Goian Bego: Basque Gravestone Symbol Analysis in the Intermountain West

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by

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Authorization to Submit Thesis

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Abstract

Jordan Valley, Oregon, and Emmett, Idaho, are two small towns in eastern Oregon and western Idaho that are based on mining, ranching, and agriculture. Both have had varying levels of Basque populations throughout the past century. The Basque Museum and Cultural Center, being established in 1985, has served the Basque community in preserving its history in the intermountain west region of the United States. Through collaboration with the Basque Museum and Cultural Center, a project was formed that built upon a previous project for expanding gravestone photo documentation. This thesis presents both photographic information that was collected through collaborations with the Basque Museum and volunteers and an analysis on the presence of Basque symbols on their gravestones. The results of the photograph analysis revealed transitions of symbol usage, expressing potential revitalization through gravestone symbols.

Acknowledgments

This research could not have happened without the support of many people, especially considering the need for me to change my research mid-way through graduate school due to the covid-19 pandemic. First, many thanks to Patty Miller and Amanda Bielmann at the Basque Museum and Cultural Center in Boise. It was through your generosity that I had such a great alternative project to work on. To my committee members, Dr. Katrina Eichner, Dr. Mark Warner, and Dr. Katherine Kolpan – Kat, thank you for teaching me to not be afraid of theory and its application. Mark, thank you for encouraging me in both undergraduate and graduate school to “dig a little deeper”. Kate, thank you for sharing your passion for anthropology through the classroom. To my family and friends, too many to name – but shoutout to Chelsea and Kristen – thank you for your consistent prayers, words of encouragement and advice, and brain breaks. To Leah, Eleasha, Dan, MJ, Haydon, Heidi – your support and assistance through this process was crucial to the success of this project. To my bosses Jenny and Sam at the Moscow Chamber of Commerce – your flexibility allowed for focus during a highly stressful year. Lastly, to my husband Graham – your support through prayer and listening, guidance with technology, patience, and selflessness helped keep me sane during this tumultuous, crazy, and priceless experience called graduate school. Thank you all.

Dedication

This is dedicated to my family, who also stem from a history of immigration. May we remember our history.

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Introduction

The passing of life into death is one of few activities to which all people must succumb. With such passing comes a tending of the deceased that is reflective of the culture they were a part of. How death becomes memorialized then is dependent on both who is being buried, and who is laying the loved one to rest. One ethnic group's memorialization practices that have been lumped into "white-American" are the Basque. While some common methods for commemorating their dead are what could be deemed "modern", there are subtle hybridities of representation that need more exploration.

The Basque Museum of Boise, Idaho, has continued to provide Idaho and surrounding areas with valuable resources on the history of the Vasco – the Basque. In contrast with other diasporic communities within Ada County and beyond, the Basque have established themselves as unique in their settlement history in the United States, while still fiercely maintaining a strong sense of self and communal identity (Kurlansky, 2001). The Basque Museum occupies a one block section of Boise known as the Basque Block, between Capitol Boulevard and Sixth Street. The Basque Museum offers Boise residents access to resources on local history, Basque community activities, and even a Basque language preschool.

One of the larger research areas the Museum has created is that of the Ahatzu Barik Cemetery Project. The project originator, Liz Hardesty, pursued documentation and identification of Basque grave sites within Boise. The project's purpose was to commemorate Basque predecessors, as well as to continue honoring the deceased Basque.

My research has shifted due to outside circumstances involving the covid-19 pandemic. However, the Basque cemetery project coincides with my previous project analyzing death and its various memorialization methods. This work also connected to my field school in Mallorca, Spain, for which I took part in excavating Byzantine era church

burials. While that excavation took place in Catalunya rather than the Basque country, the premise of documenting burials and whether they portray cultural continuity by the community that inhabits the same geographical space remains. This thesis then, will support the engagement of the community with their local history and provide documentation of Basque grave markers.

Community involvement is an important part of this work, augmenting already existing materials so that one may have a more complete presentation of local resources. Activation of stakeholder involvement will encourage a restoration of access and interest for local communities. To further move towards an archaeological method of ‘with’ instead of ‘on’, the focus of this research will also provide ease of access to information usually separated by internet paywalls and lack of ability to discover academic resources.

The Basque-American community has always expressed itself as set apart from other diasporic groups, specifically in the Americanization of minority groups (Thursby, 1994). Although the documentation of their cultural practices is common, exploration of the lives of the deceased through representation on their grave markers is lacking. In the specific case of my research, such relationships have not been necessarily documented beyond what one would find on a popular website, such as www.findagrave.com. The ability to easily locate names and dates of departed friends and family is valuable. However, information found on this website and others has the potential to neither be verified, nor necessarily peer reviewed (Meade, 2020). This then creates a need for work that is focused on individual cemeteries. Interpretations of the gathered information on gravestones will provide a more cohesive background of shifting cultural trends in relation to burying children, adults, and the elderly within the Basque community.

To fulfill the thesis goals, there will be use of collaboration with the Basque Museum as a space of interconnection between the associated communities. The procurement of pictorial documentation of the specific grave sites will occur through collaboration and assistance from members within the towns and unincorporated communities. The expected assistance is to be from either high schoolers or community service members, depending on interest by each party or individual. This incorporation of site-specific involvement will then encourage the participants to actively and tangibly examine their relationship to their community’s past citizens. Other end goals include providing dedicated time that can be

documented for community service for any involved students so that they may also directly benefit from the project for post-secondary education opportunities. The framework of this project and thesis will also then create replicable guidance for future collection of cemetery photos for the Basque Museum.

This thesis provides a report on my collaboration with the Basque Museum and Cultural Center in Boise, Idaho, as well as my own analysis from the two sites of Jordan Valley, Oregon, and Emmett, Idaho. This thesis addresses two primary goals from among the several goals and questions involved in my research. The main one came from the collaboration with the Basque Museum: there would be some form of community involvement in the process of collecting information from the sites, as the best possible means for increasing volunteer interest and levels of commitment. The collected information of gravestone photographs would then be given to the Museum so that it would be able to freely use them without concern about copyright issues, as would be the case with pulling pictures from a website such as find-a-grave.com. The second goal is to establish if there were any evidenced trends for Basque symbolism usage on the gravestones and if there were factors that influenced the use of Basque symbolism.

This thesis is based upon the following outline: Chapter I provides a history of the Basque in Europe, with particular emphasis on the Basque residing in Spain. Chapter II is a continuation of historical background, with the focus shifting to the Basque in the United States. As part of this chapter, I will focus on Basque in Jordan Valley, Oregon, and Emmett, Idaho. These are both locales that have Basque cemeteries that will form the core of my research. I will also discuss differences and similarities between Basque gravestones and American gravestones. Chapter III outlines the process of collecting the data, as well as how the data was categorized as best seen fit by the researcher for this particular study. Chapter IV provides the reader with data results and research interpretations. The chapter ends with a summary on the data analysis. Chapter V provides the reader a conclusion about the data and potential points for moving forward with the newly found information.

Chapter One – **Basque Historical Background**

Literature about the Basque people is vast, and documentation is consistently being added to the historical repertoire. Large works from the well-known Basque anthropologist William Douglass and other scholars have provided ample documentation through oral histories, historical records, and archaeological finds. Research into who they are, how they came to be, and why they are so unique in their ethnicity given their surrounding landscapes continues to be unknown. With a history that was externally documented from Roman, Goth, Frank, and Arab resources until the sixteenth century (Douglass and Bilbao, 1975), reference to this unique ethnic group fluctuated between etic perspectives of stubbornness and barbaric practices to personal pride, which gave rise to a nationalistic approach to their personhood during the mid-nineteenth to twentieth century. Nonetheless, while their origin has still yet to be determined, there are multiple sources that provide an overarching understanding and thorough history about the Basque people as a collective.

