the Catholic Church and in traditional Castile ended in the Convention War of 1793, between France and Spain. Navarre became the setting of the war and therefore the Navarrese population took part in it. Aezkoa Valley, as other border communities from northern Navarre, were also involved in the War against Convention. During those years Aezkoa Valley suffered the invasion by French troops. That invasion provoked damages along the valley and caused many people to leave to other places.⁴²

⁴¹ María Cruz Mina Apat, *Fueros y revolución liberal en Navarra* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1981), 35. Translated by the author. "En este contexto de crisis hacendística y de compromisos militares hay que tratar de comprender la política abolicionista del poder central, frente a unas regiones forales que se resistían a contribuir en dinero y hombres a las necesidades del Estado. A ello hay que añadir la política económica mercantilista y proteccionista propia del Despotismo Ilustrado que veía en la autonomía aduanera del País Vasco una espita de divisas y una competencia desleal para la industria y el comercio nacional."

⁴² Mikel Iriarte Lorea, *Consecuencias de la Guerra de la Convención en el Valle de Aezkoa, 1793-1795* (Pamplona, 2015).

In 1803, the Castilian Council passed a law by which Navarre and the rest of the Basque territories were obligated to contribute to the Castilian army with 2,000 men, 1,500 of which were to be from Navarre. Once again, the Navarrese Government refused the obligation and one year later, the central administration asked for more men. In 1806, the problem of mandatory military service came up again, and Navarre obtained the right to exchange men for money.

The attacks against the Foral system of the Kingdom of Navarre continued throughout the period of the Napoleonic Wars.⁴³ According to Rodríguez Garraza, Manuel Godoy tried to complete the centralization that Bourbons had started. In the same way that Philippe V did with the abolition of the *Fueros* in the Kingdom of Aragon, Godoy tried to do so with the *Fueros* in Navarre and the rest of the Basque territories.⁴⁴ Although Godoy did not achieve his goals, he opened the door for the future end and abolition of the *Fueros* of the Kingdom of Navarre.⁴⁵

According to Miranda Rubio, “the French occupation put an end to the Navarrese *Foral* institutions.”⁴⁶ General Armagnac’s division of 2,500 soldiers entered Pamplona on February 9, 1808. The Government from Navarre collaborated with the French, following

⁴³ The Napoleonic Wars or Peninsular War (1808-1814) was the war in which Castile fought against Napoleon. Napoleon first entered Spain with his troops with the intention to invade Portugal, but then they started conquering territories in Spain and in Navarre as well. On February 16th, important places, such as Barcelona, and other frontier places were controlled by French soldiers. In such situation, Godoy advised the Royal family to leave Spain to an American destination. This reaction caused the rejection from the Spanish population, expressed on May 2nd.

⁴⁴ After the Succession War in 1714, Philippe V abolished the *Fueros* from the Kingdom of Aragon as a punishment because this territory was supporting other candidate for the Crown.

⁴⁵ Rodrigo Rodríguez Garraza, *Tensiones de Navarra con la administración central (1778-1808)* (Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1974), 318-319.

⁴⁶ Francisco Miranda Rubio, “La quiebra del régimen foral navarro bajo la ocupación francesa (1808-1814)” in *Príncipe de Viana*, vol. 66, issue 235 (2005): 475.

the advice of the central authorities.⁴⁷ The Bourbons, when the war began, accepted to pass the Crown in Baiona to José Bonaparte, and José I was crowned King of Spain. The Navarrese Government refused to recognize José I as the King, and that provoked the Navarrese Government to evacuate from Pamplona on August 31, 1808. They lived in exile until the first months of 1810, when the first military government was established.

On February 8, 1810, Napoleon passed a decree creating the military governments by which Georges Joséph Dufour was named the first military governor of Navarre. The reforms that put an end to the *Foral* institutions started with him. In July, George Joséph Dufour was restituted and the next governors depended directly on the Head of the Northern army.

While the war was going in 1812, a Constitution was enacted and institutions were imposed according to the liberal regime of Cadiz on paper. The Cadiz Constitution from 1812 was made following the ideas of establishing a Spanish State in the shape of the French Republic. In Navarre, the deputies did not renounce their historical rights, going against the new organization. While the Navarrese deputies were fighting for the recognition of the historical rights, the war ended, and Ferdinand VII was enthroned. He abolished the constitution and reestablished the Navarrese institutions and the ones of the rest of the Basque territories. According to García-Sanz, Iriarte López and Mikelarena Peña, the main consequence of the Napoleonic wars was the creation of two ideological camps in Navarre, as they state,

⁴⁷ Mina Apat, *Fueros y revolución liberal*, 60.

The most notorious consequence of the Peninsular War was the division of part of the population into two ideological camps (liberal and foralist). In addition, other differences emerged on the customs issue and on phenomena recorded during the conflict, such as the indebtedness of the peasantry, subject to the exactions of the gangs, and the sale of commons to mitigate the debts of the municipal treasuries, which would benefit a few and would be detrimental to others.⁴⁸

In 1814, the return of Ferdinand VII guaranteed the restoration of old institutions and the Government through the decree of May 28. The restoration of the Kingdom of Navarre was guaranteed by the proclamation of the August 14th Royal Decree, in which all the rights of the Kingdom of Navarre were recognized. However, this reestablishment of the laws in Castile did not mean that Ferdinand VII would defend or support Navarrese foralism.⁴⁹

The government tried to reaffirm its legal and political patrimony, through the reforms that they enacted. In that context, the Cortes passed laws that defeated many Royal Decrees which the Navarrese government believed were “*contrafueros*” or laws against the *Fuero*. In consequence, they destroyed the *antiforal* laws that Godoy passed some years before. In doing so, Navarre rejected and never accepted the Castilian legislation: the *Novísima Recopilación de España*. In the same vein, the government asked to move the customs from the Ebro River to the Pyrenees. The Cortes refused the invitation. On February 21, 1818, the Castilian Minister of Treasury gave a document to

⁴⁸ Ángel García Sanz, Iñaki Iriarte López, Fernando Mikelarena Peña, *Historia del Navarrismo (1841-1936), Sus relaciones con el vasquismo* (Pamplona: Universidad Pública de Navarra, 2002), 35. Translated by the author: “La consecuencia más notoria de la Guerra de la Independencia fue la división de parte de la población en dos campos ideológicos (liberales y absolutistas). Además, surgieron otras diferencias sobre el tema aduanero y sobre fenómenos registrados durante el conflicto, tales como el endeudamiento del campesinado, sujeto paciente de las exacciones de los bandos en liza, y la venta de comunales para paliar las deudas de las haciendas municipales, que beneficiaría a unos pocos e iría en detrimento de los demás.”

⁴⁹ Political tendency that aspires to restore the old local *Fueros* or old laws from different territories from Spain.

the viceroy in order to make contact with the Cortes. In that document, the desire of the King to move the borders was explained, even if it was against the Navarrese interest. They were asked to sacrifice for the benefits of Castile. However, the Cortes meeting finished with the borders at the Ebro River because it was against the law.

On January 1, 1820, with the Rafael de Riego's *pronunciamento* [uprising] the Liberal triennium began. This uprising reestablished liberalism in the power, as well as the Constitution of Cadiz. In consequence, the Navarrese *foral* system and its institutions were again abolished. As a consequence of the abolition of the old institutions, the Royalist War began, in which guerrillas fought against liberals in order to reestablish absolutism. The guerrillas received the assistance of international armies, such as the Holy Alliance, in order to reestablish absolutism. In April 1823, 56,000 soldiers from the French army crossed the border to assist the guerrillas. That caused the Government of Madrid to leave the capital and go to Cadiz, the bastion city of the liberalism. After some months of resistance, the liberal triennium ended, and the absolutist regime was again restored.⁵⁰

After the triennium, the Navarrese institutions were again reestablished and the *Foral* rights were recognized. The *Cortes of Navarre* met for the last time in 1828-1829, in order to repair the *contrafueros*. Despite these efforts, the Cortes had to confront the same problems that they had had in the previous years. Principally they had to confront the problem of customs. Although the Navarrese government tried to avoid the

⁵⁰Rodrigo Rodríguez Garraza, *Navarra de Reino a Provincia (1828-1841)* (Pamplona: Pamiela, 2013), 45-50. Translated by the author: "La lucha ha sido heroica en estos años anteriores a 1828, con sus más y sus menos, y nos acercamos al momento definitivo en que el Reino de Navarra va a desaparecer."

movement of the borders, they could not maintain them in that location, since on March 8, 1829, a Royal Decree imposed the borders in the Pyrenees. In the same year, another Royal Decree imposed a committee in order to make a report on the Navarrese *Fueros*. The same decree also contained an ordinance that stated that while the committee was meeting the laws which applied to Navarre would be the same as in the rest of the monarchy. That meant that the *Fueros* were again repealed. This commission and the Royal Decrees went against the historical rights of the Kingdom of Navarre following the ideas of centralizing the politics and economics of peninsular territories as a whole.

The First Carlist War came as a result of the death of King Ferdinand VII on September 29, 1833. By 1829, Ferdinand VII had married three times, and none of his descendants were alive. He remarried to his niece María Christine of Bourbon-Two Sicilies in 1829. Two daughters were born in this marriage, María Isabel and Luisa Fernanda. However, according to the Salic Law that the Bourbons had passed on May 10, 1813, the successor of the Spanish Crown had to be male. Then, the daughters of the King were denied to become the successor of their father. At that point, the successor of Ferdinand VII would be his brother, Carlos, Count of Molina. However, after the childbirth of the first daughter of the King, in March 1830, Ferdinand VII published the Pragmatic Sanction Law, by which he allowed his daughter María Isabel to inherit the Crown. In April 1833, María Isabel was named Princess of Asturias⁵¹, removing Carlos to become the next King of Castile.⁵²

⁵¹ Title of the successor to the Spanish Crown.

⁵² Juan Pan-Mantojo, *Carlistas y Liberales en Navarra (1833-1839)* (Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1990), 37.

Carlos did not accept the Pragmatic Sanction. Then, the peninsular territory was divided into two sides that were confronted politically and ideologically. On the one side were the liberals, who wanted to transform Castile into a liberal Spanish country. They had hope in Isabel, and at the same time, Queen María Cristina needed liberals to enthrone her daughter. On the other side, there were the ones who wanted the maintenance of absolutism, as well as the institutions of the past. This group were the ones who supported Carlos, since he has shown respect for the Basque institutions.

In that situation, the First Carlist War started in 1833 and continued until 1839. Navarre and the Basque Country were the principal settings of the war. In Navarre, Foralist struggles and the desire to maintain the *Fueros* and its historical rights and institutions, caused the involvement of the population mainly on the Carlist side.⁵³ However, the reality of Navarre differed, since it was divided in liberal and Carlist zones.⁵⁴

The fight between Navarre and the Spanish government during the eighteenth century as a consequence of the Bourbons reforms caused Navarre to become an important territory in which Carlos received support. Carlos represented the respect for the ancient laws, and the struggles that Navarre had in the last years provoked opposite sentiments in the population from Navarre. Mainly, the population was against liberalism and liberals because they represented the antiforalism movements of the past.

⁵³ Francisco Miranda Rubio, *Cien años de fiscalidad en Navarra (1841-1941)* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1998), 23-24.

⁵⁴ Pan-Mantojo, *Carlistas y Liberales en Navarra (1833-1839)*, 37.

In 1839, General Espartero offered peace to the Carlists. This peace was offered in exchange for the maintenance of the *Fueros*, even though the *Fueros* had to be compatible with the new constitutional order. On August 31, 1839, the Convention of Vergara was celebrated, where the First Carlist War ended. With the promised exchange, Navarre was no longer a kingdom and after the “Fueros modification law of 1841” Navarre became a province of the Spanish State, although by this law, Navarre maintained its own tax system, as well as many exemptions.

In 1843, Isabel II was enthroned. During her years in the Crown, liberal ideas were gaining power and were represented in the laws. The crisis that affected Spain provoked the necessity of money in the central Government. Because of this necessity, in 1855 the government passed the disentailment law that allowed the sale of common lands. The benefits of those sales would go to the Spanish government and then, the municipalities would receive compensation from those sales. The author of the law was Pascual Madoz, a Liberal, who was against the maintenance of the *Fueros* and the institutions of the old times. The Government of Navarre stood against this law trying to avoid the application of it in the territory of Navarre. According to the historical right of the contributions, the government of Navarre believed that benefits from the sale of common land should go to Navarre and not to the central government. Therefore, in 1859, both authorities made an agreement that the benefits from the sale of common lands would go to Navarre.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Rachel Bard, *Navarra: The Durable Kingdom* (Reno: University Nevada Press, 1982), 174.

In 1868, Isabel II was overthrown in the “Glorious Revolution.” After the revolution, a provisional government was established, presided over by General Serrano. During this provisional government, the Constitution of 1869 was passed, in which two main points were established: universal male suffrage and the constitutional monarchy. While Isabel II was dethroned, the Carlists tried to promote Carlos, the nephew of the previous Carlos, brother of Ferdinand VII as the new king. However, the new government found another candidate for the Crown, Amadeo di Saboya, son of the King of Italy. In 1872, by the designation of Amadeo I as a King of Spain, Carlists started fighting against this imposition, by which the Second Carlist War began.

Navarre became the setting of the war once again, as had happened in the previous war. The Carlist rebellion was successful in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Navarre. One of the most important battles of the first years took place in Navarre, in Orokieta (Basaburua Valley). The end of the Carlist insurrection began in that battle. After that defeat, the Carlists signed a peace agreement with the government, in the signing of the Amorebieta agreement in May 1872. In that agreement, Carlists were reprieved and the Government compromised to maintain the *Fueros*. Carlos VII did not accept the treaty and fighting continued in Catalonia, therefore the Amorebieta agreements became just a break in the war.

The convulsed period started in 1871, after Amadeo I’s nomination as the King of Spain, and it would end when he renounced the throne in 1873, when the first Republic of Spain was proclaimed. This Spanish first Republic ended with the *pronunciamiento* [uprising] of Martínez Campos, who designated Alfonso XII as the King of Spain, while

the Second Carlist War was still taking place. On February 28, 1875, Alfonso's XII troops made an offensive that finished with the end of the war. Carlos VII and his militias crossed the border and escaped to France.

When Alfonso XII became King of Spain, the restoration regime period that persisted until 1902 began. The new government passed a new Constitution in 1876, by which liberals took advantage of their triumph in the war in order to reinforce and legitimize the centralistic and unitary policy that was carried out in the previous decades. The consequences of the Bourbons' politics caused the abolishment of the *Fueros* in the Basque Country in 1876.⁵⁶ Although mutilated and reduced to minimum expression, the Basque Provinces retained their fiscal autonomy and some ancient liberties in the civil code.

The society of Aezkoa: the household in the community framework

Aezkoa Valley is located in the Pyrenees and because of this location, the economy of these villages was mainly oriented to agriculture and livestock. Aizpurua, Alenza, and Galilea referring to the rural condition, argue that, "The situation in Navarre (and in the whole of Spain) in nineteenth century, as most historians hold, agriculture was the most (but not the only) important productive sector. Mountains and forests were central to these traditional economies – especially in all North Country regions."⁵⁷ Land therefore, was essential to the maintenance of that economy. Lands of these villages were

⁵⁶ Miranda Rubio, *Cien años de fiscalidad en Navarra (1841-1941)*, 27-33.

⁵⁷ Aizpurua, Alenza and Galilea, "Property regimes and exploitation of the forest an economic analysis: the case of Spain," in *The Eight Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property (IASCP)* (May 1-June 4, 2000): 4.

divided into private lands of each household, common lands of each village, and the common lands of the whole valley. The uses of those lands were essential for the economy and indeed for the population of the area.

In that regard, Imizcoz Beunza argues that the common lands constituted the essential basis of collective life, for its resources, incomes, management, rules, and practices. It is also known that in the modern history of Western Europe the dominant tendency was characterized by a process of common land reduction and by the parallel weakening of the old collective structures of peasant communities.⁵⁸ In the communities of northern Navarre common lands were important for the rural economies and for the peasants' lives. Without access to these communal resources, such as water, wood, labor lands, pastures, leaves and fern, mills, forges, etc., life in the countryside was unfeasible. Local authorities controlled the common lands and its resources. This access to the common lands and their resources was not equal for the whole community, since Basque rural societies were based on the neighborhood system, a rigid social organization in which the population was not recognized. Madariaga and Serrano refer to the neighborhood system saying that,

From the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, belonging or not to a neighborhood was the most important characteristic of the integration into the political, juridical and productive aspects of the preindustrial societies.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ José María Imízcoz Beunza. "Tierra y sociedad en la montaña de Navarra: Los comunes y los usos comunitarios del Antiguo al Nuevo Régimen. Siglos XVIII-XIX" in *Príncipe de Viana* (1992): 175.

⁵⁹ Juan Madariaga Orbea and Serrano Gomez. "El sistema vecinal y sus categorías en Navarra a finales del Antiguo Regimen," in *Huarte de San Juan. Geografía e Historia* (1998): 215. Translated by the author: "La pertenencia o no a la vecindad constituye, entre los siglos XV y XIX el rasgo más característico de integración o inserción en el ámbito jurídico-político-productivo de las sociedades preindustriales."

By this organization of the Basque rural societies, communities were based upon two different statuses: On one hand, neighbors or *vecinos*, who were the ones recognized in the system. On the other hand, the non-neighbors or inhabitants with no neighborhood rights, and who did not enjoy the recognition in the neighborhood system. This group received different names such as *habitante* (inhabitant), *moradores* (residents), and *maisterrak* or *caseros* (tenants).

The access to the neighborhood system is documented in the *Fuero*, by the “Novísima Recopilación de las leyes del Reino de Navarra”⁶⁰, a recompilation of the Navarre legislation. Articles of this legislation established who was able to take part in the neighborhood system. Navarrese legislation established the main right to enjoy neighborhood membership, which was the house. The house transmitted that neighborhood right or allowed people to stay in the neighborhood community. The house or the household was, and is still today, the most important factor of this society, since the house made the membership to the community.

As the house gave the right to belong to the neighborhood system, there were two different categories in it. On one hand, the houses that enjoyed the neighborhood rights made the owners part of the neighborhood system as neighbors. This group enjoyed the political power of the community and were the ones to have the control over the society, common lands, and its resources.

⁶⁰ Joaquín De Elizondo, *Novísima recopilación de las leyes del Reino de Navarra, hecha en sus Cortes Generales desde el año 1512 hasta el de 1716 inclusive* (San Sebastián: Textos Jurídicos de Vasconia, 2009).

On the other hand, were the houses without neighborhood rights, whose inhabitants were non-neighbors. In fact, this group did not have a part in the community, since this group was out of the political power as well as benefits of the common pool resources. However, this status was not permanent, because they could apply to be part of the neighborhood. Being accepted was very complicated. The neighbors wanted to control the common's benefits and tried to not accept them as neighbors.⁶¹ This status left this group of non-neighbors out of any rights in the community, either in the power of the society or in the exploitation of the natural resources from the public lands from the village.

Besides the Fuero General of Navarre these communities and villages were also governed by their own municipal ordinances. These ordinances not only were a compilation of laws which guided the way to govern and behave in the common and private spheres of the community, but also established who could take part in the neighborhood system. Then, every village and town had their own ordinances to guarantee the good government of their communities. The social organization of the communities of northern Navarre was very similar to each other as Mikelarena Peña, Arizkun Cela, García Sanz Marcotegui, Imizcoz Beunza among other authors have indicated.⁶² In those ordinances, the local traditions and laws were reflected. But the ones

⁶¹ Madariaga Orbea and Serrano Gomez. "El sistema vecinal y sus categorías en Navarra a finales del Antiguo Régimen." (1998): 215.

⁶² For further information see, Alejandro Arizkun Cela, *Economía y Sociedad en un valle Pirenaico de Antiguo Régimen, Baztan, 1600-1841* (Pamplona: Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1988); José María Imizcoz Beunza, "Tierra y Sociedad en la Montaña Navarra: Los Comunes y los usos Comunitarios del Antiguo al Nuevo Régimen, siglos XVIII-XIX," in *Príncipe de Viana* (1992): 175-189; José María Imizcoz Beunza, and Alfredo Floristán Imizcoz, "La Comunidad Vasco-Navarra, un Modelo de Sociedad?," in *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* (1993): 193-216.; Fernando Mikelarena Peña, "Vecindad, Igualitarismo, Situación Material," in *Vasconia: Cuadernos de Historia y Geografía* (1990): 152-167.

that made the laws and ordinances were the group of neighbors, since it was this group who had the political power in the communities. In this regard, the municipal ordinances compiled all the rights, benefits, and obligations that the community members had.

In the case of Aezkoa Valley, the village of Garralda has preserved two main ordinances that are the object of this study. The first ordinances were made in 1644 and were compiled of 53 articles. The second ordinances were made in 1825 and were compiled of 217 articles. The Municipal Ordinances from 1644 reflected the old *cotos y paramentos*⁶³ from 1582, as the scribe added:

Many parts were destroyed and burned and therefore they cannot be read properly, besides that, they wanted to add necessary things that are of great importance for the good government and police for the common good and for the tranquility of the people, so that many expenses of lawsuits and costs are avoided...⁶⁴

In the case of the village of Garralda, the ordinances reflected the importance of being a neighbor and implied that the non-neighbors were out of the public life, as well as the benefits of the common lands. In the ordinances from 1825, article 202 through 209 explain the rights and obligations of the neighbors, as well as who was part of this group. Article 202 explains the requirement to be neighbor, in which it says, “to be a neighbor of Garralda is an indispensable requirement to have an own a house, where the neighbor lives, with other properties, profession or industry that gives regular subsistence, which

⁶³ The previous regulation of the village.

⁶⁴ AMGD. Box 11. Ordenanzas. 1644, p. 2. Translated by the author: “Muchas partes estaban rotas e incendiadas y de modo que no se pueden leer bien, además de ello querían añadir cosas necesarias que son de mucha importancia para el dicho buen gobierno y policía del bien común para quietud de ellos y excusación de muchos gastos pleitos y costas q a falta de no haber.”

the valor of all will overtake the value of the house and properties to the quantity of 100 free duros (currency). Having so, they would be obligated to take part in the public life requirements.”⁶⁵ In that regard, the main requirement to be part of the neighborhood system of Garralda was the house.

In this vein, David S. Murray states that “It is necessary to address the concept of *etxe* (household) since this was historically the center of daily activities and extension of social and political power.” Murray continues, “the *etxe* connected household members to the larger village community, and was the means for legitimizing their access and use of the common-pool resources. In this sense, the *etxe* is an economic unit of production and subsistence, but also the basis for social and political interrelationship within rural Basque communities.”⁶⁶

The neighborhood right was indivisible, and it could be transmitted by several ways: inheritance, donation, purchase, and sale.⁶⁷ However, in order to control the access to the neighborhood, each municipality or council made its own ordinances, which indicated who could take part in the community, and to a large extent, it sought to control the access to the neighborhood. As Imizcoz and Floristán argue, “the condition of universal *hidalguía*⁶⁸ enjoyed since the fifteenth century, the demographic saturation that

⁶⁵ AMGD. Ordenanzas. Box 11. 1825. Art. 202. “para ser vecino de Garralda es requisito indispensable el tener casa propia habitada por sí mismo con otros bienes, oficio, empleo o industria, que le de una subsistencia regular, debiendo ascender el valor de la casa y bienes a la cantidad de cien duros libres, y teniéndolo estará obligado a todos los empleos y cargos concejiles.”

⁶⁶ David Seth Murray, “Contested Commons: The Historical Ecology of Continuity and Change in Basque Agro -Pastoralism in the Baigorri Valley (France)” (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2008), <https://search.proquest.com/docview/194002142/abstract/F871931099F4ED7PQ/1>.

⁶⁷ Novísima recopilación, Ley 7, tít. 20, fol. 851. Ley 7, tít. 20, fol. 851.

⁶⁸ Lower nobility.

happened already in the sixteenth century, or, on the contrary, the wealth of its communal resources, demanded more or less complex and rigorous requirements to admit the ‘upstarts’ as full member neighbors.”⁶⁹ It should be noted that in many villages, municipalities also asked for a residence of one year in the house, the payment of some amount of money, and the purity of blood and proof of *hidalguía*.⁷⁰ In the case of Garralda, the ordinances explained that the neighborhood was inalienable.⁷¹ When a neighbor house was sold, the former owner lost the neighbor right. In that concern, to maintain the neighbor status of the household, the owner of a neighbor house had to live in it for more than one third of the year.⁷²

The neighborhood system implies some rights and obligations of the neighbors to the community. Two main aspects of those rights were the right to take part in the political power and the administration of the society, as well as in the benefits of the common pool resources, or common lands.

The political and administrative rights of the neighbors was being able to take part in the public life of the village. This right gave to households, and to their owners, the ability to be part of the government of the village by taking a position in the council. The neighbors had absolute power over the control of public and municipal life, to the

⁶⁹ José María Imízcoz Beunza and Alfredo Floristán Imízcoz., “La comunidad Vasco-Navarra (s. XV-XIX): ¿Un modelo de sociedad?,” in *Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, tomo 29-2 (1993): 195. Translated by the author: “la condición de hidalguía universal de que gozaban desde el siglo XV, la saturación demográfica que ya se advierte en el XVI o, al contrario, la riqueza de sus recursos comunales, hizo que se exigieran requisitos más o menos complejos y rigurosos para admitir a los ‘advenedizos’ como vecinos de pleno derecho.”

⁷⁰ Madariaga Orbea and Serrano Gomez. *El sistema vecinal y sus categorías en Navarra a finales del Antiguo Régimen*, 223.

⁷¹ Ordenanzas Municipales de Garralda AMG. 1825. Caj. Leg. Art. 113.

⁷² *Ibidem*, art 114.

detriment of the inhabitants or residents. The council of Garralda was organized by *concejo abierto* (open council) or *Batzarre* (assembly)⁷³ with three councilmen per year and a treasurer. The councilmen were elected by *renque* (following a pre-established order of houses). The treasurer was elected by the priest of the town and councilmen. Only neighbors could access municipal positions. There were different ways of choosing such positions, such as: cooptation, insaculation, election, or *a renque*.

The *etxeko jaun* or the *etxeko andre* were those who could qualify for such municipal positions.⁷⁴ In other words, the owners of the houses were those who could enjoy these positions, usually men, and in the absence of these, their widows. In some areas of Navarre, women could take part in the *batzarres*, but only if there were no men at the household. Although women could be active in the *batzarres*, having vote and voice, they could not participate actively in the government of the community, since they could not be elected for public positions. In Aezkoa Valley, the female situation differed; they could not take part in public life. They were not allowed to attend *batzarres* or be part of the council. Therefore, women did not have the right to be part of the council of their communities, since this right was exclusively for men.

While Bourbons went against the *foral* system of Navarre, they also tried to control the municipal government. The suppression of the direct participation of the neighbors in the council decisions produced legislation to abolish the *batzarres* and start a small group of councilmen, usually named and not elected. The *Cortes* of 1794-1797

⁷³ The “batzarre” was a meeting or an assembly where the neighbors were gathered to discuss the main topics of the community.

⁷⁴ The owners of the house, *etxeko-jain*: male owner, and *etxeko-andre*: female owner

decreed the following law: “to avoid the disturbances of the *Batzarres* produced in some large towns, in all the towns that arrived 100 neighbors would be organized by *Veintenas*. Giving to the towns the liberty to organize those *veintenas* [...]”⁷⁵ Therefore, in 1797, the *veintenas* were established, and the council began to be organized by twenty neighbors rather than by the *batzarre* tradition. Later on, in the Cortes of 1817-1818, the law LX was passed, in which the *quincenas* and *oncenas* were established. The *quincenas* were the council of fifteen councilmen in the case of a village with eighty neighbors. The *oncenas* were the council of eleven councilmen in the case of fifty or fewer neighbors’ towns.⁷⁶ In 1825, as a consequence of that imposition, the village of Garralda made new ordinances, in order to introduce the *oncena* system. The first article of the ordinances says:

Firstly, we order and command with regard to the writ of September 29, 1827, confirmed by the Royal and Supreme Council of this kingdom on October 20 of the same year, that there will be in the future and perpetually thereafter an *Oncena* that manages, resolves and determines all the matters regarding the commons and the remaining affairs that have been treated until now by the *Concejo* in assembly of all of the neighbors of this town.⁷⁷

This actuation of the central government, and the application of the *oncena* system in the area, was made in order to control the power of those municipalities. By this implementation, the power of the neighbors was reduced and some of the households

⁷⁵ Actas de las Cortes de Navarra (1530-1829), libro 14 (1795) (Pamplona, Parlamento de Navarra), 201. N. 527.

⁷⁶ *Cuadernos de las leyes y agravios reparados por los tres estados del reino de Navarra*, 281-282. *Se establezcan quincenas en los pueblos compuestos de ochenta vecinos y oncenas en lo que lleguen a 50.*

⁷⁷ Ordenanzas Municipales de Garralda 1825. Caj. Leg. Art. 1. “Primeramente ordenamos y mandamos que con arreglo al auto de veinte y nueve de setiembre de mil ochocientos veinte y siete confirmado por el Real y Supremo Consejo de este Reyno en veinte de octubre del mismo año, haya en lo sucesivo y a perpetuo una *oncena* que trate, resuelva y determine todos los asuntos pertenecientes al común y los demás negocios que ha de tratado hasta ahora en Concejo en junta de todos los vecinos de este lugar.”

enjoyed more power, since the designation of the public position passed from one house to another, in detriment of the whole community.

In many places, the number of neighboring houses established in the sixteenth century barely varied throughout the modern age. The variations that occurred in these figures were mainly caused by the decrease of houses with neighborhoods, with the consequent loss of neighbors with rights in the community. These dynamics of increase or decrease of houses with neighbors followed a course independent of the demographic tendency of the population. In this context, it also responded in a way to a mechanism aimed at maintaining the balance between the population of the place and resources that, in principle, remained constant: by linking communal rights to a certain number of neighboring houses, even if the population grew by the arrival of people or new families in the place, the number of houses that granted the right to be neighbor to its owners remained stable.⁷⁸

The “apeo de fuegos”⁷⁹ and population censuses provides a wealth of information on local oligarchies. These sources not only show the number of people who lived in the town, but also which houses were neighboring houses and which ones were not. In this sense, it also shows which houses were the most important of each town, since these usually came out first. Local oligarchies also could be seen by which houses occupied the

⁷⁸ Ana Zabalza Seguíñ, *Aldeas y campesinos en la Navarra pre pirenaica (1550-1817)* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1994), 733-735.

⁷⁹ From the strict meaning of a review of real property normally subject to some kind of private or public tax, in the modern documentation and historiography of Navarre has come to designate generically any cast of estates, neighbors, estates and rents elaborated with economic or fiscal objectives. The term, used previously in ecclesiastical establishments, was generalized from the middle of the seventeenth century to qualify in particular the large repertoires of “fires” (hearth) or families of the kingdom, such as those of 1644-1645, 1646-1647, 1678 and 1726-1727.

public positions of the villages, since normally these positions would be occupied by a group of houses in detriment of others. Therefore, these kinds of documents contribute to the deepest knowledge of the community organization.

Another important right of neighbors upon the community was the enjoyment of communal. These uses of the communal were perfectly delimited by the municipal ordinances of each locality. They were a cause of conflict, between neighbors in one village and neighbors from different places or villas.⁸⁰ As the previous pages explain, the access to the common lands was not for all people who inhabited the villages. The access to the benefits of the common resources was related to the neighborhood system. In theory, the right of the common lands was related to the neighbor rights of the house, although the non-neighbors could also access the commons, as is reflected in the ordinances of Garralda. In that case, the non-neighbors could access them, but they did have to pay for that right.⁸¹ In this context Zabalza Seguíñ argues,

In the North part of Navarre, the requirement to access the neighborhood were very strict. The exploitation of the commons was rigorously regulated, and was exactly calculated how many heads of animal could be sustained by the common lands. [...] Throughout generations, a serious control of the growth of the population was produced. Preventing the establishment of new families in the community that consequently forced the excess of population to migrate or to remain unmarried.⁸²

⁸⁰ José María Imizcoz Beunza., “Tierra y sociedad en la montaña de Navarra: Los comunes y los usos comunitarios del Antiguo al Nuevo Régimen. Siglos XVIII-XIX,” 175.

⁸¹ AMGD. Ordenanzas Municipales de Garralda 1825. Caj. Leg. Art 203-204

⁸² Ana Zabalza Seguíñ, “Del Concejo al Municipio: La propiedad Comunal en la Navarra Moderna,” in *Iura Vasconiae*, n. 1. (2004): 239.

As Zabalza Seguín explains, the control that communities had to the access of the common lands was important, but the case of Garralda remarked that the people who did not have part in the neighborhood system were allowed to have some benefits from it.

In the case of Aezkoa Valley, the common lands are separated in three groups. There are common lands of each village, common lands of the Valley, and commons of the Crown. The first ones were regulated by the own ordinances from each village. In the case of the commons of the Valley, the neighbors of the nine villages that were part of the Valley had the right to enjoy it. In this case, the Junta General of the Valley had the control over them. The third group is a concession that the Junta General of Aezkoa Valley did to the Crown in the late eighteenth century.

But at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the communal lands of Navarre suffered changes. As Joseba de la Torre has explained, many municipal properties were sold after the war against Napoleon. The economic crisis that the war generated in Navarre provoked the alienation of some properties by municipalities.⁸³ Later, a central government established confiscation laws which also affected Navarre, and consequently Aezkoa Valley. In 1863, the Government passed a law with the purpose of accomplishing the Royal Order from the government regarding the sale of the municipal lands from the whole territory of Spain. These sales were made with the purpose of making money to afford the economic crisis that Spain was going through. During this period, the villages from Aezkoa Valley tried to avoid the sale of their lands. Nevertheless, some of the

⁸³ Joseba De La Torre, “Venta de bienes concejiles y crisis del Antiguo Régimen en Navarra (1808-1820)” in *Príncipe de Viana*, n 49 (1988): 183.

communal lands of those towns were not inscribed in the property's register. Therefore, some villages' councils went to the court to prove the ownership of the lands as communal lands of the village, but also, to avoid the sales of those lands.

In this context, Abaurrea Alta went to the court in order to demonstrate the ownership of some lands.⁸⁴ The whole community of Abaurrea Alta was involved. The council explained the importance of common lands in their lives, and how these lands had an effect in the subsistence of the people from the area. In these terms Abaurrea Alta's council argued,

The benefits of those exploitations of the commons is indispensable to the subsistence of the 470 inhabitants of Abaurrea Alta as well as to the maintenance of the livestock that is composed by 2,445 heads, which 288 are bovine, 147 are pack animals, and the remaining 2,000 are sheep and goats. In those terms, without the explained lands will be impossible to maintain the livestock from the village that is the principal wealth of the town.⁸⁵

Later Abaurrea Alta's council added that those lands were not enough to maintain livestock, and because of that, they were taking advantage of the communal lands from the Valley, since they had the right to do so. This actuation of Abaurrea Alta's council shows the importance of the communal lands in the local economy, and even more in a

⁸⁴Archivo Municipal de Abaurrea Alta, Box. 2, leg 14. "Mi representado tiene que formar expediente en justificación del derecho de los vecinos del mismo lugar al disfrute gratuito y libre de yerbas, leña, y demás productos de los montes comunes existentes dentro del radio de su jurisdicción puesto que carece de título que acredita el origen y posesión de los mismos, cuya carencia deberá declarar bajo su responsabilidad como se exige en la misma circular."

⁸⁵ AMAA. Box. 2, leg. 14. Translation by the author: "Que el goce de estos aprovechamientos es indispensable para atender a la subsistencia de los habitantes de dicha Abaurrea Alta, cuyo número es de cuatrocientos setenta, y para la manutención de los ganados, que asciende a dos mil cuatrocientas cuarenta y cinco cabezas, a saber, doscientas ochenta y ocho de vacuno, ciento cincuenta y siete de carga, y dos mil de lanar y cabrío, en tales términos, que sin los expresados terrenos será imposible mantenerse el ganado del pueblo que es su principal riqueza."

territory where the main wealth of the economy came from the livestock. Abaurrea Alta obtained the allowance by the central government to continue maintaining their common lands. Therefore, they avoided the sale of the commons.⁸⁶

Aezkoa Valley's common lands and the Crown's lands were all the same until 1784. But on May 16, 1784, Aezkoa Valley's council offered to the King the communal lands of the Valley. The purpose of the offer was based on giving the communal lands in order to build a factory to manufacture war munitions. The offer was made as a way to create subsistence for the people from Aezkoa, due to the employment that it would create.⁸⁷ In this exchange, they gave a portion of those communal lands, but the neighbors from Aezkoan would maintain the right to exploit them.

This exploitation was based on forest exploitation, which basically was the use of the trees in order to construct houses, and as firewood, as well as the local industries that also exploited the trees of the communal lands. In addition, the Valley administration continued having the right to graze the livestock on those lands. Although the offer was in gratuity, Aezkoa Valley's council asked the King for an exemption from the payment or contribution that the Valley had to give to the Government in exchange for the offer. In those petitions, Aezkoa Valley also asked the Crown to be responsible for the payment that the valley had to make to the monastery of Roncesvalles. In total, the payment that they asked reached 204 *florines* (currency).⁸⁸ In this exchange, Aezkoa Valley gave the communal lands to the Crown with all the obligation that the lands had, but the Valley's

⁸⁶ AMAA. Box. 2, leg. 14.

⁸⁷ Archivo Junta General de Aezkoa, Aribe, Box. 6, leg 2.

⁸⁸ Archivo Junta General Aezkoa, Aribe, Box 8, leg. 36.

rights to the exploitation of the resources were not neglected, as is reflected in the Abaurrea Alta's communal ownership expedient of 1863. The offer materialized in the War Munition Factory of Orbaizeta. Later on, the valley tried to reclaim the ownership of the lands, since the factory caused a tragedy during the wars from the late eighteenth to the middle-late nineteenth centuries. The reason was that all the armies wanted to control the factory, and in so doing, the villages from Aezkoa Valley suffered huge repercussions in the life of the locals, i.e. some villages were burned.

The inheritance system

The society of the countryside of Navarre is based on the importance of the household and on the pertinence of the people to one household and to the neighborhood system. In that connection of the rural society with the household, the inheritance system of those households is also important. In that regard, the inheritance system of the patrimony is strongly related to the economic and societal structures of the area.

In Navarre, there are two types of inheritance systems. One of them is based on the division of the legacy throughout the siblings of the family. The other system is based on the maintenance of the whole patrimony or in the inheritance as an indivisible system. In this system, one of the siblings inherits the whole familiar patrimony. In Navarre, both systems were present but the use of them differed geographically. Yaben, in his analysis of the marriage contract and the inheritance system, explains that it was a geographical division regarding the inheritance system in Navarre.⁸⁹ He argued that the whole of

⁸⁹ Hilario Yaben, *Los Contratos Matrimoniales en Navarra y su influencia en la estabilidad de la Familia*, Madrid, 1916.

Navarre, except the judge's jurisdiction of Tudela, were based on the indivisible inheritance system. Yaben also related the inheritance system with the family of stem and nuclear models. Le Play and Yaben argued that the indivisible inheritance system was the best to maintain the stability of the society. They thought that the stem family produces the stability to the community, in the way that the household maintains their belongings throughout the years and even centuries.

In this regard, Mikelarena Peña not only supports Yaben's geographical division but he also found a connection between the geographical division of the inheritance system with the language.⁹⁰ In other words, he related the difference in the inheritance system in Navarre with the geographical presence of the Basque language. The indivisible system is used in the part of Navarre where the Basque language is present. In the case of this study, Aezkoa Valley is part of the indivisible inheritance system according to these authors. However, the Aezkoa Valley's reality is not as static as these authors have argued, since the divisible type of inheritance is also present in the valley, as well as in the surrounding towns.

The patrimony that was transmitted to the next generation was composed generally by the household, lands, and in cases in which the owners were artisans, they also transmitted the profession and the belongings of this profession. The indivisible system did not mean that the rest of the siblings were disinherited, they used to receive

⁹⁰ Fernando Mikelarena Peña, *Demografía y Familia en la Navarra Tradicional* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1995), 319.

the *legítima* or compensation when the parents died as well as dowry when the siblings got married.⁹¹

The inheritance system in Navarre had two ways to make the transmission: *mortis causa* testaments and *inter vivos* donations. The second type was the most common in the case of the indivisible inheritance system, and it was manifested by the *donation propter nuptias* or marriage contracts. As the names indicate, it is a contract that is celebrated before or after the marriage of one sibling. By this contract, parents donated their patrimony to the young couple. The marriage contract was the way to transmit the patrimony, and in this regard, made them owners. The *maisterrak* or renters did not make those marriage contracts because they were not owners of any property, since they rented houses, as well as worked on other's lands. Therefore, they just were owners of their personal belongings, not of land or properties. In order to transmit those personal belongings, they used *mortis causa* testaments.

Marriage contracts have some limitations as sources to research. On the one hand, marriage contracts did not represent all of society, since only the owners of households made those documents in order to transmit their legacy. On the other hand, marriage contracts are notarial documents, and the expenses of those were not affordable for all the population.

In Navarre, the marriage contracts were the main instrument to transmit to following generations the patrimony and the legacy. First of all, the parents were the ones who organized the marriage and the wedding of their children. In the context of marriage

⁹¹ Fuero General Chapter 1, title XX, book 3.

contracts, the marriage not only represented the creation of a new family unit in the household, but also a way to manifest and perpetuate their social status within their community. Marriage was normally arranged between people of similar status or even with people of higher positions if it was possible.

In the parts of Navarre where the indivisible inheritance system was present, one of the siblings, male or female, was elected to inherit the legacy. In that election, parents did not pay attention to whether it was the oldest or the youngest child. The parents had total freedom to choose the one that they thought was the best to continue the household and the perpetuation of the family. Doing so, the parents of the couple would prepare the contract specifying all the rights and obligations of the new couple as well as the obligations and rights of the rest of the family members that were living at home.

The actors of the marriage contract were the parents that at the same time were the owners of the household in which the new couple was going to live, as well as the old couple. The name of the givers or donors was *donadores* or *donador* in the case that they were widowed and the receivers were the *donatarios*. Then, in the typical family unit of Aezkoa Valley, the old couple, the new couple and the siblings of both lived together in the same household.

The main important article of the marriage contract was the transmission of the patrimony and legacy. But it was not given without conditions. There were two main ways to transmit the legacy to the young couple. On one hand, there was the universal donation of properties, which included the present properties as well as the properties acquired in the future. In this case, the donors donated all the properties to the young

couple. On the other hand, the old couple transmitted most of the legacy but with some limitations on some properties. This reservation was normally done in order to use it for the dowries of the rest of the children, as well as to maintain the donors own status, and to not be economically dependent on the young couple. The objects of those reserves were mainly the usufruct of the patrimony as well as the administration of it. But they also could reserve chattel, livestock, and cash.

In the conditions that the parents made in order to transmit the legacy they would at times also include an article explaining solutions if problems occurred while the couples and extended family all lived together. In case that the two couples were facing cohabitation problems, the article would resolve the problem through a partition or division of the household. This specification would be reflected in the marriage contracts.

The parents also had to take care of the future of the rest of the children. In that point, the parents or donors would include articles specifying the situation of the rest of the siblings, where the dowry was established. In so doing, there were two types of specifications: some of marriage contracts established the quantity of the dowries for the rest of the family members when they got married and others left it to the future proprietors. In this context, Mikelarena Peña argues that the quantity of the dowry was related to three main aspects. The economic position of the family who was given the dowry, the economic position of the house where it was going to, and the situation of the marriage market. Therefore, the dowry could be higher if the parents giving the dowry wanted to invest in the marriage of their relatives. If some of the family members were leaving the household by marrying out of the house, or going into a monastery, they

received a dowry. This process, according to Yaben, was the key for the marriage contract system to endure. In his words, this system made the Navarrese society stable.⁹²

⁹² Yaben, *Los Contratos Matrimoniales en Navarra y su influencia en la estabilidad de la Familia*, 97.

Part II

Leaving Home

Chapter Three

Emigration from the Pyrenees to the Americas

Born in Garaioa in 1853, Francisco Chiquirrín Eguinoa left his birthplace to find a new life overseas. By 1867 Francisco Chiquirrín, now 14 years-old-, was established in Buenos Aires, Argentina. He had followed his father Martín José Chiquirrín, who on November 2, 1858, had arrived in the Argentinan Republic from the port of Baiona on the *Francisca Etincelle* ship.⁹³ When Francisco left his hometown in 1867, he started his American dream and at the same time he took his first voyage to Argentina, but not the last. However, Chiquirrín father and son's emigration process and trip to the Americas had nothing in common with others in the late 18th century or even those that took place before.

In this context, migration of late nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century was very different than the migration of the colonial period. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the independence of Latin America occurred and the Spanish colonies obtained their own sovereignty. In 1825, Spanish power in the Americas

⁹³ Analía Montórfano, "Chiquirin, Martin," *Entrada de pasajeros a Argentina: Siglo XIX*, accessed December 2, 2017, <http://pasajeros.entradadepasajeros.com.ar/index.php?kas=bW9kdWxvPWRIFSKbHRhcyZvcGNpb249YWxmYXMmYnVzY2FyPWNoaSZfcGFnaV9wZz0zOSZpZD0zNzc1OTY=>.

was reduced to the Antilles and the Crown only maintained Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.⁹⁴ Then, they would also lose these colonies throughout the Spanish-American War in 1898. Revolutions of independence across Latin America interrupted migration towards them. After those independences, the situation of privilege under the Spanish Empire was over, since the “Carrera de Indias” was something of the past: the ones prosperous military, political, or ecclesiastic career were abruptly interrupted for the Spaniards and the Basques as well. It is relevant to remember that a large number of the Basques were “hidalgos,” and because of that status of privilege the career of “Indias” was easier for them to get a position in the colonial spheres of the New World. Not only that, many of them also had brilliant careers in the merchant trade. In this context, chain migration was very successful: many young people left the Basque Country with a colonial destination in order to become merchants through the influence of uncles or even compatriots.

In the case of Mexico, the Mexican insurgency as well as Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula delayed migration flows to Mexico, and when independence occurred, migration flows almost stopped.⁹⁵ In this context, for the new Mexican Republic (1821) as well as for the rest of the new republics of Latin America, Spaniards were unwelcomed, since now they represented the colonizers and in that regard oppressors. After Mexican independence, the new Mexican state and government created

⁹⁴ William A. Douglass and Jon Bilbao, *Amerikanuak, Basques in the New World* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2005), 120.

⁹⁵ Jesús Ruiz de Gordejuela Urquijo, “Los Vascos y Navarros en México en el Transito de Colonia a Nación,” in *Del Espacio Cantábrico al mundo Americano; perspectivas sobre migración, etnicidad y retorno*, ed. Óscar Álvarez Gila and Juan Bosco Amores Carredano (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, 2015), 251.

new immigration laws. These laws created security cards for immigrants (including Basques, although some of them were established there before the independence) to continue in Mexican soil. This system was maintained until 1857.⁹⁶ This new reality produced a reaction against Spaniards, who faced Hispanophobia. In this context of new legislation on immigrants, in 1827 the employment law of May 10th was passed, which discharged Spanish public workers from the Mexican government. Therefore, many Basques left Mexico, not only colonial civil servants but also merchants and many people who thought that their capital was in danger.⁹⁷ In this context, migration to the Americas dropped, but as Álvarez Gila has argued, migration never completely stopped.⁹⁸ In this context of hostile relations, the Spanish Government restricted emigration laws in order to avoid overseas migration in the first years after the independences.

Nevertheless, not all the new countries had the same behavior or attitude concerning immigration. As Álvarez Gila explains, some new Latin American states soon started introducing favorable politics to draw migrants from Europe, following Juan Bautista Alberdi's idea that "In America, to govern is to populate."⁹⁹ In this sense, after independence Argentina followed a path unlike old viceroyalties' –as were Mexico and

⁹⁶ Macrina Rabadán Figueroa, "La presencia vasca en México a mediados del siglo XIX (a través de las matriculas de españoles)," in *Aportaciones e integración de los vascos a la sociedad Mexicana en los siglos XIX-XX*, ed. Amaia Garriz (México: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones históricas with Centro Vasco Euskal Etxea, Gobierno Vasco, 2008), 42.

⁹⁷ Jesús Ruiz de Gordejuela Urquijo, "Los Vascos y Navarros en México en el Transito de Colonia a Nación," 252.

⁹⁸ Óscar Álvarez Gila, "Los Vascos de Buenos Aires a la luz de censo de 1855: Las parroquias de Catedral al Norte y San Miguel," in *Las migraciones vascas en Perspectiva Histórica*, ed. Óscar Álvarez Gila and Alberto Angulo Morales (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, 2000), 139.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, 139-141

Peru. Argentina was not one of the most important areas for the Spanish Empire, but now, the interest in South America was becoming higher because of the large lands and low population rates. In this sense, Argentina and Uruguay principally, became the central focus for migration. The opportunities for farmers became attractive for Europeans, and they started migrating to those lands. The opportunity of getting land was attractive for those people because access to the land in their countries of origin was strongly controlled and in consequence, getting land was difficult.¹⁰⁰ In the meanwhile, the Spanish attitude facing migration changed, and they started being more permissive with migration. As Douglass and Bilbao noted,

By the 1850s there were profound changes on both sides of the Atlantic in attitudes toward emigration. [...] Urquiza (1854) initiated an open immigration policy, but he was particularly concerned with attracting more Basques. In one of his proimmigration discourses he said, “it is necessary to depopulate the Pyrenees.”¹⁰¹

In this context of the opening of immigration in Argentina, Chiquirrín’s emigration, both father and son, followed the tendency of other Basques. It is not surprising then that they had chosen this destination for their American dream. However, the emigration phenomenon in Navarre, as well as in the whole Basque Country did not pass unnoticed for local authorities.

As a result of the mass migration that took place in the late nineteenth century across Europe and also in the Basque Country, authorities of both territories started to worry about migration, especially in Navarre. Their concern was related to the influences

¹⁰⁰ Remember the strongly controlled Basque neighborhood system, which clauses regarding land access were very restrictive.

¹⁰¹ Douglass and Bilbao, *Amerikanuak*, 120-121.

and consequences of migration, being more visible in youth that were leaving the country in high numbers. Therefore, emigration in the Basque Country was not exceptional, it was part of the phenomenon that was happening across Europe. Authorities' worries were materialized in the anti-migration reaction which criticized the *enganchadores* [middlemen or intermediaries], and tried to destroy the myth of the Americas in order to elude the youth's exodus. That reaction highlighted the influence of migrations in the homeland and tried to avoid emigration of Navarrese, especially the ones from the northern part of the province where Aezkoa Valley is located. This area had a large migration phenomena, representing high migration rates.

As Virto Ibañez depicts in his article *La Emigración de Navarros hacia América* [Navarrese's emigration to America], the anti-emigration movement had three different periods.¹⁰² The first period started in 1852 when the Civil Governor from Navarre, Joaquín Maximiliano Gibert, wrote into the *Boletín Oficial de Navarra* a circular letter trying to involve public spheres as well as renowned people against the massive migration of Navarrese overseas. He also sent a copy of the *Boletín Oficial* to the *Diputación* asking for their involvement in the campaign.

In the circular letter, the governor first, spoke about *enganchadores* or middlemen who attracted possible migrants to South America. In the words of Gibert, these middlemen lied to people setting out that Argentina or Uruguay were similar to heaven. According to him, these middlemen stated that in those places everyone could find a job

¹⁰² Juan Jesús Virto Ibañez, "La Emigración de Navarros hacia América," in *Estudios de Ciencias Sociales*, IV (1991): 112-122.

and therefore they could construct a better life overseas rather than in Navarre. He tried to highlight the dangers of believing in those ideas, and at the same time he referred to these middlemen as people traffickers. His main statements and objectives were to convince people and make them aware of the consequences that this migration could generate in their communities. For him, one of the most remarkable consequences was the loss of the labor force, since the young generation was choosing migration rather than being in their hometowns working in their farmsteads or even in the local industries. Gibert not only wrote that, but he also spoke about the travel conditions in the circular letter. There he explained that the travel conditions were precarious, and then, when the migrants arrived at the destination, they found a hostile new world. Gibert commented on women's situation after arriving in America, saying that prostitution would become their new occupation instead of an excellent prospect. But as Virto Ibañez states, for the civil authorities –the Government and the Civil Governor-- the main reasons for emigrating were the *enganchadores*, and not the precarious economic and social situation of the region, that were going through a crisis after the war. In this regard, continuing with Virto Ibañez's ideas, the behavior of civil authorities facing the situation was paternalistic.¹⁰³

The civil authorities were not alone in the fight against emigration. The Catholic Church was also involved. The Catholic Church of Pamplona, represented in the figure of Pamplona's Bishop, Severo Adriani, took up the same demand trying to avoid the massive exodus to South America. In this concern, a few weeks after the circular letter of the Civil Governor was distributed, the Bishop Severo Adriani, sent a letter to his

¹⁰³ Ibidem, 114.

subordinates to spread his ideas to parishioners throughout Navarre.¹⁰⁴ In the letter, he repeated the same ideas as Gibert had already expressed, but Severo Adriani added new concepts regarding Christian values and morality. He related emigration to the loss of Catholic values and principles.

1852's anti-emigration initiative was followed by another in 1868. Again, all the authorities came together against emigration, and just as in the previous one, the leadership of the campaign was in the hands of the Civil Governor, Manuel Moreno Gonzalez. He sent a letter to the Government asking for the involvement of the Mayors of the villages of northern Navarre in the fight. Some mayors responded to the Civil Governor's demand and with their help they conducted a survey across the northern valleys to approach the migration rates in the area. In so doing, they came to new conclusions for emigration causes which had never been mentioned in the previous campaigns. These were the refused to perform military service, the consequences of the Carlist War, and the decline of the economy and labor situation of the region. Nevertheless, the middlemen were still the main cause of migration in the report.

As in the previous campaign migration rates did not decrease. People from Navarre continued emigrating to South America. Contemporarily, the third Carlist War (1872-1876) happened, and many people emigrated during and after the War. However, the anti-migration campaigns continued with propaganda and in 1881 another fight began. In this case, again, José María Gaston, the Civil Governor of Navarre was behind it. He wrote a circular letter against migration. Pamplona's Bishop joined the movement,

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, 118.

making massive initiatives across Navarre. The arguments of the campaign were almost the same; they focused on the middlemen as the evil of the emigration phenomena. They spoke about people traffickers and the labor conditions after arriving to the new countries, and about prostitution as the future for women migrants. Therefore, the campaign insisted in the questionable future of those who decided to emigrate to Rio de la Plata. To sum up, their discourse was that the “El Dorado” was not real and they insisted on middlemen’s lies that had convinced many young people to emigrate.

This anti-emigration campaign was not only developed in Navarre, it was happening at the same time in the rest of the Basque Country. In this context, and with the cooperation of all the Governments as well as municipalities from Pamplona, Bilbao, Gasteiz and Donostia, Cola y Goiti’s book *la Emigración Vasco Navarra* was published in 1882.¹⁰⁵ The purpose of the book was to disseminate migrants’ problems in the New World trying to avoid the mass migration that was taking place in the Basque Country. In these terms, Cola y Goiti address this migration problem at the beginning of the book,

The dismal custom of emigration, which affects the Basque country in particular and Spain in general, has prompted us to write a series of articles devoted to Basque-Navarrese emigrants. [...] our greatest satisfaction would be to make this news known to all our Basque brothers: that there would not be a single farm, from one hiding in the shady valley to other on the gallant mountain, where the luck that was reserved in America for emigrants was not known, in order to contrast, with our poor arguments and truthful data, the ignoble schemes of the modern speculators of white slaves.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ José Cola y Goiti, *La Emigración Vasco-Navarra* (Vitoria: Excelentísima Diputación de Álava, 1882).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibíd.* 11-12. “La funesta costumbre de la emigración que añade al país vasco, en particular, y a España en general, nos excitó a escribir una serie de artículos dedicados a los emigrantes vasco-navarros. [...] nuestra mayor satisfacción sería hacer llegar estas noticias al conocimiento de todos nuestros hermanos vascongados: que no quedara un solo caserío, desde el escondido en el umbrío valle al colgado en la

There, Cola y Goiti criticized emigration trying to avoid the continuity of the tradition of emigration.


The Navarrese press and from all the country was involved in the anti-emigration movement. All of them dedicated many articles to the emigration problem, but as each press had an ideology behind it, they used the emigration problem in their own political interest. Depending on their ideology, they insisted more in some emigration causes than in others. On the one hand, the press related with the Carlist ideology stressed the influence of the new military service obligation. Others, on the other hand, stressed the economic crisis regarding the high emigration rates of Navarre. In this concern, Cola y Goiri thought that the worst consequence of emigration was the loss of Basqueness.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, all the anti-emigration propaganda utilized emigration to remark the political interests of each side.

However, the press that was fighting against emigration were the platforms that were spreading the advertisements of emigration agencies and middlemen or “enganchadores” at the same time.¹⁰⁸ In the following example, (figure 2), one of these advertisements is represented, which shows the prices and the itinerary to go to America. In this regard, while this press were publishing articles against migration, they were

gallarda de la montaña, en el cual no se supiera la suerte reservada en América a los emigrantes, a fin de contrastar, con nuestros pobres argumentos y verídicos datos, las innobles maquinaciones de los modernos especuladores de esclavos blancos.”

¹⁰⁷ Ángel García-Sanz Marcotegui, “La emigración Navarra a América a través de la publicística (1887-1915),” in *Historia General de la Emigración Española a Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social, 1992), 428-429.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem.* 428-429.



VAPORES-CORREOS ESPAÑOLES
DE LA
Compañía Trasatlántica,
(ANTES DE A. LÓPEZ Y C.)

Saldrá de SANTANDER el día 20 de Diciembre en viaje extraordinario el vapor

P. DE SATRUSTEGUI

ADMITE CARGA Y PASAJEROS
PARA
HABANA Y VERACRUZ.

Precios del Pasaje.

	Para Habana.	Para Veracruz.
En 1.ª clase.	Pftes. 150	Pftes. 180
En 2.ª id.	> 100	> 120
En 3.ª id. preferente.	> 50	> 60
En 3.ª id. ordinaria.	> 30	> 35

La Empresa, deseando corresponder á la preferencia que el público la dispensa, ha dispuesto este viaje extraordinario para poder atender al numeroso pasaje que se embarca en esta época del año y apesar de hacerse rebajas importantes en el precio de los pasajes de todas clases, el trato será el mismo que tanto crédito ha dado á sus vapores corrientes.

En este viaje solo irán pasajeros particulares.

El vapor lleva Capellán, Médico y Practicante cuya asistencia es gratuita para los pasajeros de tercera, á los que se dá carne, pan fresco y vino á las comidas.

Esta Empresa de vapores cuenta 20 años de servicio, sin haber desgraciado un solo pasajero.

Consignatarios en SANTANDER los

SRES. ANGEL . . . PEREZ Y COMPAÑI , Muelle núm. 36.

Agente en Navarra D. Ramón Sainza Negri, corredor de número de Pamplona, Plaza de la Constitución, número 12.

Figure 2: Lau-Buru: December 5, 1882.

publishing emigration agencies' flyers. As the figure 2 shows most of the flyers consisted in travel prices. Therefore, in 1882, the travel prices on "Vapores-Correos Españoles" from "Compañía trasatlántica" [transatlantic company] to Habana were; 150 pesetas in first class, 100 in second class, 50 in third "preferente" (special) class 50, and 30 in third class. These prices were easily affordable by the contemporaneous people, since the estimated dowry in Aezkoa Valley and surroundings areas was around 500 pesetas.

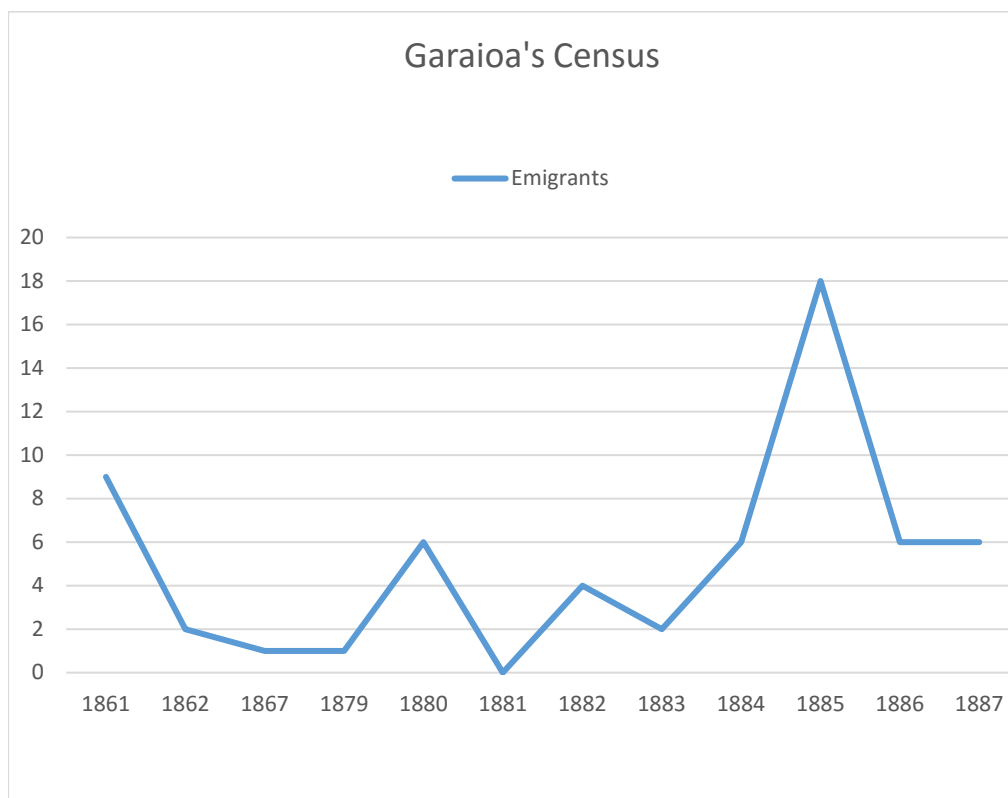


Figure 2: Emigrants on Garaioa's Census

However not everyone could afford it, as the personal cases will demonstrate in the following pages.

Nevertheless, authorities' effort did not work in dissuading migration in Aezkoa Valley and in the all Navarre. Even Cola y Goiti's effort among others, with the help of the authorities and the press, by sending his publications throughout the Navarrese's valleys, villages, towns, and cities, people from Navarre continued emigrating to the Americas. Even the ideas of the moral effect of migration on females did not persuade women in their idea of going to the Americas. Therefore, the American dream persisted against anti-emigration campaigns.

Aezkoans emigrated in a large proportion, as well as other Basques, and this emigration increased throughout the mid-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To analyze the volume of emigration and its influences in the late nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century in Aezkoa Valley and surrounding areas, the primary records used here are the population censuses from Garaioa and Garralda. These two towns, and more concretely their scribes, recorded emigrant's names consciously and the people who moved out, as well as the new inhabitants that moved into these villages.

Unfortunately, just these two towns from Aezkoa Valley preserved or even made emigration lists. In those lists, the scribes listed the people who left the towns, not only the ones who went to America but also the ones who married into other towns of the area, the ones who went to the capital, Pamplona and so on. Because of the lack of emigration lists in the rest of the valley, the information in the following pages is based on those records, and in consequence, the data is focused only on the population of these two towns.

Unluckily, the records of the two towns differ chronologically. Garaioa's population census started in 1828. But the census did not specify *ausentes* or absentees until the 1861 census. But not all the population censuses reflected emigration. For instance, in the 1867 census, emigrants are not registered. However, later on, scribes, influenced by the anti-emigration reactions and authorities, started compiling emigrant lists. Unfortunately, in the case of Garaioa, these emigrant lists only lasted until 1897. Instead, Garralda's population census started in 1885 and emigration records or lists started in 1890 and it was maintained until 1933. Here, the records of absentees are more

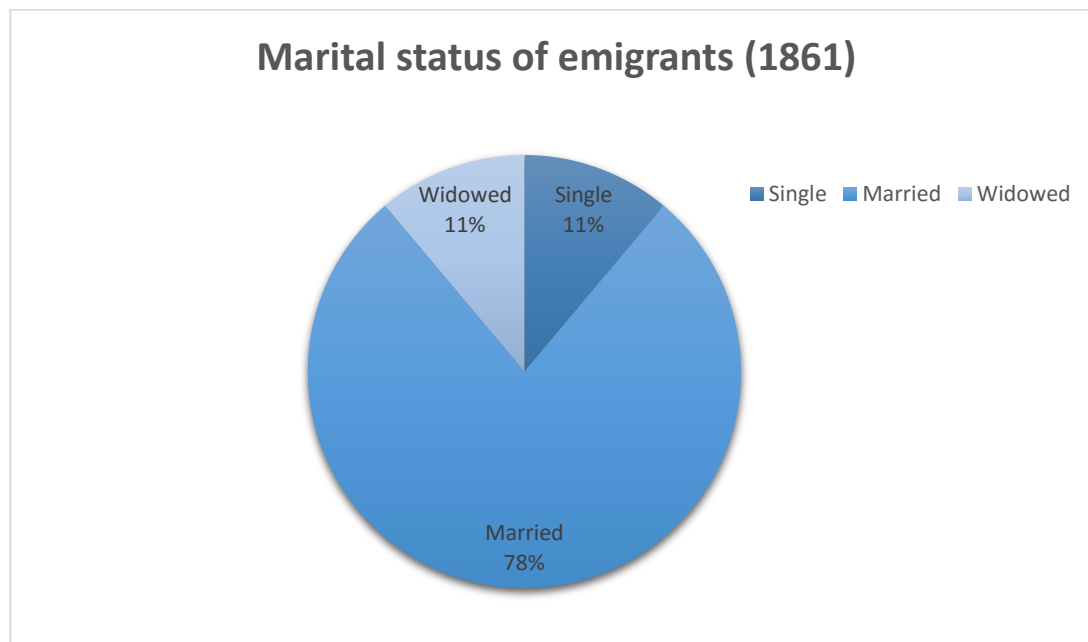


Figure 3: Marital status of emigrants of Garaioa in 1861. Based on archival records.

visible than in the case of Garaioa, especially in the last decades of nineteenth century and in the twentieth. But, bringing together all the data brings to light a general vision of Aezkoa's emigration rates from 1861 to 1933.

The figure number 2 shows the number of emigrants from Garaioa between 1861 to 1887. The data is taken from the official records, concretely from Garaioa's town population census. However, it should be taken into account that official records many times conceal migrants' information. For example, in the 1861 Garaioa census people who were in the "Americas" appear but in 1867 those people disappeared. In that regard, according to 1861's census nine people from Garaioa had emigrated to Americas. All of them were males and their average age was 34.55 years old, since the youngest was 25-

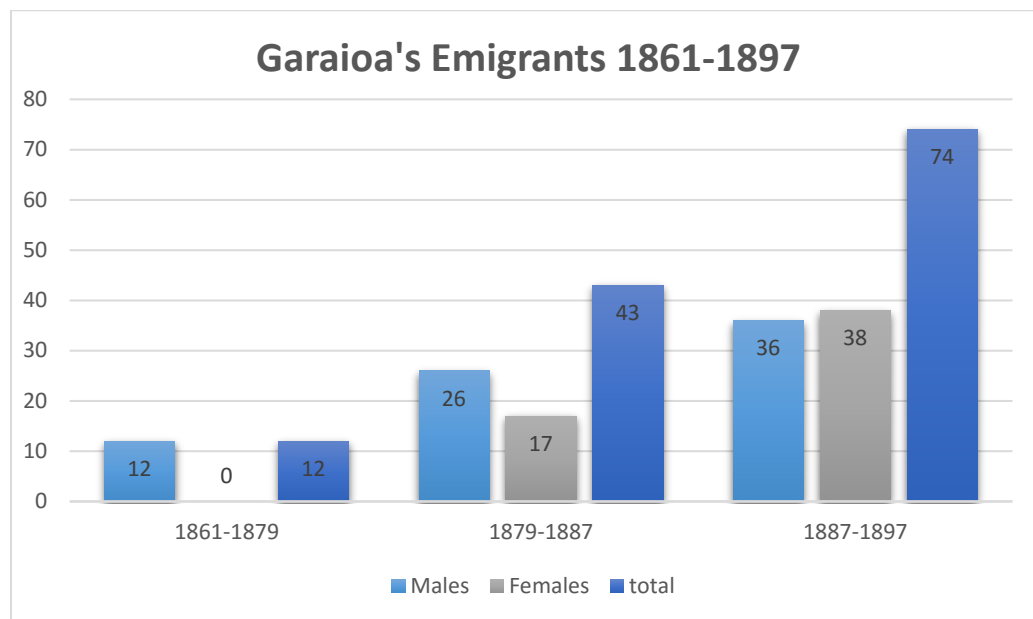


Figure 4: Garaioa emigrants 1861-1897. Based on the archival records.

years-old and the oldest 54-years-old. Referring to the marital status, seven out of nine migrants were single, and the other two were widowed and married as figure number 3 shows. In these two cases, these emigrants were the family heads of their households. In that sense, out of nine emigrants, two of them were the owners of the house when they emigrated.

In the case the gender of those emigrants, figure number 5 analyzes the quantity of migrants of both sexes, women and men, in three different periods. The chart reflects the differences in the attitude of female emigration from Garaioa throughout the late nineteenth century. Meanwhile the 1861 census did not note any female migrant; in the period that goes from 1879 to 1887 there were 17 women emigrants; and from 1887 to 1897 female migration increased to 38 women, overtaking the male migration rate that was 36 migrants from the same period. Overall, female emigration in Garaioa increased

proportionally more than male emigration even though male emigration ranges also augmented. As is reflected in figure 1, there were nine emigrants in 1861 and there were 36 emigrants in the 1887-1897 period (figure 4). This reflects that female migration had more presence than traditional migration literature has addressed.

In total, emigration grew from nine emigrants in 1861 to 74 emigrants in 1897. Therefore, migration rates were high comparing to the overall population of Garaioa at that time. It should be taken into account that the population from Garaioa according to the 1861 census was 377 inhabitants. However, in 1897 the number of inhabitants decreased to 306 people. According to this data, Garaioa's depopulation is clear, since 129 emigrated in that period, which represented one third of the whole population of the village. Therefore, those high rates of emigration had impacted the lifestyle and the imaginary of Garaioa in the last half of the century.

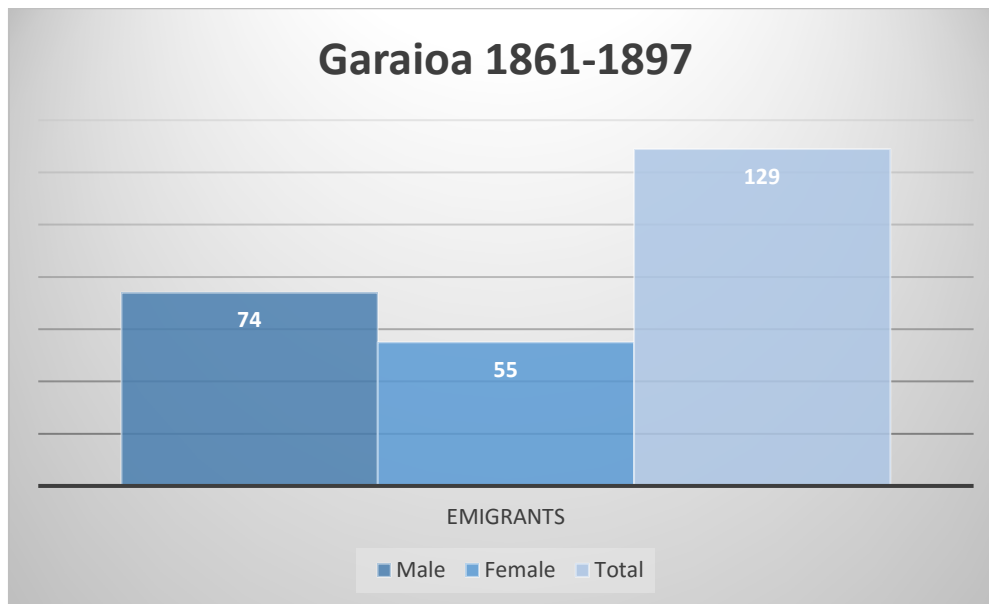


Figure 5: Total emigrants from Garaioa. Made with archival records.

Figure number 6 explains Garralda's migration rates from 1890 to 1909. The chart, overall, shows the large emigration rates of 1897, during which 17 emigrants left the village. However, in 1898 the rates abruptly went down, no one emigrated from Garralda and in the next year, 1899, just one person emigrated. This interruption coincided with two important historical points. On the one hand, the Spanish-American War was hitting Spain, and consequently transnational migration dropped off. On the other hand, 1898 was a dramatic year for Garralda's community. An unfortunate fire destroyed all of the village and in consequence almost all the village was reduced to ashes. The disaster cut short Garralda's everyday life, and therefore also interrupted the exodus of people in the first years after the catastrophe.

The break is also understood as a consequence of the necessity of labor in the reconstruction of the village. There were many houses to rebuild, the church and so on,

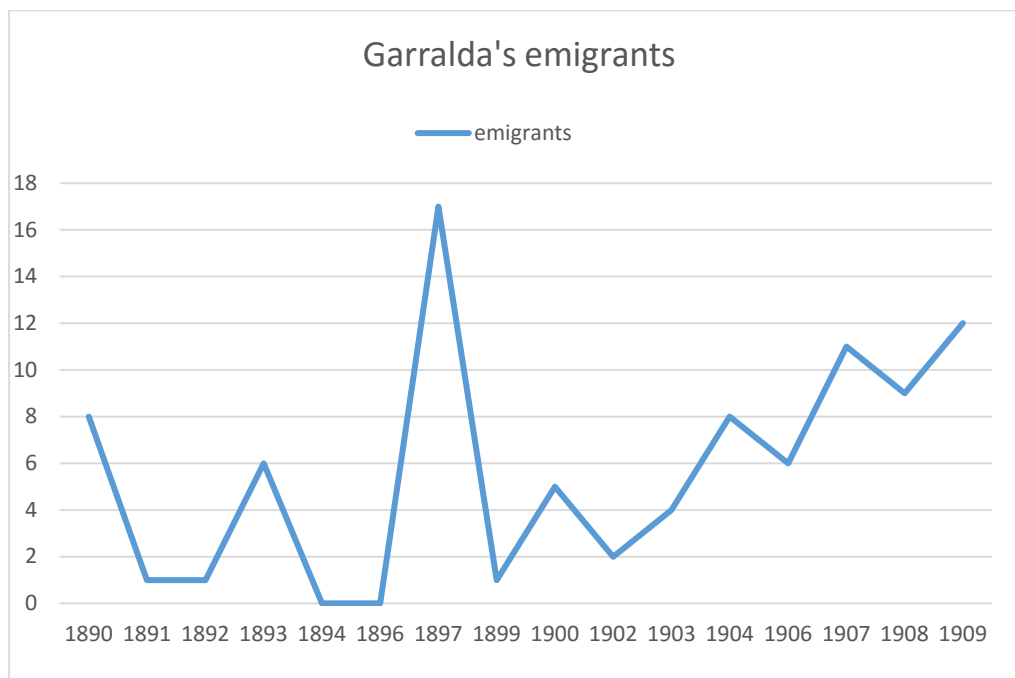


Figure 6: Garralda's emigrants 1890-1909. Based on archival records.

and many of Garralda's youth and people were involved in those projects. This event produced a lot of jobs among the local people in order to help their own community and rebuild the village. In the reconstruction of the village, many emigrants of the area were involved, taking a special role in it. The attitude and behavior of those emigrants towards Garralda's misadventure, will be addressed in a separate chapter, since the involvement of some emigrants of the area was very important. However, a few years after the tragedy, emigration numbers started increasing and another wave of emigrant seeking a

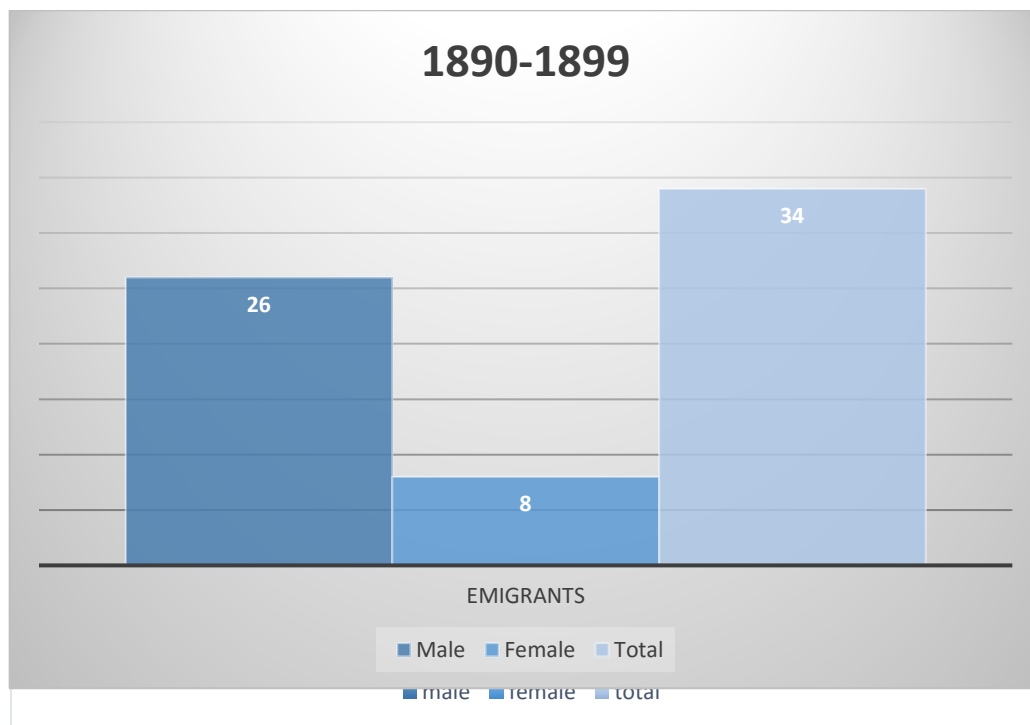


Figure 8: Garralda's emigrants, 1890-1899.

Figure 7: Garralda's emigrants 1890-1899. Based on archival records.

better life overseas hit the village of Garralda. In these terms, emigration continued in Garralda and this tendency will persist until at least the 1930s as figure number 7 shows.

Gender differentiation among emigrants from Garralda shows that male and female rates are quite different to each other. In that regard, it is possible to differentiate three periods in order to analyze migration phenomena by decades. The first period addresses the last decade of the nineteenth century (1890-1899). In that period 26 men and 10 women emigrated from Garralda. In that regard, figure number 7 shows the rates that are organized by years, in order to quantify the migration rates each year, as well as being organized by gender differences. In Garaioa, women's rates of migration increased

abruptly. While during the last decades of the nineteenth century in Garralda's case the rates were very low and it maintained the same growth throughout the decade.

In 1897 emigration rates increased as already mentioned. In that year, 13 men and four women left the village, becoming the inflexion point as well as the maximum in emigration rates in the village. However, these high rates could be a consequence of the lack of records from the previous three years. Because, in 1894, 1895 and 1896 no emigrants were noted, therefore the scribe may have included them in the 1897 emigrant list. Returning to the year of 1898, as is mentioned before, the fire interrupted emigration, and in the last year of the nineteenth century, just one emigrant was noted in the official records of Garralda.

The total number of emigrants in this decade was 34 emigrants, which represent 3.7 migrants per-year (see figure number 8). However, among these rates women's presence is very low, just 8 out of 34 emigrants were women, representing 2.9 per-cent of the total amount. Comparing to the overall female rates of Garaioa in the same period, the conclusions are clear: Garralda's female emigration rates are lower than in Garaioa. Meanwhile in Garaioa, 38 women emigrated representing the 51.34 per-cent of the emigration of the period from 1887 to 1897. Therefore, during the same years, the average of women migrants has nothing in common between the two villages; in Garralda female presence was 2.9 per-cent and in Garaioa in comparison, it was 51.34 per-cent.

The second period of Garralda's emigration, represents the first decade of the twentieth century. Turn of the century migrants' volume slowly increased and the records

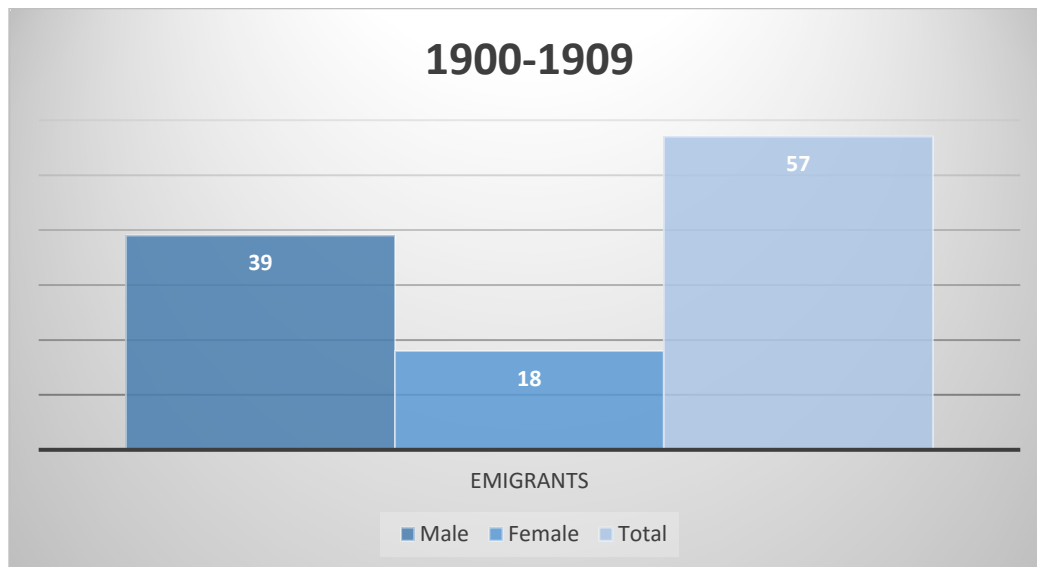


Figure 9: Garralda's emigrants 1900-1909.

do not reflect an abrupt increase. Emigration rates continued increasing throughout the decade, reaching 12 emigrants in 1909, becoming the maximum of the period of 1900-1909.

The total number of emigrants of the decade reached 57, 39 men and 18 women. The total emigrants for this period have increased in comparison to the previous one, from 34 to 57, representing a big growth in just one decade (see figure number 9). Therefore, male emigration represents 68.4 per-cent and female emigration 31.60 per-cent. In that regard, compared to the previous decade, women emigration rates have increased in high proportion, from 2.9 per-cent in the previous period to 31.60 in the turn of the century. Indeed, the male emigration percentage decreased, from 88.1 per-cent in the last decade of the nineteenth century to 68.40 in the beginnings of the twentieth century. The decline in the percentage of male emigrants does not mean that fewer men

emigrated, but it is a consequence of the fact that the female presence in the lists of emigrants grows in a very significant way.

Therefore, the increase of migration rates differs between genders (see figure number 10). Now, women start having more presence in those rates in comparison to the previous period. This tendency is not homogeneous, even in the male rates. The peak does not represent continuity compared to the previous decade. In that regard, the first years of the twentieth century until 1904, emigration in Garralda is residual as a consequence of the fire. However, in the second half of the decade, the tendency changes, but still, is not homogeneous.

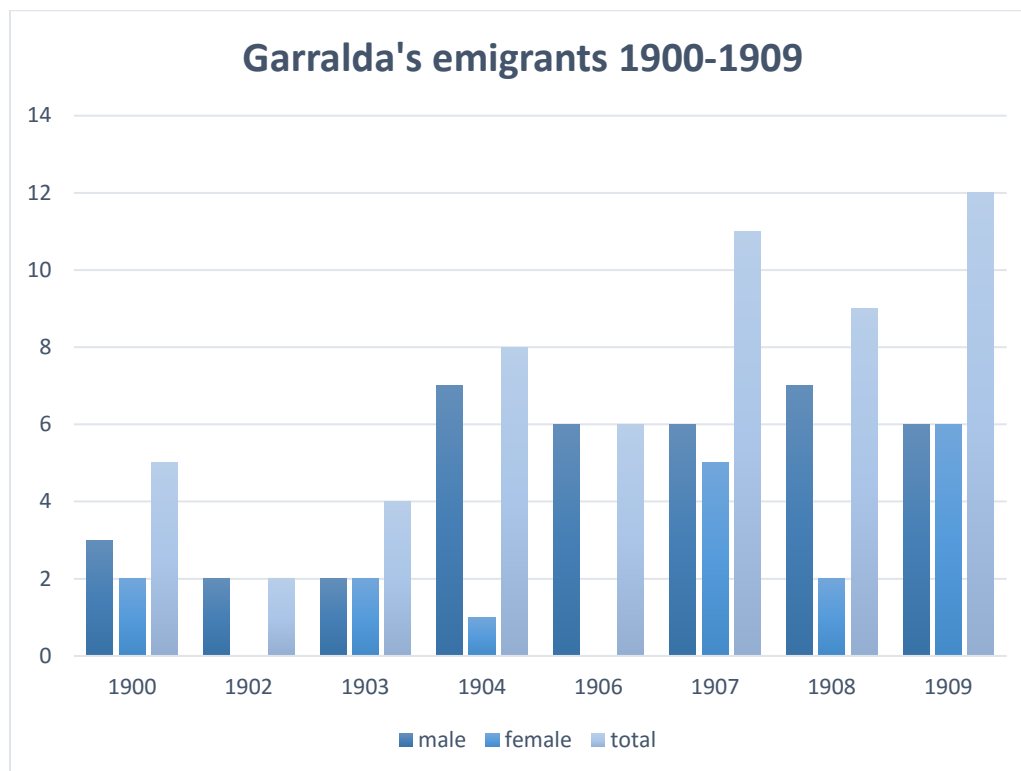


Figure 10: Garralda's emigrants year by year, 1900-1909.

In the third period, 1910-1920, the rates are similar to the second period, although the total amount increased to 66. In that regard, in the first period, the total number of emigrants was 34, 57 emigrants in the second period, and 66 emigrants in the third. Therefore, the emigration tendency continues to increase decade after decade (see figure number 11). Regarding the gender division in the total number of emigrants, on the one hand, 41 of 66 emigrants were men and they represent the 62.10 per-cent of all emigrants from Garralda. On the other hand, 18 out of 66 emigrants were women, representing 37.90 per-cent. However, in the first years of the decade, female presence increased until the point that women overpassed men's rates reaching 63.6 per-cent in the years of 1910 and 1912. In the years of 1911 and 1913, the rates were similar in both sexes. In these

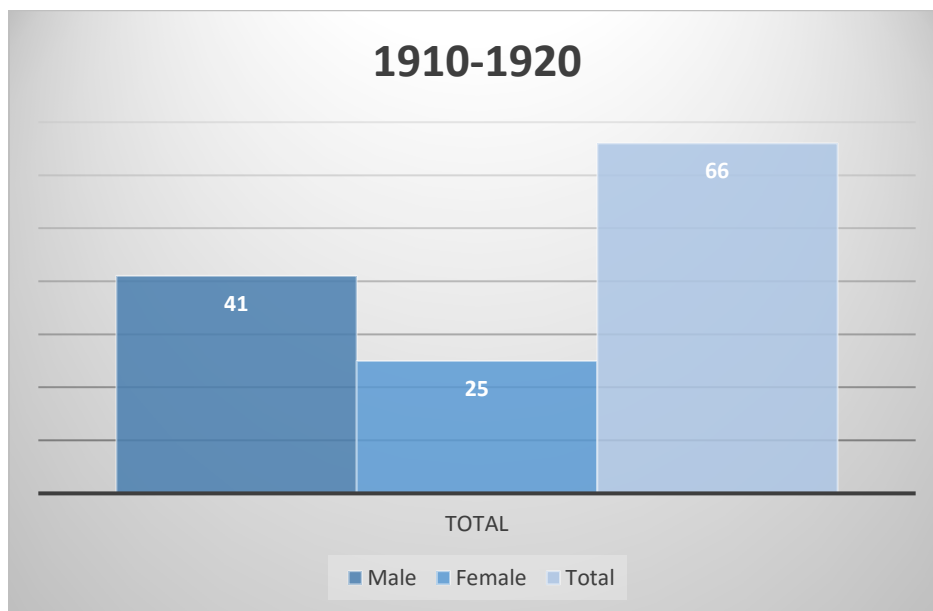


Figure 11: Garralda's emigrants 1910-1920.

terms, the increase of the female presence in emigration phenomenon kept on maintaining the growth of the previous decades. However, overall, Garralda's female migration was never equal to men's rates.

But the whole decade did not maintain the same growth. Between 1910 and 1913 inclusive, 33 emigrants left Garralda, representing half of the total amount of the period. In 1914, the First World War irrupted. Again, external factors influenced the local community and transnational migration. In that regard, it can be concluded that the First World War reduced emigration from Garralda to the Americas, although it was never interrupted. In the years of the war, the emigration continued, although in low rates. The maximum peak was in 1916 with six emigrants in that year. However, after the First

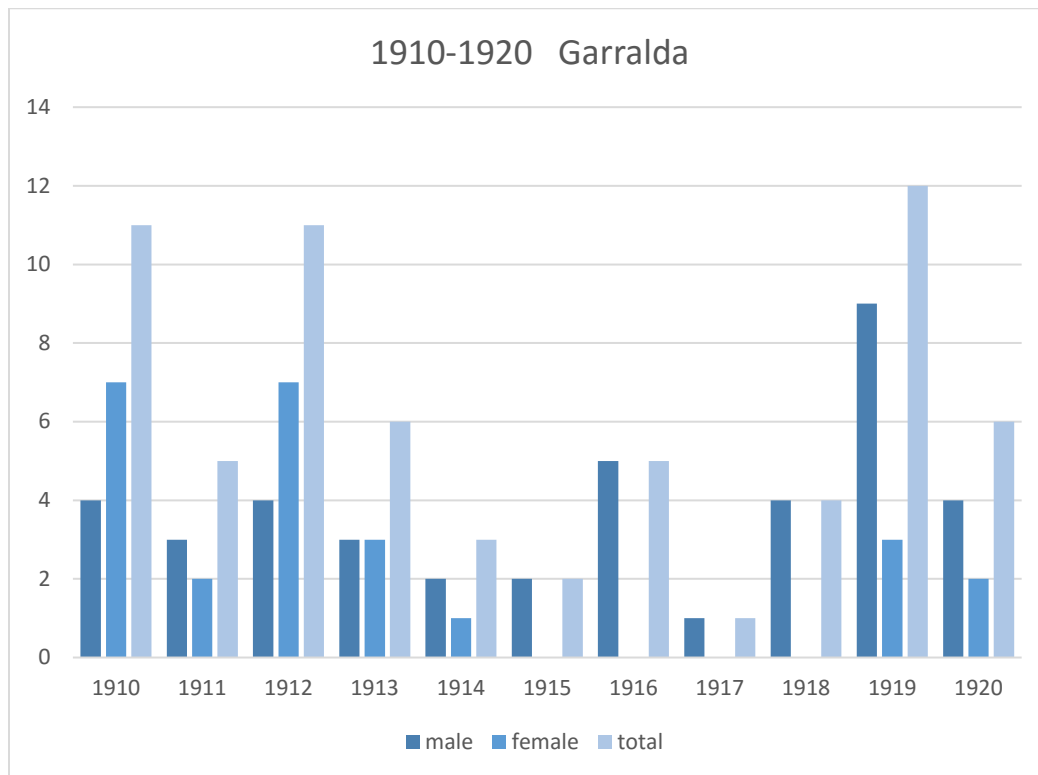


Figure 12: Garralda's Emigrants year by year, 1910-1920.