Basque Origins

The name “Basque” is the English equivalent of the recollection on Basque identity. Called Euskaldanak by native Basque, the name itself indicates a significant part of Basque culture, which is their language; the term means literally “speakers of Euskera” or the Basque language (Douglass and Bilbao, 1975). Woven throughout the historic recordings are comments on the roughness of their language; multiple strange and loud sounds somehow became a language (Kurlansky, 2001). What has been agreed upon by scholars is that, while there have been no definitive points to reference the language to any other language family, the Basque language has been maintained as a pre-Indo-European language and is its own language family. Scholars after some five centuries of speculation generally agree that their language is, at the very least, unique. Theories surrounding the origin of the Basque language vary from far-fetched (the language of the Biblical Eden) to that of being simply linguistically incompatible (related to Hindu). The language is structured through the combination of multiple base words together to create compound words. Much like other languages, Euskara has incorporated elements of surrounding languages, specifically Romantic influences. Interchanges in spelling are also more common, with the

Basque specific tk's and x's substituted with "softer" Castilian spellings, which also are an outcome of Roman influence (Douglass and Bilbao, 1975). There are also dialectic breakdowns within each region, though these lingual variations do not entirely coincide with their political borders. Euskara itself is not entirely spoken in the whole of the Basque country. Rather, the closer one comes to the northern edge of the Basque country, the more noticeable the transition of use becomes. These dialects are not necessarily deemed an official part of Euskara, which functions more as a unified language structure that was codified during the 1920s during the rise of Basque nationalism. Euskara severely suffered after Francisco Franco rose to power after the Spanish Civil War; it could not be spoken for fear of retribution in Franco's quest for a homogenous Spain. After Franco passed away in 1975, the Basque language once again flourished, being described as flowers after a long period of drought (Kurlansky, 2001). While native speakers are still numerically lower, the Basque have held onto their language, and there is always encouragement for more people to learn their unique language, both in and out of the Basque country.

While there is no approximate time documented for the appearance of the Basque, history does provide evidence that as the Romans coming through the Iberian Peninsula around 200 B.C. (Beiter and Beiter, 2000) said that they came upon a people with a strange language who should not have been there (Caro Baroja, 2009). As the Romans entered the Iberian Peninsula, they defeated the Basques' Celtic neighbors about 194 B.C. (Kurlansky, 2001), thereby establishing a strong network for territorial expansion of the Roman Empire. Shortly thereafter, the Basque were also defeated by the Romans, but not to the extent that the Celts had been defeated shortly prior. Such occupation, while militarized in nature, became a point of tolerance for the Basque. This was mainly due to the realization that the Basque would acquiesce to the Romans utilizing their homelands provided they were given autonomy in self-governance (Kurlansky, 2001; Beiter and Beiter, 2000). From these agreements, the Basque were able to maintain most of their sovereignty in their corner of modern-day Spain and France.

While the tolerance of the Basque to the Romans invading their land, and the Romans' tolerance of the Basque maintaining a separate identity occurred through diplomatic agreements, historians have suggested that their rugged terrain of the region decreased its desirability for the conquering Romans. Many cities show heavy Roman

influence in their architecture, but the farther one travels from the outer edges of the Basque region, less evidence is seen (Douglass, 1969). Instead, geographic isolation becomes more apparent given the rocky and less hospitable terrain. The Basque provinces of Spain and France straddle the Pyrenees mountain range, which in turn provides little arable land that would be sought out for farming. What land is available is primarily used for household subsistence, with each Basque household functioning as an “autonomous social and economic unit” (Douglass and Bilbao, 1975). As Roman rule declined during the fourth century, Visigoth and Frankish influences sprang up in its place. The Franks controlled the eastern part of the Basque country in modern-day France, while the Visigoths held sway over the regions of Arava, Bizkaia, and Gipuzkoa (Beiter and Beiter, 2000). Such power struggles did influence the use of land and seaports, the latter being what the Basque were renowned for with their seafaring skills. With mixed peasant and household systematic agricultural practices throughout the Roman period to the Carlist Wars in the 1840s, work strategies were as diverse as the ecological zones that are present by and in the Pyrenees and Cantabrian mountains. In the north, “pastoralism and rudimentary agriculture” (Douglass and Bilbao, 1975) provided sustenance for the tribes’ economies, while farther south towards the plains of the Ebro in Navarra, sedentary agriculture was more common.

The Basque region of the uppermost northern corner of Spain straddles the Pyrenees mountains, stretching to the northeastern corner of France. These provinces comprise four separate areas in Spain (Bizkaia, Araba, Gipuzkoa, and Navarra) and three in France (Lapurdi, Behenafarroa, and Zuberoa). While these areas have never been granted independence as their own countries, they have been integrated into Spain and France as autonomous societies that function under the power of the two countries. Each province operated independently from each other; while the Basque would and do rally together under their shared heritage, these separate geo-political spheres tended to act as separate, sovereign forces throughout northern Spain. Navarre is the largest of the four regions in Spain and tends to act as a transitional space for both the Basque and other ethnic groups as they come through the land.

Physical attributes and linguistics have provided ample resources for determining those who are Basque but has yet to fully provide an answer regarding their origin. Thus far, theories have been as far flung as to say they are descendants of the Cro-Magnons

(Kurlansky, 2001) or that they were in the Garden of Eden at the time of Creation (Beiter and Beiter, 2000). Less far-flung, but still uniquely puzzling evidence has shown unusually high rates of type O blood, with Rh negative markers (Beiter and Beiter, 2000; Kurlansky, 2001; Douglass, 1969). These genetic variations likely contributed to their high still-born birth rates until WWII, when medical advances provided opportunity to diminish such travesties. Such characteristics, however, when paired with limited geographic locality, undoubtedly caused their decreased population rate compared to their surrounding neighbors, whose populations expanded. The physical anomalies provide evidence as to their lower population, which in turn potentially discouraged expansion beyond their own lands. Part of this could stem from their cultural perceptions about expansion; if they believed there was little point to territory expansion beyond their homelands, they may not have partaken in such activities.

Basque Land and Sea History

In contrast to not being among the ranks of the Goths, Romans, and other ethnic groups who actively partook in expansion, the Basque created a name for themselves by way of the sea. As previously touched upon, while the Basque people did have multiple methods for survival, it was their relationship with the sea that was more synonymous with their name. Along the coast of the Bay of Biscay in northern Spain, the Basque relied and flourished upon whaling and other types of fishing, such as Atlantic cod. Through whaling and fishing ventures, the ship makers became renowned for their skills in creating a variety of ships, from small fishing dories to large warships that were commissioned from international rulers. With access to iron and oak for such an industry (Kurlansky, 2001), the Basque were able to set course for more distant lands in both explorative capacity and food sourcing. Having such capabilities allowed for farther travel than many of their neighbors had been able to accomplish. This was due in part to their mastery at ship building, as well as preservative measures including preserving the now extinct Atlantic cod that could sustain them for long periods of time without spoiling. Rivalled mainly by the Vikings for such acclaim in sailing long distances, a commonly held thought is that the Basque came to the Americas around the same time as the Vikings during the tenth century. While this has yet to be entirely proven, there is evidence through gravestone remains around Newfoundland Bay that has been dated to the sixteenth century. Through international

sources and archaeological evidence, the Basque had a strong reputation and work ethic associated with the seas, be it through iron production that extended from the time of Roman occupation, or through their maritime commerce that overtook their whaling work during the fifteenth century (Douglass and Bilbao, 1975). By creating such a strong international presence through maritime based work, the Basque were able to make up for their low agriculturally producing region through other methods that forced the rest of Europe and parts of Africa to notice them.