World War, the emigration rates grew again, arriving to the maximum of the period in 1919, with 12 emigrants (see figure number 12).

The war changed the tendency in women's migration. However, this tendency changes in 1914 and continued until 1919 when there are no females noted in the emigration list. Therefore, it can be concluded that the First World War interrupted emigration and had more of an effect women, with no female migrants between 1914 to 1918. Therefore, external factors influenced decreasing emigration from Garralda to the New World (figure 12). In this period, emigration continued across all the following decades in Garralda as well as in Garaioa.

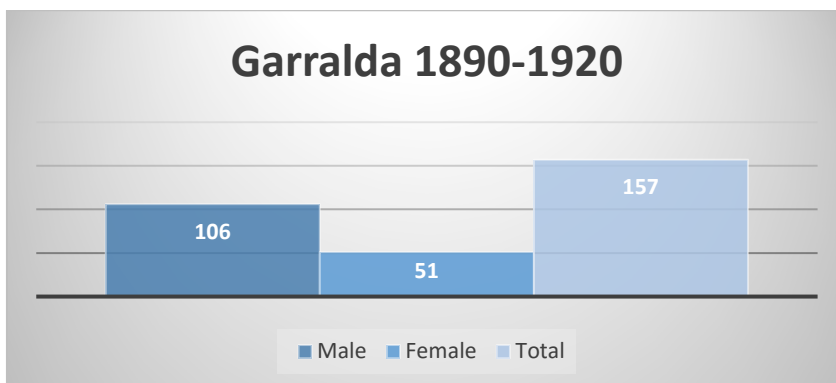


Figure 13: Garralda's Emigrants, 1890-1920.

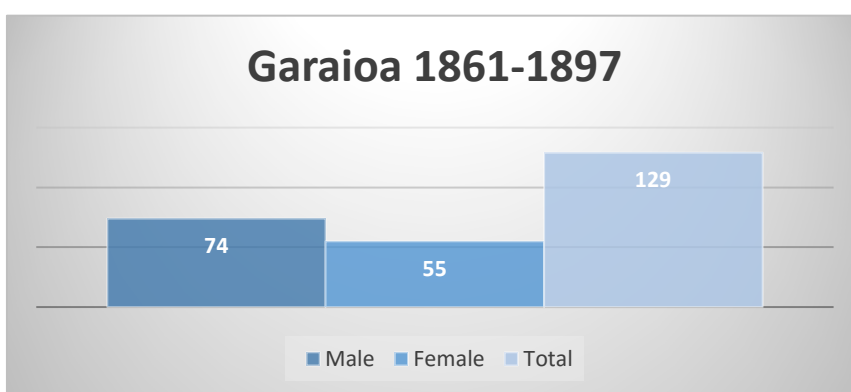


Figure 14: Garaioa's Emigrants, 1861-1897.

The differences are clear when doing a comparison between both villages. In terms of gender, Garaioa's women were more active emigrating than the ones from the closest village of Garralda. However, in general, the number of women emigrants did not differ from one town to the other: 55 from Garaioa and 51 from Garralda emigrated. However, in the total volume of women emigrants comparing to the total emigration rates per town, woman emigrants from Garaioa are higher than in Garralda's case.

In terms of destination, in the case of Garaioa, emigration official records do not determine the destination of those emigrants, since "America" appeared as the destination. Because of that lack of information, it is not possible to form statistics about

Garaioa's emigrants' destination. However, the case of Garralda is different. Garralda's records reflect two main destinations, California and Argentina. This tendency persisted from 1890 to 1909, from 44 per-cent in the period of 1890-1899 to 48 per-cent in 1900-1909 in the case of California.

The use of California as a destination rather than United States is a misunderstanding of what California was in the late nineteenth century. As Douglass and Bilbao states, "the notion that 'California' and the 'American West' were synonymous persisted in the Basque Country well into the twentieth century."¹⁰⁹ In that regard, in the records appear California rather than United States, but does not mean that the destination was explicitly the state of California. The same happened with Argentina and Uruguay, since normally appear Buenos Aires and Montevideo in those records. (see figure 15).

The emigrants who chose Argentina as a destination to emigrate were 44 per-cent in 1890-1900 and 41 per-cent in 1900-1910. For instance, Mexico and Montevideo (Uruguay) in 1890-1899 have six per-cent and five per-cent respectively and three per-cent in 1900-1909. In the 1900-1909 period, Cuba appears as a destination in Garralda, but the presence is very low, just three per-cent of emigrants chose Cuba in that time. However, in the next period this rate of three per-cent will be doubled arriving to six per-cent.

¹⁰⁹ Douglass and Bilbao, *Amerikanuak. Basques in the New World*, 371.

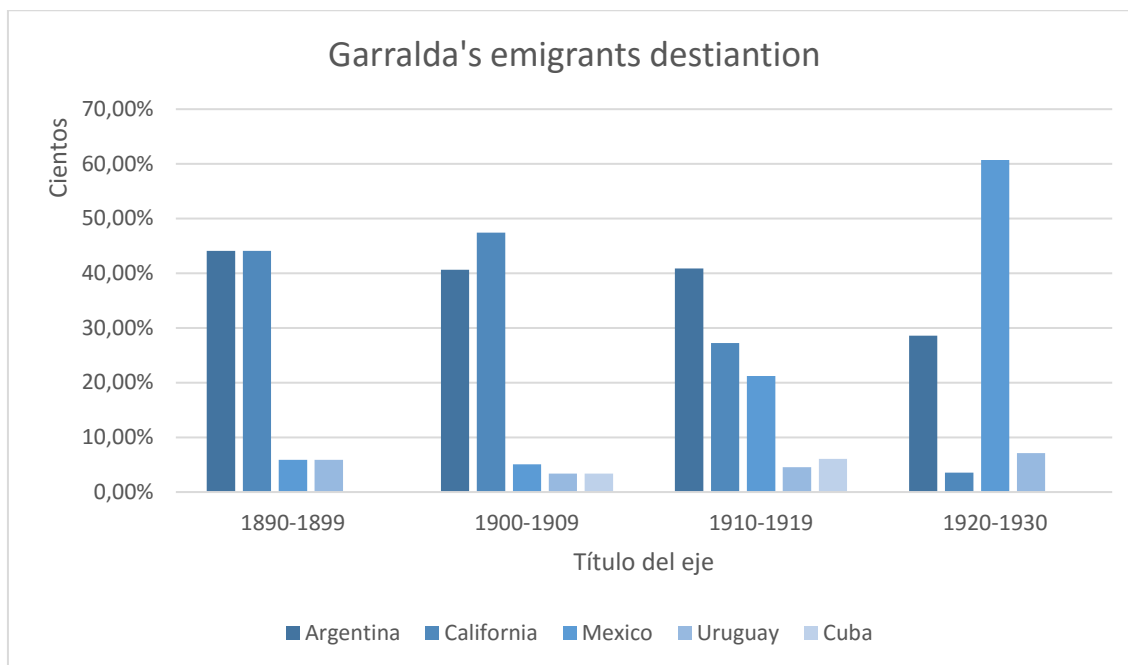


Figure 15: Garralda's emigrants' destinations, 1890-1930.

Remigio Barberena, a youth from Garralda, died in Cuba in 1897 according to the emigration list from Garralda.¹¹⁰ However, the death of Barberena coincided with the Spanish-American War, in that regard, is not easy to clarify if Barberena's presence in Cuba was a product of emigration or if he was a soldier fighting in the war. Besides this, Cuba as a destination was common in the area: many people from Aezkoa and especially from Burguete had moved to Cuba when Cuba was part of the Spanish Empire. However, until 1898 the word emigrant in Cuba should not be used to determine Spaniards in Cuba since it was part of the Spanish empire.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Remigio Barberena Irigoyen, 20 years old, single and farmer according emigrant list.

¹¹¹ Many from Burguete emigrated to Cuba. The maximum exponent of those emigrant are the relatives from Oyarbide household. Oyarbide brothers were in Cuba since the middle of the nineteenth century. For further information about emigration from the Basque Country and Navarre to Cuba see Juan Bosco Amores Carredano, as well as *Basques in Cuba* edited by William A. Douglass.

Nevertheless, in the following decades, California as a destination decreases from 48 per-cent in the period of 1900-1909 to 27 per-cent in 1910-1920, reaching 3 per-cent in 1920-1930. The low rates of the last period coincide with the United States immigration restriction period as Zoelberg points,

In early 1924, House Immigration Committee chairman Johnson proposed decreasing the annual European quota from 3 percent to only 2 percent, and using the 1890 U.S. Census rather than 1920 as the baseline. This would reduce European immigration to about 110,000 a year as well as further minimize the eastern and southern share.¹¹²

This restriction materialized in the Immigration Act of 1924. This system was very effective since European immigration was reduced from 364,339 in 1924 to 148,366 in the next year.¹¹³ The quota system was established with this law, and in the case of Spain the number was abruptly reduced. In so doing, Basque emigration rates decreased and therefore Basque emigrants chose other places as their principal destination to emigrate. And of course, the consequences of the quotas of the Immigration Act of 1924 influenced Garralda's emigrants in their choice of destination. In the second decade of the twenty-first century the tendency changed and Mexico became the primary destination for Garralda's migrants, rising to 61 per-cent in the 1920s.

This change of destination could be also understood as an influence of Andrés Barberena's successful emigration experience in Mexico. Barberena, 25 years-old, emigrated to Mexico in 1906¹¹⁴. He was one of the pioneers in choosing Mexico as a

¹¹² Aristide A. Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration policy in the Fashioning of America* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press with Russell Sage Foundation, 2006), 258.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, 265.

¹¹⁴ AMGR. Census from Garralda, 1906. Box 29.

place to emigrate from Garralda, although not the first. He was very successful in his investments and he was connected in business with Braulio Iriarte, founder of Modelo Brewery and Leviatan companies. Braulio Iriarte was also his father-in-law, since Andrés Barberena married Leonor Iriarte Moreno, Braulio Iriarte's oldest daughter. Barberena's business as well as the introduction by his father-in-law into businesses, helped Andrés Barberena attain the American dream. Andrés Barberena was a businessman in a bakery as well as a member of the Leviatan and Cerveceria Modelo companies.¹¹⁵ This pioneering emigration and successful experience did not pass unnoticed in Garralda: his compatriots knew his successful trajectory in Mexico and consequently this produced high rates of emigration to Mexico in the 1920s by those looking for a better life overseas from Garralda.

As reflected in the previous pages, emigration disproportionately hit this area and more deeply in Garaioa. This small village could be taken as an expression of a massive exodus, since one third of the population emigrated in 50 years. However, these statistics do not give the influences that this massive emigration had created in the area, as well as the impact that those migrants had had in their communities.

The analysis of the emigration lists as the manifestation of the emigration reality has some faults, especially in the description of the emigration tendencies per-year and per-gender. There, the numbers are reflected but behind all these emigrants there are personal experiences and histories that need more in-depth research in order to reach the

¹¹⁵ Alberto Alday Garay, "Participación de la *comunidad baztanesa* en la fundación y dirección del Centro Vasco de la ciudad de México," in *Aportaciones e integración de los vascos a la sociedad Mexicana en los siglos XIX-XX*, ed. Amaia Garritz (México: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones históricas with Centro Vasco Euskal Etxea, Gobierno Vasco, 2008), 519-523.

reality of emigration in Aezkoa Valley and the area around it. Therefore, other kinds of sources are necessary to reach a deeper explanation of what this emigration generated in the communities of origin.

Chapter Four Beyond Emigration Lists

Besides emigration lists, emigration phenomena in Navarre is more complex than what has been mentioned before. In this context, although the causes of emigration from Aezkoa Valley are not the focus of this dissertation, some points must be made to understand and contextualize the high rates of emigration from the area. Douglass and Bilbao's publication of *Amerikanuak* in 1975 established the main factors and causes of emigration phenomena, which endure until today in Basque migration literature. In this context, according to these authors the main causes would be, the wars (Carlist Wars), the economic crises after war periods, the innate migratory tradition of Basques, the rejection of factory labor by Basques, the demographic pressure, low resources, and the inheritance system.¹¹⁶

At the time the book was published, migration scholars were influenced by *push and pull* factors and the renovating theories of migration that were developed in the 60s and 70s. In this context of construction of theories in order to analyze migration phenomena, scholars of migration studies were mainly oriented toward the analysis of the factors that led people to emigrate from their country of origin, as well as the factors that

¹¹⁶ Douglas and Bilbao. *Amerikanuak*, 117-177.

attracted immigrants to the host countries. Therefore, Douglass and Bilbao, following this wave, established push factors for the case of Basque migration in their book. Basque scholars then followed this tendency, focusing on two main expelling factors: the Carlist Wars and the inheritance system.

Scholars have different arguments to how the Carlist Wars led to massive emigration of Basque people. Some argued that the imposition of obligatory military service was an important factor in the decision to emigrate. Other authors have stressed the repression after the war as the key to understanding emigration phenomena. However, archival records show more complexity in the circumstances that produced the massive exodus.

In the third part of nineteenth century, Navarre was going through difficulties in the economic, social, cultural, and political spheres. The different wars that struck Navarre and indeed Aezkoa Valley, led to the collapse of the local economy. Its location as a borderland community as well as the site of an arms factory generated further consequences.

Orbaizeta's Royal Arms Factory changed the lives of the people of the area dramatically. It was established in 1784, when the Valley assembly offered the common lands to King Charles III with the purpose of establishing the factory. But unfortunately, instead of bringing wealth to the community, the factory attracted armies from all sides with the aim of controlling it. As a result of the strategically location of the factory, the French Army's main intention when it entered through the Pyrenees in 1794 was to control the factory. As a consequence, all the towns in Aezkoa Valley were destroyed by

French soldiers. The towns were burned, and the damage to the households was devastating. Aezkoa Valley and its inhabitants lost almost all their belongings, including households and livestock, which were the basis for their subsistence and local economy.

However, the economic problems had just started for Aezkoans. Forty years later, in the First Carlist War, controlling the factory was again the main goal of both armies, and, in doing so, they created instability in the area as well as producing debt in the municipalities' finances. The local people and municipalities had the obligation to supply armies, and these obligations created large debts, as well as precarious economic situations for the people who inhabited the area. But perhaps the most drastic damages happened in the next Carlist War, (1872-1876), as a consequence of controlling the Factory.

It is remarkable that the mayors of Aezkoa Valley's villages and Luzaide made efforts to exclude young men of the area in military service, a service that they were obligated to give to the Carlist armies. After several letter exchanges between mayors from this area and the Carlist heads, the male youth from Aezkoa Valley and the village of Luzaide received military exceptions.¹¹⁷

However, in the context of the Carlist Wars, many authors have stressed the consequences of the imposition of mandatory military service on emigration, seeing this imposition as a push factor for emigration. However, this push factor is not applicable to the Aezkoa Valley and surrounding area since they got this exemption during the war.

¹¹⁷ AJGA. Box 14, Leg 37.

However, this exemption did not last a long time, and in consequence, military service was established after the war.

In any case, this exemption did not elude the involvement of Aezkoans in the war. Some of them joined the Liberal side, creating the Aezkoan volunteer company to defend the liberal government. Francisco Elizondo was the main captain of this company, who recruited many youths to follow him. However, after the last Carlist War, many of these volunteers emigrated to America, including the son of the main captain, Domingo Elizondo Cajén. At least, sixteen former volunteers emigrated to America according to the list that Micaela Cajén, the widow of the Captain Elizondo presented in 1885. In it, Micaela asked the government for the money that they owed them for their service in the war.¹¹⁸ In this sense, if the liberal volunteers emigrated after winning the war the causes for emigration are more diverse and complicated.

As the documentation has proved, the consequences of the war highly affected the Aezkoa Valley. However, the postwar years were not more promising for the economic reconstruction of Aezkoa Valley. Many villages were razed by flames in successive fires that flogged the area, leaving it completely devastated. This was the case of Abaurrea Alta that suffered a fire in 1884. In this context, that same year, Abaurrea Alta's "oncena" (government council) decided to distribute common land to people or houses that were in

¹¹⁸ AGN. Auirtz-Burquete's notary, Martín Miguel Erro. 1885, n. 108. "Francisco Domench, Antonio Cajén, Saturnino Echeverria, Mariano Maisterra, Francisco Juandeaburre, Javier Berria, Francisco Arozarena, Mariano Jacue, Juan Miguel Lorea, Miguel Garate, Miguel Solis, Lorenzo Arozarena, José Arozarena, Martín Jarat, José Eguinoa and José Juandeaburre, formaron la compañía movilizada de voluntarios de este Valle de Aezkoa en la época de la última guerra civil, que empuñaron las armas en defensa del Gobierno, y en este concepto piden realizar el cobro de cantidades. Doña Micaela Cajén y Arriqueria, viuda del Capitán de la presente compañía, Don Francisco Elizondo."

troubles to subsist, with the intention of avoiding poverty and discourage emigration. In the April 2, 1884 document, the council agreed:

Due to a large part of the inhabitants of this locality that lack properties or lands that can produce the necessary harvest for their and their respective families' livelihood and the payment of the incessant needs inherent to them, they constantly need to provide for them, by emigrating abroad where they do not always find an occupation by means of which they can obtain the end of their good desire, seeing themselves therefore completely hopeless in their purposes while their families in the meantime are also without resources for their most necessary subsistence [...] it was agreed that, in the so-called Lezealdea term, a piece of land [...] is to be divided among those who need it.¹¹⁹

This initiative of giving land from the commons to the people who were affected by the fire as well as to the people in poor conditions contradicts the neighborhood system of the Ancient Regime. This can be understood as a contradiction according to the basis of controlling the commons in order to maintain the neighborhood system.¹²⁰

Although this chronology also coincided with the crisis of the Ancient Regime, it is unclear to what point this massive migration interacted with the local organization and the control of the commons. However, this initiative can also be seen as a route toward the opening of this society as an influence of migration that was occurring in high proportion in the area. In that statement, this initiative goes against the traditional view of emigration causes. It also demonstrates that these societies were more open than they have traditionally been seen. At the same time, this document demonstrates that the

¹¹⁹ AMAA. Caja 7 legajo 4. Acuerdos de Quincena, 1871-1894. Translated by the author. "Que por consecuencia de carecer una gran parte de los habitantes de esta localidad de propiedades o fincas que les puedan producir la cosecha necesaria para su sustento y de sus respectivas familias y al pago de las incesantes necesidades inherentes a ellas se ven constantemente precisados a proporcionarlos emigrando generalmente al extranjero en donde tampoco siempre encuentran ocupación por cuyo medio consigan el fin de su buen deseo, viéndose por lo tanto desprendados completamente en sus propósitos y en el interin privadas sus familias tal vez de los más necesario para sus subsistencia. [...] se acordó, que existiendo en el termino denominado de Lezealdea un un trozo de terreno [...] se reparta entre los que lo necesiten."

¹²⁰ For further information about literature of the common lands see, Imizcoz Beunza, Mikelarena Peña, among other authors.

society was worried about emigration. It is an example of the poor conditions of these towns and at the same time how the municipalities took decisions and actions to discourage emigration. The case of Abaurrea Alta seems to show that poor economic situation and disaster are the main causes that led people to emigrate.

Besides war, many authors have stressed the importance of the inheritance system in the Basque emigration. In that regard, among others, Azcona Pastor argues,

But, without doubt, the single most important factor in Basque emigration was the relationship between the forms of inheriting the farmstead (and its farmland) and the agricultural possibilities of those that did not accede to such inheritance. [...] But it is easy to see that those second-born, or nonheirs, the “segundones” who did not accede to the possession of land property, on many occasions chose to emigrate to America. The obsession with acquiring rural property undoubtedly acted as an important motivation for this Basque emigration¹²¹.

Azcona Pastor in this quote, explicitly explains the influence that the inheritance system had produced in Basque emigration, but he is not the only author to support that. Aramburu Zudaire and Usunariz Garayoa also reflected this idea in their works, as they state;

For Navarrese case, extensible to the Basque, different authors coincided in the three main general aspects that caused the migration phenomena: inheritance system, demographic pressure, and the lack of resources, all very close to each other.¹²²

In that regards, the inheritance system has traditionally been directly related to high emigration rates. However, the documentation indicates more complexity among the

¹²¹ Azcona Pastor, *Possible Paradises*, pp. 357.

¹²² José Miguel Aramburu and Jesús María Usunáriz, “Causas y circunstancias del movimiento migratorio,” in *Navarra y América* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 21-22. Translated by the author; “Para el caso Navarro, extensible al vascongado, diferentes autores vienen a coincidir en, sobre todo, tres agentes generales causantes del fenómeno migratorio: el Sistema hereditario, la presión demográfica y la escasez de recursos, los tres estrechamente relacionados.”

causes that provoked emigration. For example, the female emigration rates, which do not coincide with Carlist War related emigration causes.

Because of this preoccupation with emigration causes, historians have also tried to create a typology of the emigrant, normally based on a man, who was single, second-born or non-heir, (as different authors have named) and farmers. In this sense, according to the statistics from above, it seems that the case of Garralda could be included in this typology of emigrants. However, in the case of Garaioa, data show different realities. On the one hand, the most important difference between both villages is the high presence of women among Garaioa's emigrants. Therefore, according to traditional migration literature, it is possible to affirm that women are not represented in that typology of Basque emigrants in the nineteenth century, even though the reality shows that women emigrated in similar proportion to men. On the other hand, there is another big difference in the proportion of emigration rates and population of both villages. These differences between both villages create a necessity for further research as well as the necessity to look at other kinds of sources in order to analyze the reality of these societies and the changes and influences that they experienced by consequence of emigration.

However, the graphics of the previous chapter are still numbers, although they are important in order to analyze emigration phenomenon. It is possible to form statistics of the marital status, the age, the family contacts, gender, etc. But those are still just numbers, without personal information behind them. Based on the data, male emigration is greater than female emigration, but as is reflected in those figures the case of Garaioa and Garralda are very different from each other. Yet, it is not viable to make a general

conclusion just using emigrant lists. In that regard, if research does not go more in depth in personal cases of those migrants the figure or typology is clear: male, single, and, in consequence, the normal thought is to classify them as disinherited males. However, behind those records, more information is necessary to accurately analyze the real situation of those emigrants and what the impact that they provoked after their departure. In this sense, one of the main concerns of this research is to demonstrate that this typology is not true or even real in the case of Aezkoa Valley.

Therefore, it is not a typology of emigrants, since there are different emigrants and each has his or her own circumstances and decisions. Some of the circumstances maybe correlated, but others, may not. However, those statistics are fundamental to create a global view of the importance of migration phenomenon in the area. It shows the large rates of female migration, which are important in this case. The larger view of phenomenon helps to avoid the personification of the migration in just the prominent *amerikanuak*.

The purpose of this dissertation is to uncover the influences that migration had in the society of emigrants' hometowns. Though the utilization of these numbers the main purpose is to always keep in mind the importance that migration had on the society, and primarily in the depopulation of the area. In consequence, this massive emigration may create an imaginary around migration. But in order to clarify or even try to clarify how these phenomena influenced the society of the Aezkoa area, it is necessary to search in other kinds of records, the notarial documents.

Returning to the Chiquirrín family, the father, Martín José, was born in Abaurrea Alta in 1821. In 1847, he married Martina Eguinoa Ainesa the oldest sibling of the Juanpolit house from Garaioa. At that time, the Juanpolit house's family was large. The young couple, Martina's mother Luciana and her second husband Francisco Maisterra (old couple) as well as five siblings of Luciana's two marriages lived together in the house. But, in 1858 when Martín José emigrated to Argentina, the Juanpolit family was composed of the young couple Martín José and Martina, the mother Luciana, a sister of Martina called Micaela Maisterra and Juana Francisca and Francisco Chiquirrín Eguinoa, the children. Three generations lived together at the Juanpolit house. It was a typical Basque family or "Basque domestic group or echekoak" as Douglass so called. Douglass defines the Basque family as:

Three generational with a senior married couple, a junior married couple and the unmarried offspring of both. In any generation siblings of the heir who fail to marry retain a right to continued residence on the farmstead but are subordinated to the heir's (and heir's spouse's) authority. Siblings who marry are required to leave the domestic group and lose all rights to the "baserria."¹²³

The Juanpolit house was a perfect example of Douglass "domestic group" definition, since the grandmother, parents, children and an aunt who was subordinated to the heir's authority, all lived under the same roof. In that case, the oldest sibling inherited the house, being female and having more brothers and sisters. But the situation changed when the family head, Martín José, emigrated to America. Martín José emigrated, however, his wife and children remained at home. Later on, his only son followed him into the American dream, leaving his mother and sister alone at the farmhouse. In this

¹²³ William A. Douglass *Echalar and Murelaga, Opportunity and rural exodus in two Spanish Basque Villages* (New York: St Martín's Press, 1975), 33.

regard, the history of the Juanpolit house family does not have a place in the traditionally typified emigrant typology as Azcona Pastor among other authors has argued.

Returning to the non-heirs who decided to emigrate, Douglass states: “Thus, the individual desirous of leaving for the New World had to depend upon the household to pay his or her passage. In the context of sibling rivalry over the heirship this was construed as a dowry payment, and a voluntary decision to be excluded as a potential heir.”¹²⁴ But as will be developed in the following pages, emigration did not mean the exclusion of the emigrant as potential heir of the household.

As is pointed out before, Basque migration historiography has focused on Basques overseas, but when it has focused on the homeland it has been done in order to establish the causes of migration, rather than in the influences per se. But as Álvarez Gila argues, the emigration phenomenon in the Basque country is not one. There are multiple emigrations, and these migrations are based on the personal circumstances of each emigrant.¹²⁵ In that regard, the personal circumstances of each household should also be included. In this idea of multiple migration phenomenon, the next pages will revise the idea of the inheritance system as a cause of the emigration exposing the main examples that contradict this idea in the case of Aezkoa Valley and its surrounding area.

In Chiquirrín’s case, the inheritance system did not affect the decision to emigrate. But, to what extent was this a normal attitude or an exception in migration

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, 153.

¹²⁵ Óscar Álvarez Gila, “De ‘América y los vascos’ a la ‘octava provincia’: 20 años de historiografía sobre la emigración y presencia vasca en las Américas (siglos XIX-XX)” in *Vasconia: Cuadernos de Historia-geografía*, no. 34 (2005): 290.

phenomenon in nineteenth century Aezkoa Valley? What kind of emigration affected the traditional rural society of the Basque Country more, the emigration of single people or on the contrary, the emigration of those who were married? In this context of emigration regarding the inheritance system, the relation between emigration and household will be analyzed first. What was the involvement of the household in the emigration process? In the book, *Cuba y España. Procesos Migratorios e impronta perdurable (siglos XIX-XX)* edited by Azcona Pastor and published in 2014, one of the causes of emigration in the Basque Country is the inheritance system is put forth once again. There, Jorge F. Ramirez argues that the household was indivisible, and therefore, just one member of the family inherited it. According to the author, the heir was the first-born, and the non-heirs were in the situation of searching for a new live out of the household, and one of these opportunities was departing overseas.¹²⁶ However, this ideal inheritance system is not applicable for the whole Basque Country and according to the sources this is not totally true in the case of the northern Navarre. As is explained before, the parents would choose the sibling who was going to inherit, and as the documents demonstrate, the election of the heir would be taken after the emigration of the rest of the siblings.

¹²⁶ Jorge Freddy Ramírez Pérez, “Presencia Vasca en la región histórica de Vueltabajo, Cuba. Siglo XIX,” in *Cuba y España. Procesos Migratorios e impronta perdurable (siglos XIX-XX)*, ed. Juan Manuel Azcona Pastor (Madrid: Dykinson, 2014), 192. Translated by the author: “Existe otro elemento, no menos importante, que compulsó la inmigración vasca, se trata del aumento exponencial de la población en el siglo XIX. Dicho fenómeno trajo consigo mayores contradicciones dentro de las familias, pues hacía más difícil la tradicional repartición del caserío, donde el privilegiado resultaba ser siempre el primogénito, mientras el resto de los casi siempre numerosos hermanos no tenía oportunidades en la herencia. En este sentido se veían obligados a buscar otras alternativas de vida, una de ellas la emigración a otras tierras.”

Yet, in 2016 the book, *Basques in Cuba* was published, edited by Douglass, where the idea of the inheritance system as emigration cause is still reproduced,

This phenomenon was to lead to struggles within families, making the traditional transfer of the farmstead between generations more difficult, a system whereby the person who was given the farm property was always the first-born while the rest of the (often numerous) siblings had no chance of inherit anything. This meant that they were forced to look for other ways of life, and one means was emigrating to other countries.¹²⁷

This typified inheritance system has repeated constantly in the literature even if it does not coincide with the reality of the whole Basque Country. Even more, the contemporaneous authors, such as Pierre Lhande, pointed to the inheritance system, but he also pointed out that the heirs and the owners of the houses should remain at home rather to follow the mistakes of the previous emigrants.¹²⁸ Therefore, the Basque coetaneous intellectuals were aware not only of the emigration of family heads, but also of the emigration of the household heirs. However, twentieth century scholars have constantly repeated the pattern that the emigrants were men and non-heirs. In that regard, they affirm that the household organization in some way was responsible for high emigration rates.

In that regard, marriage contracts or “capitulaciones matrimoniales” are very important to for the understanding of the household’s influences on their members’ emigration. Have households invest in emigration’s expenses? This last point leads to the

¹²⁷ Jorge Freddy Ramírez Pérez “Basques in Vueltabajo, Cuba, nineteenth century,” in *Basques in Cuba*, ed. William A. Douglass (Reno, Center for Basque Studies, 2016), 161.

¹²⁸ Pierre Lhande, *La Emigración Vasca II* (Colección Auñamendi, 1910), 140.

formation of different groups. On the one hand, there are households that paid travel expenses as well as monetary allowances to both the inheritors and his or her siblings.

The Household and Emigration

The role of the family and household was central to emigration, in the sense that it provided the money necessary for the emigration travel expenses and the migrant's establishment in the destination country. As Douglass states for the town of Etxalar in Navarre, the siblings were dependent on the funding of their travel.¹²⁹ These expenses included the payment of the trip as well as "pocket money." These expenses are reflected in the marriage contracts, and in some cases, the lack of remittances became a focal point for the choice of an inheritor. Many households went into debt sending family members abroad, either by asking for loans or mortgaging the home or its assets. The emigrant was expected to repay these sums by sending remittances. There was no gender differentiation in these investments. However, regardless of the amount that they had received, they still had the right to receive a part of their parents' inheritance, called the "legítima paterna y materna." However, the amount varied depending on the family situation and position. In some cases, if the migrant had not sent remittances, he or she was excluded from inheriting or would just receive a symbolic amount to demonstrate that they had failed their parents' expectations.

In that regard, on March 17, 1880, Beltrán Arreche and his wife María Dhilarre made their nuncupative will before the notary Martín Miguel Erro. That document includes the children that the couple had as well as the quantity that they had received as

¹²⁹ Douglass, *Echalar and Murelaga*, 153.

a dowry and *legítima*. The first daughter was married away from the native house and she received 100 pts and 700 in clothes and furniture. The second son, Juan, married Juana Heigorri and received 300 pts for travel expenses to America, 100 pts as pocket money for his travel, 300 pts worth of blacksmith tools for his profession, and 575 pts in clothes and furniture. The next son, Clemente, received 1500 pts as his dowry, while three more daughters who lived with the parents also appears, but did not receive anything at that time.¹³⁰ In this case, the parents, referring to the dowry, did not treat all the siblings equally. The daughter received less money than her brothers. Juan, the one who emigrated overseas received pocket money, tools, clothes, and furniture and the cost of the trip to the Americas. In this regard, the parents, as house representatives, payed for all expenses of emigration, reflecting the household's investment.

Bernardo Iribarren decided to emigrate to the Americas with the intention of seeking fortune. But as a result of his inheritance rights from his native household Echeandi, his brother-in-law, Juan Errecart gave him 900 pts in cash as *legítima* rights. But as Douglass pointed out in Etxalar's case, this does not mean that this amount was the dowry. Instead, the documents reflect that of his future dowry would be reduced by 900 pts.¹³¹ In this regard, even if the family could afford the travel expenses, they still anticipated Bernardo's dowry.

But this kind of investment by the houses not only happened with males, the houses also paid for female migration expenses. When the owners of Erreca house in

¹³⁰ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro, 1880, n. 29.

¹³¹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro, 1885. n. 156.

Luzaide made the testament in 1881, Bernardo Vidondo and María Irigoyen noted that their daughters Graciana and María Vidondo were in the Americas. They gave them 1,100 francs (French currency) for the travel expenses and pocket money.¹³² Yet, five years later, in 1886, Miguel Vidondo, the other son of the marriage, got married and the parents made a notarial document in order to reflect the improvements of the Erreca house. The amount that they gave to Graciana and María is reflected in document that states that they had given them 1,300 pts¹³³ to afford travel expenses, clothes and more necessities that they might have in the Americas. During their residence in that country, the sisters sent 200 pts as a remittance. After that, the parents added that the daughters were completely satisfied regarding their *legítima* rights.¹³⁴ In this case, the two daughters received an amount of money for their emigration expenses, even though the amount was considered as the payment of their *legítima* rights.

Nevertheless, in some other cases, the differentiation among gender is clear. For example, in Villanueva of Aezkoa, the marriage contracts of the Ezpeleondo household, explain that there were two siblings in America, José and Joaquina Juangorena. José received travel expenses, clothes, and 500 pts as pocket money, however, Joaquina, according to the documents did not receive anything. However, if she returned, she could ask for the dowry and her brother would have to pay her.¹³⁵

However, the Mateo household from Orbaizeta paid Graciana Echeverz Artola's travel expenses. She had emigrated to Argentina with her sister Juana. In their brother's

¹³² AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro, 1881. n. 115.

¹³³ In the previous documents 1,100 francs were reflected that supposed to be equivalence in pesetas.

¹³⁴ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1886. n. 13.

¹³⁵ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1882. n. 176.

marriage contract, it is noted that Graciana's dowry would be reduced by 200 pts, since the household paid all the emigration expenses. In this case, there were four siblings, two men and two women. Both sisters emigrated but the brothers remained at home.¹³⁶ This case not only reflects how households invested in the emigration of the household members of both sexes, but also reflects how this investment did not always coincide with the dowry, since in many cases even though they had received money to afford their migration, they still had a right to their dowry.

Yet, emigration to America required a lot of money for some families, and their household economy was not enough to afford emigration expenses. In that regard, many households ended up asking for loans or mortgaging their estates in order to invest in those projects.

On October 30, 1779, Bautista Measur Arriola from Garralda, widowed, shoemaker, and 55 years old, asked for a 600 pts loan from Andrés Barcelona Echeberri (from Arnegui, in the French Basque country) to pay for his and his family's travel expenses to America. In that case, the loan was without interests, but Bautista was obligated to pay within a year. If Bautista did not pay Andrés in that time, he would sell some properties to receive the money back.¹³⁷ In this case, it is expressed how loans were a way to afford the travel expenses. This case is not a typical loan case because the loan did not have any interests, but still, it is a good example of the investment of the house toward the trip cost. This absence of interest in the loan is not uncommon in migration communities. In the case of Sicilian emigrants, Linda Reeder says that some returnees

¹³⁶ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Amador Madero, 1910. n. 46.

¹³⁷ AGN, Auritz-Burguete notary. Martín Miguel Erro, 1879, n. 172.

invested their capital in loans to other emigrants, as a way to help in the perpetuation of migration in the area. She states,

Returnees often used the money they made in the United States to subsidize other migrants with low-interest or no-interest loans in order to demonstrate that they were no longer part of the poor peasantry, who needed to profit from their money.¹³⁸

This is also the case of Ignacia Cilveti and Mariano Pedroarena, who in 1887 asked Bernardo Echeverria, a moneylender for a 325 pts loan each in order to pay the travel expenses of their son and brother, Martín Azparren and Urbano Pedroarena respectively. They were trying to go to California seeking fortune. The loan had to be repaid within a year, and if they did not, they would have to pay a 6% interest per year until they repaid the debt.¹³⁹ In this case, the household was taking charge of the expenses, making efforts and betting their properties in order to give a future to the household's sons.

Households' efforts in paying emigration costs was constant in the area, and in that regard, José García Olondriz, in 1887 asked Ángel Cilveti Elizondo, a moneylender from Donibane Garazi for 400 pts. José García utilized these 400 pts to pay for the travel expenses of his son Antonio to emigrate to Argentina. He had to return the 400-pts loan plus 20 pts (5 per-cent of interests) within a year.¹⁴⁰

Other households even mortgaged their houses or properties to pay the cost of emigration to America, as is the case of Andrés Loperena Garciacelay from Garralda,

¹³⁸ Linda Reeder, *Widows in White, Migration and the Transformation of Rural Italian Women, Sicily, 1880-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 96.

¹³⁹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1887. n. 132.

¹⁴⁰ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1887. n. 134.

who in 1887 asked León Inchauspe, a moneylender from Donibane Garazi, for a 400 pts loan to pay his son's travel expenses in order to emigrate to California. Andrés Loperena argues, "in order to afford the travel expenses of his son Juan to move to California with the purpose of make his fortune...he has received at this moment the quantity of 400 pts in cash as a loan from Leon Inchauspe, in addition to a 5% interests in a determined period of time..."¹⁴¹. In this regard, Andrés Loperena was mortgaging his Lerindegui household and other rural property in order to get money to pay the emigration expenses of his son. Once again, they were mortgaging the household, which was central to Basque society and the household economy. Therefore, they were making a big effort asking for loans and mortgaging properties as a bet for a better life for the household's son. In that regard, it cannot be affirmed in the case of Aezkoa Valley and the surrounding areas that the non-heirs had to find a new life outside of their house. In this case, the house was the one that took charge of the siblings of the house in relation to the emigration process and its expenses.

However, the investment of the households in emigration went further since some owners of the households ended up selling land and properties to be able to pay for all the emigration expenses. As Linda Reeder has pointed out in the Sicilian case, "often migrants financed their trips through loans or by selling family possessions."¹⁴² This is also the case of Juana Josefa Gayarre Urtasun and her husband Martín José Sagardoy Indacoechea. They sold all the Esan house's properties in Espinal (Erro Valley) in order

¹⁴¹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1887. n. 146. Translated by the author; "Dice Andrés Loperena, que para atender al pasaje de su hijo Juan que trata de trasladarse a California a probar fortuna y a otros gastos que con ese motivo le van a ocurrir..." p. 758 and 758v.

¹⁴² Linda Reeder, *Widows in White*, 96.

to emigrate to the Americas.¹⁴³ A similar case occurred in 1883 when, José Antonio Irulegui Viscarret (Linzoain, Erro Valley) sold some properties with the purpose of getting money and in that situation, he was able to pay all the expenses to emigrate to America.¹⁴⁴

This also happened in the Marico household from Abaurrea Alta. Francisco Andrés Ilincheta Irigoyen, widowed and owner of the Marico house together with his son Juan Miguel Ilincheta Barber sold the Marico house and 84 rural properties in Abaurrea Alta to Juan Manuel Landa Eguinoa. Juan Manuel Landa was also the son-in-law and the brother-in-law of the Marico house owners, since he was married to Fermina Ilincheta Barber the daughter and sister of Francisco and José Manuel, respectively. However, the sale was not definitive, they sold with an option to rebuy, within the next 20 years. In this case, they sold all the properties because, as expressed in the notarial document, all the house's siblings were emigrating to California. More concretely, Juan Miguel, Pedro, Lucio, Juana, and Tomasa Ilincheta Barber were planning to emigrate to California with the purpose of finding fortune overseas. They sold the house for 20,000 pts and, as they noted in the document, they needed cash in order to afford travel expenses and pocket money, but they also needed cash to pay some debts that the Marico household had incurred.

Besides buying the house of his relatives, Juan Manuel Landa took his father-in-law Francisco Andrés and two sisters-in-law, Josefa and Victoria, in at his house,

¹⁴³ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro, 1882, n. 142.

¹⁴⁴ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro, 1883, n. 137 and 138.

obligating himself to care for them at the house unless they wanted to leave.¹⁴⁵ In this case, the family head, because of the economic situation that they had, was almost obligated to sell all his properties to get money and tried to make money overseas to resolve the economic problems of the household. Marico house was an important house from Abaurrea Alta in terms of land property as well as in the neighborhood system. But even if it was one of the most prominent houses of the town, its members saw themselves in a situation of necessity, where they could not get by with the resources that the land provided them, and they chose to sell the properties and emigrate. As will be explained in the next chapter, the heir, Juan Miguel, would return and rebuy the property from his brother-in-law in 1904.

The Marico family and household exemplified how local households were affected by the economic crisis. A distinguished household which owned a big part of the total land of the town ended up in a difficult economic situation that provoked the necessity of finding new ways to afford its debts. This decision by the family head and the heir represents how important emigration was in the area, as well as contradicting the inheritance system as an emigration cause. They faced emigration as a way to solve economic defeat.

Nevertheless, the investment and efforts that the households made with their relatives came with some retribution. In other words, the family who remained at home expected remittances from overseas, to get back the money that they had already invested in them. Marriage contracts reflect these expectations of remittances. If they did not send

¹⁴⁵ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro, 1885, n. 223.

anything back home, the parents or the people in charge of the native household could deny their inheritance rights for the household. In so doing, they would be able to reduce the dowry that they were obligated to give to their relatives. This is also reflected in the case of José and Andrés Lusarreta. These brothers emigrated to Argentina, but because they did not send any remittances back home, the father argued that if they returned, they would only receive 120 pts each as their household rights.¹⁴⁶ In that case, the parents decided to give less than the traditional dowry because they did not send any remittances to them. It could be understood as a failure for the parents, so they used the dowry or *legítima* as a punishment because they did not line up to their parents' expectations.

Therefore, these cases are examples of household investments and efforts in the American project. Yet, these examples embrace that the family and household did not expel people to America, but instead invested in their American dream. As is shown in the case of the Marico household from Abaurrea Alta, the economic disaster that was hitting the area provoked the emigration not only of the family head but also of the household heir, as was the case of Juan Manuel Ilincheta. A distinguished household from the area was sacrificing the house and its belongings to take part in a project to make money and hopefully rebuy the native house. Another example would be the case of the Esan household, whose owners sold the house and properties just to emigrate to America. They left behind their ancestral household and their families to begin a new life overseas. Following the Marico household, there are many other examples of the emigration of the household heir.

¹⁴⁶ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro, 1883, n. 81.

Emigration of the household's heir

The case of family head emigration as a family business strategy is extended to the emigration of the household's heir. In that regard, emigration could be seen as a way to resolve households' critical economic situations. As example of this reality, there is a testament of María Iragui Leon, Juan Errramuzpe's widow. Five children that the couple had in their marriage are presented; Martín, who was married and was living in Buenos Aires; Salvador, who was married as well and was living in Argentina, María, was married to Juan Pedro Bordagorri, Juan, who was married to Graciana Echeverri and was living in California; and María, single, who was living in the household with the parents. María Iragui named Juan as the household heir.¹⁴⁷ In this case although there are sibling living with her, she named the son who was living in California at that time as heir. In this sense, the election of the heir was made after the emigration of almost all the siblings, disputing the fact that members emigrated because of being non-heirs.

That happened in the case of Pedro María Iribarren as well. Pedro María was the chosen heir to his family household, who he had already emigrated to South America. He was a merchant and lived in Concepcion de Uruguay but he died in 1884 and his father, Miguel Iribarren, sent a power of attorney to overseas in order to fix all the matters of his inheritance.¹⁴⁸ But as Pedro María was already chosen as heir, Miguel had to change his testament. Pedro María had been his only living son, so because of this death, he changed

¹⁴⁷ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1879. n.12.

¹⁴⁸ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1884. n. 149.

the testament establishing his grandson and granddaughters of his other daughter as his heirs.¹⁴⁹

The announcement of the heir was a common document that people made to assign the future household heir when they did not have marriage contracts. In that regard, Felipe Aincia and his wife Martina Landa made the testament and chose as the heir of their properties of Villanueva de Aezkoa their second son Manuel, who was living in America, rather than choosing Francisco, the oldest son who was living with them. The condition was that Manuel had to give 1000 pts to Francisco as dowry when Francisco decided to marry.¹⁵⁰

As well as in the previous case, the Chorrota house from Abaurrea Alta made the designation of the house's heir at the Burguete notary in December of 1887. In this case, the oldest owners of the house were dead and only the second husband of the mother was alive. Two uncles of the siblings made the decision of the heir's designation. They chose the sibling who was in the Americas, José Joaquín Almirantearena Burusco as the successor of the Chorrota household. José Joaquín was present in the designation but he was in Abaurrea Alta traveling, since he was living in Argentina, concretely in Islas del Tigre. He was a 29 years-old industrialist, and he had more siblings: Juana María, Francisca, Tomasa, and María, who were living in the family household. In the document, the uncles stated that José Joaquín helped the household from America by sending money to rebuild the house which was burned in the fire of 1884. Because of that

¹⁴⁹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1884. n. 154.

¹⁵⁰ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1887. n. 60.

collaboration with the native household and fulfilling the wishes of his mother to assign José Joaquín as the heir, the uncles gave him the designation. But José Joaquín needed to return to Argentina in order to attend his business over there.¹⁵¹ In this case, the heir was the son who was overseas once again. But as is demonstrated with all of these cases, this situation was not exceptional, on the contrary, the designation of emigrated son as the heir in was very common in this geographical area as is shown in the next case as well.

Another example is the case of José María Bazterra and Micaléa Celay. They made their last will and testament, and consequently they chose their heir. In this case, as in many other cases, there is no a marriage contract in order to transmit the inheritance, since they chose the testament form to transmit the patrimony. In this regard, the utilization of the testament instead of marriage contracts it is also contradictory to the traditional point of view of the transmission of the patrimony in Navarre. As is pointed out in the previous chapter, Hilario Yaben¹⁵² argues that in the north of Navarre all the patrimonial transmissions were made by marriage contracts. For him marriage contracts were the way to preserve the traditional family type, the stem family. Therefore, with regards to the inheritance system in the case of Aezkoa Valley and surrounding areas, it must be highlighted that there are many cases last will and testament, instead of marriage contracts, as instruments to transmit the patrimony and indeed the inheritance. Therefore, the inheritance system of this area is more complex than Yaben's inheritance practices theory, since testaments and marriage contracts are present in similar amounts. Even

¹⁵¹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1887. n. 81.

¹⁵² Hilario Yaben, *Los Contratos Matrimoniales en Navarra y su influencia en la estabilidad de la familia* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Jaime Rates, 1916).

though the explanation of the inheritance system is not the main intention of this dissertation, it is necessary to explain that there is not only one way to transmit the inheritance.

Continuing with the last wishes of the Bazterra and Celay family, they had three sons and a daughter: Francisco, who was living in California; Nicasia, who was single and was living in the family household; and Tomas, who was also living in California. They chose Francisco as the heir, the oldest sibling who was living overseas. In this case, there were three possible heirs and two of them had emigrated to America. However, they chose the one who was away, Francisco. In this case, the parents agreed to some conditions in the testament that would determine Francisco's inheritance right. According to the testament, Francisco had 6 years to return to the household, and if he did not return he would lose the right to inherit, and the testament would be dissolved.¹⁵³

A similar case occurred with Nicasio Pedroarena Jaso, who was the chosen heir of the Pedroarena household from Burguete. In this case, the two possible heirs of the Pedroarena household were Nicasio and Juan Pedroarena Jaso. They were living in Montevideo when their parents died and the uncles decided to choose Nicasio as heir. In that case, both siblings were in Americas.¹⁵⁴

In Espinal, Erro Valley, another heir emigrated to America. He was Martín Hualde, who had emigrated to Buenos Aires, and in his native household, Echeverri, left his mother, Catalina Lusarreta as beneficial owner.¹⁵⁵ In this sense, there are many cases

¹⁵³ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1888. n. 12.

¹⁵⁴ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Luis Ortigosa. 1890. n. 83.

¹⁵⁵ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1881. n. 51.

in which the parents chose the heir when he or she was in the Americas. This was also the case of Domingo Garralda Hualde. His mother, Juana María Hualde, made her testament, in which she announced that her chosen heir was Domingo, the oldest sibling who was living in the Americas.¹⁵⁶

But there are some cases where heirs, already young owners of households, emigrated to America and left the parents alone. This is the case of Pedro María Echeverría Sagardoy, a former carpenter from Burguete, 83 years-old owner of the Andresena house in the same village. He named his 5-years-old granddaughter, Antonia, as his heir in 1867, while writing up the inventory of his properties at the same time. But in 1883, he changed his mind. He stated in a public document made in 1883 that his son-in-law, after the death of his daughter, had married twice, and he was living with his granddaughter, his son-in-law, Pedro Auzqui, and his third spouse, Josefa Barcelona Irigoyen. But in 1870, his son-in-law, emigrated to America after selling some properties of the Andresena house, without telling his father-in-law. When Pedro Auzqui left, Pedro María was living with his granddaughter, Antonia, and Josefa, his son-in-law's third wife. But some month later, the women also went to the Americas without notifying Pedro María, and they also brought some items from the Andresena household that were Pedro's properties. Because of that departure, Pedro went through a complicated situation and was obligated to sell some furniture that he had at home in order to be able to maintain himself.

¹⁵⁶ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1883. n. 5.

But this situation changed when his nephew started living with him and working for the household. After the arrival of his nephew, Pedro Echapare, to Andresena house, Pedro's situation improved and he wanted to do make changes in the inventory of the Andresena house, as well as some modifications in his testament. In that regard, he noted that much of the furniture from the previous inventory was no longer at the house, because he had sold it. He established that some quantity of money was for his nephews, who were the ones who helped him since his relatives abandoned him.¹⁵⁷

In 1884, another heir was designated as for the Gardorena household in Arrieta, a town close to Aezkoa Valley. In that case, the heir was Juan Pedro Aranaz, the only children of Lorenzo Aranaz and Joaquina Erro. Juan Pedro was obligated to be the heir, since Lorenzo was widowed, and as was normal in the marriage contracts, the siblings of the first marriage were the ones who had the inheritance right. In this case, the father, Lorenzo, remarried and he had another daughter. When the daughter got married, marriage contracts were drawn up for her and her husband. In the marriage contracts, Lorenzo established his son Juan Pedro as his heir, and he gave his daughter 1,300 pts as a dowry. But he also stipulated that the daughter had the right to live in the native house until Juan Pedro returned. Even if he returned, the daughter had the right to continue living at the native house. In this case, the father did not have the possibility to choose the daughter as heir, because he was obligated by the marriage contracts to choose the son

¹⁵⁷ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1883. n. 108.

from the first marriage.¹⁵⁸ But at the same time, the obligated heir rather than continuing at home, had chosen to emigrate.

Besides these examples, the chosen heir did not always emigrate, but analyzing the influences that this emigration provoked in the area, the emigration of the heirs highlights the importance of heir emigration for the household as a way to solve the economic problems. As example in Luzaide, María Errecart, Domingo Iribarren's widow, made her testament. She was the mother of Graciana, Juan, Bautista, Fernando and Ines Iribarren. The first four were living in America and the last, Ines, was living with her mother. In this case, María Errecart chose her daughter Ines as her heir.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, there are many examples which prove that the inheritance system is not the only reason that led people to emigrate.

Split-household families

As the previous cases show, the household was an important factor in migration processes and took part in it, in some cases in a very important way, by providing the resources to afford emigration. In those cases, the emigration of the family heads as well as the emigration of the future heirs of the houses are already reflected. As Imizcoz Beunza argues, it is not one emigration and one emigrant, emigration is more complex. Imizcoz Beunza also highlights the inheritance system of the household as a traditional emigration cause. But he notes that this cause should be taken carefully. In that regard, he is referring to Galician and Bizkaian emigration, since they have a different inheritance

¹⁵⁸ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1884. n. 23.

¹⁵⁹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1888. n. 24.

systems¹⁶⁰. But again, the inheritance system is one of the prominent causes that the authors have utilized in order to explain the high emigration rates of the northern part of Navarre. Imizcoz is referring to the fact that the emigrants overall, were the non-heirs.

Nevertheless, as is reflected in Chiquirrín's case, the owner of the house was the one to emigrate and his 14-years-old son emigrated as well. In the case of the son, Francisco, his only sister was married out of the house. In that regard, in the Chiquirrín case, the owner and the future heir were the ones who took the decision of emigrate. The economic situation generated the emigration exodus in the Aezkoa Valley and surrounding areas. As is mentioned before, in the case of Etxalar, Douglass argues that the siblings who chose to emigrate were excluded as heirs. But in the case of Aezkoa Valley, this does not coincide with his statement. In that regard, this family head emigration produced a new reality in Navarre, the emergence of split-household families. As is represented in the Municipal Ordinances of Garralda, female representation remained in the domestic sphere. They did not have any representation in the public life, they could not take part in the public sphere of their communities, not even having access to the public positions and or participation in the "batzarres" or "oncenas" [village councils].

This female subordination to male figures is also present in Italian migration literature. In the case of Sicily, Linda Reeder states,

¹⁶⁰ José María Imizcoz Beunza, "Los Navarros y América: motivos de ida efectos de vuelta," *Navarra y América*, ed. Andrés-Gallego (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 357-358.

The absence of Sicilian women in public spaces reinforces the private image of female deference. In Sutera, women never participated in local government or the legal system or joined mutual aid associations. Women rarely trespassed in male-dominated public spaces, the main streets and squares.¹⁶¹

Therefore, Sicilian women's situation in their own communities did not differ from that of women from Aezkoa Valley in terms of representation and subordination. In consequence, in the Basque Country and in Navarre, the same patterns as in other migrant communities have taken place.

José Maisterra Elizondo, from Garaioa, on April 25, 1878 went to Burguete's notary and made a document giving power of attorney to his wife Vicenta Arozarena Jacue, to be able to administrate all their properties because he had decided to move to Argentina in order to seek his fortune.¹⁶² In this case, the owner of the house emigrated. The main intention of this departure was to make money and seek fortune. If José Maisterra reached his objectives, the house would be able to pay the debts that they had accrued. A similar case happened in Burguete, another young owner of a household emigrated to Argentina, was the case of Miguel Elcarre, who left his wife, Juana Leiza, at home.¹⁶³

As in the Chiquirrín's case, there are many who emigrated as owners of the house, but in some cases, they never returned, since they passed away overseas. This was the case of Gregorio Jaso Iribarren, from Burguete. He emigrated to Argentina or Uruguay, and he died there. His wife, Javiera Huarte, initiated a long process in order to receive his

¹⁶¹ Reeder, *Widows in White*, 91.

¹⁶² AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1878. n. 78.

¹⁶³ AGN. Auritz-Burguete notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1881. n. 173.

inheritance for their son, Benito Jaso Huarte.¹⁶⁴ As is reflected in documents that Javiera Huarte generated, they did not definitely know where Gregorio was, because she sent a power of attorney to both Argentina and Uruguay. However, later on, Javiera's son, Benito Jaso also emigrated to Argentina, becoming an important "hacendado" or landowner, as the documentation reflects.¹⁶⁵ Here again, the obligated heir of a household ended up emigrating to America.

Continuing with the owners of the house who emigrated, there are many more cases. In 1884, Felipe Maquirriain first emigrated to Argentina, leaving his wife, Catalina Pedroarena, at his native house in Garaioa. His purpose was going to America to make his fortune, and because of that, he gave power of attorney to his wife in order to be able to administrate the properties while he was overseas.¹⁶⁶ However, later on they decided to emigrate together, leaving a power of attorney to a third party to administrate all their properties.¹⁶⁷

Regarding the emigration of married males, Manuel Antonio Castellot Villanueva, 60 years old, sold the household and the properties pertaining to his daughter Micaela Castellot and her husband Antonio Urdanga¹⁶⁸. Manuel Antonio sold everything in order to go to America with the purpose of meeting his sons that were living overseas. He gave power of attorney to his wife, Joaquina Urdiroz.¹⁶⁹ In this case, Manuel Antonio was leaving his wife and he went to be in the company of his sons overseas. The

¹⁶⁴ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1879. n. 117.

¹⁶⁵ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. José Martín Bosch. 1913 box 113107.

¹⁶⁶ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1884. n. 24.

¹⁶⁷ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1884. n. 199.

¹⁶⁸ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1885. n. 56.

¹⁶⁹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1885. n. 66.

separation of the couple was constant in these communities, since the husbands left home to go overseas. This separation created new family relationships, and in many occasions, this broke the families and especially the stem family.

In 1885, Mariano Garate, married, 40 years old, and a carpenter, decided to emigrate to Argentina with the purpose of improving his situation, as he said; “since in Argentina the profesion of carpenter is better paid than in this country.”¹⁷⁰ In this regard, he gave power of attorney to his wife, Josefa Lasaga, in order to be able to administrate the household and belongings. The necessity of money in this case was clear, since in order to get money to afford the travel expenses, he sold a piece of property to Juan José Arostegui.¹⁷¹ As well as in the previous cases, Juan Carrica Latsaga decided to emigrate to Argentina to seek fortune. Juan gave power of attorney or “licencia marital” to his wife Martina Urtasun.¹⁷²

Yet, in 1883 another family head emigrated to America. As has already been mentioned in the previous pages, José Antonio Irulegui emigrated with the purpose of seeking fortune overseas. In this case, he also left his wife behind at home. However, José Antonio, rather than give power of attorney to his wife, gave it to his brother and brother-in-law.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1885. n. 200. Translated by the author; “Mariano Garate, casado, de oficio carpintero, 40 anos, vecino de Abaurrea, ha resuelto trasladarse a la República Argentina con el objeto de mejorar su situación por medio del trabajo en su oficio que está más recompensado que en este país.”

¹⁷¹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1885. n. 201.

¹⁷² AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1886. n. 157.

¹⁷³ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1884. n. 138.

Similarly, in 1886, Idelfonso Urbelz from Linzoain (Erro Valley), married, stonemason and 25 years old decided to emigrate to Argentina, with the same purpose than the rest, improving his life. As in the previous case, Idelfonso gave power of attorney to his father-in-law, Javier Layana, who was the town hall secretary of Erro Valley.¹⁷⁴

Economic problems were troubling the Jacue household from Garaioa. The Jacue family had amassed a debt of 1,400 pts with Santos Juanco, a returnee.¹⁷⁵ In order to afford the debt, the owners of the Jacue household, Juana Margarita Maisterra, her daughter, Isidora Jacue, and her son-in-law, Lorenzo Jauquicoa, asked for a loan of 3,050 pts to Miguel Etcheparaborda from Luzaide. The Jacue family were obligated to return the money within 6 years with 6% interest and with the condition of returning just the amount in gold and silver, and not in any other form. Yet, as a guarantee of that loan, they mortgaged the Jacue house and its belongings.¹⁷⁶ At that point, Lorenzo Jauquicoa had decided to emigrate in order to improve the household economic situation, and he gave power of attorney to his wife, Isidora Jacue.¹⁷⁷

In 1887, Joaquina Elizondo from Burguete tried to help her sister Francisca pay the debt that Francisca's husband had taken with Juan Antonio Etcheverri, natural of Arnegui, France. Francisca's husband, Martín Egozcue, had asked for a loan to Etcheverri in 1876. Etcheverri gave him 5,672 pts without interest. However, the condition was that he would give back the money in 6 years. Martín mortgaged two urban

¹⁷⁴ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1886. n. 41.

¹⁷⁵ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1886. n. 192.

¹⁷⁶ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1886. n. 191.

¹⁷⁷ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1886. n. 193.

and 25 plots of land for this agreement. Afterward, Martín Egozcue left Luzaide and emigrated to Argentina, unfortunately dying while he was in Argentina. Nevertheless, he did not fulfill his debt with Etcharri and in that regard, Francisca was in trouble, she was alone at home and she had to pay off her husband's debt. The due date had arrived and she owed 5,672 pts to Etcharri, but she asked him to apply interest on the debt in order to be able to pay it with more time. In doing so, she was also avoiding the enforcement of her properties' mortgage. In that economic precarious situation, Francisca's sister bought with the approval of her husband Don Francisco Mestre Lizarraga, all of her sister's properties had been mortgaged. In the document, it is mentioned that Micaela Urdiruz, the mother of Joaquina and Francisca was living in Americas, Micaela had the usufruct of the house, but she was not enjoying that right.¹⁷⁸

All these cases complicated the family relationship even more in the area, especially regarding to the "traditional Basque domestic group." The separation of the husband and wife, the father and children, did have impact in those communities. The traditional Basque domestic group was broken, and this breaking of the family units needed some changes in order to affront new realities. The appearance of split-household families provoked new realities and expectations in those families that suffered the separation of the family unit. These split-household families are common in other migration communities, for example, the Chinese community. In that regard, in Chinese American studies, the use of the term and concept of split-household families is very common. In this regard, Glenn defines the term as,

¹⁷⁸ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1887. n. 119.

A sociological definition of a family is a group of people related by blood or marriage, cooperating to perform essential domestic task such as production, consumption, reproduction and socialization. Production would be separated from other functions and carried out by a member living far away. The other functions (reproduction, socialization...) would be carried out by the wife and other relative in the home village.¹⁷⁹

This concept and definition of the separation of family members is applicable to the case that is presented here. In general, the husband emigrated overseas to work and to make money, and the wife remained at home doing the rest of the functions. The domestic group division into production overseas and family relations at home produced economic dependency of the overseas money that was necessary to pay the loans and debts, which had been the premise of emigration and, in the end, the premise of split-household families. But, there was also the emotional dependency behind this separation.

In these new family realities, new situations came up. In these split-household, the character of the wife as family head changed dramatically. They needed to adapt to the new situation, in which they took all the responsibilities on their own, rather than being a secondary figure of the household because of the domination of the husband. In these terms, Madeline Y. Hsu states, “separation did require emotional and practical adaptations and sacrifices.”¹⁸⁰ In this adaptation to husbands’ absences these women became the heads of their households, where the phenomenon of Female head household rose.¹⁸¹ Juan Javier Pescador, regarding the women involved in emigration in the colonial period, says, “for the majority of women, involvement with the New World meant

¹⁷⁹ Evelyn Nakano Glenn, “Split Household, Small Producer and Dual Wage Earner: An Analysis of Chinese-American Family strategies,” in *Journal of marriage and Family*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Feb., 1983): 38.

¹⁸⁰ Madeline Y Hsu, *Dreaming of gold, Dreaming of home, Transnationalism and Migration between the United States and South China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 92.

¹⁸¹ See other authors that used the same definition to these realities on other emigrant countries.

remaining in the village, at the mercy of their male kin's destiny in the Indies."¹⁸² In that regard, this family separation came from the beginning of the emigration phenomena, but in the epoch of mass migration the family separation by the Atlantic Ocean became more rooted in Basque society. In this context, Juan Javier Pescador depicts,

In one form or another, countless women in the valley had to link their economic fortunes to their male relatives' luck in the Indies. Such dependency on absent relatives could only generate in the short run a more precarious existence in Oiartzun. Even if the migratory experience of their relatives was successful, local women were dependent on the largesse of absent males and faced the indeterminate wait for their inheritance and the receipt of whatever remained of it.¹⁸³

However, Juan Javier Pescador's understanding of this family separation leaves women in a secondary position within the migration phenomenon. In this case, women were subordinated to the men's future and luck. The agency of women is subordinated to the male success, in these terms, women cannot do anything in this situation, but except having the power of designating the heir of the household. In that regard, he states,

The prolonged absence of husbands and male relatives in the Indies accentuated the gender division in the domestic, economic, and familial roles within Oiartzun. By the end of the seventeenth century, the successful careers of Oiartzun men in the New World had not altered this pattern. To the contrary, women held as much, familial and economic power as they had held locally in previous times.¹⁸⁴

However, it should be taken in mind that Juan Javier Pescador's book is centered on the colonial migration from the Oiartzun Valley in Gipuzkoa. The situation was different, and the position that those migrants was also different from the ones from the

¹⁸² Juan Javier Pescador, *The New World inside a Basque Village*, 56.

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*, 53.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, 62.

nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In that regard, he highlights the women's dependency to overseas money.

Adaptation to absence; Female head households

Female head households as well as split-household families are not a new phenomenon in migration communities. Both denominations are taken from emigration historiography that addresses the influence of emigration in sending communities. In the case of Aezkoa Valley, women's role was strictly directed to the domestic sphere. As municipal ordinances showed in the case of Aezkoa Valley, women had no place in public life. The public sphere was strongly linked to the male world. Even though women could and had inherited their family households it was the spouse who attended the "batzarres" or took part in the public organization and administration of their communities. The administration of the household was also a male world. Even if the woman was the owner, she needed her husband's power of attorney in order to make decisions that involved the household and its belongings. Perhaps, the only power that women had in this area was the designation of the heir. In that regard, women powerless in society, constantly living behind male figures.

However, emigration of the family heads produced a new situation for these women. As is showed above, before this family division or separation, husbands gave power of attorney to their wives in order to be able to administrate the family properties and businesses. Therefore, women received a new role in society. These women became the new heads of households as a consequence of migration. Since the family separation could last almost 20 years or so, this division impacted family relationships as well as in

the decision that the family unit had taken. These female head households are present in the municipal census. Husbands were absent and overseas, who normally appeared as “in America” in the documentation.

In that regard, household labor was organized by gender. Both types of sources, whether notarial protocols or population censuses, established professions of both women and men. Yet, the male heads of the households, who did agricultural work, appear as farmworkers, while women, according to these data, are related to the domestic sphere, referring to them as “sin ocupación especial” [without special occupation] or “dedicada a las labores domésticas” [dedicated to housework] or “de su sexo” [of her gender], and also, as “sus labores” [her labor, in this case as a housewife]. In this context, for the Italian case, Maddalena Tirabassi says, “while the Italian census made waged work ‘visible’, most Italian women’s work remained invisible, unpaid, and tied to a domestic world of family ties and subsistence production.”¹⁸⁵ Therefore, in the case of Aezkoa and indeed Navarre, the situation did not differ from other migration communities. So, just like Italian women, Navarrese rural women “worked full time but housekeeping and child-minding were not their main occupation, or even their secondary priority”¹⁸⁶, since their work in the farmhouse’s labors are not taken in mind. Therefore, after the departure of their husbands or male relatives to the Americas, this situation changed, since women now were responsible for the all the household labors, taking the roles of their absent husbands and loved ones. Then, returning to the sources, these wives that remained

¹⁸⁵ Maddalena Tirabassi, “Rethinking Domestic work and morality in Italy” in *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives, Italian Workers of the World*, ed. Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 113.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, 115.

behind, upgraded to farmworker as other male heads of household in the census. The widows also took the same denomination, since no men were with them and they were the heads of their households. These women who remained at home became “white widows,” as they have been deemed in other communities.¹⁸⁷ There again, there is the case of the Chiquirrín family, who after the departure of Chiquirrín (father) the wife acted as farmworker, but not only that, she also appears as a farmworker in the population census. This can also be seen in the case of the Zelay household, among other examples, where Paula Lugea, after the departure of her husband appeared as a farmworker.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, while the husbands of these women were at home, women’s occupations were invisible, or were considered housewives, however after the departure of the males, they took the position of farmworker, the place of the family head, taking the responsibility of the economy of the house by themselves.

The situation that some women faced was entirely new for them. Besides the acquisition of more responsibilities as heads of households, these women also experienced new realities as a result of their husband’s emigration. Many of these “white widows” became real widows since in many times the emigration experience of their husbands ended up in a no return trip. This loss of their loved ones generated some new circumstances that the wives had to face, especially the inheritance claim. In this regard, there are many examples as the one which is mentioned before, that of Javiera Huarte from Burguete. She faced the death of her husband in America, and all the bureaucratic procedures that were behind that loss. Among other examples, there is also the case of

¹⁸⁷ See Linda Reeder, Anne Morelli, Donna Gabaccia, among others.

¹⁸⁸ AMGI. Municipal census, 1867. Box 9, leg 11.

Joaquina Berria Lastape, from Villanueva de Aezkoa, who sent power of attorney to La Plata (Argentina) to withdraw from the bank of London of Buenos Aires 4,000 pesos (currency of Argentina).¹⁸⁹ In the same town and in the same position were Lazara Reca Berria and her daughter María Juana Larramendi Reca, since the husband and father, respectively, had died in Colon (Argentina). Then, mother and daughter sent power of attorney to claim their inheritance in Argentina.¹⁹⁰ Therefore, these women confronted a new reality as a female family heads. In these circumstances, many females challenged situations that would not have existed if their husbands had not emigrated.

The separation of the family unit could last some decades, as it has been already explained. In this intervening period, these “white widows” acted and behaved as widowed, although they were not widowed. In these terms, Anne Morelli says that “meanwhile, the ‘white widows’- the women whose husbands had emigrated- remained the objects of careful surveillance within their families. Rural codes of honour forbade them any entertainment.”¹⁹¹ This affirmation is also applicable to case of Basque women. It should be taken in mind that this society was deeply rooted into Catholic traditions, and even more in the times of mass migration, where romanticism had a bearing on the purity and behavior of women. In this context of Catholicism and women’s attitude the women’s migration literature has taken the concept of “white widow” as a metaphor: women lived as if in mourning in their relationship and in public life. The lack of men’s

¹⁸⁹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary, Luis Ortigosa, 1900. n. 85.

¹⁹⁰ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary, Manuel Ortega, 1907, n. 107.

¹⁹¹ Anne Morelli, “Nestore’s wife? Work, Family, and Militancy in Belgium,” in *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives, Italian Workers of the World*, ed. Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 330.

authority behind women produced a constant control of the neighbors over these women's behavior, which in many cases not only ended up in the propagation of gossip around these women figures and attitudes, but also around their husbands supposed "absence" in their lives.

This behavior and attitude toward emigrants' wives who remained at home is also visible in Chinese migration literature. In this context, Madeline Y Hsu says, "Women also had to be careful not to fall victim to the main village pastime-gossip."¹⁹² Therefore, these Chinese societies enforced moral codes and proper behavior of these women, reporting in many cases the misbehavior of those wives to their husbands overseas.¹⁹³ These towns were small rural communities where everyone knew each other and it was easy to spread the word about any rumors or gossip.

Although normally these "white widows" received the power of attorney from their husbands to control their properties and belongings, there are exceptions in this practice. This exception is represented by the case of Idelfonso Urbelz. Before Idelfonso's departure, he had given power of attorney to his father-in-law rather than his wife. This is the expression of the lack of authority of the women in the community. Yet, this action represented husbands' control regarding female representation in society, but also represented male preponderance in society.

These wives not only took part in family business, but also faced new opportunities. The relationship among emigrants and their family member in terms of

¹⁹² Hsu, *Dreaming of gold dreaming of home*, 106.

¹⁹³ *Ibidem*, 107.

remittances created new opportunities at home. As will be described in the following chapters, many return migrants became moneylenders. However, female heads of households took up the profession. Micaela Cajén was widowed and remarried in the late nineteenth century. However, her only son, Domingo Elizondo was overseas. As is known, Domingo Elizondo would become a prominent businessman in Argentina and produced a large fortune that he would invest in his homeland. However, while Domingo was making his fortune abroad, Micaela started giving loans to her neighbors. She became a moneylender, although she needed the approval of her husband in all the mortgages that she made. These new realities and economic opportunities that are represented in the case of Micaela Cajén are not exceptional phenomenon.

This was also the case of Joaquina Berria Lastape, who had relatives in Argentina as is mentioned before. She became a moneylender using the capital that her relatives sent her from abroad. For example, in 1886, Joaquina gave more than 1,000 pts as a loan to Fermín Iriarte Domine.¹⁹⁴ Some months later, Joaquina again lent money to Fermín Iriarte and Julián Iriarte, father and son. In this case, she gave them 13,080 pts in cash as a loan and they were to repay her within 4 years. In this case, they mortgaged their house and belongings in Abaurrea Alta.¹⁹⁵

In that regard, returning to Sicilian migration, the figure of moneylender women also appears. Linda Reeder explains, “There is evidence that rural women acted as informal moneylenders.”¹⁹⁶ In her study, she found one case where the mother of an

¹⁹⁴ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1886. n. 109.

¹⁹⁵ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1886. n. 141.

¹⁹⁶ Reeder, *Widows in White*, 96.

emigrant was selling the clothes that her son had sent from abroad. She was making money selling those clothes and with it she was lending money at high interest rates. And Linda Reeder adds, “it is not clear to what extent her behavior was typical.”¹⁹⁷ In the case of Aezkoa Valley the point is the same, there is just two women directly identified in this practice of lending money with the remittances of their relatives. However, this other case in Sicily shows that this practice also took place in other communities, where the women who remained at home, used the American capital to take advantage of the critical economic circumstances in the homeland.

At this point, all these examples show that emigration phenomenon was not only a men’s life project. Women, even if they stayed in their homes, were behind migration processes. They sacrificed great deal in order to follow the American dream and expectations of their husbands, sons and daughters. Micaela’s case shows how women’s role changed and who they were introduced into the male world, becoming moneylenders, when this normally was a male occupation. Therefore, although these “white widows” never crossed the ocean, their managed the American capital in her own interest, they did not risk their lives going overseas, but they were running American money.

American Dowries

However, not only emigrant wives were not the only ones to receive the support of their absent husband, as many women received remittances from their relatives in America, especially the unmarried ones. In this sense, the most important representation

¹⁹⁷ Ibidem, 96.

of this support from overseas are dowries. Moreover, dowries represent the most important factor in the marriage market. As has already been explained, the dowry was fundamental in order to get married and even more to marry into a good household. The higher the dowry that women offered, the higher the social position and promotion could be. In these terms, many successful migrants from overseas sent remittances to promote a good marriage to their female relatives of their native household, demonstrating their success overseas as well as providing a better future for their female relatives.

In these terms, the most distinguished example are the dowries that Manuel Gorostizu provided to his sisters. Manuel Gorostizu in the mid nineteenth century emigrated to Cuba. He was very successful in his business, concretely in the “Compañía Gorostizu y Barberia” [Gorostizu and Barberia Company]. His business generated many benefits to him and trying to help his family at home, Manuel Gorostizu gave to his sisters Manuela and Vicotoria Gorostizu Oñativia impressive dowries. The case of the Gorostizu sisters not only affected their dowries. The Gorostizu siblings were born in Gipuzkoa, and the male siblings emigrated to Cuba in the mid-nineteenth century. There, they were well-connected and created their own companies. Manuel was married, but he tried to help his relatives at home since he was a successful businessman. At some point, Manuel made efforts to marry his sisters into good households in Burguete. This is not a coincidence, since many people from Burguete were established in La Havana, as Manuel was. Then, Manuel’s two sisters were married into the two most prosperous houses in Burguete: Manuela was married into the Oyarbide house and Victoria into the Ignaciorena household, marrying a notary. The Oyarbide family was a very important business family from the area, a well-known liberal family from Navarre. In that regard,

Manuel, trying to improve the social status of his sisters organized the wedding with those families. For that, he offered a 25,000 pesetas dowry to each sister. But Manuel's help did not stop in the dowries, he also put in his testament a grand amount of money for them, concretely 75,000 pts. However, this inheritance never arrived in Burguete.¹⁹⁸

Other examples will be explained in the next chapters which will address the investment of returnees' capital, since many of these returnees invested in their female relative dowries as well as in their own ones.

Nonetheless, not all women decided to remain in the homeland. Many of them decided to migrate. Therefore, their lives were no longer the same. In this way, Linda Reeder has pointed out, "whether women left their hometowns, or chose to stay behind, the experience of mass migration profoundly transformed their lives."¹⁹⁹ In that regard, women's' situation was utterly changed as a result of emigration phenomena. Whether she decided to emigrate, or she remained at home, their lives totally changed.

Female migration

Migration studies have neglected women's presence in emigration phenomena until recent times. In this sense, they have focused more on the importance of men's presence in migration across borders and in the international sphere than on women. Yet, all over the world migration studies have always treated women's presence in a

¹⁹⁸ There are several notarial documents that reflects this inheritance. However, even if they were demanding the money there is not recorded in the documents.

¹⁹⁹ Linda Reeder, "When the Men Left Sutera: Sicilian Women and Mass Migration: 1880-1920" in *Women, Gender, and Transnational lives, Italian Workers of the World*, ed. Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 46.

secondary position, as Sarah J. Mahler and Patricia R Pessar address, “The field had eschewed female migrants owing to the widely-shared assumption that women (and children) migrate to accompany or to reunite with their breadwinner migrant husbands.”²⁰⁰ In this critique of the rejection of female migration Malhen and Pessar pointed out DeLact’s quote, “The invisibility of women in international migration scholarship does not correspond to the reality of international migration. Women migrated across international boundaries at approximately the same rate as men”²⁰¹ Therefore, in the turn of the 1990s the perspective of the influence of female migration changed in the eyes of some authors and started developing scholarships addressing women’s migration.²⁰²

In that context, Basque migration scholars have also followed this traditional tendency, and they have been more conscious of the study of the experiences of Basque men in America. Although some scholars have analyzed women’s migration, they have focused on it in relation to men’s migration. The research about the Basque presence in the Far West have put down Basque female migration into a secondary spot. In that

²⁰⁰ Sarah J. Mahler and Patricia R Pessar, “Gender Matters: ethnographers bring gender from the periphery toward the core of migration studies” in *The International Migration Review*, vol. 40, no. 1, Gender and Migration Revisited (spring 2006): 27-28.

²⁰¹ Sarah J. Mahler and Patricia R Pessar, “Transnational migration: Bringing Gender in,” in *The International Migration Review*, 37, 3 (Fall 2003): 814.

²⁰² See Donna Gabaccia, *Italy’s Many Diasporas, Italy’s Many Diasporas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000); Donna Gabaccia, *From the Other Side: Women, Gender, and Immigrant Life in the U.S.. 1820-1990* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Donna Gabaccia, *Immigrant Women in the United States: A selectively Annotated Multidisciplinary Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1989). Donna Gabaccia, *Immigration and American Diversity: A social and cultural history* (University of North Carolina, 2002); Donna Gabaccia, and Iacovetta Franca (ed.), *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives, Italian Wokers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

regard, according to Basque migration literature, migrant women in the American West are associated with boardinghouses; or even part of the marriage market and; in many cases, women's migration addresses the reunification of a family unit.²⁰³ Then, the emigration of women is subordinated to men's emigration. Or in other words, women emigrated following men. In that regard, following this discourse, women's presence in the diaspora has been delimited to the domestic sphere, understanding the emigration experience as an extension of the family and social patterns from home, relating the womanhood with the domestic sphere even in the Americas.

However, high female emigration rates from Aezkoa Valley and the general area demonstrate that women did have more presence in emigration than emigration literature has previously noted. This rejection of female migration's importance in the Basque case is not exceptional to the Basque Country, it also happened in Italian, Irish and other European diasporas. This discourse of the women as secondary migrants although slowly gaining recognition, has had an effect on the historiography of emigration.

Therefore, as the census data demonstrates the women from Aezkoa Valley emigrated in high proportion, arriving in some periods to supersede men's migration rates. The case of Garaioa's census and emigration lists shows the high impact that female migration had in the village, or even in Garralda, although the proportion is lower (see figure 13 and 14). In Garaioa, from 1887-1897, the female emigration rates exceeded male rates, as well as in Garralda in the first years of the 1910s.

²⁰³ For further information see, Jeronima Echeverria, Gloria Totoricaguena, Teresa del Valle, Pecharroman, among others.

Overall, these migrant women, were single, who had decided to emigrate rather than remain at home. As has been already mentioned, anti-emigration propaganda was advertised the risk of female migration, saying that those women who embracing in emigration, would end up in the dark world of prostitution. In this sense, the authorities were using moral conviction and fears to avoid the emigration of women. However, disregarding that advice, women decided to emigrate overseas. As is explained before, in the Basque traditional family structures, non-heir siblings received dowries to be able to leave the household, marrying out of it or going to a monastery. Not only that, but many of these women also received help from their native household in order to pay all the travel expenses of emigration, and in some cases, they also received money to establish themselves in the new societies. With this amount of money, they could have ended up marrying a household's heir or even a non-heir and renting a house to start building their own life in their hometown or even close to it. However, they decided to emigrate alone and became rulers of their own lives.

Assumed freedom since they were not longer depended of the authority of a family male figure, father or husband. In Argentina or in United States, these women were working as domestic workers, or in small businesses, in boardinghouses, etc. In consequence, they were able to earn their own money, becoming for the first time the administrators of their own capital. However, this liberation from male subordination from home does not mean that emigration was heaven. There could be, of course, many obstacles, and in the worst, cases the dark side of emigration was behind those experiences.

The next cases will demonstrate that those women who emigrated were not following a man. Many of these women emigrated to seek fortune overseas as their male compatriots or relatives did. The most distinguished example of emigration to seek fortune in women is the case of Martina Elizalde. She had recently widowed and in 1879 she decided to emigrate. Martina was the mother of two daughters, Josefa and Clara, but after becoming a widow, she decided to seek fortune overseas as the documents reveal. However, Martina needed funds to afford all the travel expenses for her and for her daughters. To supply the trip costs, Martina claimed a part of the dowry to her brother that he still owed her.²⁰⁴ In the case of Manuela, after becoming a widow she had two options, on one hand, marry a non-heir and rebuild a family, or continue being a widow in a male world. She decided to try a new life in America far away from her neighbors and homeland in a world that according to the anti-emigration propaganda, was not supposed to be for a woman.

Although Martina Elizalde's example should be taken in account, the majority of female emigrants were single, who decided to emigrate rather than get married and follow the tradition of the region. In these terms, this emigration could be understood as an escape, or as some authors have pointed out, emigration of women would mean emancipation for them. However, this use of emancipation is related not only to migrant women but more concretely to women and the marriage, understanding emancipation as a way to escape from the oppression of their husbands.²⁰⁵ In that regard, Caroline Waldron

²⁰⁴ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1879 year. n. 151 and 152.

²⁰⁵ See José Moya, "Italians in Buenos Aires's Anarchist Movement, 1890-1910" in *Women, Gender, and Transnational lives, Italian Workers of the World*.

Merithew took a quote from an anarchist women who says, “for the emancipation of women...for the rights of all oppressed humanity...[and] against the tyranny and prejudice of men...[who] consider woman inferior and treat her straight away as a slave.”²⁰⁶ However, all of these authors are treating emancipation as a movement of anarchist women across Italy and the New World fighting both men and women’s equality. Therefore, the use of the emancipation concept in the context of emigration and women is applicable but only partially, in terms of why they chose emigration as an escape to the traditional womanhood in the homeland.

Although women from Aezkoa Valley usually emigrated in their 20s, there are some cases in which emigrated they as teenagers. This is the case of Manuela Legaz Iturralde, from Orbaizeta. She emigrated to Argentina in November 1879, just 13 years-old. However, on September 15, 1881 her mother, Gabriela Iturralde admitted that she had not had any news about her since her departure. For that reason, she gave power of attorney to Domingo Apezteguia, to look for her daughter in Buenos Aires. She also asked him that if he were to find her daughter, he should find an honorable family for Manuela in order to get a job and be able to maintain herself.²⁰⁷ As the documentation reflects, Manuela’s mother, Gabriela was worried about her daughter, and she was looking for a family to employ Manuela as domestic worker. It should be taken in account that in the Basque Country at Manuela’s age, females were still inside the family circle, since the Basque women normally did not marry until their 20s or 30s.

²⁰⁶ Caroline Waldron Merithew, “Anarchist Motherhood in Illinois Coal Towns,” in *Women, Gender, and Transnational lives, Italian Workers of the World*, 231.

²⁰⁷ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1881. n. 130.

This case is striking not only because Manuela Legaz was just 15 years-old, but also because she was traveling alone from the Basque Country to Argentina, in the time that morality and honor as well as the fear of prostitution were in the minds of all contemporaries in terms of migration. It is remarkable how a mother could send her daughter alone to a place that she did not know, and even more so with the anti-emigration propaganda's discourse. On the other hand, this example also reflects the life that was waiting for her, or even the idea that her mother had in mind. The future of the girl was working as a servant, as a domestic worker somewhere. At this point, the main idea that those women and girls had before emigrating was going to America to work as a servant, and earn their own money and build their own lives far away from home. In the end, they were looking for a better life overseas rather than remaining at home.

Although many of these emigrant women were single at the time of emigration, many of them got married overseas. But not only did single women emigrate, but also there are cases of widows who emigrated as well as married females. In the case of married women, on one hand, there are the ones who emigrated alone to join their husbands overseas and in that regard to unify the family unit. On the other hand, there are the women who emigrated with their husbands, and also in many times, the whole family emigrated.

Regarding the ones who emigrated with the purpose of joining their husbands, there are many cases, for example, Carlota Mayo, who with her son, Elias Elizagaray, 5 years old, in 1910 emigrated to Cuba, to reunite with Marcos Elizagaray, their husband

and father, respectively, who had emigrated in 1908²⁰⁸. Another case is that of Lorena Laurenz Laurenz, who emigrated together with her six sons and daughters to Buenos Aires in 1912, where her husband, Ángel Laurenz had already established himself.²⁰⁹

However, in many occasions, these married women emigrated after the first sojourn of their husband overseas. In that regard, many of those married male emigrants who had initially gone alone, returned to their hometowns and by way of solving their family spatial separation, they chose to emigrate with the whole family to unify the split household families. In this sense, the example of the Esan household from Espinal, which is treated in the section on the relationship among households and emigration, reflects how women emigrated with their husbands to the Americas. There, Juana Josefa Gayarre Urtasun and her husband, Martín José Sagardoy Indacochea, sold all the Esan house's properties to emigrate to the Americas.²¹⁰ In this case, Martín José was a round-trip emigrant, in the sense that he had emigrated some years after and then he returned to his hometown. Once there, he decided to sell his house and belongings to embark upon emigration as a family unit to reunite the family and to settle the split-household family situation. The case of Felipe Maquirriain and Celestina Pedroarena, who emigrated together to Argentina as described above, is another example of the reunification of families.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ AMGR. Box, 36. 1908, 1910.

²⁰⁹ AMGR. Box 36, 1912.

²¹⁰ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1882. n. 142.

²¹¹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1884. n. 199.

In this context, as some cases have already shown, parents left their lives at home to go to America in the company of their sons and daughters. For example, the case of Micaela Urdiroz, who was the owner of her house in Burguete, left her daughter behind and established herself overseas.²¹² Another example is the case of the Echeverria family. Carlos Echeverria, the eldest son of the family, emigrated to Buenos Aires in 1897. He established himself in the new country and some years later, in 1908, his parents, Pedro and Pilar Echeverria, emigrated to Buenos Aires as well. Therefore, in this case, the parents of an emigrant emigrated to reunite with their relatives overseas. The couple were in their 50's when they moved to Argentina.²¹³

However, not all the emigration of the women meant the purpose of emigration as unification of the couple and family, since many couples, both young and old, emigrated to Argentina seeking a new life. That is the case of the Laurenz family, which emigrated in 1907. Marcos Laurenz, 41 years old, his wife, Gervasia Laurenz, and his three daughters emigrated to Argentina.²¹⁴ Therefore, in some of these cases, the seeking of fortune was extended to the family unit rather than to maintain single children or family heads. In this regard, there is the example of a couple from Garralda, Isidora Laurenz and Eusebio Barberena, who in 1890 emigrated to Argentina.²¹⁵

²¹² AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1887. n. 119.

²¹³ AMGR. Box 29. 1897, 1908.

²¹⁴ AMGR. Box 39, 1907.

²¹⁵ AMGR. Box 36, 1890.

However, although there are cases of all types of women which emigrated, the more common are single women who decided to emigrate rather than the widows or married women.

Illegitimate Children and Emigration

Besides these emigration cases, there is another phenomenon that should be highlighted, the emigration of illegitimate children. Illegitimate children as the name shows, are children who are born of parents that are not lawfully married to each other. In the sources, these illegitimate children appear as “hijos naturales” [natural children]. The traditional society of Aezkoa and its deeply rooted Christianity should be taken in mind. In that regard, a child born out of the traditional family unit was neglected in society. For instance, these children as well as their mothers did not enjoy social recognition. In that regard, they felt social rejection and their future was uncertain: for many of them emigration reflected an opportunity to succeed and to promote social mobility, since at home, they just had access to the lowest positions of society.

Juan Javier Pescador addresses the emigration of illegitimate children in his book on emigration in Oiartzun (Gipuzkoa). There he states,

Illegitimacy and emigration became closely related by the early eighteenth century as the local population rejected illegitimate children. Sometimes illegitimate sons set out to the New World without even leaving a trace in the parish books. [...] The only place in which illegitimate children could maintain some social status and avoid suffering the new stigma of their birth was Spanish America. Innumerable illegitimate children went to the Indies in the eighteenth century. Their departure from the valley came to be seen as a natural consequence of the circumstances of their birth²¹⁶

²¹⁶ Pescador, *The New World inside a Basque Village*, 77.

Therefore, many illegitimate children chose emigration a way to succeed. In that regard, there are some cases of emigration of illegitimate children that appear in Aezkoa Valley's records.

In Orbaizeta, Tulubia Otegui met with the notary, Martín Miguel Erro, in order to give power of attorney to Francisco Anchorena, resident in Buenos Aires. The power of attorney was given as consequence of the situation of Tulubia's "natural" daughter, Martina Anchorena Otegui. Martina, who was 14 years old had been living in Buenos Aires in the company of Petra Ardanaz. However, Martina left Petra and was 'deposited' or taken by the local authority. Tulubia, by making this document, gave authority to Francisco Anchorena to take care of her daughter. Tulubia asked Francisco to release Martina from her situation in governmental dependencies and to take Martina in to his home. Here, a 14-year-old girl, who was also an illegitimate daughter, was out of the family. But not only that, documents suggest that Martina Anchorena was in troubles, since she was in a government office from Buenos Aires. But also, Francisco Anchorena may have been Martina's relative.

In this case, Martina Anchorena was the illegitimate daughter of Tulubia. However, Martina's case draws attention because she had her father's last name: she was called Martina Anchorena Otegui, rather than be Martina Otegui "sin segundo apellido" [without second last name], that was normally the way they emphasized "natural" children's condition.

In Garralda, another natural son emigrated to Argentina, Santiago Ardaiz. Santiago was born during his mother's widowhood, and his complete name was Santiago

Ardaiz “sin segundo apellido” [without second last name]. Santiago had two older sisters; the oldest one was living in Argentina and the other sister was the heir of the household, who was married with Andrés Iturralde from the Iribarren household in Garralda as well. In this case, Santiago emigrated to Argentina in order to seek fortune and to try to escape from its traditionally rooted hometown, where he could not have an optimistic future.