As made apparent earlier, Basque politics have been rife with continual tension on how their people operate under and with other economic and political systems. Well known for establishing the political systems of the fueros during the fourteen hundreds, the Basque had enjoyed various forms of autonomy since being conquered by the Romans. The fueros were laws that were based upon long-standing customs from the Basque; communal practices that provided laws within each region, giving the provinces legal autonomy. The outcome was still an ability to retain some autonomy through the use of the legal agreements of the foruaks, until they were no longer recognized by the King of Spain in 1876 (Beiter and Beiter, 20). Foruaks were another name for the fueros, where agreements were reached between the King of Spain and the Basque provinces ensuring their local autonomy while still honoring the crown. However, as industrialization culminated over the centuries leading up to the Industrial Revolution in the nineteen hundreds, tensions between the distinct upper, middle, and lower classes began to appear. The disparities between more liberal industrialists and their traditional lower-class counterparts became entwined in the second Carlist War from 1846 to 1849. Economic ties to Spain became more consolidated, benefitting Spain. Upper class Basque strove to create relationships with the Spaniards, while lower class and rural Basque approached such relations with hesitancy.

While Euskara has become a significant factor in identifying a Basque person, the previously touched upon history of fishing and whaling is less of an association, particularly in the United States. One pervasive stereotype is that of the nature of the Basque; hard-working, stubborn, sometimes apprehensive of outsiders. These tend to be common traits that people assume about the Basque. Such correlations, while partially “true”, do not incorporate the Basque as a whole, given the diverse history of the Basque country and

how each tribe responded to outside threats. The hard working persona tends to be more or less valid, in that the Basque were partakers of capitalism before capitalism became a fully active economic system.

For the adventurous spirit that was near synonymous with the Basque, particularly those in marine based work, migration to other countries tended to follow migration trends. Before mass migration to the United States, most Basque sought out work in the Argentine pampas (Hatfield, 2003) picking up various work positions. It was there that sheepherding became a more prominent profession; a job that was professionally done in the Basque country, but was at a much larger scale in South America. With Argentina having been one of many countries the kingdom of Spain colonized, the Basque took to the country in both a colonial capacity and its independence. The Argentine population reflects the rate in which the Basque integrated into the country, with about fifteen percent of the population having Basque heritage (Douglass, 1975). Similar rates of migration occurred in other South American countries and Mexico. Though there had been migration to the United States during the same time periods, it wasn't until the California Gold Rush in the 1850s that larger amounts of the ethnic group sought to come to the United States. Paired with rumors of the suffering job market and economic instability in Argentina, the Basque sent word to their families to encourage them to come to the United States. From the 1850s to the 1940s then, immigration shifted focus to the States, with California being the end goal. When it became apparent that the Basque were unable to successfully integrate into the mining businesses due to language barriers, many transitioned to a job market that was not dependent on communication – sheepherding (Hatfield, 2003). It is here then, that the Basque shift to the North American perception of who or what a Basque is; professional sheepherders that have fully left their mark in a corner of the States' economies in both local and national scale.

The New World mythos of the Basque is where this thesis begins. Their origin story as an ethnic group has still yet to be determined at the time of this writing. Known histories however provide ample evidence of an ethnicity that simply refuses to die out; one that stretches itself to adjust to new mythical roles while still maintaining strong ties to self and one's Basqueness. This thesis then picks up one of the threads that tie Basque-Americans

back to their homeland, and presents the findings to fill another gap in their story – one that ties the past to their fixed ending points in life.

Chapter Two – **American History**

With a history of exploration and adventure that came from years of sea navigation, the Basque were no strangers to exploring foreign lands. Settling in other countries, however, was not as initially well documented, mainly due to the lack of documentation that was presented by the Basque who were immigrating. The bookkeeper for Spain immigration lamented that the number of Basque immigrants leaving Spain in the 1600s could be anywhere from “one hundred and fifty-thousand, to as little as thirty-five thousand” (Douglass and Bilbao, 1975). Nonetheless, immigration tended to be a semi-common occurrence for the Basque population, particularly amongst men. Their immigration to various parts of the world were influenced by Spanish expansion, creating paths for the Basque to explore other countries for economic gains that could be sent back to families in the Basque Country. Immigration to the United States was no different in this regard, as it was a country that promised those who came to it ample opportunity to accumulate wealth. The California Gold Rush of the 1850s created a large draw for the Basque, both in the Basque country and abroad, specifically in Argentina.

A less common outcome for large foreign groups, however, was the ease in which the Basque were able to incorporate themselves into other countries. North American culture was predominantly Anglo-Saxon and Germanic heritage. While the perception of Spanish immigrants was negative due to the inheritance of Latin characteristics (Saitua, 2018), the Basque were able to remove themselves from such negative association in a racialized U.S. In contrast to their Spanish counterparts, the Basques’ physical features consisted of lighter eye colors, prominent cheekbones, and lighter skin, the latter being significant. Such physical characteristics tended to separate them from Mexican herders in the United States, which led to ranch and large agriculture owners choosing the Basque to take care of their animals. Because of such uncontrollable advantages, they were able to circumvent many ills that their darker skinned counterparts would experience as they acclimated to their new environments. Hatfield proposed that, though they did become somewhat of an enclave in the intermountain west, this practice was not brought on by conceptualized racial superiority; rather, the Basque thought America to be equal to their country back home. While there were points of contention amongst the Basque and their

neighbors – referenced as black bascos in newspaper articles (Hatfield, 2003) – ultimately, they faced less challenges than other immigrant groups that were also in sheepherding.

A New Profession

Though not an unfamiliar profession, the Basque also assumed a role that was near unheard of in the Basque country – Sheepherder (Douglass and Bilbao, 1975). Though there is sheepherding found in the Basque country, none was to be found at the scale of sheepherding throughout the American West, most notably California, Idaho, Nevada, and Oregon. California still has the largest Basque population outside of the Basque country, but Idaho tends to be more synonymous with reference to Basque immigration. This is due to active support and community interactions from the Basque Museum and Cultural Center in Boise, Idaho. As immigrants were documented while they came through New York City, few claimed the title “sheepherder” as their profession. In Bilbao and Douglass’ (1975) comprehensive work, “Americanauk”, it was found that out of 33,119 males that immigrated to the U.S. in 1915, only one had an occupational listing of “sheepherder”. Sheepherding in the Basque Country consisted of smaller herds than the American ones, along with less expansive pasture available in the American West. Part of the restructuring of the Basque’s New World identity came with the rise of gold mining following the 1850s gold rush and similar activities that required heavy manual labor. Since many Basque immigrants did not speak English, they turned towards sheepherding and similar solitary jobs. English was not a requirement, and the herders did not have to be around other nationalities that cared little for their strange language (Edlefsen, 1950). An incorrect assertion that became associated with the Basque’s newfound skill was that they had bred themselves for hundreds of years to be physiologically compatible with the strains of isolation and rugged environments that tend to be synonymous with American sheepherding (Beiter and Beiter, 2000). The illusion that these Basque sheepherders were physiologically more adept at sheepherding is indicative of persistent misperceptions about the immigrants and their abilities beyond their newly acquired New World skills of large-scale sheepherding. The Basque were considered the best sheepherders in the business, more so than their Mexican counterparts (Edlefsen, 1950). Other sheepherders included immigrants of French and Asian (mainly Chinese) origin, but it was the Basque who were entrusted to manage vast numbers of sheep. Such choices were racially influenced, as well as the sheep owners determining that the Basque

had the best work ethic. Of course, such inflated remarks failed to account for suicide rates, alcoholism, and other maladies that strained the ethnic groups that tended to be severely isolated from other people (Gaiser, 1944).

The misconception that groups who remained were static in their own homelands is not lost on the Basque people. While the profession of sheepherding incorrectly supported the mythology of the transient Basque, it cannot be said that they were without knowledge of exploring new lands. Many Basque in the old country had direct interaction or relationship to activities associated with the sea. Nautical exploration and expansion was not unfamiliar for the Basque people (Kurlansky, 2001;Gaiser,1944). Through this self-identified ethos, the concept of people (mainly young men) leaving for a vast, unknown realm to create economic gain for their families, was not difficult.