Challenging the lack of labor in split households; “Unión de familias” or Family–household unification

The massive emigration in the area and the emergence of split-household families provoked new circumstances for these transnational families. In many of these cases, the wives who remained behind experienced a new role in society. However, many of these “white widows” were not able to continue working the land on their own. The new realities of those families who felt and lived family division and separation, challenged the continuation of the family production with the lack of the male head of the household. In some of these cases, the women who remained behind faced lack of laborers to follow the household’s production. Therefore, they ended up unifying or linking households which were in the same situation. This phenomenon has been called the unification of families or households. In this case, the union of families and households happened because the husband of one of the families had emigrated to the Americas, and in order to maintain and continue working the land and the properties, they linked two households and their properties.

This is the case of Salvador Javat who in 1883 decided to emigrate to America. Salvador Javat was leaving his wife behind, and in trying to help his family situation, decided to unify his household with his sister’s household in Abaurrea Baja. In so doing,

he gave power of attorney to his wife, Catalina Vidondo, with the purpose of joining both families.²¹⁷

Therefore, with the absence of the male figure in the household, the rest of the family members faced the necessity to join with other relatives to continue production and, at in the end, to be able to produce enough for the family's subsistence. Although it was not an uncommon act at that time, there is not any literature that addresses this phenomenon. This unification of families and households will be addressed in relation to return migration in the following pages.

Conclusion

The emigration of single people affected society, but more deeply, transnational emigration of family heads and household heirs transformed Aezkoa Valley's and surrounding area's society and communities. The references to overseas migration changed and opened the neighborhood system, although it also coincided with a larger transformation at the end of the Ancient Regime, and at the same time, the ending of the neighborhood system. However, Abaurrea Alta's example also reflects the opening effects that emigration caused in the village's neighborhood system, at the same time, as Navarre was living a transformation at the turn of the century. Therefore, the appearance of mass migration in the late nineteenth century helped in the transformation of the local society and in some instances to the opening of the rigid social realities in it.

²¹⁷ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's noraty. Martín Miguel Erro. 1883. n. 1.

Overall, the emigration in the Aezkoa area, according to the notarial documents, was more complex than the census data shows. Since looking more in depth into the realities of those emigrants, the social complexity comes out and the influence of emigration is more oriented to the family situation and structure. Once again, as Linda Reeder has pointed out, “whether women left their hometowns, or chose to stay behind, the experience of mass migration profoundly transformed their lives.”²¹⁸ In that regard, migration has influenced women more than it has already been stressed by migration literature. The appearance of these new realities in the family units transformed the everyday life of the peasant from Aezkoa Valley and surrounding areas. The situation of waiting for overseas people and relatives to return as well as to overseas money, transformed the society of the homeland and, especially, the continuation of the family relationships and interaction. Not only women suffered from the absence of husbands, but also the children of those families as well. When white widows appear, so did “orphan children,” even if they still had fathers, the paternal figure was absent in their everyday life. In that regard, the reunification of the family unit has been frequent in the minds of those who experienced emigration for themselves. In this context, the emigration of the married women also reflects, how emigration affected the lives of these people, since in some cases, in order to unify the family, many women embarked alone or with their children with the purpose of joining their husbands overseas. Therefore, even if these women remained at home, emigrated to seek fortune or to escape from the local

²¹⁸ Reeder, “When the Men Left Sutura: Sicilian Women and Mass Migration: 1880-1920,” 46.

patriarchal society and traditions, or even tried to unify the family going overseas, women from the Aezkoa area challenged new realities.

Therefore, besides the economic situation that produced emigration from the area, it could also be understood that the emigration of these people was an escape from these deeply rooted societies, in which social promotion was strongly controlled and the upgrade was very difficult. In this regard, in the following pages, the influence of return migration and returnees will be addressed, when in some instances the desire of social promotion is reflected in the behavior of these returnees.

Part III
Returning Home

Chapter Five

The Influence of overseas money in the society of Aezkoa: Marriage strategies, dowries, and moneylenders

After leaving behind his wife, Martina Eguinoa, and his daughter at home and spending 20 years in Argentina, some of those years with his son Francisco, Martín José Chiquirrín definitively returned home around 1878. However, when he returned to Garaioa, the household's reality had changed. Only his wife and his granddaughter, Micaela Lorea, remained at home. Although the daughter was married out of the house, she had died, and Martina Eguinoa took care of their granddaughter at the Juanpolit household.

After Martín José's return, the old couple lived together in the house. They were already 64 and 70 years old, and the girl was just 12 years old. The daily upkeep of the house and livestock, as well as other tasks related with the farming, were difficult to complete by the owners. Martina and Martín José were aware of their limitations at their advanced age, so they resolved to sell the house and properties for the value of 7,500 pts to Joaquín Arozarena "sin segundo apellido." In that regard, Martina Eguinoa explained: "since she and her husband were unable to govern their property because of their

advanced age, she relieved her husband of that obligation.”²¹⁹

In addition to the sale of properties, they also joined families. In other words, when the Chiquirrín family sold the properties to Joaquín Arozarena through a notarial document, they also established a union of families, by which the Landa and Juanpolit households were to be united in a unique partnership, since the buyer had previously taken over ownership of Landa's house. In this way, through the acquisition of the two houses, the union of the respective families was carried out. In this way, the two families together with the buyer, who in turn was the nephew of the owners of the Landa household, would reside in one of the houses, which in this case was that of Juanpolit. Therefore, the new family society would work the fields and livestock of both houses while they lived together. The notarial record reflects the following:

A union of families was made among Joaquín Arozarena and his uncles, Juan José Arozarena, now deceased, and Juana María Jacue, and Martín José Chiquirrín and Martina Eguinoa, the first three moving to live in the house called Juanpolit, which Joaquín acquired with all its belongings by purchase from Martina Eguinoa by notarial deed.²²⁰

Emigration had an important impact on the families who felt the absence of their relatives. In this case, when Martín José returned, the lack of his son, who was overseas in the household production, created the reality that forced them to combine properties. They needed people to work in the farmhouse, and as they did not have any people to

²¹⁹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1880. n. 146, p. 8v. Translated by the autor: *por no hallarse ella y su esposo en aptitud de poder gobernar dichos bienes por cause de su avanzada edad, releva a su marido de esa obligación.*

²²⁰ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1881. n. 57. p. 2r. Translated by the author: *Hicieron unión de familias entre los comparecientes Joaquín Arozarena y sus tíos Juan José Arozarena, hoy difunto, Juana María Jacue y Martín José Chiquirrín y Marina Eguinoa, pasando a vivir los tres primeros a la casa llamada de Juanpolit, que por compra la adquirió con todo su pertenecido de bienes el Joaquín de la Martina Eguinoa, por escritura.*

help, they were forced to sell the properties and join a new family.

However, this situation was more than the unification of families. They also agreed that in the future the girl, Micaela, who at the time of the sale was 12 years old, and the buyer, Joaquín Arozarena, who was 24 years old, would marry when Micaela was old enough. Thus, the sale of the house and the properties, along with the assignment of Micaela as the future wife of the buyer, guaranteed that the property and the house would stay in the Chiquirrín family. In other words, even though the property was sold to Arozarena, when the granddaughter married him, the house would return to the familial environment of the former owners of the Juanpolit household.²²¹

Nevertheless, the marriage agreement between Micaela and Joaquín never became a fact, since one year later, in 1881, both families would end up breaking that union of families, and Martín José Chiquirrín and his wife, Martina, returned to take possession of their house, Juanpolit. This dissolution occurred after problems between both families, and thereafter they decided to dissolve the agreement and return each family to its respective house. Martina ended up repurchasing their household.²²²

Although Martín José was a transnational migrant, his experience did not help in his family maintenance, therefore the household ended up in an unsuccessful agreement of unification of families. This case perpetuated the situation that split-household families suffered. With the absence of overseas relatives, the families faced new realities, however, when the relatives returned the challenges were still present. In this case, the

²²¹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1880. n. 147.

²²² AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1881. n. 56 and 57.

husband returned in his 60s, and as a consequence of his age, he could not continue carrying out the household's labor. Therefore, the lack of labor was perpetuated in those families who experienced emigration and more so in the ones that experienced split-household.

The case of the Chiquirrín family illustrates the many ways in which sojourning in the Americas affected the everyday lives and family dynamics of Aezkoans. Tracing return migrants in the notarial documents, it is possible to say that the effects that they produced involved different aspects of the society of origin, such as the economy, society itself, and politics, which are all related. Mainly, the economy and social influences were linked by the investment of American capital.

In these terms, this chapter will focus on those changes and influences that return migration produced in Aezkoa Valley, particularly, and in Navarre as well. This chapter will not only focus on the physical return of emigrants, but also on the influences that transnational migration produced in those communities. These influences will be addressed by analyzing the investment of the capital that they brought from the Americas, as well as other behavior that they introduced in their hometowns and in their communities of origin. In this context, the remittances of those who were established in the new world will also be a focus of this study.

However, the Juanpolit household's case also reflects how emigration was seen as a round-trip emigration, since in many of the split-household families the return was the main objective. Not only that, but many of the young men and women who emigrated also had the idea of return in their minds. During the time of the mass migration, the

contemporaneous people had the image of return migration very present. Oral tradition and other cultural expressions show return migration, such as “bertsolaritza” [improvised basque poetry] and music. The next page is dedicated to the song “Maitechu Mia” [my love], which represents one of these cultural manifestations of return migration.²²³ The song speaks of the myth of the migration experience and return by the “coetaneous” people in the Basque Country.

²²³ The song “Maitechu mia” was written in 1927 by Emilio González del Castillo, and composed by Maestro Alonso. They were not Basque, so although they did not experience the phenomena in first person they expressed the reality of Basque societies at the time in this song.

“Maitetxu Mia” 1927

Looking to make a fortune as an emigrant
I left for other lands,
and among the girls
one stayed behind crying for my love.

return to the village
don't cry any more woman
because within a few years
I'll return as a very rich man

and if you wait for me
whatever you want from me
you will get

My Maitetxu
My Maitetxu
be quiet and don't cry anymore.

I will come back to love you with all my soul
my Maitechu,
I'll come back to sing zortzikos (songs) when I
go through,
I will come back to tell you the things I used to,
for gold, I cross the ocean
and you should wait.

I fought for money
and when I considered myself rich, I came back
for her,
I jumped to dry land
because I dreamed of her love.

I arrive at the household
I'm going to see her again
she doesn't come out to meet me
What could have happened?

She died crying and sighing,
“My love, where are you?”
My Maitetxu
My Maitetxu
I will never see you again.

I will never again love you with all my soul my
Maitetxu
Nor will I ever sing zortzikos as I go by
Or the things that I used to say to you
I got the gold
But I lost the love.

My Maitetxu
My Maitetxu

Buscando hacer fortuna como emigrante
me fui a otras tierras
y entre las mozas una
quedó llorando por mi querer,

vuélvete al caserío,
no llores más mujer
que dentro de unos años
muy rico he de volver

y si me esperas,
lo que tú quieras
de mi conseguirás,

Maitetxu mía,
Maitetxu mía
calla y no llores más.

Yo volveré a quererte con toda el alma
Maitetxu mía,
y volveré a cantar zortzikos al pasar,
y volveré a decirte las mismas cosas que te decía,
por oro cruzo el mar
y debes esperar.

Luché por el dinero
y al verme rico volví a por ella,
salté a tierra el primero
porque soñaba con su querer.

Ya llego al caserío,
voy a volverla a ver,
no sale a recibirme,
qué es lo que pudo ser

Murió llorando y suspirando,
“mi amor en donde estás,”
Maitetxu mía,
Maitetxu mía,
ya no he de verte más.

No volveré a quererte con toda el alma Maitetxu
mía,
ni volveré a cantar zortzikos al pasar;
ni volveré a decirte las mismas cosas que te
decía,
el oro conseguí
pero el amor perdí.

Maitetxu mía,
Maitetxu mía.

“Maitechu Mia” was composed in 1927, making it contemporaneous to these emigration processes. The song speaks about the emigration and the expectations of those migrants. Primarily, it reflects the idea of going to the Americas, becoming rich, and then coming back to the Basque Country. Therefore, the lyrics of the song not only reproduce the myth of migration of that time, but also expose the idea of the farmhouse in addition to the rural society of the Basques. In that regard, the song reproduced the idea of the Basque peasant emigrating to the Americas and then returning back to his hometown. This idea of becoming rich through migrating to the Americas and then returning to the homeland is not exclusively a phenomenon of the Basques. The American dream as well as return is a general phenomenon in several cultures all over the world, as Hsu, Gabaccia, and Wyman, among others have pointed out.

The song also reflected the visibility that the returnees had in their communities of origin, and therefore, the influence that these experiences produced in their contemporaries’ mentalities and in the imagination surrounding migration. In times of mass migration, the people who remained at home spoke about migration and more about returnees, creating a large production and reproduction of stereotypes. However, although the coetaneous people stressed the phenomenon of return migration, Basque migration literature has not reflected this experience until recent times.

Although scholars have analyzed the human migratory phenomena for more than a century, little has been written about migrants who return to their homeland. The lack of literature that reflected the returnees’ experiences coincided with the difficulties in obtaining the sources to address the phenomena of return migration.

This round-trip migration process is usually called return migration. Despite the problems with the sources, there are also methodological and theoretical concerns regarding return migration. Return migration is the continuation of the migration process. In this regard, Álvarez Gila argues that the return is englobed in the phenomenon of migration, since it was in the imagination of migrants.²²⁴ Scholars have approached return migration and returnees with different theories, mainly from sociology.²²⁵ However, those theories approach returnees through economic analysis, cataloguing returnees and the return migration as either failed migration experiences or successful migration experiences, rather than capturing the influences that they generated in the homeland. It is not until the emergence of transnationalism that scholars have focused on the influences of migration on both sides, the receiving and sending communities and countries. Migration has been seen as a unidirectional phenomenon, focusing on the migration processes as well as on the experiences of migrants in the host countries rather than seeing how these absences affected the communities of origin.

In this sense, until recent times Basque migration studies has been limited to the Atlantic, similar to other European migration studies. This can be seen in *Emigrant Homecoming*, where the Scottish case shows the same situation:

Few studies have been made of Scottish sojourning and, of those that have, most are limited to the Atlantic. However, while Jamaica and the Chesapeake have received

²²⁴ Óscar Álvarez Gila, “Euskaldun fededun y el americano descreído: La Iglesia vasca ante la emigración y el retorno” *Boletín Hispánico Helvético*, Vol. 21 (primavera 2013): 207-229.

²²⁵ Neoclassical Economics, New Economics of Labour Migration, Structuralism.

scholarly attention, this has concentrated upon activities and networks in the colonies themselves rather than the impact of such individuals back in Scotland.²²⁶

Due to this, the use of a transnational approach to study the impact on the homeland is a recent phenomenon. Just as return migration has been largely ignored in Basque historiography, the influence of transnational encounters in the homeland has been ignored as well. Azcona Pastor argues about the lack of transnational studies in Basque historiography;

The migratory current Basque natives to America has frequently been studied, analyzed, and interpreted by recent Basque historiography as an almost exclusively unidirectional phenomenon. Only in rare occasions has reference been made to the process of returning to the ancestral home [...] One of the subject largely ignored by the historiography of the Basque Country is the connection maintained between its emigrants and their place of origin during and after their stay in America.²²⁷

Although historiography has given more attention to the emigration process and migrants' establishment in new societies, historians in the last decades have renewed the interest in the process of return. The transnational encounters and interactions between different cultures and practices have produced several changes in the host society as well as in the homeland.

In this context of transnational studies, an important contribution to the Basque case is Juan Javier Pescador's work *The New World inside a Basque Village: the Oiartzun Valley and its Atlantic emigrants 1550-1800*, (2004). This book is a micro-historic study of Oiartzun (a small valley in Gipuzkoa) that addresses the changes in

²²⁶ Andrew Mackillop, "The Highlands and the returning nabob: Sir Hector Munro of Novar, 1760-1807," (edit.) in *Emigrant Homecomings, the return movement of emigrants, 1600-2000*, ed. Majority Harper (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 234.

²²⁷ Azcona Pastor, *Possible Paradises*, 152.

society as a result of the back and forth migration between the Spanish Empire and the Atlantic Ocean. Pescador especially focuses on the social interactions and connections of these migrants who went back and forth and their relatives and neighbors from their hometowns. Pescador demonstrates how important these transoceanic relations were in the everyday life of the inhabitants from Oiartzun.

More recently, the history department of the University of the Basque Country has developed more interest in the influence of emigration at home, especially with the publication of *Del Espacio Cantábrico al Mundo Americano*.²²⁸ Within this book, there are articles dedicated to return migration and migrants. However, there is a lack of studies which address the influence of emigration and return migration in the Basque Country, such as how emigration and then the return of those emigrants affected both the local communities and the returnees. Leaving behind the case of the Basques, some authors have addressed the influences of the returnees in Spain, especially in Galicia. This is the case of Nuñez Xeixas, who has developed literature in that aspect of the migration process.²²⁹

This lack of interest by the Basque historiography could be understood as a consequence of the difficulties dealing with the sources. If the lack of sources is significant regarding emigration, it is still more important in return migration. There are

²²⁸ Óscar Álvarez Gila and Juan Bosco Amores (edit.) *Del Espacio Cantábrico al mundo Americano* (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial Universidad del País Vasco, 2015).

²²⁹ He largely wrote about return migration in the Galician case, focusing on the historiography of return migration in migration studies. Xosé Nuñez, "Emigración de retorno y cambio social en la Península Ibérica: Algunas observaciones teóricas en perspectiva comparada," in *Migraciones y Exilios* (2000): 27-66.; and "Visible and Invisible Remittances: Some Notes on Transatlantic Return Migration and its Effects on Iberian Societies, 1850-1950," in *Przegląd Polonijny* (2005): 117-142.

no official records that show returnees. Although some municipal scribes recollected it, they did not do so regularly, and normally these official records concealed data.

Therefore, population censuses as sources are not enough to address return migration.

The notarial records disclose more information about returnees, but it is not possible to follow all the returnees in those documents, since the notarial documents do not reveal the reality of the whole population. It is not possible to calculate statistics that show accurate returnees rates. However, with the data taken from the notarial documents as well as from the municipal archives, it is possible to see the influences that they generated in their hometowns.

This chapter will address the influences of those returnees in terms of socio-economic parameters. The attitude regarding the marriage market was influenced by return migrants. Nowadays, thinking of returnees, the society of Aezkoa Valley remembers the successful cases, such as Francisco Chiquirrín, among others. However, besides these definitive cases, there are additional examples of return migration. Those successful cases were the minority among all the returnees. Overall, three different realities composed the phenomena of return migration: the ones who made large fortunes, the people who returned with small earnings, and the people who just returned.

Therefore, the influences of each of these groups on the homeland were completely different, as well as the traces that they left in the documents and then in the archives. Large fortunes left more traces, and consequently, it is easier to follow their steps. Nevertheless, the influences of all of them are very important to the local societies. To speak of returnees is not only about the definitive returns, but also about the

influences of remittances as well as brief returns to visit the family and the homeland. To identify and follow these influences, the main instrument of study is the savings of the returnees and their investment of that capital. In that regard, there are different investments that all the returnees made after their return or even while they were overseas. Many migration scholars have stressed that in rural areas these migrants invested in their relatives, through dowries, the acquisition of land, and houses, as well as assistance to their communities of origin. In these terms, Linda Reeder, referring to the Italian case, says that, “by 1910, American money had begun to transfigure the face of rural Italy. Each year, emigrants sent home millions of lire from the Americas. Back home their relatives used this money to pay off family debts, build new houses, open small businesses, and buy land.”²³⁰ In the same vein, Alexia Grosjean demonstrates how successful emigrants invested their capital in their homeland, buying land, and houses, as well as assisting their communities by providing schools and churches and funding roads among other infrastructure.²³¹

For the Basque case, Imizcoz Beunza, referring to Navarrese return migrants, has pointed out, “It gives the impression that in the vast majority of cases that capital served as a dowry to marry into good houses, used to buy houses and farms, to renovate and fix them, ultimately for the house.”²³² Therefore, the following pages will address how this

²³⁰ Reeder, *Widows in White*, 142.

²³¹ Alexia Grosjean, “Returning to Belhelvie, 1593-1875: the impact of return migration on an Aberdeenshire parish,” in *Emigrant homecomings, the return movement of emigrants, 1600-2000*, ed. Majority Harper (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 216-229.

²³² Imizcoz Beunza, “Los Navarros y America: motivos de ida, efectos de vuelta.” 387. Translated by the autor; “Da la impresión de que en la inmensa mayoría de los casos aquel capital sirvió de dote para casarse en buenas casas, sirvió para comprar casas y fincas, para renovarlas y arreglarlas, en definitiva, para la casa.”

American capital was invested in the area, and to what extent this investment influenced the communities of Aezkoa Valley.

Overseas money in the Aezkoa Valley area

The previous chapter partially explores the presence of overseas money in Aezkoa Valley and in the area around it. The presence in the documentation of overseas money is very frequent, since in many cases there were powers of attorney sent overseas in order to take out money from abroad. The London Bank from Buenos Aires appears many times in the documentation belonging to families who experienced overseas migration. The presence in the documents of currencies from different places are not uncommon, such as francs, pesos, and dollars, among others. However, this is not only a phenomenon of the Basque country. Many European migrant communities faced the same situation. In that regard, Mark Wyman says that “(American earnings) dispatched through banks in the immigrant communities of New York, Cleveland, Chicago, and other cities, or through postal savings letters, American dollars had immediate impact on the European communities.”²³³

Therefore, overseas money deeply influenced not only the society of these communities, but also the economic situation and improvement of them. As is shown in some cases of the previous chapter, many families were involved in bureaucratic issues to get overseas money. Then, many of the houses of the area received inheritance from overseas, although they not always received the inheritance as happened in the case of the

²³³ Mark Wyman, *Round-Trip to America, the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 129-130.

Gorostizu sisters which will be addressed in the next pages. Therefore, the main important consequences of migration in the area are the remittances and the money from overseas.

Inheritances from overseas and their influence at home

The case of the Gorostizu sisters is just an example of how difficult it was in some instances to receive the inheritance of their relatives from the Americas. In this case, Miguel Gorostizu, brother of Manuela and Victoria Gorostizu, made his testament in Cuba. There, he stipulated that 75,000 pts would go to his sisters. However, after his death in 1878, the Gorostizu sisters faced difficulties getting their money back to Burguete. The inheritance of Miguel Gorostizu had impacted the lives of his sisters, and indeed their families. “Don Miguel, by testament granted in the city of Havana, on the twenty-seventh of December 1875, bequeathed fifteen thousand *duros* (currency) or seventy-five thousand pesetas, to his sisters, which are located with interests in the house under the business name of ‘Gorostizu, Barberia y Compañía’ in the city of Matanzas and that, at the present time, it is entitled ‘Elisea y compañía’.”²³⁴

At some point after the death of Miguel, the Gorostizu sisters received some quantity of money from the interest of the total amount of 75,000 pts. In 1877, both families decided to name Ciríaco Oyarbide, Manuela’s husband, as their representative to manage the capital. With this first money that they had received, they decided to invest in

²³⁴ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1886. n. 176. Translated by the author: Don Miguel, por testamento otorgado en la ciudad de La Habana a veinte y siete de diciembre de mil ochocientos setenta y cinco, les lego a quince mil duros o sean setenta y cinco mil pesetas que se hallan impuestas a interés en la casa que bajo razón social de “Gorostizu, Barberia y Compañía” giraba en la Ciudad de Matanzas y que en la actualidad se titula al parecer Elisea y Compañía.

the debts that the Ignacioarena household had incurred. In that regard, Victoria Gorostizu made an effort to pay her husband's household's debts. Therefore, when Victoria paid the debts of the house in 1878 Ciríaco Oyarbide was the one who was in charge of all the documents to pay the debts, which reached 15,000 pts.²³⁵

Both the Oyarbide and the Ignacioarena households were the most outstanding of the village of Burguete, and they passed the mayoral office between each other, and they were always in the power of it. Manuela Gorostizu, after her marriage with Ciríaco Oyarbide, did not have successors. In 1884, Ciríaco Oyarbide died, and his mother and wife designated Francisco, their son and brother-in-law respectively, as the heir of the Oyarbide household. However, Francisco was married and was living in Lumbier, where he was the town notary. Since the couple did not have children, but they had many properties as well as the capital from Cuba which they shared with the Ignacioarena household's members, they decided to link both families through a marriage agreement. In September 1886, this agreement was between the son of Francisco, Ángel Oyarbide Barrena, and a niece of Manuela Gorostizu, Juana Goizueta Gorostizu who at the same time was the daughter of the Ignacioarena household. Therefore, through this marriage agreement they maintained the legacy within the same families and they unified the fortune of the two families. Thus, the next generation was also influenced by the investment of their American relatives in the marriage.

In 1886 the Gorostizu sisters were not receiving the interest of their inheritance, as is represented in the documentation which shows that they had not received anything

²³⁵ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1879. n. 80, 81 and 92.

since 1882. In that regard, they asked María de Jesús Ortiz, widow of Mr. Bea, domiciled in Bilbao (Bizkaia, Basque Country), and Mr. Ortiz, her brother, for the capital that they owed them.²³⁶ This situation continued until 1893, when Manuela Gorostizu declared that, “since the announcement of Don Francisco as the heir was made, no credit report had been made, attributing this suspension of payments, which until then were punctually satisfied, due to the critical situation of Cuba, which reaches the house or society of Matanzas, in which the capital of the 75,000 pesetas was held.”²³⁷ In that document, Juana Goizueta and Ángel Oyarbide assumed that the Cuban capital designated to them, which was 35,000 pts, was no longer available, and they were declaring satisfaction with the amount of 5,000 pts of dowry that the family gave Juana.²³⁸ Therefore, they were assuming that they were not going to receive any more money from Cuba, by which the inheritance of their uncle was lost.

In Abaurrea Alta there is the case of the Landa household, whose heir, José Fermín Ilincheta, died in La Havana on October 20, 1878. After his death, his siblings, María Josefa and Juan José started a fight in order to get his legacy. Therefore, the Court from Havana, in the district of Jesús María, on July 15, 1882, declared both siblings as universal heirs of their brother José Fermín. In this regard, as the resolution was made in Havana, the court decided to divide all of José Fermín’s properties between his two

²³⁶ AGN. Auritz-Burugete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1886 n. 72 and 176.

²³⁷ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Luis Ortigosa Zozaya. 1893. n. 27. Translated by the author: “Declaró doña Manuela que desde el otorgamiento de la citada escritura de nombramiento de heredero en Don Francisco, no se había realizado ninguna actualidad de créditos, atribuyéndose esta suspensión de pagos que hasta entonces se satisfacían puntualmente a que el estado crítico de la Isla de Cuba alcanzaba también a la casa o sociedad de Matanzas, en que se hallaba impuesto el capital de las 75,000 pesetas.”

²³⁸ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Luis Ortigosa. 1893. n. 27.

brother and sister.²³⁹ Then, María Josefa inherited half of the house, and some lands, and her brother, the other half of the house and the rest of the properties.²⁴⁰ Therefore, because of the death of the heir without testament overseas, the Landa household ended up dividing, although this does not happen frequently in the traditional inheritance system of Navarre. But again, since all of the processes of the inheritance reclamation went through Cuba, the resolution of the court did not keep in mind the singularities of the Navarrese inheritance system, by which the household was normally indivisible. In this case, the death of the heir overseas provoked a division of the property in two pieces from a significant household of Abaurrea Alta.

The reclamation of overseas inheritance is very common in the documents that are used here. There are so many cases where the relatives of emigrants demanded the rights to inherit, and in so doing they sent power of attorney to the Americas in order to get the legacy from their deceased relatives. These documents not only reveal the claiming of inheritance from the homeland, but also the currency from foreign countries, the presence of the “boletos cubanos,” as well as references to foreign banks and current accounts from them. Therefore, American money not only remained in the inheritance, but also reflected the quantity of foreign currency or the international banks that emerged in the household documentation, and their finances.

The appearance of that capital in the Aezkoa Valley as well as the savings that the returnees brought with them generated a new investment in the area, and indeed the

²³⁹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Luis Ortigosa Zozaya. 1888 n. 27, and 38.

²⁴⁰ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Luis Ortigosa Zozaya. 1890. n. 63.

utilization of that capital diverged from one case to another. That capital could be organized in two groups. On one hand, there are the remittances that emigrants sent to their relatives and household; on the other hand, the money that returnees brought with them to the homeland. In this sense, there are two main differences in the attitude of those who decided to return. These differences are seen by the fact that if they were the owners of a household or not. The single and non-heirs normally did not return to their native hometowns, instead they normally chose another village to establish themselves and their family unit. Otherwise, married or widowed men went back to their households in the case of split-household families, but also many of these returnees were already married abroad, and in that regard, they followed the same tendency as singles.

However, these differences in the chosen place to establish themselves and start a new life is directly related to the economic aspect of migration. In the case of single and non-heirs there are two different patterns regarding their return, which are directly related to the savings that they had brought from America.

In the case of returnees, there are three main circumstances that are representative of return migration. Firstly, the influence of those returnees in the marriage market. Second, the utilization of American capital to acquire land and houses, and third, the investment of their capital in new businesses.

The returnee and the household: Dowries, an investment of the American savings

The importance of the dowry in Basque Navarrese communities is largely explained and known. However, transnational emigration changed and profoundly

impacted those communities, and, in some instances, their practices. In the case of Aezkoa Valley and the surrounding area, this pattern is also represented.

As shown in the previous chapter, many of the emigrants who were established overseas helped their relatives by providing dowries, in order to improve their position in the marriage market. This marriage market was very important since the neighborhood system was still alive, although it was in the process of profound change. The importance of the house in the community, and the good position of some of them compared to others, was important for the social recognition of the families who owned them. People then tried to find a good house to marry into. American capital was important in building a better social position. It has to be kept in mind that the economy was struggling. Therefore, acquiring liquid capital was very important to pay all the debts that the households had incurred. Many of the returnees invested their earnings in the marriage market. As is explained in chapter two, the house was an important entity in the society especially because of the rules of the neighborhood system. The former owners of the houses were the ones who took advantage of the status of the house, and, according to Garralda's ordinances, if the house was sold, the privileges of the house in the community were lost.²⁴¹ In that regard, many returnees tried to marry into a neighbor's good positioned house rather than buying a house.

²⁴¹ AMGD. Garralda's Municipal Ordinances, Box 11.

Returnees and the marriage market

The previous chapter shows how overseas money affected the dowries of female relatives. However, not only overseas money was invested in the dowries of the relatives, but also many of the returnees invested in their own dowries. This investment of the savings of the returnees in the marriage market reflects the marriage strategy as a way to succeed in the local societies. As explained before, to be able to marry into a house, a dowry was required. This dowry was given by the native household, but the boyfriend or girlfriend could also contribute with his or her own capital. In the documentation, this is referred to as “his own capital acquired from his work during his stay in America.” Therefore, they brought the capital saved in America to marry. Through this strategy, they were able to socially marry higher up than if they had not emigrated and amassed that capital on their own. In other words, they would never have been able to enter these households and families without this American capital.

The second chapter of this dissertation explains the importance of the neighborhood system in the Basque society, and the importance of the house within it. Therefore, in each village there were houses that had more importance than others, and these houses just married into families of the same condition, with children of good houses of the same locality or of another. All this was reflected in the dowry: to marry into these houses an average dowry reached 1,200 pts. However, to marry into less powerful houses, the average of the dowry oscillated between 500 pts. Therefore, bringing money from America made them able to afford a larger dowry, and thus, bring the opportunity for them to marry into houses which enjoyed more power in the area, and

which usually had more land and more influence in society. Therefore, when analyzing the marriage contracts, many of the returnees invested their savings by marry into good houses, and indeed, marrying the daughters who were the heirs of the house.

This happened when, in 1867, Santos Juanco, 40 years old, returned to his hometown of Garaioa. He spent many years overseas, and when he returned from the Americas, he invested his capital in the marriage market, marrying the heir of the Iribarren household, Martina Cercalde who was 20 years old. In this case, the couple had a 20-year age difference between them. This was normal when an emigrant returned after spending some years abroad. Nevertheless, they married and he used his savings from California not only in his dowry, but also to start a new business after his homecoming, becoming a merchant, or as the documents reveal, “estanquero” that could be translated to “tobacconist” in English.²⁴² But the entrepreneurship of Santos Juanco did not end in the merchant business, he also invested his capital lending money to other people who needed it.

Another remarkable case is the one of José María Iriarte Arrese, a son of the Lureta household in Abaurrea Alta who, after his stay in America, returned to his hometown in 1880. He married Micaela Lorea Ilincheta, the heir of the Almirantearena household from the same village of Abaurrea Alta. At that time, Almirantearena household was one of the most prominent houses from the village and they were the largest landholders. For the dowry, José María Iriarte contributed with: “as with his own capital, acquired with his industry and work during his stay in America, has contributed

²⁴² AMGI. Population Census. 1862, 1867.

to his marriage to raise and support its charges with the amount of 2,500 pts in cash, clothes and different personal equipment.”²⁴³ According to the marriage contract, when José María left his house and went to America, his brother, the owner of Lureta, his native household from Abaurrea Alta, gave him the necessary clothing as well as paying for the cost of the passage. For this reason, he considered himself sufficiently compensated for the dowry and the ‘legitima’, that corresponded to him from the referred house. He renounces any right to his native household. This case shows how American capital is introduced in the marriage and how the amount that he introduced surpassed the normal dowry of the area that was around 500 pts or 1,500 pts, depending on the importance of the household. Therefore, marrying into a house which was one of the most powerful of the town, represented to him an ascension in the social strata and in the end, a social promotion.²⁴⁴

The next generation of the Almirantearena household, embraced the same marriage strategies. This happened when José María Iriarte and Micaela Lorea chose the heir, who once again was the daughter of the marriage, called Luciana. She married José Lorea, a returnee who invested his American savings, 5,000 pts in the marriage to the heir of Almirantearena household. In this context, referring to the dowry capital introduced by himself, José Lorea said “with his effort during his stay in California”²⁴⁵ Therefore, in this

²⁴³ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1880. n. 83. Translated by the author: “Que, como capital suyo propio adquirido con su industria y trabajo durante su permanencia en América, ha aportado a su matrimonio para levantar y sustentar las cargas, la cantidad de 2.500 pesetas en dinero metálico.”

²⁴⁴ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1880. n. 83.

²⁴⁵ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Manuel Ortega. 1907. n. 102 translated by the author: “con su esfuerzo durante su permanencia en California.”

case, the next generation ended up marrying the heir with a returnee, perpetuating the past generation's marriage strategies for the future benefits of the household.

Another case happened in the same year, in the town of Abaurrea Alta, in the Berria baja household. A returnee invested his capital to marry the house's heir. Then, Damian Arostegui introduced 2,500 pts in cash, clothes and furniture for the marriage to Petra Urrutia Arrese.²⁴⁶ Then, once again, a returnee invested his saving from America in his own dowry indeed, in the marriage market as a way to succeed.

José Erro Cilveti had the same attitude, who after returning from America married an heir of the Alcatearena household from Olondriz (Erro Valley). In this case, José Erro introduced to the marriage 3,200 pts in cash. This amount was earned during his stay in America.²⁴⁷ The properties that the Alcatearena household enjoyed were quite important, being a "good house" at the time.

Another prominent house of the area was Jurico household in Orbaizeta, which married the heir to a returnee. Another house, called Ardanaz, was part of the Jurico's properties. Then, Gerónimo Erro Iparraguirre, offered 2,692 pts and clothes as his dowry. However, besides this quantity he also lent some money to others; such as, 10,000 pts to Francisco Cajén; 4,800 pts in the company of Irati, which exploited the forest and wood, and whose owner was the same Francisco Cajén; and some other small quantities to other people. The total amount that he lent reached 15,080 pts.²⁴⁸ In this case, the value of Jurico house itself was 1,500 pts. Then, the amount that he introduced as a dowry

²⁴⁶ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1880. n. 88.

²⁴⁷ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1883. n. 53.

²⁴⁸ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1885. n. 88.

surpassed the value of the house itself. Therefore, this reveals the importance of investing capital in good houses for the social promotion of these returnees, since he could chose investing the capital in buying a house rather than in a dowry and at the end, in the marriage market.

In this case, the returnee not only invested his savings in his own dowry, but he also invested in the incipient business of the area, such as the Irati wood company, which is directly related to overseas migration. He also invested in the Irati forest's wood exploitation business, the start of El Irati S.A. company. This company emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century started by Domingo Elizondo Cajén, a return migrant from the Aezkoa Valley, who was also a relative of the founder of the first Irati wood exploitation company. In this way, this case also represents that these return emigrants had had economic relationships among themselves.

Another example is the case of Don Joaquín Villanueva who “after spending 14 years in Argentina, by his hard work he made 17,500 pts, which was deposited in the ‘Padrer hermanos house’, in Argentina.”²⁴⁹ He offered this capital as his own dowry in order to marry Resurrección Goiburu from Garralda.

Another phenomenon repeated quite regularly in the area, is the American uncle who before returning endows a niece with important capital, but after his return he married the niece, who he had previously endowed. An example of this phenomenon is the case of Pedro Lapitz, who returned to Luzaide in 1889 after spending 32 years in Brazil with a fortune of 75,000 pts. He gave his niece, Juana Picabea, a 5,000 pts as

²⁴⁹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1887. n. 161 art. 5.

dowry, however, Pedro wanted to marry her. As relatives, they completed all of the steps with the Catholic Church in order to allow them to marry.

After the marriage, Pedro Lapitz received the money back as the dowry of his niece, which would reflect the fact that he gave the dowry as a way to satisfy his family in order to marry his niece. He spent 32 years in Brazil, and assuming that he emigrated in his 20s he would be around 50 years old, and Juana Picabea was 19 years old.²⁵⁰ This age difference between couples comprised of a returnee and a young girl were very common, and the age's difference would be around 20 years or even more in many cases, as is already shown.

As reflected here, these returnees not only brought cash to the marriage, but this endowment also included possessions and investments that they had made after their return from the Americas. The purchase of land was a very common element in all returnees, and the investments were made in companies that were being established in the area at the time. In that regard, the investment of American savings and money reflects a diversification of capital. While they invested in their dowries they also invested in loans, as a way to earn money from their interest. However, they also invested in new companies that were created in the area, as in the example of the wood company from Irati.

²⁵⁰ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's Notary, Luis Ortigosa, 1890. n. 77, 78, and 98.

The acquisition of land and houses, and the building of new ones.

When Francisco Chiquirrín Eguinoa returned from Argentina in 1888 with his wife Ana Alsina, rather than establishing their home in Garaioa, his birthplace, they chose to buy a house in the village of Garralda. The acquisition was made on November 6, 1896 from Leopoldo Garmendia.²⁵¹ Many authors point out that the returnees invested their capital in the acquisition of land, and in some instances, in houses as well. Mark Wyman, in this context, says that, “Houses were important, but there were other objectives behind the years of labor on factory, coal mine, and railroad crews in America. Land was at the heart of the peasant’s desire, the only investment he considered in most cases.”²⁵² The case of Aezkoa Valley and the surrounding area followed the tendency of all migrant communities across Europe and beyond. In that regard, there are many examples of the investment of American capital in land by returnees or even by their relatives. But they not only ended up buying land, they also bought households and properties.

Therefore, not all the returnees invested in the marriage market as a way to gain social promotion, since they bought houses and land, and in some instances, they bought land in order to build a house on it. In this context, there are many notarial documents that gather many cases of purchase sales among returnees and the owners of the properties around the area.

²⁵¹ AMGR. 1897. Box 33.

²⁵² Wyman, *Round-Trip to America, the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930*, 129.

This is the case of Juan Miguel Pedroarena Maisterra, 50 years-old and married, who returned from America in 1883 and bought the Ainchia household and properties from Julián Berruezo in Garaioa.²⁵³ Shown in another document made some days after, Juan Miguel Pedraorena bought a plot of land in Garaioa from Julián Berruezo as well, valued in 500 pts.²⁵⁴

Manuel Reca Landa emigrated from Orbaizeta to California in 1879. Before his departure, he had sold some plots of land, with the possibility of repurchasing them in the next four years, to Javier Azpileche Sancholuz, another returnee. Manuel Reca, while he was in California and before the four years of the sale contract passed, sent 1,407.50 pts, which was the sale price of the plot of land to Javier Azpileche.²⁵⁵ Manuel Reca, after spending six years in California went back to his hometown, Orbaizeta and made the notarial document to confirm that those properties were again his domain. However, his fortune from overseas would not be enough to maintain all the properties, since he asked for a loan from Martín José Lugea Jauquicoa. Therefore, he mortgaged the properties in question for a loan of 1,300 pts, and the interest of 6%.²⁵⁶ As many authors have pointed out, in many cases the remittances from overseas helped with the payments of the debts that the households had already incurred.

The case of Martín Indar Ernaut is another example of returnees purchasing land and properties after their homecoming. He bought the Masso household and five more properties linked to the household in the village of Burguete. He bought the properties

²⁵³ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1883. 140.

²⁵⁴ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1883. 145.

²⁵⁵ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1885. 51.

²⁵⁶ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1885. 53.

from Elvira Hoyos Gutierrez, a widow of Miguel María de Masso. These properties were mortgaged at 9,000 pts. The price of the purchase was 25,000 pts, but as the properties were mortgaged, Martín Indar paid 16,000 pts for them to Elvira, and the rest 9,000 pts to the owners of the mortgage.²⁵⁷

Although the majority of the cases were return male migrants who were involved in those purchase sales, there are some cases where women are behind those purchases. This is the case of Joaquina Ibañez Rospide, single, who in 1891 returned from America to Orbaizeta, and bought a plot of land from Maximino Ibiz Arostegui, in the same village. Joaquina bought the plot of land for 797.50 pts.²⁵⁸ This case is remarkable, since in this example, it was a woman who bought a property after returning from America, and not only that, but she was also a single woman.

In that regard, this is not the only case that a woman bought properties with capital from the Americas. This was also the case of Alejandra Gimenez Esparza. She emigrated from Artozki (Arce Valley) in Navarre to Buenos Aires, from which on June 14, 1904 she sent a power of attorney to Nicomedes Minondo in order to acquire land in her name. She made the power of attorney in the Spanish Consulate in Buenos Aires, when she was 24 years old. Then, on June 14, 1908, Nicomedes Minondo, as a representative of Alejandra Gimenez, bought nine rustic properties in the village of Artozki from José Orbaiz Legasa, from Oroz-Betelu. Throughout the sale agreement, José Orbaiz was also given the payment letter, which included the price of the sale, which

²⁵⁷ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Luis Ortigosa. 1892. n. 36.

²⁵⁸ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Luis Ortigosa. 1891. n. 8.

reached 845 pts. The sale documents reflect that Alejandra was single and 28 years old, and dedicated to domestic work. Then, she also utilized her American savings in order to buy land, but comparing with the previous case, she bought the lands from overseas, before returning to her village of origin.²⁵⁹

In 1891 Martina Esandi Garciacelay and her husband Bernardo Esteban Echenique bought from San Diego, California, the Lopegoa household and its belongings in the village of Garralda. In this case, they were not present in the purchase, since they were overseas, but the father of Martina Esandi, Manuel Esandi, was the representative for them. This is also another case of a repurchase, where Martina was buying some properties that her father Manuel had sold some years before.²⁶⁰

In this sense, Mark Wyman addresses, “much of the American earnings had arrived home before the remigrants, and funds were also sent by emigrants who would never return.”²⁶¹ In the case of Aezkoa area, this also happened, since many of emigrants paid the debts of their native houses from America, or they rebought the native household from abroad, as was the case of the Lopegoa household in Garralda village. In this regard, there are many examples of these debt payments as well as the purchase of households. This was the case of Domingo Gaztambide Coscarat, whose father, Gracian Gaztambide, in 1879 had sold his family household to his brother-in-law, Simon Coscarat for 8,520 pts. However, Domingo Gaztambide, who was living in California, decided to repurchase the family household. He sent money to his uncle in order to make the purchase. In 1883,

²⁵⁹ AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz’s notary. Felipe Flórez. 1908, n. 88.

²⁶⁰ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Luis Ortigosa. 1891, n. 72.

²⁶¹ Wyman, *Round-trip to America, the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930*, 129.

he sent the first remittance of 3,500 pts and his uncle stipulated that to formalize the purchase, Domingo had 10 years to send the rest of the quantity that would reach up to 8,520 pts.²⁶² In this concern, in 1887 Domingo remitted the rest of the money, 5,020 pts, and by notarial instrument, Domingo Gaztambide got the ownership of this family household and its belongings.²⁶³

Juan Miguel Ilincheta Barber was in the same situation, who was the heir of the Marico household in Abaurrea Alta. As explained in the previous chapter, in 1885 the owner of the Marico household ended up selling, with a repurchase option in the next 20 years. He had sold the house and its belongings to his son-in-law, to be able to afford the mortgages that they had incurred, since the new owner had taken the obligation of paying all the debts of the house. Then, the heir emigrated to California and in 1904, one year before the deadline to maintain the option to repurchase the house, Juan Miguel Ilincheta sent a power of attorney from Los Angeles to his brother, José, to materialize the repurchase of their native household. However, during the 19 years, Juan Manuel Landa, the brother-in-law of the Ilincheta brothers, did not pay the debts of Marico house. Then, he said that “The re-sale is made for the price of 23,500 pts; 17,653 in cash, and 2,000 of them in concept of improvements. The remaining 5,847 pts are retained by the re-buyer to cancel the mortgage credits.”²⁶⁴ Therefore, the heir, although he had emigrated to

²⁶² AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1883. n. 47.

²⁶³ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1887. n. 102.

²⁶⁴ AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz notary. Felix Flórez. 1904. Box 9970, n. 163. Translated by the author: “La retroventa se hace por el precio de 23.500 pts; 17,653 en dinero efectivo, y de ellas 2,000 en concepto de mejoras. Las 5,847 que le restan las retiene en su poder el retrotrayente para cancelar los créditos hipotecarios.”

California 19 years before, maintained the responsibility of repurchasing the native household.

In this context, Mark Wyman says that “Land purchases, in fact, had usually begun while the emigrants were still abroad, and funds were dispatched home with instructions to buy a small plot of land here, another there.”²⁶⁵ In all of these cases relatives who were abroad paid the debts or even bought the household back, or also small pieces of land. Therefore, the same patterns are seen as in other migrant communities, in the case of Aezkoa Valley and the area around it.

The debts of the Jacue household from Villanueva de Aezkoa were paid from Chile. Mariano Jacue Ibañez rebought his family household. In this case, the owners of the Jacue household lost their rights as a consequence of a debt that they had incurred with the rest of the Villanueva de Aezkoa village. In 1884, Jacue household’s debts reach up to 550 pts, and the commission of the village decided to sell the Jacue household through a public auction. However, Mariano got in touch with the commission of the village and got the ownership of his native household through the payment of 550 pts from Chile.²⁶⁶

Economic problems affected many of the households of the area as is explained in previous sections. In this context, many of the households were saved from losing ownership by their families through the remittances from overseas, but also were saved by the capital that some returnees brought back. This is the case of the Burusco family

²⁶⁵ Wyman, *Round-trip to America, the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1939*, 130.

²⁶⁶ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1884. n. 12.

from Orbara. The son, Francisco Burusco after his return from America ended up buying the family properties to avoid their loss as a consequence of the debts that they had incurred. They owed 1,600 pts and since the deadline was over the son bought the household and properties, and by this he also obligated himself to pay all the debts of the household.²⁶⁷

However, not all the owners who were in economic problems got the help from overseas money. Some of the returnees took advantage of that situation and ended up buying mortgaged houses and properties. This is the case of Martín José Lugea Jauquicoa, who was born in Garaioa in 1835. According to Garaioa's census of 1861 he was overseas, concretely in California.²⁶⁸ In 1882, he returned to his homeland and rather than establish himself and his family in Garaioa, he bought the Zelaia household and belongings in Orbaizeta. The purchase sale document reflects that Martín José was a citizen from San Francisco, California, in the United States of America. This case is also remarkable since he bought the house from the Aguirre Fort brothers, who at the same time were selling the estate because the property was mortgaged by Antonio Cajén. Antonio Cajén owed a large quantity of money to the Aguirre Fort brothers, and they decided to sell the properties that were mortgaged, concretely to the Zabala household and its belongings, which were composed of the Zabala house, another house called La Nueva [the new one], a land with a "borda" [mountain hut used to gather livestock or sheep] and another plot of land.²⁶⁹ The case of Antonio Cajén will be addressed in the

²⁶⁷ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1883. n. 13 and 46.

²⁶⁸ AMGI. 1861.

²⁶⁹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1882. n. 99.

next chapter, which will analyze the companies that exploited the wood of the Irati forest, the starting point of the next company founded by Domingo Elizondo, a returnee, named El Irati S. A.

Yet, the case of Martín José Lugea extended passed the acquisition of land and properties. Martín José returned with his wife, Martina Elizagoyen Aguirre, and their children, María Juana, Feliciano, Ramon, Miguel, Catalina, José María and María, whose ages were between 10 years-old and six months of age. However, Martín José would become widowed the next year, in 1883. In that regard, he made a testament and goods inventory to show what the legacy that he would usufruct after his wife's death was. In this document, he made reference to a testament that the couple made in San Francisco, California. Besides this, he included to the patrimony the house and properties that they bought in Orbaizeta. Then, he reflected the capital that he owned in cash such as: 30,000 pts in current account in Eusebio Aguirre Fort's Banker dependencies; 1,000 pts in four bills of the Bank of Spain among other quantities. Apart of this, he also owned credits, which he gave to some people in California in order to profit from the interest of the lent capital, such as: 8,895 pts to Don Francisco Avillar and Don Francisco Tomas, domiciled in Mercedes County; 5,000 pts in cash to Don Pedro Zubiri and company; 6,000 pts to Don Manuel Irigoyen; 1,750 pts to Don Benjamin Gutierrez; and 1,251 pts to Lipua and Company from the city of San Francisco. Therefore, his capital earned during his stay in America reached more than 50,000 pts of the time plus interest that he would take benefits from.²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1883. n. 30.

These cases represent to what extent the belonging to a household was important in those times in Aezkoan society, since many of them, after departing overseas, maintained their obligations to it. Therefore, they invested their savings in America not only in improving their personal situation, but also that of their family, and indeed the household where they were born.

In all of these cases, return migrants invested their American savings in houses or lands, however, in the first years of 1880s some of these returnees started purchasing land with the purpose of building new houses. In these examples, returnees bought land from municipalities, that at the same time, those lands were common lands for the benefit of the neighbors of the village. Therefore, those acquisitions did not pass unnoticed by the neighbors of the villages when its authorities took that decision. The village of Garralda, as was already shown in the first section, was deeply rooted in the neighborhood rights of the old times. In this context, the council decided to sell some common lands in order to make money, and at the same time, to give an opportunity to the people who wanted to establish homes in the village. However, some of the neighbors were not pleased with the decision that the council made and brought the decision to the court with the main intention of avoiding the sale.²⁷¹

In that respect, returnees started changing the local society in terms of the creation of new houses rather than by purchasing the ones that were already established, or by marrying into those houses. In this regard, a new behavior was rising among returnees, the desire of a new house with no relation or subordination to the familiar

²⁷¹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1883. n. 172.

authority, and in some instances to the local authority either. Therefore, they were breaking the established system to enter into a new municipal organization beyond the neighborhood rights.

Among many cases, the most representative case is that of Juan Arreche Dhilarre, who emigrated to America before 1880. This case is mentioned in the previous chapter, since his parents paid all the travel expenses of the emigration process as well as giving him “pocket money.” After spending some years in America, he returned to his hometown, Burguete. Rather than marrying into a household or buying one, he decided to ask for a common plot of land in Burguete’s village with the intention of building a new house on it. For that, he started a process to acquire the land through the council of the village, and the Government of Navarre. Then, both the council and Juan Arreche started a process to get the approval from the Government of Navarre to sell the property. Firstly, Juan Arreche requested the purchase of the communal land to the city council. After the approval by the municipal authorities of the sale of the plot of land, which had municipal ownership, the city council transferred the petition to the Government of Navarre for the approval of the sale of land by public auction. That permission was given by the Government on October 20, 1883.²⁷²

After receiving the approval from the Government on October 28 of the same year, the council of the village of Burguete met to give consent to Juan Arreche. In the same session, Burguete’s council imposed some conditions regarding the sale, such as how far the house had to be from the road; the materials to cover the roof (slate or tile);

²⁷² AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1884, n. 30.

and, the period of commencement of work, one year from the date of the council agreement. The work had to be completed within four years. The experts appointed by the city council assessed the terrain at 450 pts. After passing all the steps that the purchase had created, in February 1884 the public auction was celebrated and Juan Arreche acquired the land for the price set by the experts.²⁷³

The cases of acquiring land from the common lands of the municipalities continued growing in the next decades, causing the proliferation of new houses in the whole area. At the beginning, there were the returnees who started and promoted this new phenomenon. After them, the local people who never left their country followed the wave and ended up buying buildable lands and constructing new houses across the area.

Another example of the purchase of buildable common lands, which gives many details, is the case of Antonio Masip. He was also a returnee who ended up purchasing buildable land in Burguete in 1892. After passing the same process of purchase and public auction, Antonio Masip bought the terrain and built a house. In this occasion, he also put to public auction the construction of his new home.²⁷⁴ Through these public auctions, emigrants gave many details of their tastes in relation to the house. This new construction of houses in many times represents the accomplishment of the American dream and then, success.

²⁷³ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1884. 30.

²⁷⁴ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Luis Ortigosa. 1892. n. 108.

Alternative investments: moneylending and new businesses

Some of the cases revealed in the last pages show how some returnees invested their American savings in different enterprises, although their main investment was the acquisition of properties and lands. However, houses and land were not the only focus of their future finances; some of them created new businesses in the area. Many of these returnees invested their capital by lending money to their compatriots. As Mark Wyman depicts, “not all remigrants wanted land. Many directed their savings instead toward starting or buying businesses”²⁷⁵ Through these new enterprises some of the returnees became moneylenders, such as, Santos Juanco, Martín José Lugea, Javier Azpileche and Antonio Masip, among others.

Santos Juanco returned to Garaioa in 1867. He not only invested money marrying into a local household, but he also created a new business and started lending money to his fellow citizens. In the previous section it was explained how the Jacue household from Garaioa had incurred a debt with Santos Juanco. Then, the owners of that house, in order to take these debts, asked for another loan to another moneylender, mortgaging their properties once again. Then, the head of the household of Jacue family ended up emigrating as a way to gain the money they owed. This is just an example of the amounts of money that Santos Juanco lent to the people of the area. But as mentioned before, he also established a new business after his homecoming. After his return from California, he started the business of “estanquero” or tobacconist as the documents from the municipal archive of Garaioa reflect. The tobacconist business was not open to the whole

²⁷⁵ Wyman, *Round-trip to America, the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930*, 136.

population, since it was monopolized by the government, or in other words, the government gave the right to establish the business and sell tobacco. Therefore, the tobacconist business was not common for the peasants of the area, since they needed special relationships with politicians in order to get the right to sell and establish their businesses. However, later on he would appear as a clothes merchant. In the notarial documents, he also appears as a merchant.²⁷⁶ Therefore, after his American experience, he did not just remain working the land and running the livestock of the household, since he started both lending money and being a merchant. Therefore, his ambition went further than other rural occupations.

That was also the case of Martín José Lugea Jauquicoa, who, as his testament shows, had money invested in different places, such as banks and loans. However, his business as a moneylender was the most important occupation of Martín José. He not only loaned money with interest to his compatriots, but he also started lending money before his homecoming. As is mentioned before, he gave money with interest to people and companies from California. The total amount that he had in those loans reached 22,896 pts.

That was also the case of Gerónimo Erro Iparraguirre, who married into the Jurico household from Orbaizeta. It has been shown how besides just using his savings to marry, he also invested money in loans, becoming a moneylender. In this case, he invested his money in the exploitation company of the Irati forest, of which Francisco Cajén was the

²⁷⁶ AMGI. Garaioa Census. 1888, 1892.

owner.²⁷⁷ Javier Azpileche Sancholuz, also made the same investments. After returning to the Americas, he married his sister-in-law, since Javier's brother had died. He also invested his capital in Irati's company. The personal history of Javier is transferred by the notarial documents of his house in Orbaizeta. He and his family were brutally assassinated in 1888, leaving an important legacy to his siblings and relatives, and much of the capital of his legacy was also invested in loans.²⁷⁸ Therefore, many of these returnees remained in contact with each other. The investment of the capital of these returnees was diversified through different enterprises, such as new companies in the area, as was the case of the company that exploited the Irati forest; new businesses; landholdings; and houses.

Diasporic homecomings: The return of whole families, immigrants in their ancestors' country of birth.

Overall, the analysis of returnees demonstrates two main behaviors depending on whether they were married or single. When singles returned, which were normally men, they used their American savings to improve their social position through buying houses and land or marrying into good households. However, when they returned as married, they went back to their households. When a whole family returned, they normally bought a house in the area, but not in their hometown. Then, the gender division is clear in the returnees, since the majority of returnees were men. In the few cases of women who decided to return, they were married, and only two cases of single women returning have been found. In this case, they followed the tendency of male returnees, since they bought

²⁷⁷ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1885. n. 88.

²⁷⁸ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary. Martín Miguel Erro. 1888. n. 29; Luis Ortigosa. 1890. n. 19; Luis Ortigosa. 1891. n. 71; Luis Ortigosa. 1892. n. 88.

plots of land of their own. However, there is also a case of a widow who returned with her two daughters. That was the case of Fermina Arostegui Jamar, who returned in 1876 to Garaioa with her two daughters María and Francisca Remondegui Arostegui. They returned to her native household in Garaioa, where her sister Micaela and her family were living. The children, María and Francisca, were born in Buenos Aires, and at the time of return they were 6 and 2 years old, respectively.²⁷⁹ According to the information taken from the population census of 1887, Fermina Arostegui had been married for 8 years prior to her return to Garaioa.²⁸⁰

In 1914 a whole family returned from Argentina to Garralda. Martín Laurenz, 44 years old, his wife, Anastasia Jabat, 40 years old, and their children: Salvador, Celestino, María, Josefa, Juana and Basilio, whose ages were between 2 and 12 years old. The oldest siblings were teenagers when they went to their parents' homeland.²⁸¹ In this case, the parents were not from Garralda, but as mentioned before, this family also followed the tendency of buying a house in another town of the valley, since they were from Aribre and Abaurrea Baja.

The return of whole families proved that many of those children or teenagers were born in the Americas. Therefore, it could be assumed that these appearances of a new generation that was born abroad had to adapt to a new country that was not their own. Their family country was much different than the Americas. There are some authors who

²⁷⁹ AMGI. Box 24. 1887 census.

²⁸⁰ AMGI. Box 24. Leg. 7. "Permaneció en las Américas 8 años después de casada de donde regreso hace doce años a esta."

²⁸¹ AMGD. Box 43. Immigration list. 1914.

address the return of second generations, which have also been called diasporic homecomings.²⁸² The outsider situation of those children provoked a second-generation re-emigration in many cases. These children of return migrants could be also named as immigrants in the homeland. In the population censuses, the country of birth of these re-emigrants appears. In many cases, these immigrants ended up migrating not only to their country of birth but also to other parts of the Americas.

The situation of those returnees' children who were born and raised in the host country probably did not see and feel their ancestors' homeland as their home, since they grew up and were raised in a different country than their parents had, in a different culture, and in some cases, with a different language. That was the case of Martín José Lugea's family. When the family unit decided to return to the homeland, the children, María Juana, Feliciano, Ramon, Miguel, Catalina, José María and María, were between six months and 10 years of age. Then, assuming that the oldest siblings were enrolled in American schools in the United States, after their return, their cultural shock would have been significant even if at home they spoke Spanish or Basque. Even though the emigrant parents created a "home away from homeland,"²⁸³ when the whole family returned those children were away from their homeland.

Perhaps, as a result of these circumstances, many of re-emigrants' children ended up emigrating again to their country of birth, that in this case was the host country of their

²⁸² See Takeyuki Tsuda, *Diasporic Homecomings: Ethnic return migration in comparative perspective* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2009); Fran Markowitz and Anders H. Stefansson *Homecomings: Unsettling Paths of Return* (Lexington Books, 2004).

²⁸³ Takeyuki Tsuda, "When Home is not the homeland: the case of Japanese Brazilian Ethnic return migration," in *Homecomings: Unsettling Paths of Return*, ed. Fran Markowitz and Anders H. (Stefansson Lexington Books, 2004), 125.

parents' emigration experience. This is the case of Miguel Lugea, a son of Martín José Lugea, who emigrated to California after his parents' death. He was returning to the place and country in which he had been born. Then, the childhood memories and their identity representation could have influenced the decision of Miguel to leave the country of his family and emigrate to his birthplace, California. As Martín José Lugea's documentation reflects, the family lived close to San Francisco or even in the city itself. However, the cultural shock of going from San Francisco to Orbaizeta in the 1880s would be significant. The household that Martín José Lugea bought was isolated in the mountains, far from the center of Orbaizeta. The shock would be similar to returning from San Francisco to any other small community or village in Aezkoa Valley.

When Miguel Lugea returned with his family to Orbaizeta, he was around 6 years old, but he was a citizen of the United States. According to the small biography of him published in the book *Basques in the United States*, "José Miguel was about two years of age when his parents took him back to Spain. [...] He always had a desire to return to the land of his birth. He came to San Francisco in 1899."²⁸⁴ This case reflects how a second generation of Basques born in the United States were immigrants in their family's land, and then, ended up emigrating to the country of their birth.

More cases reflect this emigration of returnees' children to their country of birth. This is the case of Casilda García, who was born in Argentina, but returned with her family

²⁸⁴ Koldo San Sebastian and Argitxu Camus-Etxekopar, *Basques in the United States, Iparralde and Nafarroa*, second edition, volume 3. (Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno, 2016), 286.

to Garralda. In 1907, when Casilda García was 26 years old and single, she decided to emigrate to her country of origin, Argentina.²⁸⁵

The experience of the returnees' children whose parents had emigrated to Argentina would be different than the ones whose parents emigrated to the United States. The country that these immigrant children were born and raised in may have shared culture and language with their ancestors' homeland, as is the case of Gaspar Iturburu and María Elcano, who returned to Garaioa in 1881 from Buenos Aires with their children, Juan Santos, Andrea and Justo Iturburu, who were born in Argentina.²⁸⁶ However, Juan Santos's last name did not coincide with his mother's husband's name. Then it is possible to assume that María Elcano, the mother of Juan Santos, was a widow at the time she married Gaspar Iturburu, since the other two children share the last names of both. When they returned to Garaioa, they went back to María Elcano's household, which is named Elcano as well. In this case, the whole family returned to the native house of one of the members of the couple. After their arrival, their third child was born, Jobita Iturburu. At the time of the family return, Juan Santos was 10 years old, Andrea and Justo Iturburu were 4 and 1, respectively. At these young ages, they also had to face adaptation to the new country.

As in the case of the Lugea family, another second generation American emigrated to his country of origin. In 1885, Juan Santos emigrated to Argentina, at the age of 15 years old.²⁸⁷ When he emigrated, Gaspar Iturburu, the family head had died and

²⁸⁵ AMGD. Box 36. 1907 census.

²⁸⁶ AMGD. Box 24. Leg 1. 1882 municipal census.

²⁸⁷ AMGI. Box 24. Leg 19. Emigration list. 1888.

had left behind his mother and three siblings at home. Once again, this reality perpetuated the migration phenomenon in the family. The family he left behind was ruled by a woman with three small children, and the production of the household would have been difficult for the family head to address.

The return migration of families with older children presented a more difficult adaptation process to the country of their family. The cultural differences among their place of birth and their ancestors' land pushed them to re-emigrate. This was also the case of Antonio Segura, who was born in Cuba in 1893 and in 1906 returned with his whole family to Garralda. Antonio Segura was 13 years old and his sister

Evarista was 12 years old.²⁸⁸ Going from Cuba to Garralda in 1906 it is possible to assume that they faced cultural shock after their immigration to their family's homeland. This situation may have pushed Antonio Segura to emigrate not to Cuba, his country of birth, but to Mexico in 1911.²⁸⁹

Following this tendency, Eusebio Barberena returned to Garralda from South America in 1896. He was 41 years old and married, and he returned with his son Emilio Barberena Laurenz, who was 6 years old. This case is remarkable, not only for the return of the family but also because Eusebio Barberena appears as separated from his wife in the population census. This situation of being married but separated from his wife would have been notorious in the society of the time. As is mentioned before, the society of northern Navarre was deeply rooted in Catholicism. This situation could have produced

²⁸⁸ AMGD. Box 43. Population census. 1910.

²⁸⁹ AMGD. Box 43. Emigration lists. 1911.

unrest in the society at the turn of the century. The priest of the town, in a survey that the parish sent across the parishioners of northern Navarre, mentioned that one man was separated from his wife.²⁹⁰ Eusebio introduced a new reality into the valley, which impacted the local society.

Eusebio Barberena's son, Emilio, born in Argentina, went with his father to Garralda. When Eusebio arrived in Garralda, he was 6 years old and was schooled in the village's schools. In 1909, twelve years after their return from South America, Emilio Barberena, at the age of 18, with his father Eusebio re-emigrated to Argentina, his country of birth. At the time of their re-emigration, Eusebio was a widower. The reunification of the family unit was not the reason for going to the Americas again. In this case, another emigrant's son was returning to his country of birth.

Therefore, it can be said that many of these American sons did not adapt to their imposed homeland, and ended up returning to their countries of birth that were in the Americas. Another different emigration phenomenon was created as a result of return migration. The children of the migration experience ended up returning to their countries of origin and establishing themselves in it. The cases shown here are just from two towns of the entire valley, so it can be assumed that this reality was extended to the whole valley. In that regard, the memory of the Americas could have influenced the decision to go back. As their family imagined returning to their country, the second generation imagined going to the Americas, looking at it, as their home. For these children, their

²⁹⁰ Xamar, 1898, *Garralda* (Pamplona: Pablo Mendazen Fundazioa, 1998), 19.

parents' homeland would represent a home away from homeland -- the opposite than America represented to their parents and migrant relatives.

Conclusion

Previous chapters show how emigration affected the lives of the peasants from Aezkoa Valley and surrounding areas, however, return migration also produced those effects, since the majority of returnees' influences were related to the household and family dynamics and strategies, as well as on economic developments and defeats. However, as rural communities, returnees demonstrated that apart from the capital that they brought from the Americas, they also left traces on the society itself.

On the one hand, the introduction of American capital into households, villages, and into families helped in the reconstruction of the economy of some households of the area. On the other hand, the investments that they made in land in order to build new houses also influenced the society. These influences could be seen as an opening action of the neighborhood system. Then, emigration not only influenced the neighborhood system, but return migration also impacted the running and on the administration of the common-pool resources, and especially in the common lands.

The perpetuation of migration experiences in return families indicate that emigration impacted not only first-generation emigrants, but also their children, since the phenomenon of transnational migration was perpetuated into the next generations. The phenomenon emerged with the emigration of those children, which also represents that they were immigrants in their parents' homeland, since they decided to return to their own homeland in the Americas.

Throughout this chapter, gender differentiation among returnees in the area of study is demonstrated. Many women emigrated from Aezkoa Valley and the area around it, however just a few cases of women as returnees have been found. Therefore, the rejection to return among Basque women transnational migrants could be assumed. In this vein, women emigrated from Aezkoa Valley in order to reject the lifestyle of the homeland, feeling more freedom in the Americas than in their own society, and because of that, they did not often go back to their native villages.

Chapter Six

Bringing modernity to the homeland:

According to an article published in *El Eco de Navarra* newspaper, on June 23, 1907, Francisco Chiquirrín had recently arrived from his latest trip to Argentina, and after the return he went to his household “Villa-Anita” in Garralda. The next day, June 24th, San Juan festival, Francisco Chiquirrín went to the Juanpolit, his native household in Garaioa. There, he had called the authorities and the owners of the prominent houses from the village, and they were congregated in the Juanpolit household. He offered them a meal, and when they were enjoying the desserts, Francisco Chiquirrín took the word and announced the main intention of that invitation, which was announcing his projects in the village that will be funded by his own money: First the construction of a school for girls. Second, he stipulated 3,000 pts to build a new laundry facility. Third, the arrangement of streets, square, and sidewalks which also will establish an input of 1,500 pts each year until the finalization of the works.²⁹¹

²⁹¹ El Eco de Navarra, July 2, 1907.

Throughout this chapter, the relation among the returnees and the development of the area will be addressed. Besides the changes that those returnees made regarding the economy, socioeconomic practices, social mobility and promotion, the main achievement of these returnees, as well as emigrants who were living back and forth, was to bring modernity or development to their homeland.

Throughout this chapter modernization and modernity as well as development will be addressed as a concept of the new infrastructures that were established in the area thanks to the investment and altruistic donation of some returnees and transnational migrants. Therefore, the idea of modernization and development was carried out through innovative techniques and technology, as well as in the new resources that transnational migrants and returnees provided to their hometowns.

After the return of those *Amerikanuak*, many of them invested in their households, villages, and parish, as Azanza López argues,

The result of the enrichment and return of the emigrants gone to America is a rich legacy of buildings and monuments that becomes the best testimony of their success. The moving of a whole village, the financing of the religious architecture, the aristocratic houses and residences, schools and different infrastructure works are other examples of how American money reverted in Navarre.²⁹²

In this context, this chapter will explore the infrastructure that those emigrants provided to their hometowns. As Azanza López, as well the previous chapter explain,

²⁹²José Javier Azanza López, “Aproximación a la arquitectura de los Americanos en Navarra (en el centenario del traslado de Bearin, 1904-2004),” in *Príncipe de Viana*, año n. 65, n.232,(2004): 474. Translated by the autor; “El resultado del enriquecimiento y vuelta de los americanos es un rico legado urbanístico y monumental que se convierte en el mejor testimonio de su prosperidad alcanzada. El traslado de un poblado entero, la financiación de arquitectura religiosa, y las casas y residencias señoriales, los edificios escolares, diversas dotaciones y obras de infraestructura constituyen otros tantos ejemplos de cómo los capitales americanos revirtieron en Navarra.”

many of these returnees invested in their native houses, or also in the construction of new ones. Azanza López explores the artistic scope of such houses, analyzing the cases of returnees from other areas of Navarre. In this context, Azanza says that there is not an “arquitectura indiana” or (American architecture) with a specific characteristic which conforms to a unitary set that differentiate from the traditional architecture. However, the houses that those returnees built were mixing the traditional architecture of the area with some specific characteristic of vanguard artistic styles.²⁹³

This emphasis on the house not only happened across the Basque Country, since it was also extended to other migrant communities, such as the Chinese, Italians, Irish, and Scottish, among others.²⁹⁴ Along the Iberian Peninsula many examples could also be given, such as in Asturias, Galicia and the entire Basque Country.²⁹⁵ In this context, Long and Oxfeld state, “Return have important political, social, economic, and cultural consequences. [...] Often returning migrants engage in building new houses and conspicuous consumption.”²⁹⁶ Then the creation of these households was an extended pattern of those emigrants who decided to return to their country of origin. However, this extended pattern is also applicable in the assistance that those returnees gave to their

²⁹³ Ibidem, 444.

²⁹⁴ For further information see, Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of home, Transnationalism and Migration between the United States and South China, 1882-1943*, 44-45; Alexia Grosjean, “Returning to Belhelvie, 1593-1875: the impact of return migration on an Aberdeenshire parish,” *Emigrants Homecomings: The return movement of emigrants, 1600-2000*, ed. Majority Harper, 225-229; Linda Reeder, *Widows in white*, 142; Donna Gabaccia, *Italy’s many Diasporas*, 94-95.

²⁹⁵ Covadonga Álvarez Quintana, *Indianos y Arquitectura en Asturias, 1870-1939* (Gijón: Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores e Ingenieros Técnicos de Asturias, 1991); Arturo Franco Taboada, “Urbanismo Indiano en Galicia,” in *Revista da Comisión Galega do Quinto Centenario* (1989): 103-114.; María Teresa Paliza Monduate, “La Arquitectura Indiana en el País Vasco. Precisiones, Particularidades y Constantes,” in *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* (2007): 405-480.

²⁹⁶ Lynellyn D. Long and Ellen Oxfeld, *Coming home? Refugees, migrants and those who stayed behind* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 3.

communities in the homeland. The creation of schools, infrastructure and churches is common in all of these migrant communities, as mentioned earlier.

In this concern, Basques both returnees and transnational migrants also helped their communities in order to get better services and infrastructure. However, not only returnees helped their communities, but also some of the successful emigrants helped their communities from overseas, especially the ones who had established in Argentina. The figures of successful migrants of Aezkoa Valley were Francisco Chiquirrín Eguinoa, Ciríaco Morea, Antonio Arostegui, Francisco Anchorena, and Domingo Elizondo. They, as individuals, as well as together with some of them, made some innovations in their birthplaces: Garaioa, Garralda, Orbaizeta, and Arike. Some of these innovations were schools, water supplies, roads, electric lighting, churches, and the assistance in an event of a disaster. That was manifested in the reconstruction of the village of Garralda after the fire that destroyed the entire village in 1898. Then, by these innovative initiatives they assisted their communities with a new and helpful infrastructure, which definitely brought modernity to the valley.

Bringing education to Aezkoa Valley: American capital into Schools

The extended behavior of creating schools for the fellow citizens through the success of both emigrants and returnees has manifested in different emigrant communities. Mark Wyman, about the Italian case says, “Elsewhere in Italy it was reported that remigrants were interested in local schools and public services and pursued these causes vigorously: ‘Social progress of the people, extremely slow so far, begins to

make headway, thanks to the Americanici’.”²⁹⁷ In regard to the Chinese case, Hsu also states that, “schools were another manifestation of the benefits of overseas money. After providing their families, overseas Taishanese proved most committed to the cause of bringing education to Taishan.”²⁹⁸ Several examples of these initiatives can be found in Spain, especially in Asturias, where Prieto Fernández del Viso has pointed out that returnees not only promoted these investments but also, at many times, these constructions were funded by overseas money, or in other words, by the Diaspora.²⁹⁹

Therefore, it could be assumed that emigrants realized the importance of education for the future of their fellows when they were overseas. This pattern is also extended and manifested in the area of Aezkoa Valley. This was the case of Ciríaco Morea, Antonio Arostegui, and Francisco Chiquirrín. The first two were emigrants who lived back and forth between Argentina and Aezkoa Valley, since they were established in Buenos Aires, with prosperous businesses. Still, Francisco Chiquirrín also was in continuous movement across the Atlantic, since he traveled among Buenos Aires and Navarre, but he established his home in Garralda, which his household named “Villa-Anita” in honor of his wife, Ana Alsina. The couple was living between Buenos Aires, Garralda, Pamplona, Madrid, Barcelona, Paris, Alicante and in between. The transoceanic travel were constants as the contemporaneous press reflected.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Wyman, *Round-Trip to America, The immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930*, 158.

²⁹⁸ Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home*, 45.

²⁹⁹ José Manuel Prieto Fernández del Viso, *Americanos y Escuelas. Una Aproximación al Patrocinio*

³⁰⁰ See *El Eco de Navarra* press. The announcement of not only the arrival and departure from and to America, but also to other places across Spain appears.

Azanza López referring to these initiatives of building schools, argues that emigrants, motivated by the interest of providing a better future to the young people of their villages, built schools in order to save them from emigration. Or in the case that they did emigrate, to provide them a preparation that would allow them to aspire to decent jobs or positions.³⁰¹ That was the case of Antonio Arostegui who was born in Aribe on June 10, 1843, in a humble family, whose parents were Pablo Arostegui from Orbaizeta and Isabela Goyeneche from Arnegi (French Basque Country). They were not even from Garralda, but they established in the village, where Antonio Arostegui was raised. Antonio Arostegui, at young age, emigrated to Buenos Aires. There he was connected by business with Francisco Chiquirrín, Ciríaco Morea, and Domingo Elizondo, and with other emigrants from the area. Ciríaco Morea was also from Garaioa and Domingo Elizondo was from Aribe.

Antonio Arostegui created with Ciríaco Morea an ironmongery business named “Morea, Arostegui y Cia,” which was famed and very successful, generating many benefits for the owners. However, the business did more than that, since they also invested in the iron and steel industry of Argentina, when Antonio Arostegui bought the first company of that referred industry. After this acquisition by Antonio Arostegui, the company was named “La Cantábrica” alluding to the origins of the new owners.³⁰²

³⁰¹ José Javier Azanza López, “Aproximación a la Arquitectura de los Americanos en Navarra (en el centenario del traslado de Bearin, 1904-2004),” in *Príncipe de Viana*, año n. 65, n.232 (2004): 464.

³⁰² “La Cantábrica” name refers to the origin of the owners, many of them Basques from Aezkoa, but there were others from northern Spain. Therefore, as the name of the sea of the northern Spain is Cantábrico, they took the name from there, to gather the origins of all of them by the same identity.

This company is considered the first company of iron and steel industry from Argentina, and is also known as a pioneering company of that industry. Before the acquisition by Arostegui, the company was named “El Carmen,” and was occurred the ownership was in the hands of Antonio Arostegui and Ciríaco Morea and two other shareholders since 1894. In 1902, after Antonio Arostegui bought the company, another company was created called “La Cantábrica Sociedad Anónima para la creación de hierros y aceros y elaboración de artículos rurales” that in English could be translated to Limited Liability Company for Making Lamination of Irons and Steels and Elaboration of Rural Articles. In the founding statutes, the first article states that “(the Company) recently acquired by its former partner Mr. Antonio Arostegui, and by it ceded to the corporation for the amount of \$ 1,200,000 m / n in which the stocks and properties were valued.”³⁰³ As the article second of those statutes explains, the society is constituted to manufacture rural articles and everything concerning it.³⁰⁴

Both Antonio Arostegui and Ciríaco Morea ended up with the creation of a fruitful entrepreneurship, which generated high benefits that reached up to amass a large fortune to the owners. It is remarkable how these figures of the iron and steel industry pioneers in Argentina came from a very rural area from northern Navarre, without any education, and how well businessmen they ended up. Then, their preoccupation on their fellows’ education took importance. Perhaps they realized the importance of education for becoming an important businessman, and because of this lack that they faced, they

³⁰³ Roberto Villanueva, *Historia de la Siderurgia Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 2015), 31-32.

Translated by the autor: últimamente adquirida por el ex socio de ella sr D. Antonio Aróstegui y por este cedida a la sociedad anónima por la cantidad de 1,200 000 \$ m/n en que fueron valoradas las existencias.

³⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, 32.

invested in the prosperity of their villages, offering to the people of them the opportunity to receive education. In that regard, they created and funded the schools of their hometowns, Garralda and Garaioa.

In the case of Garaioa, as mentioned before, Francisco Chiquirrín offered to the council of the village the construction, by his own expenses, of a school for girls. For that, he built a new building which would sustain the school as well as the home for the teacher of the school. Regarding the lab of the school, there were a classroom and another space dedicated to the learning of needlework and ironing, a common subject in girls' schools. The new dependencies also retained electrical power, and according to the press, the best conditions for an academic institution.³⁰⁵ According to the contemporary newspapers, Francisco Chiquirrín also established 1,000 pts per year as the salary of the teacher, although some years it reached to 2,000 pts.³⁰⁶ While Francisco was financing the construction of a new school for girls, his compatriot, Ciríaco Morea projected the construction of village's council, which would cover the school for the boys of the village, as well as the stipends for the teacher.³⁰⁷

The works of the construction of the girls' school were finished by September of 1909 and the inauguration of the new academic center was made on September 26 of the same year. During the acts of the inauguration of the school, Francisco Chiquirrín was present, as well as his wife Ana Alsina, and the main authorities of the village, valley and

³⁰⁵ El Eco de Navarra, September 22, 1909.

³⁰⁶ El Eco de Navarra. September 16, 1909. And AMGI. Box 41. Leg. 2.

³⁰⁷ El Eco de Navarra. February 8, 1908.

the Navarrese Government. In the inaugural event Francisco Chiquirrín gave a speech which was collected by the press, in which he says:

The villages will advance in proportion to the level of culture of each village's inhabitants. Open schools inspired by the holy fear of God, and the doors of the houses of imprisonment will be forever closed. Cultivate your children the noble feelings, and the good seed will bear fruit in their noble hearts, returning you with love of eternal gratitude such an immense welfare.³⁰⁸

Francisco Chiquirrín by these words reflects the importance of education not only to his point of view, but also for the development of the population and indeed for the society. In order to be part of that development he helped his hometown funding the construction of the school in order to give a future to the girls of the town. In this vein, he provided them with the newest tools in general knowledge and the necessary tools to learn needlework, and by this, they could reach for better future expectations.

In that ideas of improving and modernizing their native villages by education, Antonio Aroztegui made a foundation and school in his hometown Garralda. In his words, Antonio Aroztegui, in the establishment deed of the foundation made on October 18, 1910 refers to “desiring to give more samples of the love that professes to his native village, and aspiring, if is possible, to be (Garralda) always known by its culture, and its children reaching to renown of well-illustrated and well-educated.”³⁰⁹ In this context, he paid for the construction of a new school in the village of Garralda.

³⁰⁸ El Eco de Navarra. November 30, 1909. Translated by the author: “Los pueblos progresan en proporción al grado de cultura de sus habitantes. Abrid escuelas inspiradas en el santo temor de Dios y cerrareis para siempre las puertas de las casas de reclusión. Cultivad a vuestros hijos los nobles sentimientos, y la buena semilla fructificará en sus nobles corazones, devolviéndoos con amor de gratitud eterna bien tan inmenso.”

³⁰⁹ AMGD. 1910, Box 45, Educación. Fundación Antonio Aroztegui. Translated by the author: “Deseando dar una muestra más del amor que profesa a su pueblo natal, y aspirando a que, a ser posible, se distinga siempre por su cultura y alcancen sus hijos justo renombre de ilustrados y bien educados.”

The school was not only destined for primary studies for children from 6 to 12 years old, but also was designed for the education of the adults from the village. Therefore, he was providing education for the whole population of the village of Garralda. Adults' classes were from November to February.³¹⁰ Besides the funding of the school building, as well as providing furniture and necessary materials for the school, Antonio Arostegui and his wife, Petra Machin, created an establishment in order to provide money for the running of the school. In this context, the school was endowed by the Government of Navarre with an annual budget of 500 pts, and by the foundation of the couple, an annual budget of 1,500 pts to the school was established.³¹¹

The couple of Arostegui and Machin instituted the Arostegui foundation because they knew the limited resources that the council of the village had to keep the school in good conditions, as well as their desire to set up the school according to science's advances, and with a proper teacher. For the foundation establishment, they donated 75,000 pts in two titles of the public debt of Spain, perpetual, and at four percent interest. The first title owned 25,000 pts and the second 50,000 pts. In this context he stipulated that, "with its interests, to be able to support a school in the place of Garralda, in the house that he has built for such purpose, whose house also makes a donation, as has been already said, without any remuneration for such school as long as the school exist."³¹²

³¹⁰ AMGD. 1911. Box 45. Educación. Fundación Antonio Arostegui.

³¹¹ AMGD. 1911. Box 45. Educación. Fundación Antonio Arostegui; and also in Gaceta de Madrid. December 21, 1911: 691-692.

³¹² AMGD. 1910. Box 45. Educación. Fundación Antonio Arostegui. Establishment deed. Art 1. Translated by the author: "con sus intereses poder sostener una escuela de niños en el lugar de Garralda, en la casa que ha construido con tal objeto, de cuya casa hace también donación, como se lleva dicho, sin remuneración alguna mientras exista dicha escuela."

This example is very representative, since they were not only funding the school building, but they also established an amount of money to its maintenance. By these investments and by the foundation, the couple agreed that the school was founded in perpetuity and it would have the character of a private foundation. The school will be public, free for all the children from Garralda. However, they also stipulated that the children from Aribe would have the opportunity to join the school, but they would need the approbation from Arostegui himself.³¹³ This offer and opportunity to the children from Aribe could have relation with the origins of Antonio Arostegui himself, since he was born in Aribe, although raised in Garralda.

In the establishment deed, the salary of the teacher was also agreed, which was 1,500 pts annually, but given in portions each trimester, plus another 500 pts as gratification for the service of the adult classes. They also offered a house-room for free for the teacher and his family. Besides these expenses, they also established that the rest of the benefits taken from the interest of the capital (75,000) would be dedicated to buy more debt titles of the Government. By this investment, the capital would increase, and with those benefits, it would be able to establish a complementary institution to the school, such as a library.³¹⁴

According to the establishment deed, this school would operate each day during the year, except for the festivities of Christmas, from December 24th to January 2nd, and the whole month of August. The couple also established the hours of the school that were

³¹³ AMGD. 1910. Box 45, art. 3 of the establishment deed.

³¹⁴ AMGD. 1910. Box 45, art 7.

from 8 to 11 and from 2pm to 5 or 6 pm depending on the season. On the other hand, adult's classes would be from November to February both inclusive, and would be from 6 to 8 pm.³¹⁵ Adults lessons were oriented just for the males from Garralda and Aribes, and the instruction was free.

By this education institution Antonio Arostegui and his wife, Petra Machin, wanted to give primary education, from the first knowledge to the preparation to professional exercise; liberal occupation with more incision in commerce and business. Then, the education that Arostegui wanted to establish in his hometown was expressly for boys and indeed for men, and directed not only to the primary education but also oriented to their future, since he insisted in the instruction in commerce and business. In this context of interest in the professional education, the couple of Arostegui and Machin also founded the Salesians School in Pamplona in the 1920s, which was oriented towards professional education. This school was and is still renowned in professional education from Navarre. Then, these returnees and transnational migrants from Aezkoa Valley built schools in order to provide education to their compatriots and promote a better future for them.

However, the case of the girls and young women of Garralda was different, as a letter from the teacher of girls' school shows. In the letter the teacher says, "the resources currently used to support the stove in my school is degrading."³¹⁶ She was requesting money to support the stove, since the girls of the school were the ones who were bringing

³¹⁵ AMGD. 1910. Box 45, art. 9, 10, and 11.

³¹⁶ AMGD. 1910. Box 45. Educación. 1911.

the wood. But not only that, the girls misbehave against the teacher because they were in such bad conditions. Then, the teacher punished the girls to get on their knees. However, a girl rebelled against that punishment and left the school. In that context, the mother of the girl also acted against the teacher regarding the punishment that she had incurred. Therefore, the teacher afraid of future revolts in the class, since there was not enough wood to maintain the stove, asked the council for money in order to heat the classroom.

These migrants who were related by business in Buenos Aires were behind the implantation of schools for the children of both villages. These figures, even if they were illiterates or even without much education, realized the importance of education in the personal success as well in the benefits for the whole community and indeed in the whole society. They invested a large amount of their own money to provide education to their compatriots. However, their investments did not remain in education exclusively, they were behind the modernization of the infrastructure and basic supplies of their native villages.

Bringing water supplies and electricity to Aezkoa Valley

Perhaps, the most important contribution that they did in basic supplies was water and electricity. Here again the figure of Chiquirrín, Morea, Arostegui and Elizondo are carried out. The successful and wealthy transnational migrants assisted their villages with their American capital. Some of these investments in basic supplies were directed to carry water to the houses, or even to build fountains and laundries in those towns, especially in Garralda and Garaioa.

The creation of a new infrastructure of water system by the assistance of Francisco Chiquirrín, with new canals to transport the water, and the construction of a new buddle happened in Garaioa. Although he was established in Garralda after his return from Argentina, he never forgot his hometown, as it is shown through the help in the school, and also in the creation of a new water system, a new buddle and a fountain. Although he was not living in Garaioa, Chiquirrín wanted the well-being and the comfort of the inhabitants of his native village. Then he subsidized the works of the construction of the new laundry and the reparation of the old water conduction of the town, as well as the construction of the fountain.³¹⁷ According to the documents, he paid all the expenses for those works, but not only that, he also gave money to the street and sidewalk arrangement. He paid 3,500 pts for all the expenses of the water supplies and the construction of the laundry, and 7,500 for the street and sidewalk arrangement.³¹⁸ The sidewalk was made from his native household Juanpolit to the atrium of the church.³¹⁹

According to the locals, he built the sidewalk from his house to the church so that his wife Ana Alsina would not stain her shoes when she went to mass. Since it was a rural village, the livestock would generate a lot of manure, and in that way his wife did not step on this manure.

With the same purpose of assisting his hometown, Antonio Arostegui, between 1902 and 1904 built the water supply system to his hometown Garralda, which carried water from the mountain to the village. The total amount of the expenses of the water

³¹⁷ AMGI. 1904. Box 20, leg. 5.

³¹⁸ AMGI. 1909. Box 41. Leg. 2.

³¹⁹ AMGI. Libro de Actas, n.1 1912.

project reached up to 9,974.20 pts of which Antonio Arostegui assisted in the payment. By these works, he also covered the expenses of the new fountain of the village, as well as the new laundry.³²⁰

Ciríaco Morea was an important character in the modernization of Garaioa and indeed Aezkoa Valley. As mentioned before, he emigrated to Buenos Aires in company of his compatriots, Francisco Chiquirrín, Antonio Arostegui and Domingo Elizondo, where they established business together. All of these group of emigrants from Aezkoa became important figures not only in their valley, but also in Buenos Aires, where he became a wealthy businessman, and indeed in the society of that country. Ciríaco Morea, was a shareholder of “La Cantábrica” with Arostegui, a business that expanded throughout the whole country, and reached as far as to open branch offices in New York and Paris. Because of his businesses, he lived across Garaioa, Paris, New York, Buenos Aires and in between.³²¹ In this regard, he owned a house in Paris³²², otherwise, he spent long seasons in Donostia, where he normally stayed at the María Cristina Hotel.³²³ Besides his industrial business, he also was part of the Banco Español del Rio de la Plata. He was one of the five Directors that the bank had prior to 1896.³²⁴ His capital in Argentina as well as all in Europe had importance at that time, being not only a successful businessman but also an important capitalist figure at the turn of the century.

³²⁰ AMO. 1904. Box 6, leg. 2.

³²¹ AMGI. 1905. Box 33. Correspondencia.

³²² El Eco de Navarra. November 2, 1911.

³²³ La Correspondencia de España. January 16, 1917.

³²⁴ El Correo de España. July 12, 1896.

Therefore, Morea invested many of his profits in the village where he was born. He not only paid the expenses of the construction of the council hall and school, but also established a hydraulic mill in the town for the production of energy and electricity. The mill was already in the village, but, with his initiative, he converted the flour mill into a source of energy to supply electricity as well as electric lighting to the village. That was an important initiative, since the village at the turn of the century lacked electricity.³²⁵

The initiative of providing basic supplies to his village led him to finance the road that connected Garaioa with Aribe, the capital village of the valley. The expenses of the road reached up to 57,802 pts according to the Government file.³²⁶ Ciríaco Morea offered to pay one third of the total expenses of the road.³²⁷ The rest of the cost was paid by the Government of Navarre and the council of Garaioa, affording each one third of the total amount. The location of the valley in the Pyrenees, made it an isolated place in terms of transportation and connection to the capital, Pamplona. After experiencing how important good transportation connection was to promote the economy of the area, Ciríaco Morea made a personal effort to improve the situation of the valley and indeed the infrastructure for a future development of industry. One example of this infrastructure is the road in which Domingo Elizondo was involved as a representative of his friend Ciríaco Morea, since he was living abroad. The intervention of Elizondo was important to the valley, since he was an important liberal figure of the Navarrese Government.