Immigration

The Basque had two main points of entry into the United States – New York and California. The Basque that initially entered the United States through California did so due to factors of economic and geographic lack of land resources for their new profession as sheepherders (Goya, 2018). Rumors trickled back to the Basque country that there was quickly becoming less room on the South American pampas for newcomers, which in turn led many Basque workers to turn their sights to the United States (Goya, 2018). From the East Coast, the Basque that crossed the Atlantic found themselves in an expansive land that gave no indication on how geographically large the United States was as compared to their own region of Spain. Since California was usually the point of reference for the immigrants, the geographic distance between towns was framed by that of their villages in the Pyrenees; towns were within walking distance of each other throughout the Vizcaya (Beers, 1982). This then translated to similar association on geographic distances; a commonly quoted Basque man coming from the Basque country stated that two places existed in America – California and Jordan Valley, Oregon (Gaiser, 1944). From these misconceptions about America's landscape came quick restructurings on the Euskaris' understanding about the vastness of the country they were coming to.

One of the driving factors on Basque beginning to leave California during the 1870s and 1880s was the amount of immigration that was brought upon by promises of gold and other precious metals. As more people came to inhabit the coastal and inland areas within California, the established grazing lands that the Basque had been using were quickly redistributed for towns and cities. Such patterns of re-settlement forced them to seek more expansive areas that would support their large herds, which led many to expand inward towards Nevada, and subsequently Oregon and Idaho. This migration placed the Basque people along the border regions of Idaho, Oregon, and Nevada roughly in the timespan of the 1880s through the 1890s. While there had been sheepherders in the area prior to those decades, one of the most notable myths involved the treacherous journey of two Basque men across the Owyhee desert during the early 1870s (Saitua, 2018). The two men crossed the arid desert of Nevada into Oregon, nearly succumbing to the lack of water and intense heat. One man wandered from his friend and subsequently found water – returning to get his friend and horse before they died from dehydration. Once revived, they continued until they found the Jordan Valley region where there was water. There is speculation on how true this story is due to there being little evidence of the two explorers outside of the story. Nonetheless, there had been at least a few Basque documented to be in the area preceding the 1880s. The most notable shift of European immigration then came to southeastern Oregon/ southwestern Idaho on the cusp of the twentieth century.

As the Basque migrated to more isolated locales, they took with them the tenacious desires of independence that their families held to in the Basque country. Basque immigrants chose to initially incorporate little from other groups in the United States. Part of this was due to the geographic isolation within the inland northwest states; road construction was minimal and made travel “a seasonal adventure at best” (Beers, 1982). The geographic placement of these rural towns should be kept in mind when determining cultural practices of the Basque in the intermountain west. Another significant point for the slow transition to accepting the area’s more dominant culture was the lack of understanding English. While there was a conscious choice for first generation immigrants to not learn English (Beers, 1982; Gaiser, 1994), the isolation supported the Basque continuing to just speak their language. Spanish was also spoken by the Basque, as noted by the Spanish newspaper printed for the Basque communities in Boise and the surrounding region (Hatfield, 2003). The community supported the Basque workers during transitions to the

region, along with financial aid through small loans. Community contacts also provided instructions on navigating travel from the Basque country to the small and isolated towns in the intermountain west; many steps that would have otherwise involved an English speaker to assist in travel became unnecessary. Upon arriving at their destination, Basque boarding houses provided a place for rest and community for the newcomers until they began their new professions. It must be noted that in the Anglo dominant towns where the Basque landed, most of their relationships to each other were positive (Edlefsen, 1950), but many locals also maintained stereotypes of the dirty Basco (Saitua, 2018).

The many towns inhabited by the Basque were concentrated to specific areas – mainly those that did not have certain land rights in place for grazing animals (Hatfield, 2003). While there were many Basque that remained in California, those that moved elsewhere followed available land for herd animals. The acquisition of large sheep herds for the Basque was not always the initial standard for introduction to the profession, but rather a profession that the incoming foreigners could either buy into or advance with through Basque relations. The intermountain west region that incorporates the towns of Burns (OR), Jordan Valley (OR), McDermmit (NV), and Emmett (ID) became part of the final areas of migration of the Basque – specifically the French Basque, but many Spanish Basque as well – along with a mixing of various ethnic groups. The push and pull of the Basque relocating to these far-flung towns invited a reconfiguration of people's identities that fell beyond their association as being simple sheepherders - the restructuring of familial units, group economics, and even their reinvention of "clannish tendencies" (Hatfield, 2003), expressed an underlying resistance to acquiesce to unspoken American ideologies on ethnicity and transitioning their heritage to a new land.

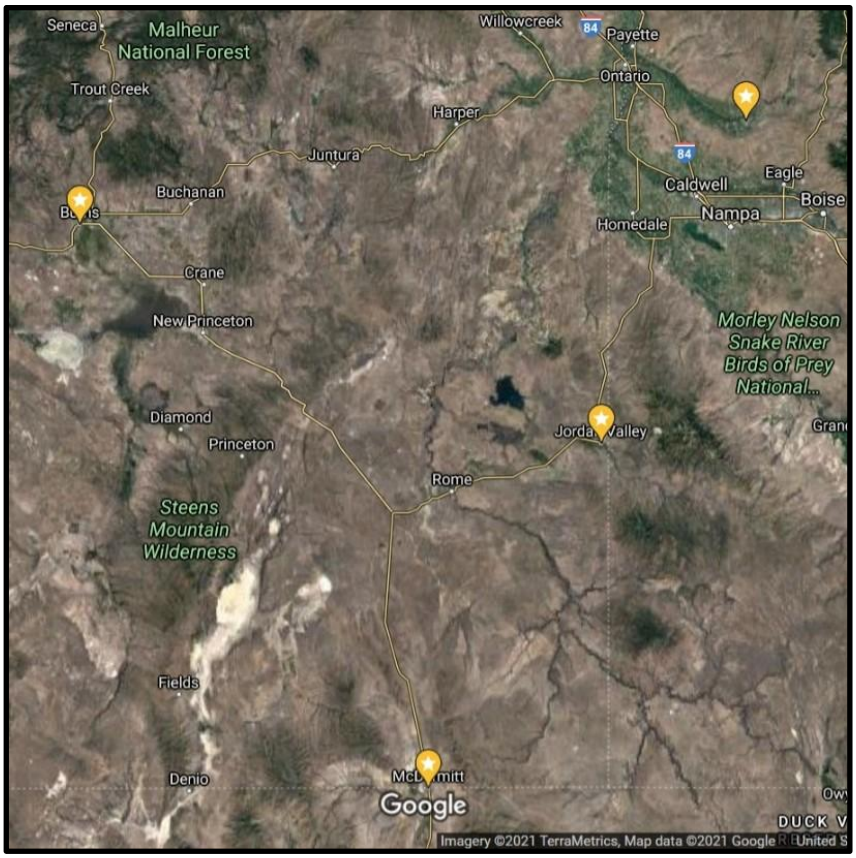


Figure 2.1 – Aerial Map of Emmett (ID – Top Right), Jordan Valley (OR – Center Right) McDermitt (NV – Bottom Center), and Burns (OR) – Top Left)
Sourced from Google

From the four previously mentioned sites, Jordan Valley, McDermmit, and Burns maintained larger Basque populations during the first quarter of the twentieth century. As the Basque migrated north east and inland from California, their migration mimics ripples from a stone being tossed in water. While not always linear, their migration patterns tended to be layered in a direct correlation to following open rangeland as dictated by rangeland laws, or lack thereof. The adjustment of the Euskadi from Spain to the intermountain west was not without lack of potential romanticization. Given that work in Euskal Herria (the Basque country) became more industrialized following the Second Carlist War of 1876, ethnographers and historians postulated that part of the emigration process was driven by rural Basque who were uninterested in such a change. Another hypothesis suggests that family structures, which tended to benefit the eldest child within the family's patrilineage, encouraged the young men who would not be inheriting family property to pursue other

opportunities for earning a living (Douglass and Bilbao,1975) . The men that did decide to make the crossing usually tended to want to find work, stay for a short while – a season or a few years – and make enough money to either bring a wife over from the Basque country, or to take their earnings back with them to the old country so that they would be able to purchase their own baserria; a typical Basque farm. These economic habits are more in line with the ideals behind many of migrant families during the turn of the century; men would seek out work that was promised in spades, and usually send the money back to family in their homelands. What tended to happen though, was that, while some men would return to the Basque country, many ended up permanently staying in the United States, and would bring their wives and families to the United States – if they were not already with them.