³²⁵ AMGI. Box 29.

³²⁶ AMGI. 1904-1907. Box 41. Leg. 1. According to a government resolution send to the council of Garaioa in January 23, 1905.

³²⁷ AMGI. 1904-1907. Box. 41. Leg. 1.

On the other hand, in this direction of development and looking for the future of the valley, the creation of hydraulic mill as well as the electric line at the same times, was an important contribution for the area. In this regard, Domingo Elizondo, not as Morea's representative, but by his own initiative, mediated the negotiation with the companies in charge of those electric lines. Then, according to the documentation that the councils of the villages of Aezkoa have maintained, the mediation of Domingo Elizondo affected the improvement of the electric line.

He negotiated the installation of a new and better electric line for the whole of Aezkoa Valley. "Hidro-Eléctrica Franco-Española" was the company in charge of the electric line. Referring to the intervention and mediation of Elizondo, the managing director of the company states that "informing you about my interview with this gentleman (Elizondo) to agree the bases of the establishment of the light by our society in those towns by your dignified administration."³²⁸ Then, Domingo Elizondo behaved as an important agent in favor of the valley where he was born. In these words refers, the managing director of the company: "Don Domingo Elizondo [...] has shown satisfaction with our purposes, and as always willing to lend his unselfish contest to everything that represents or can translate into advantages and improvements for the valley."³²⁹ In these conversations and mediations that Domingo Elizondo was involved with, he got an important advantage in the installation of a newest electric line without any economic

³²⁸ AMGI. Box 33. Correspondencia. October 12, 1903. Translated by the author: "dándole cuenta de mi entrevista con dicho Sr. para acordar las bases del establecimiento de la luz por nuestra sociedad en esos pueblos de su digna administración."

³²⁹ AMGI. Box 33. Correspondencia. September 30, 1903. Translated by the author: "Don Domingo Elizondo [...] se ha mostrado satisfecho de nuestros propósitos, y como siempre dispuesto a prestar su desinteresado concurso a todo lo que representa o pueda traducirse en ventajas y mejoras para el valle."

repercussion for the villages and neither to the users. He also got another benefit to the consumers of the valley, since the company would be in charge of setting up the switching lights as well paying for the cost of the installation of the switching lights. This was an exception for the company. The managing director of the company also stresses how insistent Elizondo was regarding the well-being of the valley saying, “For the villages of his valley everything seems little to him.”³³⁰

Therefore, the role of these emigrants and returnees was directed towards the improvement of the basic infrastructure of the area, as well as to the introduction of some modernization that would allow for future investments and the creation of new businesses. These figures not only emigrated from a rural area to a big metropolis like Buenos Aires, but also traveled around Europe and the Americas, then they saw their industrial network of other countries, as well as the importance that the infrastructure had in the development of the countries and indeed in the industry. Not only was the electricity important for that, but also the transportation, as well as the railroad. Then, they invested their money helping their communities with basic supplies, but also establishing the basic structures for further investment and entrepreneurships.

Garralda, 1898: Rebuilding a devastated and burned village. The role of the diaspora, emigrants and returnees in the reconstruction of the village.

Returning to how these transnational emigrants and returnees invested their own capital in the improvement of the local infrastructure, they also assisted the village and its

³³⁰ AMGI. Box 33. Correspondencia. October 12, 1903. Translated by the author: “para los pueblos de su valle todo le parece poco.”

inhabitants during difficulties. That happened when, on September 5, 1898 the village of Garralda suffered a devastating fire that ended up with the destruction of almost the entire village. The disaster called for assistance from the villages of the surrounding area, the Navarrese Government, as well as the councils and population from the entire province of Navarre.³³¹ The initiative of assistance not only remained in the province, but also came from other parts of the Basque Country, from the other side of the Pyrenees, concretely from Donibane Garazi (Lower Navarre), as well as from the diaspora, which was profoundly involved in the assistance.

A commission for Garralda's victims was created in Buenos Aires. The commission was formed by Antonio Arostegui as the president of the commission; Ciríaco Morea as vice-president; Francisco Anchorena as treasurer, L. Labardens as secretary; and Juan J. Sanz, Pedro M. Albaitero, Miguel Ochoa, Santiago Ardaiz, and Alfonso Elizagaray as vocals. The commission was registered in the "Centro Navarro" or Navarrese Center located in Buenos Aires.³³² In these terms refers the commission letter sent to Garralda:

The Spanish collectivity in general and particularly the children of that Basque region, we could not know without moving, the misfortune that afflicts our countrymen, and impelled by feelings of humanity, while filling duties of conscience and patriotism, we have been constituted in Commission, effectively supported by the historical societies "Laurak-Bat" and "Navarrese center," to try to mitigate as far as possible the consequences of that fatal event.³³³

³³¹ AMGD. Box 37. Asistencia Social. Fondos especiales. Destrucción de Garralda. 1898.

³³² AMGD. Box 37. Asistencia Social. Fondos especiales. Destrucción de Garralda. 1898.

³³³ AMGD. Box 37. Asistencia Social. Fondos especiales. Destrucción de Garralda. 1898. Translated by the author: "La colectividad española en general y particularmente los hijos de aquella región vascongada, no podíamos saber sin conmovernos, la desgracia que aflige a nuestros paisanos, e impulsados por sentimientos de humanidad, al mismo tiempo que llenando deberes de conciencia y patriotismo, nos hemos

Throughout the incident, the households affected by the fire not only lost the houses structure itself but also all the things that were inside, livestock among them. Some months after the catastrophe, the council of Garralda asked to the representatives to make an inventory of the loss in terms of the cost of the reconstruction of the houses. The total number of houses was 63. Thus, the amount of the reconstruction value reached up to 226,488 pts, being the less amount of 697 pts and the highest 7,005 pts.³³⁴ In this inventory, the value of roof tile of all the houses was discounted. This discount was made because the group of transnational migrants took the decision to pay all the expenses of the new roof tile in order to help their native village and its inhabitants.

Apart from the loss of the houses itself, households also lost their belongings in the fire, such as furniture, food, grains, livestock, household goods, clothes, work tools, and more assets. In order to assess the losses of the houses assets, each household made an inventory of the belongings that were lost in the fire. Depending on the assets of each household had the amount of the loss was higher of lower.³³⁵

However, within the help of the transnational migrants, the households of Garralda could afford some of the reconstruction expenses. The initiative that the Commission had started got the help of the diaspora. But not only had the diaspora helped the village of Garralda, also the locals helped. After the first days of the catastrophe, the Navarrese Government sent supplies in order to help damaged families

constituido en Comisión, secundados eficazmente por las Históricas Sociedades 'Laurak-Bat' y 'Centro Navarro,' para tratar de atenuar en lo posible las consecuencias de aquel funesto acontecimiento."

³³⁴ AMGD. Box 37. Incendio. List relative to the value regarding the reconstruction of each house made in Garralda on January 22, 1899.

³³⁵ AMGD. Box 37. Incendio. Inventory of the losses of each household, made on September 15, 1898.

as much as possible. In the same attitude, another commission of aids was created in order to assist the damaged village. In that regard, in each publication of the official gazette of the province appeared a section dedicated to the donations that people from the whole Navarre did in order to support the damaged people from Garralda. In this vein, in the official gazette published on April 12, 1899, just seven months after the disaster, the donation of municipalities, renowned people, authorities, and individual people reached up to 59,336.32 pts.³³⁶ All the collected money went to the reconstruction of the village. However, the donations not only were money, but also basic assets to help the everyday life of the locals, such as, food, grains, linens, mattresses, work tools, and many other basic items.

On the other hand, the Commission created in Buenos Aires sent different batches of money. On November 23, 1898, the commission sent 2,000 pts and they had a prevision of a next remittance of 10,857 pts. On February 7, 1899 Ciríaco Morea, Francisco Anchorena, Mariano Amborena, and Antonio Arostegui sent the total amount of 20,000 pts, 5,000 pts each. Domingo Elizondo, a good friend of Ciríaco Morea, Francisco Anchorena and Antonio Arostegui, was living in Pamplona. He helped organize the budget that Antonio Arostegui had sent from overseas. He was in charge of distributing the money to the damaged households and its owners. Then, he made an exhaustive list of what he had provided to each household or to the owner of them which appears as: “Notebook of the quantities distributed by Don Domingo Elizondo from Arike, to the injured from Garralda through the fire of 5 of September of 1898.” The total

³³⁶ AMGD. Box 37. Incendio. Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de Navarra. April 12, 1899. Num. 23.

amount that Domingo Elizondo gave to the damaged household reached up to 41,249 pts, which would be distributed in the way shown in the table number 1.³³⁷

Then, Domingo Elizondo gave the total amount of money through different installments during the months after the catastrophe of 1898 until 1904. Returnees also helped in the reconstruction of the villages. In this vein, Francisco Chiquirrín Eguinoa, after returning from a trip to Argentina went back to his house “Villa-Anita” in Garralda on October 10, 1898. That was the first time that the Chiquirrín-Alsina couple visited Garralda after the fire.³³⁸ They were lucky because their house remained intact after the fire. However, Francisco Chiquirrín and his wife, Ana Alsina were involved in the reconstruction of the town. On one hand, Chiquirrín was involved in the Aid commission that was founded to assist the village of Garralda. Just a week after his return from

House	pts	House	pts	House	pts
Alzat	855	Ernaut	855	Larranet	755
Amaser	780	Errotaray	755	Lopejoa	555
Ancharandoy	780	Ezquerrena	780	M. Lerindegui	25
Apat	755	G. Arozarena	55	Maisterra	805
Apezteguia	300	Guilento	755	Martingarcia	755
Arandoy	505	Guizon	655	Mastrejuan	780
Arginto	780	Gurucealdea	655	Mendialde	555
Asteacho	830	Iriarte	805	Minondo	780
B. Irigoyen	25	Iribarren	655	Mutico	755
Barberena	905	Iroch	830	Nagore	830
Basquin	780	J. Arozena	25	Obispo	755
Capitan	655	Jacue	780	Pedroarena	605
Cerrajero	755	Jamar	830	Recalde	855
Cirila Enecoiz	25	Juanche	755	Sala	899
Damborin	655	Juangarcia	755	Sastrearena	743

³³⁷ AMGD. Box 37. Incendio. Translated by the author: “Cuaderno de las cantidades distribuidas por Don Domingo Elizondo de Arive, a los siniestrados de Garralda por el incendio de 5 de septiembre de 1898.”

³³⁸ El Eco de Navarra. October 16, 1898.

Domencho	755	Juanperez	805	Sastrezuria	600
Dominguet	600	Juantolanda	800	Tulubio	755
Echeberri	805	L.Minondo	705	Urchuti	755
Elizagaray	875	Landa	780	Urrutia	805
Enecho	755	Laportiz	980	Vizcay	692

Table 1 Quantities that Domingo Elizondo distributed to the households of Garralda from 1898 to 1904. AMGD. Box 37. Incendio

Argentina, Francisco Chiquirrín was named vocal of Aid commission.³³⁹ As mentioned before, some transnational migrants donated roof tile to the reconstruction of the houses. He was in charge of getting the roof tile for the entire village. Besides that function, he ended up donating a batch of roof tile to the reconstruction of the church that was destroyed in the fire.³⁴⁰

Therefore, the assistance from overseas money was important in the reconstruction of the village of Garralda after its destruction. The whole reconstruction was made by “Auzolan”, a common work of those communities. However, the assistance that those *amerikanuak* provided not only remained in the reconstruction of household, but also in the reconstruction of the church of the village. According to Azanza López, some churches were built with American money in Aezkoa by the turn of the century. In Garaioa, Ciríaco Morea donated 20,000 pts to the reconstruction of the Church during 1930 and 1931.³⁴¹

As mentioned, Francisco Chiquirrín, after the destruction of the church of Garralda in the fire, donated the roof tiles for its reconstruction. However, some years

³³⁹ El Eco de Navarra. October 28, 1898.

³⁴⁰ El Eco de Navarra. May 26, 1899.

³⁴¹ Azanza López, “Aproximación a la arquitectura de los americanos en Navarra (en el centenario del traslado de Bearin, 1904-2004),” 440.

later, in 1914, Antonio Arostegui, with the diocese and the council of Garralda, built a new church in the village. Antonio Arostegui pledged to pay half of the costs of the works. On December 19, 1914, Antonio Arostegui donated 30,000 pts and, on June 28, 1916, another 10,000 pts. Apart from these quantities, he also gave 3,150 pts in order to buy a piece of land where the new church would be built.

During the negotiation among the diocese, Antonio Arostegui and the council of Garralda, the latter one pledged to contribute 8,000 pts to the works, in two different payments: the first payment of 5,000 pts was made on November 2, 1914; the second of 3,000 pts was made on October 2, 1917. However, the quantities that the council gave to the reconstruction did not reach the amount that the council was pledged in 1914. 2,000 pts were missing, and Antonio Arostegui, in order to help the finances of the village, donated the 2,000 pts to the diocese. According to the bill of the works, the final budget was distributed in the amounts represented in table 2.

Antonio Arostegui	43,150.00 pts
Council of Garralda	8,000.00 pts
Diocese	30,133.36 pts
Total amount	81,283.36 pts

Table 2 Last budget of the Church made on October 27, 1917

However, Antonio Arostegui's donations went further, and he also paid 1,705.50 pts for two new altars and an image of a virgin and 800 pts for another item for the mass ceremony. The total amount that Antonio Arostegui donated for the Church reached 45,655.50 pts.³⁴² Then the assistance to the village not only remained in the new infrastructure, schools, and assistance after the fire, but also in the Church.

³⁴² AMGD. Box 4. Iglesia. 1917.

“Hijos-predilectos”: social recognition

This attitude and behavior of transnational migrants and returnees influenced in the wellbeing of their societies and communities of origin. Providing their community of origin with the basic supplies for a better living condition, such as water system, electricity, roads, and schools, these communities were modernized due to the input of American capital. These transnational migrants and returnees were recognized in their hometowns because of this modernization of their villages. This social recognition was manifested by calling them “hijos-predilectos” or honorary citizen of their native villages, an honorific title that the villages could give in order to recognize the labor of a fellowman of the village.

On June 5, 1904, the council of Garralda accorded two things; first to declare Antonio Arostegui as honorary citizen of Garralda, and second, to name a street in the village after him. The reason that the council gave was that,

Remembering the debt of immense gratitude that the people of Garralda owed to Don Antonio Arostegui, whose patriotism owes the improvement of the water supply, at a distance of three kilometers from the village, which he made at his expense. That was an old aspiration of this neighborhood, always delayed by the scarcity of resources and abandoned since Garralda came to the saddest situation by virtue of the fire of the same year of 1898; who, not satisfied yet with having rendered such immense benefit to his countrymen, Mr. Arostegui came to complete it with the construction of a magnificent public fountain.³⁴³

³⁴³ AMO. Box 6. Leg. 2 Correspondencia. 1904. Translated by the author: “Recordando la deuda de inmensa gratitud que el pueblo de Garralda tiene pendiente con su hijo Don Antonio Arostegui, a cuyo patriotismo debe la mejora de la traída de aguas, a una distancia de tres kilómetros de la población, con la cual realizó aquel a sus expensas una antigua aspiración de este vecindario, siempre demorada por la escasez de recursos y abandonada desde que vino Garralda a las más triste situación por virtud del incendio del mismo año de 1898; que, no satisfecho todavía con haber prestado tan inmenso beneficio a sus paisanos, el señor Arostegui vino a completarlo con la construcción de una magnífica fuente pública.”

By this recognition of his assistance to his native village, Antonio Arostegui was named honorary citizen, but at the same time, Domingo Elizondo was recognized as adoptive son as the council reflected,

Taken into account the active and fortunate efforts made by D. Domingo Elizondo and Cajén, in order to ensure that the public subscription promoted in Pamplona as a result of the fire of 1898 was seconded by the Navarre residing in the Argentine and Uruguayan republics, as well as work and care to procure the rebuilding of this town, without the result of that subscription being damaged, and although the water supply and other improvements related to it, are ultimately due to the patriotism of Mr. Arostegui, were carried out by Mr. Elizondo, who knew how to interest the generosity of the latter, and finally, because of the constant and resolute commitment that the gentlemen proposed in all matters of interest to Garralda: the city council, in order to show his appreciation, unanimously declare, D. Domingo Elizondo and Cajén as adoptive son of Garralda, in consideration of the great services he has provided.³⁴⁴

Antonio Arostegui was not only recognized for his labor, but also Domingo Elizondo. This initiative was published in the press, and Domingo Elizondo sent a letter to the press saying that he was just following instructions of his friend Antonio Arostegui.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁴ AMO. Box 6. Leg. 2 Correspondencia. 1904. Translated by the author: "Asimismo, teniendo en cuenta las activas y afortunadas gestiones realizadas por D. Domingo Elizondo y Cajén, para lograr que la suscripción pública, promovida en Pamplona a consecuencia del incendio de 1898 fuera secundada por los navarros que residen en las Repúblicas Argentinas y del Uruguay, así como trabajos y desvelos para procurar la reedificación de este pueblo, sin que se malograra el resultado de aquella suscripción, y si bien la traída de aguas y demás mejoras con esta relacionadas, se deben en definitiva al patriotismo del señor Arostegui, fueron realizadas por el señor Elizondo, que supo interesar al efecto el generoso ánimo de aquel, y en fin, por el constante y decidido empeño que dicho señor ha propuesto en todos los asuntos de interés para Garralda: el ayuntamiento y quincena, para manifestarle su reconocimiento acordaron por unanimidad: Declarar hijo adoptivo de Garralda a D. Domingo Elizondo y Cajén en consideración a los grandes servicios que le ha prestado."

³⁴⁵ Diario de Navarra. June 12, 1904.

In the same vein, on June 5, 1908 Francisco Chiquirrín was named honorary citizen of the village of Garaioa and had a street in the village named after him. In regard to this *El Eco de Navarra* newspaper said, on June 13 of the same year:

In previous chronicles, I have reported the important improvements that relate to the ornamentation and hygiene, etc., are now in effect in the place of Garaioa, due to the spontaneous generosity of the philanthropist Mr. Chiquirrín, who fond of his countrymen for whom he expresses predilection, does not spare expenses. He gives everything for good use, and satisfied of such excellent works, rejoice to see his native town placed at the level of the most advanced of this mountainous area.³⁴⁶

Therefore, the contemporaneous people of the area realized the advances and modernization that these *Amerikanuak* were providing to their native villages. In exchange for that assistance they gave the most important social recognition to them, -- a street with their names and the title of honorary citizens of each village. However, this social recognition was not always recognized by the inhabitants of those towns. Many times, the people of the villages spread rumors about them. In that regard, Antonio Arostegui, in a letter sent from Argentina to the council of Garralda, states, “In this way I will avoid that these clumsy and ungrateful people say to the benefactor, it is easy to build a school with the help of the town, like they said in the laundry.”³⁴⁷ By these words of Antonio Arostegui reflected how some people of the village were criticizing the assistance that he gave to the village.

³⁴⁶ *El Eco de Navarra*. June 13, 1908. Translated by the author: “En crónicas anteriores he relatado las importantísimas mejoras que referente al ornato e higiene, etc., llévase a efecto actualmente el lugar de Garayoa, debido a la espontánea generosidad del filántropo señor Chiquirrín, que encariñado con sus paisanos a quienes profesa predilección especial, no escatima gastos por cuantiosos y elevados que resulten. Todo lo da por bien empleado, y satisfechísimo de tan excelentes obras, regocíjase de ver a su pueblo natal colocado al nivel del más adelantado de esta parte montañosa.”

³⁴⁷ AMGD. Incendio. Box 37. Translated by the author: “De esta manera me evitaré que digan esos torpes y poco agradecidos al bienhechor, fácil hace el colegio con la ayuda del pueblo, como lo han dicho por el lavadero.”

This behavior among the inhabitants of the village of Garralda was extended to Garaioa, since the village suffered an attack against the fountain that Francisco Chiquirrín had built in the town. *El Eco de Navarra* newspaper gathered the incident:

Last night, at about four o'clock was felt an explosion, at dawn, and it was observed that one of the two wells that supplies water to the town had been completely destroyed. It was apparently done with a large load of dynamite. The well had been recently rebuilt at the expense of an honorary citizen of the town, Don Francisco Chiquirrín, who had sacrificed his fortune for the improvement of the town that he witnessed being born, and the general benefit of his countrymen. God will reward him, and his honest neighbors really appreciate it, protesting against the criminal and cowardly act of such a wild hand.³⁴⁸

Therefore, not all the population of these villages approved the attitude that those *Amerikanuak* had to their villages or even to them. Perhaps, many of the fellowmen saw these initiatives of modernizing the area as an excessive demonstration of their success in their transnational migration experience. The demonstration of this wealth by these donations as well as by the luxurious lives and cars that they enjoyed could generate envy in the population. The behavior of some jealous fellowmen ended up in the spread of rumors and indeed in the destruction of the development that they created, as the incident with the fountain in Garaioa shows.

³⁴⁸ El Eco de Navarra, February 2, 1911. Translated by the author: "En la noche de ayer, sobre las cuatro horas se sintió en el centro del pueblo una detonación, amanecido el día, se observó que una de las dos fuentes que surte de agua a los vecinos, se hallaba destruida por completo. El hecho al parecer ha sido producido con una gran carga de dinamita. La citada fuente hace poco fue reedificada a costa del hijo predilecto de este pueblo, Don Francisco Chiquirrín, que con tanto interés viene sacrificando su fortuna por el engrandecimiento de su pueblo que le vio nacer, y el beneficio general de sus paisanos. Dios le premiará, y los vecinos honrados se lo agradecemos muy de veras, protestando contra el hecho criminoso y cobarde de tan salvaje mano."

Conclusion

As is seen in the comments that the press reproduced through several news articles, these transnational migrants and returnees made efforts to renovate and improve the infrastructure that the villages from Aezkoa Valley had. Therefore, these initiatives could be seen as a modernization, or in other words, these returnees and transnational migrants carried with them not only capital from America to their homeland, but also fresh ideas to improve and modernize the area. It could be affirmed that they brought modernity to their homeland.

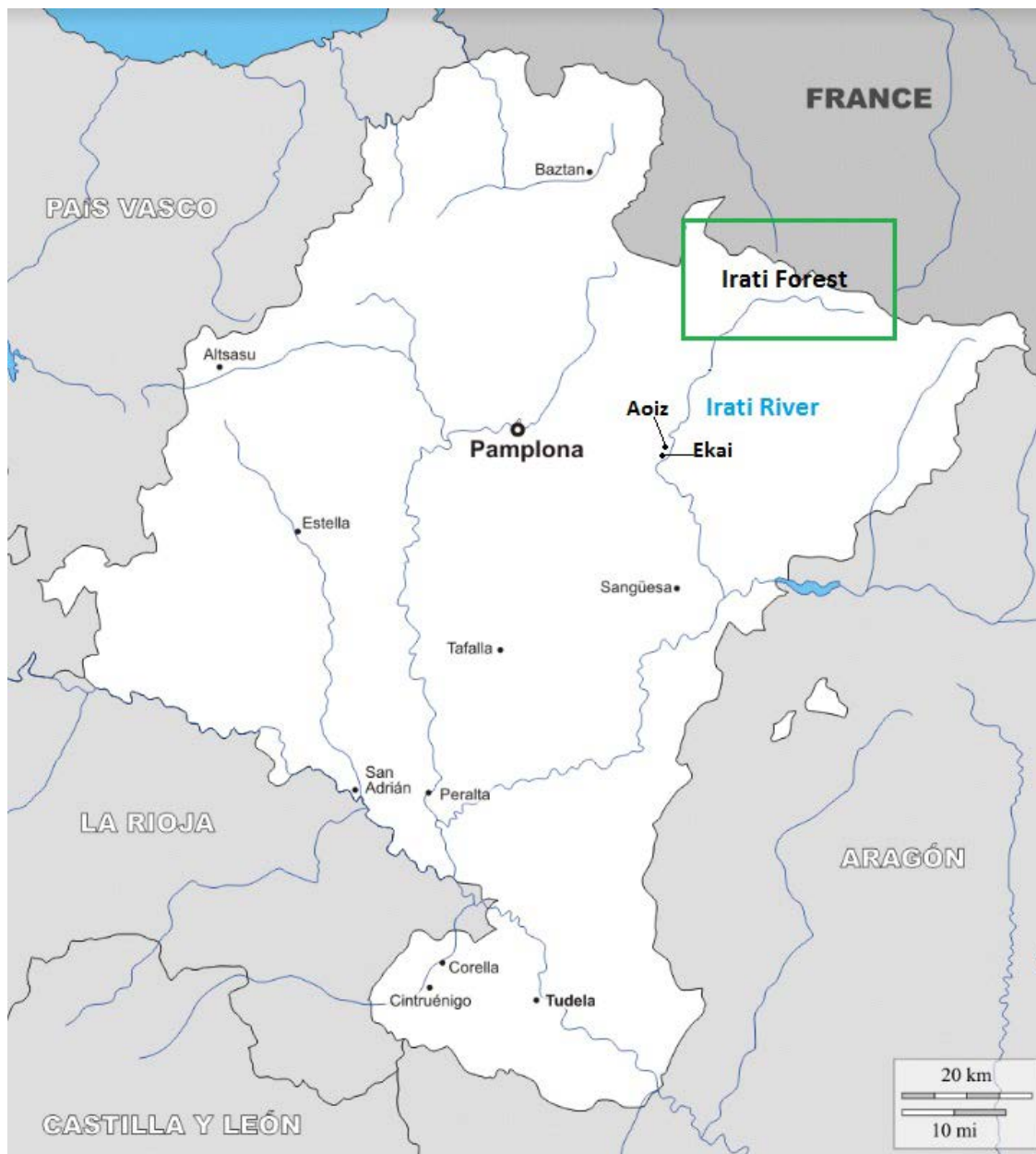


Figure 16: Irati Forest and Irati River. By the author

Chapter Seven

Hybrid practices in the Irati forest exploitation

On April 17, 1911, the first inaugural events of the Irati railroad started. The railroad connected Pamplona, the capital of Navarre, with the villages of Aoiz and Sangüesa. At the same time, the Irati railroad would be the first electrical train in Spain. That inaugural celebration was also a tribute to Domingo Elizondo, the man behind that project.³⁴⁹ This electric railroad was a part of a bigger business project, El Irati S.A., a company of lumber, water power and electric railroad of Navarre, of which Elizondo was the main founder.

El Irati S.A. is considered one of the most important companies of the first decades of the twentieth century in Navarre. It is also known as a pioneer in the industrialization of Navarre, focused on the wood exploitation from the Irati forest, electricity production and electrical railroad. Nevertheless, El Irati S.A. is also a reminder of the successful experience of one returnee, Domingo Elizondo. In this sense, El Irati S.A., rather than being a new industrial phenomenon, could be understood as a product of the hybridization process, more related to the evolution of the traditional wood exploitation companies than to a new phenomenon. Domingo Elizondo's transnational

³⁴⁹ El Eco de Navarra, April 18, 1911.

migration experience, through the encounters of different economic realities and opportunities, allowed him to return to his homeland with a new perspective and ideas to apply in the traditional business of the area. In this case, Domingo Elizondo focused on the exploitation of wood and in electricity, with the train as a consequence of the company's production.

El Irati S.A. has been a focus of study for several scholars who have analyzed the operation of the company.³⁵⁰ This chapter will not address how the company operated, since the main intention of this study to address the creation of the company as a consequence of the migratory experience of the main founder of it, Domingo Elizondo.

The transnational encounters and interactions between different cultures and practices have produced several changes in the host society as well as in the homeland. The changes can be understood through the hybridity approach. García Canclini defines hybridity as “sociocultural processes in which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in separate form, are combined to generate new structures, objects and

³⁵⁰ For further information see: Carmen Erro Gasca, *Promoción Empresarial y Cambio económico en Navarra, 1830-1913* (Pamplona: Cámara de Comercio e Industria, 1997); Carmen Erro Gasca, “Negocios, Familia y Proyección Pública. El ejemplo Navarro, 1830-1913,” in *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica* (1999):37-66; María Castiella Rodríguez, “El Irati S.A., Una empresa diversificada: Electricidad, Montes, Destilería y Ferrocarril,” in *Príncipe de Viana* (1992): 697-726; Josean Garrués Irurzun, “El Desarrollo del Sistema Eléctrico Navarro, 1888-1896,” in *Revista de Historia Industrial* (1997): 73-118; Josean Garrués Irurzun, *El Irati, Compañía General de Maderas, Fuerzas Hidráulicas y Tranvía Eléctrico de Navarra: Una Empresa Autoproductora Comercial de Electricidad, 1904-1961* (Madrid: Documentos de Trabajo. Historia Económica. Fundación Sepi, 2008); Víctor Manuel Egia Astibia, *El Irati S.A.: El Sueño de Domingo Elizondo* (Pamplona: Nabarralde. 2014). Alejandro Arizkun, “La industria navarra: una panorámica de tres siglos,” in *Príncipe de Viana*, (1992): 407-432; Alejandro Arizkun, “La economía navarra hace un siglo,” in Cámara Navarra de Comercio e Industria (ed.), *Claves del éxito empresarial: 34 empresas centenarias de Navarra* (Pamplona: Cámara Navarra de Comercio e Industria, 1999): 27-42.

practices.”³⁵¹ In this chapter, the relation among those practices and modernization will be developed through the lens of transnational and hybrid practices.

Hybridity or cultural hybridity is a theory that mainly has been used in Latin American postcolonial studies. Hybridity, in this sense, is related to the consequences of colonialism, and therefore, as a consequence of the *mestizaje*. Traditionally, Latin American society was divided into two binational spheres. The dichotomy between the indigenous population and European descendants was a handicap in the relationships between them. This society of mestizos and indigenous people has been in the shadow of the society for centuries, becoming more important in society after the independence revolutions along the Americas. However, this division of society into Europeans, mestizos, and the indigenous population created different cultures within the same countries.

It cannot be forgotten that in Mexico in the post-revolutionary period the government and intellectuals tried to reject European roots in order to introduce their owns. They tried to homogenize cultural manifestations as a tool to create national identity, because of the multicultural bases of their country. In this respect, intellectuals took the mestizo as the best example for their projects to homogenize the national identity. In many cases, in doing so, they not only took the cultural aspect but also race mixture as part of this new identity.

³⁵¹ Nestor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures, strategies for entering and leaving modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), xxv.

This chapter will address the new practices that returnees applied in their hometowns as hybrid practices that took the previously existing forms and then generated new ones. As is mentioned above, the main definition of hybridization that will be developed here is the changes that returnees provoked in the practices that were already established. In this case, in order to address hybridity, this chapter will analyze economic and industrial practices, and how these practices changed by the initiatives of returnees, who had been in contact with other cultural and economic realities in their transnational migration experiences, rather than looking at cultural aspects. In this utilization of Canclini's definition of hybridity, his idea of modernity is also taken. In this regard, modernity will be addressed as a consequence of hybridization. These new economic practices that returnees applied, brought modernity to their own communities and to the whole society of Navarre.

This chapter will address Domingo Elizondo's industrial project, El Irati S.A, as a successor to previously existing companies, which also exploited the natural resources of the Irati Forest. The traditional exploitation of these natural resources drastically changed when electricity was introduced to the area. By transforming the flour-mills into hydraulic mills, the exploitation of natural resources changed, and within this change and new technology, these mills provided electricity.

Since this dissertation addresses the relationship between emigrants and the homeland, the main idea is to analyze El Irati SA project as an example of the hybridization process. In other words, how transnational migration experiences carried out the ideas from overseas and how they were implemented in the economy of the

homeland. This chapter will focus not only on the capital and technical expertise that return migrants brought from their transnational migration experience, but also on the knowledge and industrial experiences brought from abroad in order to apply them in the economy and business of their native villages and countries. Then, El Irati S.A. is not only a new entrepreneurship that Domingo Elizondo among others founded, but also an example of the effect that emigration produced in the homeland. Elizondo's experience during his stay in Argentina and the new industries that he saw during those years, allowed him to translate these ideas from Argentina to Navarre. He applied these new ideas in the business that his family had already established. Thus, El Irati S.A. is not a new reality, but a hybrid creation of the previously existing businesses and new American ideas.

Following this definition of hybridity, the existing practices should be explained first. As mentioned, the common lands were important resources for these rural communities. Because of that importance, the access to them was rigidly controlled by the neighborhood system as well as by the municipalities. In this area of the Pyrenees, the second biggest forest of fir and beech trees from Europe is located, named Irati Forest. The Irati Forest is in between different municipalities, some in Navarre (Aezkoa and Salazar Valley) and others in the French Basque Country (Cize and Sola). The ownership of the Irati was primordial for these communities, and this produced a fight among them in order to control the forest and its resources.

With the Border Treaty of 1856, the border line between France and Spain was established, and because of this, the ownership of the Irati was also established. Salazar

Valley won against Aezkoa, and the Aezkoa Valley's participation in the resources was reduced. Although the Irati Forest had been exploited since the Middle Ages, during the nineteenth century the interest in the exploitation of the Irati forest increased. This interest in the exploitation of Irati is also a consequence of the debts that these communities had incurred in the wars. Then, Salazar and Aezkoa Valleys sold trees to different companies throughout the nineteenth century in order to make money.

In 1837, the first company "La compañía del Irati" (literally Irati's Company) was founded. In its foundation, the most prominent businessmen and politicians of the time took part. All of them were involved in the Liberal Party and were also part of the Liberal government. Indeed, some of these businessmen were diplomats in consulates in southern France. Juan Salle, a merchant from Donibane Garazi (French Basque Country), was behind this initiative. Salle with Fernando Bezunartea (Mayor of Otxagi and Secretary of Salazar Valley) bought beech trees as well as 100,000 coal loads from Salazar Valley. Later, Fernando Bezunartea, as a representative of the Salazar Valley, and Juan Salle negotiated a contract for the sale of 8,000 beech trees in order to produce paddles.³⁵² However, the external factors of the war as well as the problems of the ownership of the Irati forest provoked difficulties in the fulfillment of the contract.

Nevertheless, this situation did not affect the pretensions of this businessmen group. Juan Salle, Fernando Bezunartea, Juan Miguel Inda, and Juan Pedro Aguirre, among other businessmen and politicians, were becoming more and more interested in

³⁵² Ángel García-Sanz Marcotegui, "Políticos-empresarios liberales y compañías en la explotación del Bosque del Irati (Navarra) a mediados del siglo XIX," in *Príncipe de Viana* (2004): 548.

the exploitation of the Irati Forest wood. After a large negotiation between this group of businessmen and Salazar Valley, they reached an agreement of the exploitation of the forest. The agreement was too ambitious and they could not reach their expectations, therefore, they were obligated to open the company to more shareholders.

In this context, “D. Juan Miguel de Inda y Compañía” company emerged, which included, Juan Pedro Aguirre (Luzaide, Navarre), Pedro José Marco (Izaba, Navarre) and Juan de Dios Moso (Pamplona, Navarre), who was also representing his brother in law, Nazario Carriquiri, and the “Viuda de Ribed e hijo mayor” (literally, Ribed’s widow and eldest son). The new company brought together 32,000 pesos (currency) of capital among sixteen shareholders with 2,000 shares divided among Pedro Juan Barace, Pedro José Marco, Pedro Marcos Pérez, Juan Miguel Inda, Nazario Carriquiri, and Juan de Dios Moso with 2 shares each; and Juan Pedro Aguirre, Fernando Bezunartea, “Viuda de Ribed e hijo mayor,” and Juan Salle, with one share each.

This company again faced problems in starting in the forest’s exploitation, and as García-Sanz Marcotegui states, Juan Miguel Inda sold his shares to Juan de Dios Moso. The sale was not related to the problems that the company already had.³⁵³ After the change of share ownership, on July 28, 1841, the company changed the name to “D. Nazario Carriquiri y Compañía” (Nazario Carriquiri and Company), although the shareholders continued naming the company as “del Irati” (Irati’s Company).

³⁵³ García Sanz Marcotegui, “Políticos-empresarios liberales y compañías en la explotación del Bosque del Irati (Navarra) a mediados del siglo XIX,” in *Príncipe de Viana* (2004): 558.

After the creation of the new company, they took the first initiative in starting to exploit the forest. They reached an agreement with Miguel Lugea and Isidro Eguinoa, from Orbaizeta and Pedro Espilondo, from the other side of the border, to transport materials, such as boards, planks, timbers and charcoal by river within *almadías*³⁵⁴ or rafts. This transportation was from the *esclusas* (the place where the saw was to treat the trees) to the villages in Navarre where they would sell the wood. In the agreement, the company committed to themselves keeping the rivers in good conditions. Therefore, they spent large amounts of money in the construction of the “*esclusas*,” in the improvement of rivers, as well in the amounts that the company had given in advance to the Salazar Valley. In the first years since the creation of the new company, the company did not profit, however, the expenses reached 1,000,000 reales (currency). In consequence, in 1845 some shareholders left the company, such as Pedro Marcos Pérez, Pedro José Marco, and Juan Barace, losing 148,000 reales each of the total amount of 160,000 reales that they had invested in the company.

In the following months, the situation got worse and the company took new actions. On April 12, 1847, the company drafted new clauses. At that point, the company’s investment capital reached 1,240,000 reales vellón. In the new clauses they agreed to divide the capital as follows: Nazario Carriquiri 360,000 reales vellón; Juan de Dios Moso 240,000 reales vellón; Agustín Fernández de Gamboa, Simona Espoz y Mina, “Viuda de Ribed e hijos,” Juan Pedro Aguirre and Juan Salle 120,000 reales vellón each. However, Agustín Gamboa left the company and lost money, 48,000 reales vellón of the

³⁵⁴ Almadías were boats made with the trees used to transport wood along the rivers in Navarre.

total 120,000 that he had invested. On August 31, 1849, the company ended up changing its name to “Moso, Bezunartea y Compañía.”

However, the economic situation continued in the same tendency, and other shareholders left the company while losing money as well. That was the case of Juan Salle and Nazario Carriquiri, who in 1849 left the company losing 59,000 and 240,000 reales vellón, respectively. According to García-Sanz Marcotegui, in 1879 “Moso, Bezunartea y Compañía” was in the process of liquidation.³⁵⁵ By August 26, 1881, “Moso, Bezunartea y Compañía” was still in the liquidation process, although the heirs of Juan Pedro Aguirre, the Aguirre brothers, gave power of attorney to Bezunartea in order to sell all the properties that the company had at that time.³⁵⁶ Therefore, it seems that the company was in its death throes. However, the companies related to Irati’s exploitation did not give up as the notarial documents from Burgute’s notary reflect. As García Sanz Marcotegui demonstrates, the people who were involved in these companies were important personalities from Navarre, either because of their political background and tendencies or their businesses. All of them were part of the Liberal party and many of them were in political power.

Juan Pedro Aguirre Doray was born in Luzaide in 1798, and he married Clara Fort Jourdan from Donibane Garazi (French Basque Country). Four children were born into this marriage, Amalia, Eusebio, Enrique, and Miguel. Juan Pedro was a merchant and businessman, being a shareholder for Irati’s companies, among others. Besides that,

³⁵⁵ Ángel García-Sanz, “Políticos-empresarios liberales y compañías en la explotación del Bosque del Irati (Navarra) a mediados del siglo XIX,” 567-568.

³⁵⁶ AGN. Auritz-Burgute’s notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1881, n. 120.

he was also one of the group of people who bought land from the disentailment process. Leaving behind his business, he was related to the liberal ideology and he became a politician. Juan Pedro Aguirre's first step in politics was being the Mayor of his hometown, Luzaide. Engaged in the mayoralty of his town, he fought on the liberal side in the First Carlist War as commandant in the local militia. In 1841, he became a representative of the Government of Navarre. In 1875, he died after being an important member of the community throughout his whole life.³⁵⁷

Rather than follow the traditional transmission of properties, which were materialized through marriage contracts, Juan Pedro Aguirre, on October 19, 1875, made a testament. There, he divided all his properties and belongings among his four children, Amalia, Enrique, Manuel and Eusebio Aguirre Fort. The number of properties and belongings was significant, and his daughter Amalia decided to donate all the properties that she received from her father to her brothers in equal portion. In exchange, she received a pension of 75,000 pts as well as the usufruct of the house, in which she lived with her father until his death.³⁵⁸ Therefore, the Aguirre Fort brothers entered into the companies in which their father was involved, as was the case of the Irati forest exploitation companies. At the same time, these brothers owned a bank, in which many of the returnees kept their American capital. Meanwhile, they enjoyed a privileged situation, since some of them were working in Spanish consulates in France.

³⁵⁷ Ángel García-Sanz Marcotegui, *Diccionario Biográfico de los Diputados forales de Navarra* (1840-1931) (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1996), 77-80.

³⁵⁸ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1877, n. 153.

All of these companies were based on the exploitation of the Irati forest trees, rather than in the manufacture of the materials. By the acquisition of a plot of trees, these companies were also in charge of cutting them down, and then transporting the trees on the Irati River on rafts or *almadías* to the villages. Then these companies were mainly oriented to the exploitation of the natural resources rather than transforming the wood into products.

The unstable political situation during the nineteenth century did not help in the success of those companies, since all of them ended up in bankruptcy. The location of the Munition Factory of Orbaizeta in the forest provoked the presence of militias and troops in the area, in order to take advantage of the factory, and interrupted the forest exploitation by those companies. However, the lack of opportunities to transport the materials in a productive way also provoked the investment of a large amount of capital in it. The transportation of the natural resources was based upon the river transportation. That caused the investment of large quantities of money in order to maintain the river in good condition and the referred *esclusas*. Then the exploitation of the Irati Forest was rendered unprofitable.

Apart from the companies dedicated to the direct exploitation of the forest, some companies emerged dedicated to the manufacturing of those natural resources. On November 18, 1876, Julián Fagoaga Azcona, Enrique Aguirre Fort and Antonio Cajén Arrijuria³⁵⁹ created the “Fagoaga, Aguirre y Cajén” company.³⁶⁰ This company was

³⁵⁹ Antonio Cajén Arrijuria was born in Orbaizeta and was married to Joaquina Aldaz López, a member of an influential family from Aoiz.³⁵⁹ At the same time, Antonio Cajén was the brother of Micaela Cajén Arrijuria, the mother of Domingo Elizondo Cajén.

³⁶⁰ AHPG. Donostia-San Sebastian, Joaquín Elosegui, 1876, n. 281.

dedicated to the production of wood barrels and wood boxes, and was located in Aoiz. The company was directly related to the Irati forest exploitation, since in 1877, the company “Fagoaga, Aguirre y Cajén” bought a plot of trees in order to treat them in their factories that were located in Roncesvalles and in Aoiz.³⁶¹ Aside from these two factories, the company owned a storage facility in Donibane Garazi and in Donostia-San Sebastian. According to clause 14 of the company’s foundation, all the material that was produced under the company, such as barrels, staves and boxes, would be bought by Julián Fagoaga in either Baiona (French Basque Country) or in the wagons at Donostia-San Sebastian or Pasajes. The price of the barrels and boxes was established at 1.25 pts each.³⁶² However, Fagoaga did not pay for the materials, and in 1877 they ended up annulling the company by the sale of Fagoaga’s shares in the company. Julián Fagoaga owned 25 percent of the company, which represented 14,539 pts of the total capital of the company.

Aguirre also had a 25 percent stake in the company, and the same amount of capital that Fagoaga had, 14,539 pts. Antonio Cajén held 50 percent of the company’s shares, with 29,079 pts. However, as Fagoaga owed 14,305 pts to the company, the company only paid him in 234 pts.³⁶³

³⁶¹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1877, n. 85.

³⁶² AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1877, n. 146. “Don Julián Fagoaga comprará todo el material de barriles o cajas elaboren en la Fábrica o fábricas de la sociedad al precio de cinco reales o una peseta y veinticinco céntimos el barril harinero con peso de 10 kilos, puesto en Bayona, o sobre Wagonés en San Sebastián o Pasajes, siendo de su cuenta todos los gastos posteriores. El precio de las cajas será el mismo que el del barril.”

³⁶³ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1877, n. 146, pp. 672-673. In the sale agreement is included the inventory of all the properties that the company had, reaching to 409,070 reales vellón or 102,267.5 pts.

After the liquidation of the company, Aguirre and Cajén had to face the new reality of their business after the departure of Fagoaga. Then, Aguirre and Cajén found a new member for the company. On October 17, 1877, Luis San Bartolomé Solondo was incorporated into the company. These changes in the company's membership needed new clauses and then, a new name for the company. The name of "Aguirre, Cajén y San Bartolomé" was given. The company was dedicated to the production of beech wood staves and other materials. Within the new company, the distribution of the shares changed with respect to the last company.

Antonio Cajén and Enrique Aguirre contributed to the new company with the properties of the former company. The valuation of those properties reached 98,767.50 pts. However, those properties had debts and the final valuation reached 54,587 pts. The incorporation of Luis San Bartolomé to the company was with a contribution of 13,646.76 pts, by which the total amount of the company reached 68,232 pts. They agreed that both profits and debts would be divided, with 40 percent to Antonio Cajén, 40 percent to Luis San Bartolomé and 20 percent to Enrique Aguirre.³⁶⁴ The production of both companies enjoyed the modern technology of the time, since they had the patent of a new steam machine to produce barrels and staves.³⁶⁵

However, in 1879 the lack of resources and the debts that the company had contracted caused the dissolution and liquidation of "Aguirre, Cajén y San Bartolomé"

³⁶⁴ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1877, n. 147.