While there have been discussions and arguments that the Basque decided to settle in the vast high desert of the intermountain states due to geographic similarities to their homeland, such assertions have proven to be less valid. Even though the Basque migrated from both sides of the Pyrenees and Cantabrian Mountains in Spain and France, and there are mountains sprinkled throughout the intermountain west where many settled, most similarities end there. Where the Basque country tended to maintain more moderate temperatures throughout the year, the American high desert the Basque found themselves in fluctuated temperature extremes between summer and winter (Hatfield, 2003). The claims that their migratory patterns were based upon the landscape as it compared to their homeland, are less compelling arguments for choosing to stay in the American high desert. A stronger assertion for their movement into the spread-out area was that, by accumulating large sheep herds, the need for space for the grazing animals was greater. While few Basque had relatives that had gone to the land before – specifically the Jordan Valley area – many had no frame of reference for what the territory would be like for them. The sentiment that has prevailed however, is that such adaptations for the Basque created a stereotype on their stubbornness, adaptability, faith, and love of nature (Gaiser, 1944). Such romanticization of the Basque is perpetuated today, with Basque deemed nomadic, good sheepherders. While true due to the years of experience that are now incorporated into the small towns where professional sheepherders reside, this folkloric narrative fails to account for the intricacies that led to them being able to hold such a highly regarded position throughout the mythological American West (Saitua, 2018).

Another portion of history that tends to be overlooked is one way the Basque came into large-scale sheepherding by following the development of mining camps. Since sheep are a multi-functional animal, the Basque recognized this as an unseen opportunity for creating profit with few other competitors. The sheep could be sheared for their wool, milked, and butchered to meet the needs of the miners and the outlying communities both the Basque and the miners were a part of in the desert. As the mines of Winnemucca, Nevada, Jordan Valley, Oregon, and others operated, droves of herds came with the guidance of the Sheepmen. Through such operations, the Basque were able to accumulate capital, leading to more migrations that included wives and families from the old country. Throughout these newly designated towns and provinces, came the recreation of boarding houses that had been used in California and the old country, along with supportive businesses such as Basque specific banks, Basque owned pharmacies, and Catholic churches. Although the Basque populations in these far-flung towns were relatively small during the last part of the nineteenth century, the populations quickly expanded during the turn of the twentieth century.

Basque population growth was due in part to their increased financial success, along with the ease of immigration that was happening until immigration laws were reformed in 1924 (Aquino 2019; Saitua, 2018). While there had been immigration laws in practice prior to 1924, nativist concerns about the number of darker skin immigrants coming to the United States spurred on the Immigration Act of 1924. Immigration quotas became more restricted, barring many southern and eastern Europeans, and completely excluding immigrants from the Asiatic Zone, even for the previously allowed Filipino and Japanese immigrants (gov website cite). Despite their homeland being on the Iberian Peninsula, the Basque were able to maintain a stronger sense of whiteness that was comparable to Anglo-Americans (Office of the Historian, Foreign Service Institute, 2016) Having been deemed as a desirable immigrant group (Aquino, 2019), Basque immigrants were looked at as being as white as their Anglo and Nordic counterparts in the New World, in which the Immigration Act of 1924 had little effect on their migration requirements.

As the Basque settlements of Jordan Valley, Burns, McDermmit, and Emmett became more concentrated, they continued to maintain their ability to separate themselves from other immigrant groups in the area. Through the effectiveness of the “ancient Basque”

narrative (Aquino, 2019), they were able to live without many racially driven altercations with other people. Compared to the racial ostracization between European immigrants and their Mexican counterparts, the Basque had little to overcome regarding acceptance into work roles. While there were some instances documented in local newspapers and oral histories of rough treatment towards the Basque, the Basque people were able to acclimate within a few years.

Already deemed capitalists throughout past works in various industries, the Basque were able to integrate their work abilities into highly successful entrepreneurial endeavors. Love for democracy, a characteristic from the Basque country, also supported gaining approval from their Americanized counterparts. Family structuring also created opportunities that the Basque were able to utilize. That is, previous family members who had gone to the New World during earlier time periods were able to act as gatekeepers for the incoming Basque. Since no one outside of the Basque spoke their language, many sought assistance in travelling from New York to one of the popular towns in the American west. This kept anti-Basque sentiments lower than other groups as well – the Basque thus not creating excess social burdens upon any counterparts. Though the continual use of the Basque language did keep the first immigrants more isolated, overall, the Basque as stated by Gaiser,

> “With (the Basque) the physical and cultural differences were not great enough to cause any lasting antipathy. Personality and character traits were of a congenial and solid type, the cultural heritage of an independent, proud, and hard-working racial collectivity from the Basque provinces of the Old World. The race friendliness cycle was a natural outcome of the above mentioned conditions” (Gaiser, 1944: page 42).

Basque Gravestone Overview

Social belonging was expressed throughout the Basque communities at their respective cemeteries, amongst other material means. The intermixing of symbols that represents the Basque country became mingled with symbols that represented their new identities connected to the American Western landscape. Some symbols that are synonymous with Basque culture in the western United States however, may have variation in usage from Basque cemeteries along the east coast of Canada. The burial sites of the

Basque fishermen in Newfoundland lend themselves to providing an understanding of how the Basque incorporated traditional Basque iconography with the slightly less traditional iconography of Catholicism while in a foreign land. This work, along with other studies from the Basque country, demonstrated that symbols that emphasized Basque spiritualism – astral, geometric, and flower motifs seemed to be more common (Goya, 2018). Researcher Julio Caro Baroja also asserts a similar stance. Gravestone stylization within Navarre in Spain shows Roman influence that was intermingled with the geometric and plant designs commonly used amongst the Basque. While these symbols are by no means exclusive to either the Basque or Romans, such findings can indicate the plasticity in such aesthetics (Caro Baroja, 2009). Certain symbols stand out amongst the others that are still in use today. One of the most common modern motifs is that of the tetraskele, most commonly known as the lauburu; a symbol that has become synonymous with Basque pride both in and out of the Basque country.

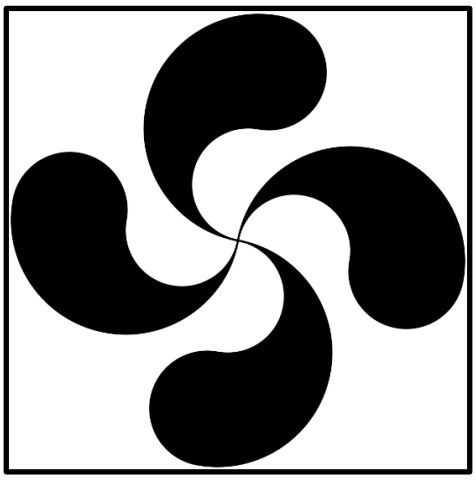


Figure 2.2 – Traditional Representation of a Lauburu
Sourced from commons.wikimedia.org

There is debate on the history of the lauburu, given that many of its modern associations are not necessarily positive (Santiago, 2009) including similarities to Nazi symbolism and the Basque Nationalist Party. However, it is also a type of magical symbol as well, referencing an honoring of relationships with ancestral spirits (Orpustan-Love, 2003). The structure of the lauburu reflects community unity, insomuch that each of the four heads are representative of multiple points of Basque culture. There are debates

around when the symbol came into existence; whether they are ancient symbols that have existed before interactions with the Romans, or that the symbol is merely a creation of more modern times. Nonetheless, consensus is that they indicate the unity of the four main regions of the Spanish Basque country: Navarre, Alava, Vizcaya, and Guipozcoa.

A rather enigmatic symbol, use of the lauburu on gravestones tentatively seems to be an expression of a solar symbol (Caro Baroja, 2009). This symbol can also be found alongside other motifs that give nod to the deceased's profession: "tools, implements, and scenes" (Caro Baroja, 2009).

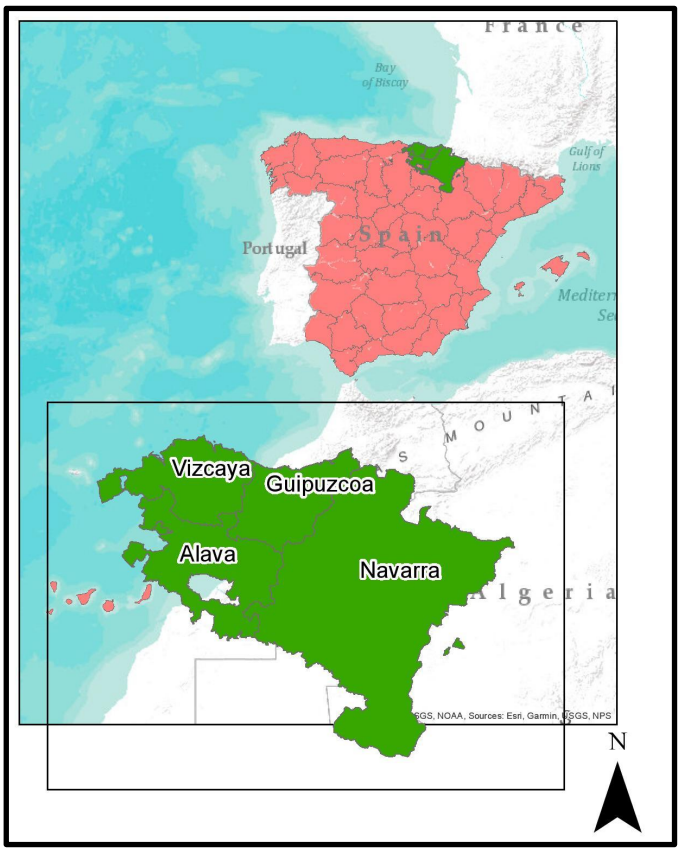


Figure 2.3 – Regional Map of the Basque Country
Created by the author

While the symbol can be individually carved onto the gravestones to signify a Basque burial, a more commonly seen style throughout the Basque country and along the east coast of the United States is that the whole gravestone encompasses the symbol; rather than being carved into a corner of

Figure 2.4 – Basque gravestones from the Basque country
Sourced from www.basquemuseum.eus

the headstone, the lauburu covers a whole discoidal stela – a gravestone that is circular on top, with a flat base. This specific style is seen throughout the Basque country, but more so in the eastern provinces than the western provinces (Goya, 2018). While there are other popular symbols that are used by the Basque, the lauburu is not only a widely known symbol, but it is also consistently used in gravestones in both the Basque Country and abroad. This was shown to be true in Goya's Newfoundland study on Basque fishermen gravesites; three out of their four gravestones were in the discoidal style that was found in the Basque country (Goya, 2018). The style has also been determined to be anthropomorphic in shape and had a rise in popularity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Goya, 2018). Two other popular styles for Basque gravestones at that time are the tabular and slab gravestones as well. The number of discoidal gravestones diminishes the farther west the Basque went, due to both larger distances between the people and their place of origin, as well as transitions in styles that reflect popular burial trends. Part of this could also be due to material access both local stonemasons had, as well as the ability to order pre-fabricated gravestones through magazine orders in rural areas.

Basque cemeteries incorporate elements of both Catholicism and their spiritual heritage. As stated, the lauburu is one of the most commonly recognized Basque spiritual symbols, but astrological signs and geometric symbols are also consistently found on older stelae. During the reign of Franco from 1939 to 1975 however, much of Basque symbolism, plus other Basque culture indicators (e.g. language), were not only disallowed from use, but also metaphorically and physically scrubbed away from society. Much like their Catalonian counterparts in the southern part of Spain, the Basque were severely prohibited from using or doing anything that separated them from the homogenous unification that Franco sought to have in the country. For Basque gravestones, many were carved down so that Spanish spellings and words could replace any traces of Basque language, thus forcing even the dead to acquiesce to the dictator's demands of support (Goya, 2018). While the Basque who came to America before the Spanish Civil War continued to use mainly Basque phrasings and spellings on their gravestones, the regime could have influenced incorporations of Spanish into epitaphs or iconography, especially when Basque would join their families in America, either from seeking refuge from the regime, or immigrating for temporary work (Totoricaguena, 2004).

While the writings are limited regarding the specific usage and relationship to Basque gravestones in America, a few articles have been written on the subject as related to Basque fishermen along the east coast, including into Canada. Farther still, across the Atlantic, documentation has occurred, but mainly in Euskari (Basque) with few translations. While there is great documentation on the rituals that lead up to the burying of the deceased, the decedents' representation through their gravestones and burial sites have been less documented. This is not due to lack of information per se, but rather due to the long-held belief that, by exposing the land through discussion, one unnecessarily reveals their inner being (Orpustan-Love, 2003). In William Douglass' book, "Death in Murelaga" (1969), he introduces the reader to the deeply entrenched relationship the Basque have with the dead, the living, and the land in which they are buried. Since the core of Basque identity is through the families' houses, the homes in the smaller towns and villages connect to the cemeteries by a specific road. Unlike their western counterparts at the time of Douglass' study, cemetery plots were not usually designated to individuals and their own families. Rather,

> “Whenever there is a death, the gravediggers exhume a previously buried corpse, deposit the bones in the ossuary, and then bury the newly deceased. Little attention is paid to where the individual is buried. In a few months the weeds claim the grave, and it is often impossible to distinguish the outlines of the grave plot. Some domestic groups place a headstone on the grave of a deceased member, but with the knowledge that a few years later the body will be exhumed, the headstone discarded, and a new corpse interred on the site. (Douglass, 1969: 73)”.

While this might portray a sense of neglect for the deceased in the Basque country, the opposite is true. Respect and fear for the dead carries on throughout Basque culture. Respect for the dead because of the beliefs that the families will be reunited after death, and fear of the dead given their standings within Purgatory. While there have been transitions out of some of these beliefs due to the decline of the role of the Catholic church, there are still vestiges of rituals pertaining to the dead that are followed. In the space of the cemetery with its initially assumed neglect, these are spaces of great importance. Having direct link to their baserrias – the rural farmsteads – they are an extension of physical space from the family’s house. Though they are technically separated into a cemetery, they are considered as much a part of the house as those who are living; this concept carries over between Catholicism and Basque spiritualism.

Ritual is a strong force in both Catholicism and Basque spiritualism, which carries over into their iconographies and decorative motifs. Within both daily life and yearly festivals, Basque artistic motifs tended to follow repetitive stylings, due both in part to skill of the designer, and regional variations from external influences. With the previously mentioned lauburu, it and other similar symbols tend to have obscure histories for when they became integrated into gravestone artistry. However, influence of the Celts, Romans, Franks, and Arabs each contributed to the use of specific symbols during their primary contact periods. Stonemasonry, which directly relates to gravestone carving, incorporated decorative motifs that tended to maintain relationship to other styles, indicating that the motifs were not exclusive in their stylings (Caro Baroja, 2009). Catholic iconography has been easier to determine its rate of use given the definite time frame of the rise of Christianity. The stylistic elements of geometry, astronomy, and natural objects in contrast, tend to be difficult to determine when the motifs explicitly came to be applied in history.

As part of the integration of Catholicism into Basque culture, the focus tended to be on the cross' representation. The cross styles fluctuate based on the skills of the stonemasons, as well as transitions in stylistic representation with Church iconography – such as the Renaissance and Baroque periods. While crucifixes were employed throughout the Basque country in church and funeral settings, the cross itself is consistently seen more in symbology. While it is difficult to say whether or not such crosses were a reflection of any spiritual components, the relationship to having the cross be a constant symbolic form in funerary symbols is clear. This relationship is evidenced in Basque Country cemeteries, which carried over to Basque-American gravesites. The integration of these symbols for the Basque people however, follow what Baugher and Veit reference from Prown, who stated in the book American Cemeteries that – "The underlying premise is that objects made or modified by man reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of the individuals who made, commissioned, purchased or used them and by extension, the beliefs of the larger society to which they belonged (Prown 1982; Baugher & Veit, 2014)."