³⁶⁵ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1877, n. 148; AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1878, n. 13-14.

company. Antonio Aguirre took care of all the properties and the debts of the company. Doing so, he became the only owner of those properties and the rights, but the debts of them reached 80,500 pts, with Antonio Cajén owing 46,000 pts to Enrique Aguirre.³⁶⁶ Antonio Cajén, trying to give back these quantities, mortgaged the Zabala household, and all its properties in Orbaizeta.³⁶⁷ After the impossibility of returning the money, Antonio ended up selling the Zabala household and belongings within a “retro sale” agreement to Enrique Aguirre on January 20, 1880. By that agreement, Antonio Cajén, and his wife, Joaquina Aldaz, could continue living in the house by the payment of a rent of 1,920 pts.³⁶⁸

Antonio Cajén’s failure in the investments that he made, as well as in his business, did not secure the future of his whole family. On September 10 of the same year, his son Francisco Cajén Aldaz got married, and Antonio and Joaquina could not give any money as his dowry. In the dowry agreement, Antonio and Joaquina announced that they were totally bankrupted. This situation, according to them, began when Antonio Cajén started collaborating with Aguirre and Fagoaga in the barrel business. They also stated that the factory suffered a fire and all the material, including the trees from Irati forest and the machinery, were destroyed.³⁶⁹ On May 23, 1872, Antonio Cajén bought

³⁶⁶ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1878, n. 23-24-25.

³⁶⁷ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1878, n. 23-24-25 and AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1879, n. 186.

³⁶⁸ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1880, n. 8.

³⁶⁹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1880, n. 131. “Antonio y su señora se hallan animados para hacer una demostración que corresponde al cariño que profesan a su hijo y a las recomendables circunstancias que reúne, se encuentran en la imposibilidad de señalarle y entregarle capital alguno, por haber venido a menos su situación, por causa de la infinidad de pérdidas que dicho don Ángel Antonio ha sufrido en sus negocios desde que se asoció con los señores Fagoaga y Aguirre para la confección de duelas, tanto por el incendio de la fábrica que establecieron, de las existencias de su

those mentioned Irati trees from Juan Pedro Aguirre Doray, Enrique's father. Juan Pedro had bought a beech trees lot valued at 8,540 pts from Irati forest, which he transferred to Antonio Cajén in order to build a factory in Aoiz.³⁷⁰ Francisco Cajén, according to the dowry agreement, just received a cow, a young bull, equipment and furnishings from the Zabala household that had not been sold to Aguirre.³⁷¹

Nevertheless, Antonio Cajén continued with economic struggles, and he could not afford the rental payments of the Zabala household. In consequence, on July 4, 1882, Enrique and his brothers Eusebio and Miguel Aguirre Fort, bought the Zabala's household mortgage from Enrique, which broke the agreement of the resale option.³⁷² In so doing, the Aguirre brothers sold the Zabala household and its belongings permanently to José Lugea Jauquicoa for 35,000 pts.³⁷³ The Cajén family lost their family household that was transmitted generation because of generation until Antonio, who by his business failure ended up losing the possession of it.

Throughout the nineteenth century, all the businesses that exploited the Irati forest ended in failure. Although the natural resources in the Irati Forest were promising for a successful business, political circumstances, and wars, as well as the difficulties in taking out all the materials from the area, frustrated the possibilities of success to these

propiedad que fueron presa de las llamas, coste de la maquinaria, preparación de la Fabrica que se trató de establecer en Aoiz, cuanto por la total pérdida de las dos tandas de leña que bajo el mismo punto desde el monte de Irati antes de la última guerra civil habían contraído.”

³⁷⁰ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1882, n. 98. Referring to other notarial document from 1872, states, “que necesitando el expresado Cajén de materiales para dar vida a la Fábrica que iba a construir, el Señor Don Juan Pedro hizo cesión de los árboles de haya que tenía contratados en el monte de Irati, por el valor de ocho mil quinientas cuarenta pesetas.”

³⁷¹ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1880, n. 131.

³⁷² AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1882, n. 32.

³⁷³ AGN. Auritz-Burguete's notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1882, n. 99.

entrepreneurs. As reflected before, businessmen involved in Irati's exploitation companies were also involved in the liberal political parties. The companies in which Antonio Cajén was involved were oriented toward the production of new materials through the use of trees from the Irati Forest, such as barrels and beech wood staves. Therefore, these companies were in the second step of the treatment of the natural resources, since they purchased trees from other companies for the production of barrels and other wooden materials. The production and manufacture of those materials was done in two factories, which were located around the forest, with all the technology that the production needed. Those factories were in Roncesvalles and in Aoiz.

During the last Carlist War (1872-1876), the factory that the company had established in Aoiz and two batches of trees that the company had bought were burned. The loss of both factory and primary resources produced large debts and the bankruptcy of the company, and also the largest shareholder of it, Antonio Cajén. As a consequence of that fatal event, Antonio Cajén ended up losing his household in Orbaizeta, but he maintained the company and the properties that remained after the fire.

Despite these circumstances, Cajén family did not give up in their businesses and they continued with the Irati's forest exploitation project. However, now the project became more ambitious than before. Some months before losing the Zabala household, Antonio Cajén, his son Francisco, and José Manterola, son-in-law and brother-in-law respectively, managed to keep the project going. Cajén family were bankrupt, and they had lost their native household. However, they maintained the rights of the old factories

that they owned in both Aoiz and Roncesvalles. In this regard, running the factories again was the only way to improve that critical economic situation.

On June 17, 1882, Antonio, Francisco Cajén, and José Manterola came to an agreement with the Salazar Valley to exploit the Irati forest trees within in the next 15 years. Yet, the new company called “Manterola y Cajén” was not satisfied with just the production of wood materials that depended on other companies which exploited the forest.³⁷⁴ Now, they started the process from the beginning, extracting the trees from the forest, transporting them to the factories and transforming those materials into barrels, staves, and other items. This was an important bet for a family who had fallen in their previous experiences. In that regard, the new company took a new attitude toward the business.

The new company, called “Manterola y Cajén,” represented the first company which englobes both aspect of the Irati Forest exploitation. This company unified both types of companies. On one hand, they exploited the trees in situ and transported those referred materials. On the other hand, they used those materials in order to produce wood items. In this company the transportation system was the traditional river transportation by *almadías* or rafts.

In the “Manterola y Cajén” company, American capital entered by the investments made by some return migrants, but also by José Manterola himself, who was a transnational migrant. He emigrated with his wife, Anastasia Cajén, to Argentina, and, as other emigrants of the area did, he maintained contact with his relatives in the

³⁷⁴ AGN. Auritz-Burguete’s notary, Martín Miguel Erro, 1882, n. 88.

homeland. In this case, he invested some of his savings from overseas in his family-in-law business. On February 15, 1913, Anastasia Cajén, Manterola's widow, residing in Buenos Aires, made her testament in Aoiz. There she stipulated that she had 12,000 pesos deposited in "Casa Anchorena y Altorrasagasti" from Buenos Aires.³⁷⁵ Then, this family, not only was a transnational migrant family who lived in-between, but also was in contact with the group of emigrants from Aezkoa Valley who had established in Buenos Aires. Then it could be assumed that American capital was introduced into "Manterola y Cajén" company.

This family relationship through business has been studied by different scholars, who agreed in the importance of the family connection into the business world.³⁷⁶ As is explained before, in these communities the family and the house were deeply related. The ancestral household represents the loyalty for the family, and in this regard the relationship that these households and family had was very important. The originally people from those household used to assist the house, even if they were already out of the physical sphere of it. The familial relationship in business also created dependency relationships among them. Erro Gasca's in article called *Familia y negocios, la supervivencia del Clan* speaks about the relationship among business and family, emphasizing the importance of the family membership and business in the late nineteenth

³⁷⁵ AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz notary, Felipe Flórez, 1913, n. 35.

³⁷⁶ For further information see Carmen Erro Gasca, "Negocios, familia y proyección pública. El ejemplo navarro, 1830-1913," in *Cuadernos de investigación histórica*. Alberto Angulo Morales, "La 'buena fama y crédito' de la casa de comercio. Redes de relaciones mercantiles y empleo de mecanismos de dependencia a finales del Antiguo Régimen," in José María Imízcoz (ed), *Redes familiares y patronazgo, aproximación al entramado social del País Vasco y Navarra en el antiguo Régimen (siglos XV-XIX)* (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial Universidad del País Vasco, 2001), 203-224. José María Imízcoz, *Casa, Familia y sociedad*, (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial Universidad del País Vasco, 2004).

century.³⁷⁷ In the case of the Manterola and Cajén partnership, the family interaction between their businesses not only remained in Anastasia Cajén's family, but also in Manterola's family, since the couple, apart from just being married, were also cousins. The familial interference in business, in the case of this family was double.

In this context of the exploitation of the Irati forest companies, in 1888 Domingo Elizondo returned from Argentina. He was from Arike, and at young age he emigrated to Argentina. After the return of Elizondo and his wife, Graciana Duhalde, they did not establish in his hometown, as other return families did, since he built a house in Pamplona. In Pamplona, the two daughters of the couple were born, Micaela and Graciana. On April 14, 1891, Graciana Duhalde, after her second daughter's childbirth died, leaving Domingo Elizondo widowed.³⁷⁸

Domingo Elizondo's first investments of his American capital were related to the Irati forest exploitation. Then, with the relationship between the Cajén family and its business and the first investments of Elizondo, it could be assumed that there is a direct relationship among them with the creation of the most ambitious industrial project in Navarre, the company El Irati S.A. Since the first goal of El Irati S.A. company was the exploitation of the Irati forest's wood, the influence of his family business on that industry in his ambitious and more complex project could be assumed. Due to this, Domingo Elizondo's investments were directly related to this principle of the relationship

³⁷⁷ Erro Gasca, "Negocios, Familia y Proyección Pública. El ejemplo Navarro, 1830-1913," in *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica*, n. 17 (1999): 38.

³⁷⁸ Víctor Manuel Egia Astibia, *El Irati S.A. El sueño de Domingo Elizondo* (Pamplona: Nabarralde, 2014), 17.

between family and business, and therefore, in this example, the relationship among the family, household, and business is exemplified.

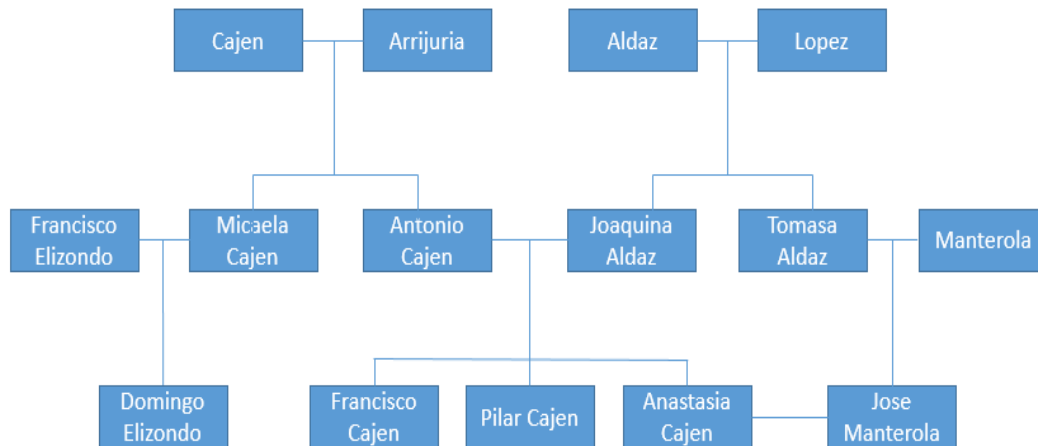


Figure 17: Domingo Elizondo's family

Then the interest of Domingo Elizondo in the exploitation of the Irati forest and its resources is not a new venture. The relationship between both companies was possible because of the contract that “Manterola y Cajén” company made in 1882 with the Salazar Valley in order to exploit the forest for 15 years, the common interest in the Irati’s exploitation, and the relationship among the genuine idea of exploiting it from the beginning. It is possible to assume that there was a relationship between the previous Irati company and the one that Domingo Elizondo, with other shareholders, would create some years later. Domingo Elizondo, continuing with his family ideological tradition, was involved in the liberal party. Because of this, the relation among his business and the previous Irati companies is also important, since all of them were involved in the liberal party.

As mentioned before, one of the problems that the nineteenth century companies had in the exploitation of the Irati forest was the transportation of both, materials and primary resources. The main transportation of the wood was made by *almadías* or rafts throughout the Irati River. That traditional transportation manner was based on a raft which was made by the wood that at the same time would be transported. Then, the limitation of that transportation from the forest to the village of Aoiz was clear. For a successful transportation, the rivers needed to be in good condition, and these companies invested large quantities of money in the improvement of the riverbanks and in the maintenance of the *esclusas* (the place where the saw to treat the trees was).

When Domingo Elizondo returned from Argentina, the electrical power was being installed in Pamplona, and by which, the electrical energy arrived in Navarre.³⁷⁹ In this regard, according to Garrués Irurzun, in August of 1887 the council of Pamplona started contacts with an engineer in order to plan a project to bring electric power to the city, and on April 5, 1888, the council and the *Sociedad Española de Electricidad* [Spanish electrical company] signed a contract in order to install street lighting in Pamplona.³⁸⁰

During the first years of electrical production in Navarre, two main conditions were needed in order to produce energy: the appropriate technology and natural resources. In that regard, many of the old flour mills were transformed into hydroelectric mills through which the electrical power in the society of Navarre was established. An example of this transformation in the previous chapter was the case of the flour mill of

³⁷⁹ Joséan Garrués Irurzun, "El desarrollo del Sistema eléctrico Navarro, 1888-1896," in *Revista de Historia Industrial*, n.11 (1997): 75-76.

³⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, 75.

Garaioa, which was transformed into a hydroelectric power station. The implication of Ciríaco Morea in that business was not a product of a causality, as will be shown in the next pages. The production of electricity by the hydroelectric power station needed waterfall or water jumps in order to create electricity. In this context, Garrués Irurzun says,

Small electric companies focused on public and private lighting. It must be kept in mind that the simple application of a small continuous current generator, in one of the multiple mills throughout the geography of Navarre, would cover this service. On the other hand, some rural industries (sugar, flour, oil, and irrigation) became small self-producers, which allowed them to produce their own light and power to cover their most basic activities.³⁸¹

This incipient industry attracted the main businessmen from Navarre, in which Serapio Huici was one of them. Huici was involved in the most important and successful companies and business of the time and also became a friend of Domingo Elizondo. In this context, Domingo Elizondo, with more shareholders, entered into the electrical business, through the Electra Aoiz company. This company would be the starting point for the future company El Irati S.A.

On August 5, 1902, in Pamplona, the Electra-Aoiz was configured with Juan Miguel Astiz notary. The founders of the company were Domingo Elizondo, Severiano Blanco (Doctor), Eugenio Lizarraga (Lawyer from Pamplona), Vicente Diaz Bezunartea (Lawyer from Aoiz), Santiago Ortiz Iribarren (merchant from Aoiz), Serapio Huici

³⁸¹ Joséan Garrués, “Desarrollo del sistema eléctrico navarro, 1888-1986” *Revista de Historia Industrial*, n. 11 (1997): 82-83. Translated by the author: “se multiplicaron las pequeñas eléctricas centradas en el alumbrado público y privado de puntos de consumo. Hay que tener en cuenta que la simple aplicación de un pequeño generador de corriente continua, en alguno de los múltiples molinos que cubrían la geografía navarra, permitía cubrir este servicio. por otro lado, algunas industrias rurales (azucareras, harineras, aceiteras y de regadío) se convirtieron en pequeñas auto productoras, dotándose de luz y fuerza para cubrir sus actividades más elementales.”

(Engineer), and Emilio Azarola (Engineer). According to Garrués Irurzun and Egia Astibia, the principal intentions of that company were: first, the production of electro-motor force for industrial and commercial uses, by exploiting a waterfall or water jump that Domingo owned in Ekai. Second, the transportation, application and supply of that referred force. Third, the production and supply of public lighting to Pamplona and surrounding towns.³⁸² In this company, besides Domingo Elizondo's American capital, more American money was invested, since other transnational migrants invested in the company, such as Antonio Arostegui and Ciríaco Morea.³⁸³ This first company, according to Garrués Irurzun "its initial purpose consisted in the production of electricity, through the use of the waterfall located in Ekai (Longuida Valley), for its commercialization in Pamplona and in the villages bordering its line."³⁸⁴

In order to implement electricity in Navarre, Domingo Elizondo, in 1904, started buying lands and properties, as well as waterfalls in order to create his big project, El Irati S.A. Then, from 1904 to 1912 Domingo Elizondo in his name bought lands and properties in Aoiz, Artozki, and Ekai from at least nine different sellers.

Domingo Elizondo started acquiring rights on waterfalls along the Irati River. On September 13, 1904, the government of Navarre granted Domingo Elizondo, in perpetuity, the right to derive four thousand liters of water per second, from the Irati

³⁸² Víctor Manuel Egia Astibia, *El Irati S.A. El sueño de Domingo Elizondo*, 27.

³⁸³ *Ibidem*, 27.

³⁸⁴ Joséan Garrués Irurzun, *El Irati, Compañía general de maderas, fuerzas hidráulicas y tranvía eléctrico de Navarra: Una empresa autoprodutora comercial de electricidad, 1904-1961* (Madrid: Fundación Sepi), 6. Translated by the autor: "Su objeto inicial consistía en la producción de electricidad, mediante el aprovechamiento del salto situado en Ecay, para su comercialización en Pamplona y en los pueblos limítrofes a su línea."

River in the jurisdiction of Artozki and using a waterfall of twenty-seven meters, to obtain electric power for industrial uses.³⁸⁵ In that interest of electricity and the exploitation of the Irati forest, Domingo Elizondo during those years, as Castiella states, traveled to Germany with Ciríaco Morea and Serapio Huici, in order to see the latest advances in the industry of that country.³⁸⁶

After acquiring the right to use the water, Domingo Elizondo started constructing the supplies in order to exploit that water rights in Artozki. The works consisted of a dam of four and a half meters above the level of the waters in the dry season, and eighty-seven meters in length. There was also a canal on the left side of the river, ten meters wide and two thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven meters in length, which ended in a regulatory deposition, preceded by a tunnel, of forty-nine meters in length. A pipeline led the water to the machine house with a jump height of twenty-seven meters. The machine house, called the old mill, was on the left bank of the Irati River. In the old mill were two turbines from the Anime Giesecke house in Brirusrik, two three-phase alternators from the house of AEG Thomson Houston Ibérica, and two transformers from the same referred house. The mill also had a drainage channel to replenish the water to the river.³⁸⁷

Apart from that mill in Artozki, Domingo Elizondo also had another hydraulic power station in Aoiz within the same characteristic. For that one, he received the rights

³⁸⁵ AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz notary. Felipe Flórez, 1910, n. 70.

³⁸⁶ María Castiella Rodríguez, “‘El Irati S.A.’. Una empresa diversificada: electricidad, montes, destilería y ferrocarril,” in *Príncipe de Viana* n. 53, n. 197 (1992): 699.

³⁸⁷ AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz notary. Felipe Flórez, 1910, n. 70.

and permissions on June 13, 1908. The total value of both hydraulic power stations reached 1,916,500.00 pts.³⁸⁸

Some of the acquisitions that Domingo Elizondo made were from the Manterola and Aldaz families. Then, the relationship among those families was again demonstrated regarding the exploitation of the Irati's natural resources, such as wood and water. Throughout those acquisition of lands, on August 25, 1907, Domingo Elizondo bought from the heirs of Joaquín Antonio Aldaz López, a brother of his aunt Joaquina Aldaz López, 14 plots of land. Those lands that Domingo Elizondo bought were all in Ekai of Longuida, a village close to Aoiz, where the main factory of El Irati Company would be established. The total amount that Elizondo paid for those properties reached 6,119 pts.³⁸⁹ In the same vein, Domingo Elizondo bought from Pilar Manterola Aldaz a property in Aoiz on August 9, 1907. That acquisition was made for 250 pts.³⁹⁰ The acquisition of land in Ekai of Longuida went further, since between 1907 to 1912 Elizondo bought more properties with a value of 4,602 pts from four different people.³⁹¹

All of these land acquisitions were made in Beragitoa, a land located between Aoiz and Ekai, which are adjacent locations. Domingo Elizondo also bought some properties from the Marques of Guirión, in the Beragitoa location from Aoiz. Through

³⁸⁸ AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz notary. Felipe Flórez, 1910, n. 70.

³⁸⁹ AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz notary. Felipe Flórez, 1907, n. 92.

³⁹⁰ AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz notary. Felipe Flórez, 1907, n. 20.

³⁹¹ AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz notary. Felipe Flórez, 1907, n. 101; *ibidem*, 1908, n. 111; *ibidem*, 1909, n. 15; *ibidem*, 1911, n. 107 and *ibidem*, 1912, n. 4.

this purchase, Domingo acquired a paper factory in the village of Aoiz and some lands around the same factory. The total amount of this purchase came to 17,511.5 pts.³⁹²

Then the total amount of money that he had invested in land prior to 1912, either in the village of Ekai or in Aoiz was 28,482 pts. With such investments, Domingo Elizondo had a clear intention of acquiring land in the Irati River bank, since all the properties were along the river bank. By this acquisition, he also made some permutés in order to make his properties larger in that referred area of Beragitoa.³⁹³

The acquisition of land by permute system is also an extended phenomenon for returnees. Perhaps the landscape that they had met in the Americas influenced returnees, in terms of achieving bigger pieces of lands, in order to exploit them more efficiently. Then, many times they ended up making changes in order to have all the properties in the same area, rather than own the same amount of land divided in small pieces of land across the village. That could be seen as an influence of the American extensive landholding that returnees had met overseas.

During the years of continues acquisition of land, the Electra-Aoiz became El Irati S.A., a company of wood, water power, and the electric railroad of Navarre. The company was created in Aoiz on November 6, 1907. The founders of the new company were almost the same as in Electra-Aoiz: Domingo Elizondo, Severiano Blanco, Eugenio

³⁹² AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz notary. Felipe Flórez, 1910, 86 and 98.

³⁹³ AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz notary. Felipe Flórez, 1907, n. 51; AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz notary. Felipe Flórez, 1912, n. 5.

Lizarraga, Vicente Diaz Bezunartea, Santiago Ortiz, Felipe Ortigosa, Eugenio Lizarraga, and Serapio Huici.

In that day, this group of businessmen created the statutes of the company, which listed the main objectives of the company. First, the production of electro-motive power for manufacturing, commercial, and industrial uses, through the exploitation of a water dam that the Electra-Aoiz had built on the banks of the Irati River, in the Artozki jurisdiction. By the water dam reported by Domingo Elizondo in the jurisdiction of Ekai, valley of Longuida, and in Aoiz, which were currently under construction. Second, the transportation, application, and supply of the generated force would be delivered to the points that would be determined by the board of the company. Third, the production and supply of electric lighting would be provided to Pamplona, Aoiz, and other towns close to the line which would transport the electrical force, as well as in all the points to which the company would see convenient to extend. Fourthly, the new company would acquire all the properties, hydraulic forces, administrative concessions, machinery, electrical installations, transmission networks of forces, rights, shares and obligations that belonged to the Electra-Aoiz. Fifthly, the company would construct and operate an electric train which started at the north railway station in Pamplona, and would travel to Villava, Huarte, Urroz, Aoiz and Lumbier, reaching Sangüesa. According to the project and Electra-Aoiz's concessions to the company, the mills they currently had in the jurisdiction of Artozki and the one that was under construction in the village of Aoiz would provide the electricity necessary for different industrial uses. Sixthly, they would exploit the Irati Forest in the Salazar Valley, and other forests that the company would

acquire.³⁹⁴ Then, Electra-Aoiz would be absorbed by the creation of El Irati S.A. company. The new company bought all the rights and properties that the old company owned.

In this way, Domingo Elizondo's project started by taking already established economic practices of natural resource exploitation, for instance the mills; the former companies of that exploitation; small factories where the wood was treated and transformed into new materials; river transportation of the materials through rafts or *almadías*.³⁹⁵ Then, El Irati S.A. took them and created a new way of business and resource exploitation.

In 1907, the factory of Ekai was under construction, establishing a sawmill in the factory, in which tree trunks would be treated. As mentioned before, the tree trunks were transported by river transportation from the forest to the factory. Then as the factory was established on the river bank, the company also built a canal and a damming, parallel to the river, in order to facilitate transportation and processing of the materials.

³⁹⁴ AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz notary, Felipe Flórez, 1907, n. 140.

³⁹⁵ AGN. Agoitz-Aoiz notary, Felipe Flórez. 1911, n. 30.

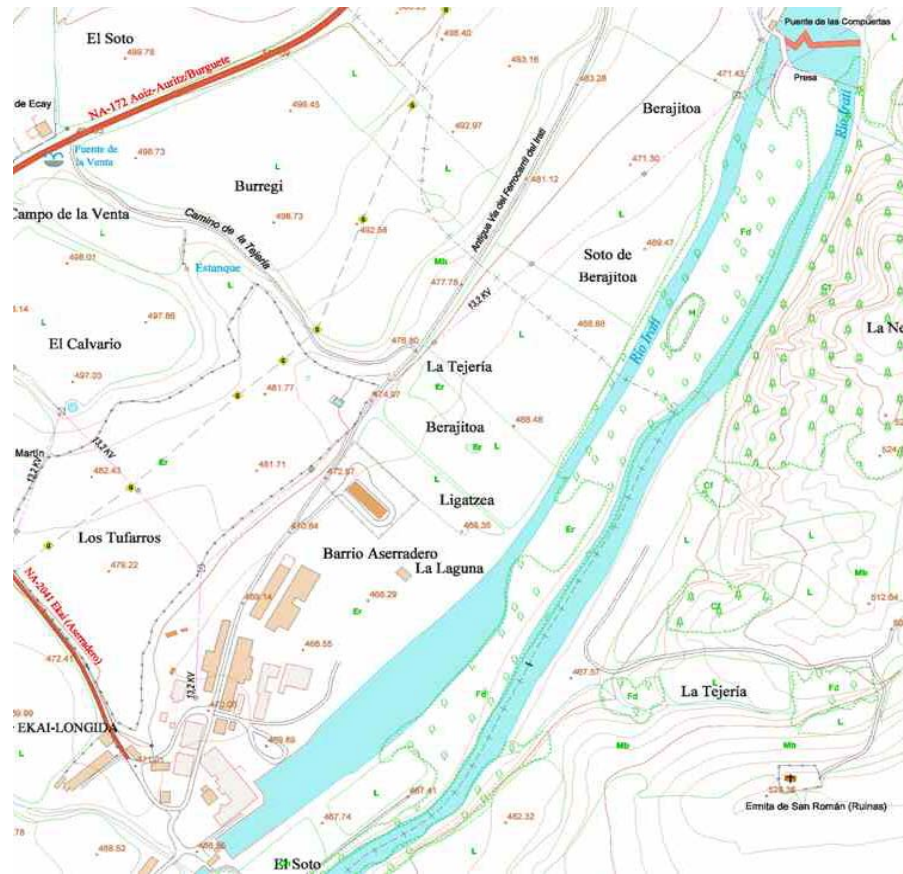


Figure 18: El Irati S.A. at Ekai. Sitna Navarra

After the sawmill started working, the board of the company, in which Domingo Elizondo was the president, decided to create a distillery where the waste from treated wood in the sawmill would be utilized to produce chemical products. Meanwhile the company also started producing charcoal with the waste from the sawmill. Then, the Irati Company diversified the business taking advantage of all the opportunities that the natural resources from Irati provided them.

The previous existing practices which worked separately, now, by the creation of the El Irati S.A. all were used in the context of a bigger business. Then, Domingo Elizondo's project took all of the existing practices forms and by the application of new

ideas, knowledge, and technology, he and his shareholders created a new economic or industrial practice form, in which the previous practices worked together. Therefore, El Irati S.A. could be understood as a hybridization process as a result of the combination of previously existing practices.

By this application of new technology and knowledge, the company created the first electrical train, which connected the capital of Navarre to the area that Elizondo was interested in developing. The emergence of the electrical train was made in order to transport the materials in an efficient manner from the factory in Ekai to Pamplona. By this implementation the connection with those villages and towns to the capital was improved.

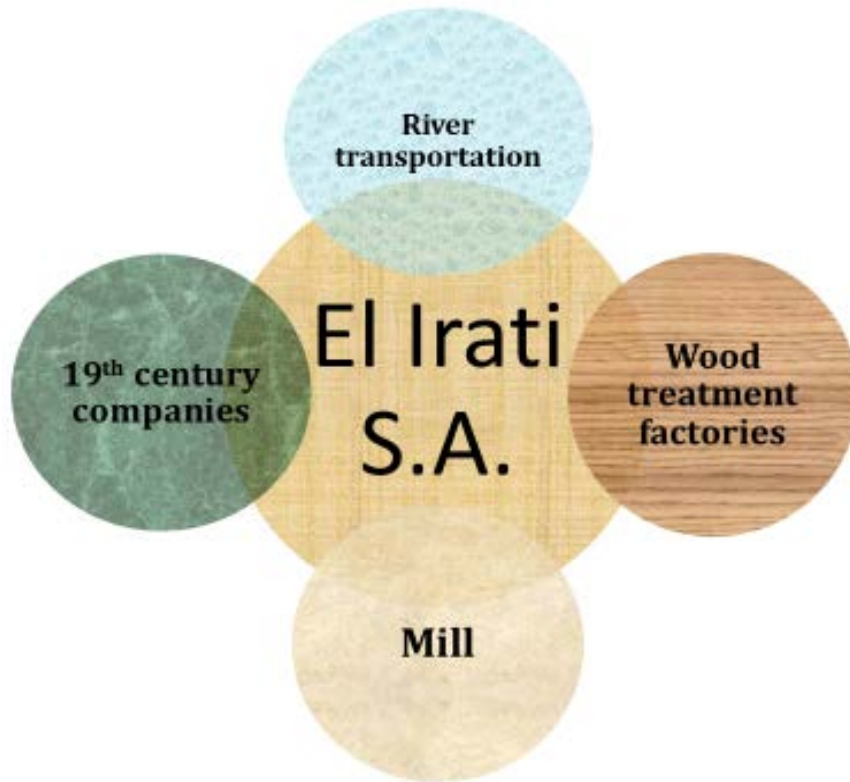


Figure 19: The hybridity of the Irati Forest exploitation practices

As a consequence of the impact that Elizondo's ideas produced in Navarre through the creation of El Irati SA, and the implementation of the first electrical train in Spain, the Government of Navarre honored him with the most important social recognition that the government could provide. They named Domingo Elizondo "Hijo predilecto de Navarra."³⁹⁶ That tribute was given in order to recognize his effort in the development of the province as a whole. The tribute was extended to the council of Pamplona who named him adoptive son of the city, as well as in Aoiz where he also received recognition.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ El Eco de Navarra. April 26, 1911.

³⁹⁷ El Eco de Navarra. April 15, 1911.

Apart from becoming an important figure in the industrialization of Navarre, Domingo Elizondo also became a politician. Provincial elections held in Navarra, as in the rest of the country, every two years. According to the electoral law at the time, only a part of the provincial deputies was to be renewed. Thus in 1915, three of the seven deputies were to be elected, according to the law of August 16, 1841; two for the Estella district and one for the district of Aoiz. Following his father's liberal ideology, he presented himself to the elections of deputies from the area of Aoiz in 1915.³⁹⁸ Domingo Elizondo, independent liberal and close to the left, managed to defeat in the district of Aoiz the Carlist candidate, Gabriel Zabaleta, president of the savings bank association.

In 1913, Pedro Uranga was elected deputy, followed by Domingo Elizondo in 1915. Domingo Elizondo was together with Uranga, the promoter of the initial modernization and democratization of the Navarrese Government. The Carlists had monopolized the Government since the beginning of the twentieth century, but since 1913 a union movement of all liberals had emerged to oust Carlists with the motto "Por Navarra y para Navarra" [For Navarre and for Navarre]. Both campaigned in order to democratize the council, calling for the necessity of the development of internal regulations. Principally, what they were asking for was the opening of the Board sessions to the public, since the meetings were held behind closed doors. By this petition, they wanted to publicize the sessions rather than having them be secrets for the people.

³⁹⁸ Mercedes Vázquez de Prada, "La Crisis de la Diputación Foral de Navarra en 1915," in *Príncipe de Viana* 15 (1993): 1-2.

Their campaign created instability and internal confrontation in the Navarrese Government. The majority of the deputies were Carlists, and they did not accept the regularization petition. Therefore, Uranga and Elizondo presented their resignations in 1916, and Domingo Elizondo left the government in November of the same year.³⁹⁹ In 1828, Domingo Elizondo died, and Serapio Huici, took the presidency of El Irati S.A. This company continued functioning until its dissolution in the 1970s.

This intention to democratize the internal organization of the government is another expression of the effort that returnees made in order to modernize the area. In this way, modernization remained in industrial practices and in the implementation of new infrastructure and commodities, but it also translated into the political spheres. The figure of Domingo Elizondo gathered many aspects of modernization that returnees promoted in their communities, such as electrical lighting, basic infrastructure, education, and industrial practices, but also the personal effort that those figures made in order to apply the modernization that they believed would improve the everyday lives of their compatriots.

Conclusion

The industrialization and industrial development of Navarre started in the first decades of the twentieth century, in some instance, thanks to the capital and ideas of one returnee, Domingo Elizondo, and other transnational migrants such as Ciríaco Morea and Antonio Arostegui who also supported the project, investing large amounts of money into

³⁹⁹ Ángel García-Sanz Marcotegui, *Diccionario Biográfico de los Diputados Forales de Navarra (1840-1931)*, 110-111.

the company. In this way, transnational encounters, the acquisition of new ideas, and knowledge, in transnational migration experiences impacted the local community, not only through the acquisition of land and houses, but also in the development of new businesses, which created opportunities for local people. They also provided the latest technology (e.g. electrical train) and introduced industrialization to their homeland. Therefore, the project of El Irati S.A. can be understood as a product of migratory experiences, in which the encounters with other industrial practices and developments allowed Domingo Elizondo, the main founder, and his shareholders, to introduce new ideas in the previously established practices of their country of origin. By the promotion of the newest infrastructure and knowledge, this group of returnees and transnational migrants, especially Domingo Elizondo, sustained the economic development of their country of birth.

Conclusion

The dramatic sinking of the *Principe de Asturias* ship on which the Chiquirrín-Alsina family died, impacted the small valley of Aezkoa as well as other parts of the Basque Country. Many transnational migrants from the Basque Country made their last trip to visit their businesses, families and friends from overseas on the ship. So did the Chiquirrín-Alsina family, however destiny did not let them arrive in Buenos Aires - Argentina- the country of origin of Ana Alsina and the country of opportunities of Francisco Chiquirrín. That defeat did not mean that the legacy and influences of Chiquirrín in the homeland sank in the depths of the ocean, since his legacy and traces were maintained in the village of Garaioa and in the imagination of the locals until the present.

This personal experience represents how the emigration from the Basque Country to the Americas was not just a one-way phenomenon, since many transnational migrants kept in contact with the homeland, and many of them lived in-between both worlds.

In the previous pages, the extent to which transnational migration affected the rural communities from northern Navarre is revealed. The history of the Juanpolit household and its family, that of Chiquirrín, explores and gathers all the aspects of the

transnational migration process and its experiences through the interaction between two worlds. Through this family, it has also been shown how the encounters affected the family and its members' interactions and dynamics. Following the vital story of that family and its members, many aspects emerged where emigration impacted the local societies, and indeed the families. Transnational migration between the Basque Country and the Americas did not remain on the banks of the Atlantic Ocean, since the connections between both territories amongst transnational migrants was constant. By this interaction and the flow of ideas, capital, and people, emigration generated changes and influences on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, in the receiving countries and in the homeland.

Throughout the chapters, this dissertation has examined the influences that those who departed and returned created in their local communities. Overall, the migration from Aezkoa Valley and surrounding areas did not remain in the departure, since many of those emigrants maintained contact and interacted across the Atlantic Ocean. More importantly, those encounters influenced the everyday lives of Aezkoans.

This dissertation has proved that not only non-heirs emigrated to the Americas, but also many family heads emigrated from Aezkoa Valley and the surrounding areas. The absences of the family heads provoked the emergence of a new phenomenon in the society, split-household families. These split-household families created new problems that the society had to confront. Wives achieved new roles in the society caused by the absence of their husbands, as manifested in the case of the Chiquirrín family, among others. The new roles that these women enacted empowered them, since they ascended

into a new position in the society through the appearance of female family heads. Then, because of these new realities, wives started participating in public life, becoming “white widows” vis-à-vis the society in Aezkoa Valley. Even if they were married, they acted and behaved as widowed, taking care of the upkeep of the household and families alone.

The study of women’s attitudes is one of the main goals of this dissertation. The analysis of emigration not only of males provides information about the reality that those families suffered, but also a gender analysis of migrants reveals important data, such as the high numbers of female migrants in the Aezkoa Valley area. Therefore, not all women of the area decided to remain at home and follow the traditional lifestyle of the area, such as marrying, entering in the church, or remaining single for their entire life. The status of unmarried women in a family household meant being under the direction and power of others, such as husbands, parents, family-in-law, or siblings. Entering into the church also meant the subordination to church authorities, although in the nineteenth century, the appearance of new congregations gave the opportunity to these women to be introduced into other realities, such as education, charity and health professions.

However, many of these women decided to emigrate in order to escape the life that they would have had at home. These women decided to leave their homeland societies and establish themselves overseas, seeing the Americas as a place of freedom for their personal development and livelihood. Therefore, even if some women remained at home, some emigrated to seek fortune, or even to escape the local patriarchal society and traditions, while others tried to unify the family by going overseas, therefore women from the Aezkoa Valley and the surrounding area challenged new realities.

The appearance of these new realities in the family units transformed the everyday lives of the peasants from Aezkoa Valley and the surrounding areas. The appearance of “orphan children” is an indication of how deeply those absences in the family unit influenced not only women, but also the children of those divided families.

The perpetuation of migration experiences in return families indicates that emigration impacted not only first-generation emigrants, but also their children, since the phenomenon of transnational migration was perpetuated into the next generations. Many of the children who had been born in the Americas also experienced emigration, or in other words, the return of their family to the Aezkoa Valley. Many of these American children failed to adapt to their ancestors’ homeland and this provoked their return to their homeland, which was the Americas. For these children, their family’s country and towns signified a home away from the homeland. This emigration of American-born children perpetuated departures and divisions in family units and relationships. The return of emigrant families did not mean the end of a circle, or in other words, the return of these children to the Americas meant the continuation of the separation of a family unit across the Atlantic Ocean.

In terms of return, there are three main patterns that are observed. First, there is the return of married husbands who owned a household in the area. However, many men who married overseas established their family not in their hometown, but instead in other villages of the area, where they bought a house when they returned. In the case of the unmarried, they usually tried to marry into a good positioned household from the area, in their villages or in another village of the valley. The emigration of all of them could be

understood as an escape from these deeply-rooted societies, in which social promotion was strongly controlled and social mobility was very difficult. When they returned, their ambition was to upgrade their previous social status through marriage strategies and the acquisition of land and houses.

Therefore, these marriage strategies, the acquisition of land and houses, or even the construction of new houses in the common lands of the villages affected the lives of the peasants of Aezkoa Valley and the surrounding areas. The majority of influences were related to the household and family dynamics and strategies, as well as to economic developments and defeats. The changes in the landholding ownership, especially through the purchase of not only personal lands but also common lands, changed and opened the neighborhood system. These changes also coincided with a larger transformation at the end of the Ancient Regime, and, at the same time, the ending of the neighborhood system. Therefore, the appearance of mass migration and returnees in the late nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth helped in the transformation of the local society, and in some instances, helped to open its rigid social realities. The realities that these returnees caused also impacted the running and administration of the common pool resources of the area, especially of common lands. These influences helped in the transformation of the local authorities and lifestyle. The preference of some returnees to build new houses in common lands confronted the rigid local organization, separating them from the familial and community powers.

The appearance of newly built houses in the area changed the mentality of returnees. The absence from their roots and family for years caused the returnees to

establish themselves outside of their normal sphere. In some cases, these returnees owned the family household, but ended up buying a new one or building a house apart from their relatives. This also could be seen as a rejection of the family traditions and the end of the neighborhood system. The decades of disconnection from their relatives and society provoked this estrangement from their roots that was materialized in the construction of new houses in the area. With these new houses, the family structures changed from families composed of large members to nuclear families, the one that Yaben saw as contrary to the stability of the family in northern Navarre.

Throughout the analysis of return migration, gender differentiation among returnees in the area of study is demonstrated. Many women emigrated from Aezkoa Valley and the area around it, however just a few cases of women returnees have been found. Then, the refusal to return among Basque transnational migrant women could be assumed. In this vein, women emigrated from Aezkoa Valley in order to distance themselves from the lifestyle of the homeland, feeling more freedom in the Americas than in their own societies, and because of that, they rejected going back to their native villages.

The cases of successful transnational emigrants and returnees are the minority of the migration phenomena, however their influence in the homeland is more visible. These groups of successful businessmen wanted to help their communities of origin by providing them with new infrastructure and services, such as new water supply systems, electric lighting, schools, and roads. These initiatives were mainly oriented to their social recognition in their hometowns. Keeping in mind the humble origins of these

transnational migrants and their success in the Americas, these initiatives could be seen as a demonstration of their economic power and social position, that they would not have been able to achieve had they not emigrated.

These demonstrations of capital and economic power were also related to the reinforcement of their new status to their compatriots. In the case of Aezkoa, all of these returnees and transnational migrants were linked to the liberal ideology, therefore, the implementation of these improvements and developments were oriented to the liberal ideas and to the vital experiences that they had lived through overseas.

In this vein, the implementation of the electric lighting in their hometowns could also be seen as a representation of their liberal mentality. They would be imbued with an obligation to carry what they considered the light of modernity against the darkness of traditionalism. Then the light was not only something tangible but also a representation of their liberal ideals. Therefore, these initiatives could be seen as modernization, or in other words, these returnees and transnational migrants brought with them to their homeland a part of the capital from America, in addition to fresh ideas to improve and modernize the area. Then it could be affirmed that they brought modernity to their homeland in terms of modernizing the infrastructure of their hometowns.

Transnational encounters, the acquisition of new ideas and knowledge in transnational migration experiences impacted local communities, not only by the acquisition of land and houses, but also by the development of new businesses, which created opportunities for the local people, provided the latest technology (such as the train), and introduced industrialization to their homeland. Therefore, the project of El

Irati S.A. could be understood as a product of the migratory experience, in which the encounters with other industrial practices and developments allowed the main founder, Domingo Elizondo and his shareholders, to introduce new ideas into the previously established practices in the country of origin of those migrants. Therefore, Domingo Elizondo through the establishment of the El Irati S.A. in the village of Aoiz, introduced job opportunities as well as wealth to the geographical area in which the Irati River went through.

Transnational migration and interaction across the Atlantic Ocean allowed for changes in the local communities of the Aezkoa Valley, opening its rigid social structure. By studying these migration phenomena, this dissertation also gives a place for the rural communities in a larger context of the history of the Basque Country. The organization and goings on of these communities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been studied less, with the development of modern cities taking precedence over the development of the countryside. Then, through the analysis of the documents presented in this dissertation, the influence of migration is addressed as well as the society of this area, bringing to light new realities in rural Basque communities, such as those in Aezkoa Valley and throughout northern Navarre.

Epilogue

Nowadays the influence of overseas migration is still alive in the society of northern Navarre. Many people still maintain transnational families, since the figure of the American uncle is still very common today. This American uncle left the family household at a young age, and established his or herself overseas, especially in Mexico or in California. Until the 1960s or even the 1970s, emigration from northern Navarre to the Americas persisted. However, apart from these transnational families, the main influence that contemporary society maintains can be seen in music and in the presence of the highball, 7 and 7, in the youth's drinking tastes.

Emigration from northern Navarre to Mexico during the first half of the twentieth century brought Mexican music back to the Basque Country, especially rancheras. During the twentieth century, this music has become deeply rooted in the musical culture of northern Navarre, becoming part of its popular music. This musical culture, in the last decades, has gone through a transformation or hybridization process, becoming a hybrid product of the twenty-first century. Through the mixture of Mexican music with the rock of the Basque Country, also known as *Rock Radical Vasco* [Basque radical rock], the *Napar-Mex* style appeared, with *Cojón Prieto y los Guajolotes*, the *Impekables*, and the

Zopilotes Txirriaos as the founders of this musical style beginning in the 1990s and evolving until today.

The analysis of this cultural hybridity process would be a good theme for further research, as both a cultural hybridity process and the manifestation of Mexican music in the popular culture of the Basque Country. This music, perhaps caused a transformation in identity formation beyond just culture.

In this vein, more focus for further research would be the impact that the land purchasing and permutates had on the landscape of these villages. In other words, if the land acquisitions and permutations provoked a change in the landholding structures, the visual impact of it in the environment could be studied. If these returnees wanted bigger pieces of land, after these permutations and acquisitions, the landscape and land organization of these villages may have also changed. I suggest two main research points for future research: the intersection between migration and environmental history through the lens of cultural history, as well as the hybridization processes of music production across the Atlantic and its effects on Navarrese identity.

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