Such a statement supports the application of both religious and non-religious symbols that have been found on Basque stelae. While the implication of Catholic symbology is quite clear, the lack of clarity of the Basque symbols does not minimize the importance of their use. Since Basque spiritualism is based on the sun, moon, and stars, all are commonly represented symbols on Basque stelae. While there was an intermixing of crosses and astral symbols upon their gravestones, both are representative of the continuation of Basque spiritual practices after the introduction of Christianity.

American Gravestone Overview

The history of American gravestones is as multifaceted as the people who came to (willingly or not) to the United States. As the American west transformed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, so too did cemeteries. As the nineteenth century transitioned into the twentieth century, intense change also occurred involving cemeteries and gravestones. The industrialization of America transformed national attitudes about cemetery spaces and their markers – reflecting socioeconomic differences, materialism, and consumption practices. Part of the shift in consumption stemmed from America's relationship with death. What had once been an intimate affair of passing away in one's

home, now had become a process of dying in a nursing home or hospital. With death hidden away, people moved to view cemeteries as a peaceful and serene space, much unlike the crowded cemeteries during the Victorian era (Baugher & Veit, 2014).

One major shift in cemeteries was the concept of rural and garden cemeteries to memorial parks. Becoming more popular during the twentieth century, the memorial park "practically hides death altogether" (Yalom, 2008) and, "…are characterized by markers set flush with the ground, barely visible among the acres of lawn that encompass them" (Yalom, 2008: page 49). Baugher and Veit also point out that, although memorial parks were meant to create uniformity, people of color, indigenous people, and the poor tended to be left out of such spaces (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Yet memorial park cemeteries became common throughout the twentieth century and carried over into the twenty-first century; their uniform expression further distancing death from being a central feature in life. Yalom also lamented that the uniformity of the flush gravestones left little space for individual expression that is seen on more elaborate gravestones in prior centuries (Yalom, 2008). With the onset of laser engraving however, individual expression became more economically attainable, shifting memorial parks' uniformity to that of more individual expression. The onset of laser engraving did not mean that people did not actively partake in gravestone individualization. Rather, ethnic groups, religious sects, and occupational workers created their own burial places (Baugher & Veit, 2014) and grave marking in response to discrimination and prejudices. Below are but a few studies that have been done which demonstrate such individuality.

Occupations provide many with a sense of pride in their work as well as a means of personal identity. One example of this is the Pacific Northwest's logging community. Their gravestones can be highly personified in such a way that folklore scholars have determined their work to be "occupational folklore" (Meyer, 1989). This folklore is built upon stories that come from difficult lines of work – in this case, logging. When loggers are laid to rest, their gravestones show the hardships and the surrounding culture through their gravestone symbols and epitaphs. Common themes include heavy machinery involved in logging, while their epitaphs provide the viewer occupational emphasis (Meyer, 1989). In a similar vein, ranching, and by extension, sheep herding, would also have similar occupational folklore. Sheepherding was an arduous profession. With large herds of sheep to keep safe from

predatory animals, harsh high-desert weather, and constant isolation, such working conditions exacerbated the mental and physical health of the sheepherders. Symbols such the sheepherder upon horseback with his sheep, or the sheepherders' sheep wagon give subtle nod to the rugged nature of the occupation.

Loggers are but one small demographic for the intricate versions of iconography found on gravestones. While Meyer examined gravestones based on the person's occupation, other analyses involved observing trends in ethnic continuity and gravestone symbolism. Eva Eckert (1998) and Gerald Broce (1996) separately studied Slovak and Czech cemeteries in the plains of Texas and South Dakota; Broce's work showcased how cultural goals changed for the newest generations of the ethnic groups, as well as shifts in ethnic continuity as demonstrated through their gravestones and cemetery usage. Broce discovered the Slovak gravestones in South Dakota had little markings of any sort upon them outside of the descendants' names and vital dates. The researcher's assumption was that the community members knew each other so well that there was little need for any excess representation on their gravestones. The other characteristic of this cemetery also demonstrated the absorption of the Slovak community into the dominant culture; there was potential that they chose to emulate American cemetery and gravestone trends, rather than continuing with marking their graves through more Slovak specific means.

Eckert's work examined how language inscriptions on gravestones provided a means for determining ethnic identity (Montifolca, 2013). Focusing on the Catholic cemetery in Praha, Texas, Eckert points out the subtle differences in spellings and diacritics found on Moravian gravestones, versus Standard Czech spellings, versus anglicized spellings. The relative isolation of the area preserved the Moravian dialect of Czech, disintegrating after World War two due to foreigner animosity (Eckert, 1998). These studies provide a better understanding of how communities not only interact with the dead themselves, but also with the representation of the deceased to the rest of the community and people who did not know the deceased. The intersection of occupation and ethnic identity for the Basque can be seen repeatedly on their gravestones; as the Basque subtly modified their identities to the American West, such relations would become more apparent at their final resting places.

There are multiple examples of using cemetery data to address questions involving things such as ethnic differences or social inequalities; each ethnic group that was either in the United States originally, immigrated from other countries, or were brought by force, had with them predetermined methods and traditions in their relationships with interacting with their dead. While many cultures would not bury their dead in the typical manner found in Western societies, most, if not all, transitioned to the dominant practices for death memorialization (Harnois, 2000). Other exhibitions of alternative burial styles included Athabascan burials in what is now Alaska. When missionaries were sent from Russia during the reign of Catherine the Great, they found similar mound burials, but this time with small spirit houses built upon them. In modern practices, there is a mix of both Russian Orthodox and Athabascan burial practices, both in the funerary rituals and the grave markers (Yalom, 2008).

Indigenous groups also exhibited burial customs that were challenged as Spanish and Anglo-Saxon colonizers shifted their cultural dynamics. In contrast to the ideas that the dying should be within the family home as they passed in Euro-American tradition, it was seen as highly unfortunate within Navajo death customs. Although there were rituals for in-home deaths, outward passing's were buried the same day, typically in a rock-crevice or gully, and covered with a dirt mound (Cunningham, 1992). Burial goods would also be placed on the burial, notably the departed's saddle. Such implements acted as an equivalent symbolic extension of the person who was laid to rest. As the Navajo have shifted to European grave practices, modern markers have not necessarily been consistently used. The cemetery of Ramah, New Mexico, demonstrates such discrepancies, with Mormon burials being clearly marked, whereas the Navajo burials range from a few commercial stones to plastic-sleeved papers, and to no markers at all (Cunningham, 1992).

The most famous study for cemetery markers are those of Dethlefson and Deetz during 1969, where they categorized and traced the now well-known designs of urns, death heads, cherubs, and willows. These primary symbols showcased progressions from dominant Protestant theologies on death to less prevalent religious overtones. Death heads, which were representative of mortality and a reminder about resurrection, were taken over by cherubs when orthodox Puritanism gave way to revivalism. Where death

heads expressed a somber outlook on the process of death to resurrection, the cherubs invited the individual to be involved with the supernatural (Deetz, 1977). Urns and willows followed the death heads and cherubic trends, acting as a means of commemoration. This contrasted with the other anthropomorphic designs, due both to style and reason for use. While the urn-and-willow style was commemorative to a person who may not be in the grave, the prior two designs had direct relationship with those buried beneath them.

It was through this study they discovered how relationships to mortality shifted through the gravestone motifs. Deetz and Dethlefsen also pointed out how changes in the motifs "did not proceed uniformly but were proceeding at different rates and probably for different reasons" (Deetz & Dethelefsen, 1969). Given how large of a cemetery sampling they used, their evidence portrays gravestone trends that can be seen in other cemeteries throughout the United States. This research proved to be a turning point in American gravestone studies, in that popular research tended to be overlooked. This sentiment, as Dethlefson presented, was due to the belief that "…gravestones were of little study value because their increasingly commercialized production tended to extinguish local, idiosyncratic, vernacular expression. Actually, vernacular developments were merely expressed in new ways…" (Harnois, 2000: 5). Modern studies on cemeteries have refreshed the way in which scholars view the interactions of the many (non) represented communities in the United States.

Lack of active research in rural cemeteries has not been a standalone issue when it comes to determining memorialization practices. There has been a past tendency for researchers to ignore many mid-western and western cemeteries that are not in permanent positions in highly populated areas, such as along the western and eastern coasts. Research done on cemeteries in places such as Nebraska, Ohio, and South Dakota have added to the complexities of being able to follow and document ethnic interactions within such areas that are farther removed from urban centers and their influences. The Basque cemeteries are no different from other diasporic communities' cemeteries, in that they have not received as much attention as other burial areas that are unique or popular, both to scholars and the general public. As stated by Edlefson, and in similar sentiments by many others, "Any element of the American population deserves study" (Edlefson, 1950). The elements of cultural markers then, by default should also be observed and documented, no

matter how blasé and mainstream such elements of a culture may seem to the unobservant eye. The in-depth research put forth by Dethlefson and Deetz has also created a standard and focus that much cemetery research tends to follow.

Cemetery sites are varied depending upon their placement within the community. Local churches would have their own for church members, while families could have a family plot if they lived in an area that had no local church at the time of their deaths. Given that the Basque were most commonly Catholic, the deceased would be buried in their church's graveyards, provided there was an established church. If not, the Basque were also buried in the local cemetery, which would either be a communal cemetery or one that had segregated areas based on faith, affiliation, or race. Such practices were common at larger cemeteries, as noted in Keisha Montifolca's research on identity in San Diego's gravestone symbols (Montifolca, 2013), as well as including but not limited to Eckert's Czech gravestone analysis in Texas. Montifolca notes how the retention of cultural symbols reflects its tension with the overarching concepts of group assimilation "into the dominant culture" (Montifolca, 2013). With this in mind, the Basque who are buried in Jordan Valley, Oregon, and Emmett, Idaho, should also provide insight into such tensions as they immigrated to the United States.

Chapter Three – **Methodology**

There are two components to my thesis, with the first being community engagement; the second point is to establish if there is any cultural continuity demonstrated through Basque gravestone symbols. This research is based on an ongoing project through the Basque Museum and Cultural Center in Boise, Idaho, additional research seeks to benefit both the museum and their surrounding communities. Discussion of this collaboration, as well as individual research, will be presented in this chapter. By addressing the two target cemeteries in Jordan Valley, Oregon, and Emmett, Idaho, they should help provide a better understanding about the continuation of Basque culture through symbolic representation on gravestones.

The project that this thesis research is loosely based on the ongoing Ahatzu Barik Cemetery Project through the Basque Museum and Cultural Center. The project originator, Liz Hardesty, pursued documentation and identification of Basque grave sites that were specifically within Boise. The project's purpose was to commemorate Basque predecessors and continue to safeguard their cultural heritage. The project began with a study of the Morris Hill cemetery, found at 317 North Latah Street near the center of Boise. Few Basque graves had been documented prior to the project, many of whom had been immigrants to the area. By finding the burial sites of the Basque, they were provided gravestones to mark their graves, and commemorate their heritage. While this project is not centered around documenting unknown burials, the documentation of burials in Jordan Valley and Emmett will also serve the Basque Museum and Cultural Center.

Project Collaboration

Based off this knowledge about the Ahatzu Cemetery Project, my project began by contacting Amanda Bielmann, Museum Curator, and Patty Miller, Community History Project Coordinator. Upon coordinating a time for me to visit the Basque Museum in October of 2020, we then discussed the scope of the project, how much data collection had been previously accomplished, and what additional information the Museum wanted. We also established realistic goals for this thesis research given the limited timeline due to

covid-19. After discussion with Bielman and Miller, the desired end results were classified as the following.

1. Research would be done to verify decedents be of Basque descent, either by heritage or through marriage. This portion of research was accomplished using the Museum's archived resources that were master lists including the individuals buried in each cemetery.

2. Coordination with local volunteers to record the requested information of photographs of each decedents' gravestone. This work had two benefits. First, local volunteers gained community service hours that are needed for activities such as college applications. Second, it encouraged local community members (both of Basque descent and not) to actively engage in their community and family history.

3. A catalog of gravestone data from Jordan Valley, Oregon, and Emmett, Idaho to the Basque Museum. This data includes GPS coordinates of the cemeteries and pictures of each Basque gravestone. Additional information about where the decedents were born and had died were also deemed a bonus, but outside of the overall goals of this thesis project.

My research integrated these requests into forming a basis for my research. Through collaboration with the Museum, I was able to obtain master lists of Basque decedents in each cemetery, as well as connect with local community members who had various levels of interest in the project. Some volunteers were interested due to the community service aspect of the research, while others had direct Basque lineage and wanted to help procure more information about their ancestors.

Originally, this project was intended to analyze four distinct cemeteries, found in Burns and Jordan Valley, Oregon, McDermmit, Nevada, and Emmett, Idaho. However, due to constraints from the 2020 pandemic that limited coordination with community volunteers, as well as a harsh 2020-2021 winter that resulted in high rates of snowfall, the museum, my thesis committee, and I decided that two of the sites should suffice for the scope of this thesis. The focal sites for this project are Emmett, Idaho and Jordan Valley, Oregon. These sites were chosen primarily based on accessibility from Moscow, Idaho, and Boise, Idaho. Emmett is a forty-five-minute drive from Boise, whereas Jordan Valley is an hour and a half drive from Boise. Both towns also had volunteers who were receptive to the information

gathering, as well as following through on both obtaining and delivering the requested information.

It must be noted that during the visit to Boise, Idaho in October 2020, Jordan Valley and Burns in Oregon were also visited. While Burns, Oregon ended up not being included in this research, I was able to visit the Jordan Valley cemetery and collect photographs as I waited to receive volunteer confirmation and coordinate volunteers in the area. This was done not to detract from the work that the volunteers would do but done rather so that I could both see and interact with the site myself. Emmett was also visited in March 2021, which was concurrent with the volunteers in Emmett finishing their work at the cemetery. Another benefit to collecting these is that having the photographs can assist both the cemeteries and the Basque Museum in monitoring the condition of the gravestones.

Project Template

Since the underlying purpose of this research is to benefit the Basque Museum and Cultural Center (BMCC) with more information about their outlying community members, the original field form was tailored to the information that the BMCC requested. Data collection for the BMCC began with emulating the Michigan General Cemetery Survey Form, which is referenced in the appendix. This form is part of a larger work put out by the Michigan Historic Cemeteries Preservation Guide. The modified form incorporates many elements of the original form but had been condensed to better suit the needs of the BMCC and the researcher (see appendix for modified form). The main elements in the abridged version of the survey form include:

Accessibility to public: This section is to confirm if the cemetery has unrestricted access, restricted access (private property), if a car is needed to access the cemetery, or if it can be accessed on foot.

Park Condition: This category was to determine if the cemetery was still in use, abandoned, or maintained but not in use.

Overall evaluation of condition of grounds: This section is to evaluate if the state of the cemetery is in excellent, good, fair, or poor condition.

Context: The cemetery context is to express where the cemetery is geographically. The context options include urban, rural, residential, commercial, and industrial.

Topography: This section is split between flat or rolling, and includes a section including any other natural features.

Orientation of markers: Marker orientation was an important element to include, so that those who did not collect the information understand which direction the gravestones are facing. This section broke down options for none/very few, some, most, and all; east/west and north/south options were also available for marking how many were facing which direction.

Condition of markers: This section relied upon approximate numbers for the markers' condition. This included options for inscriptions illegible, inscriptions legible, no inscription, sunken/tilted stones, fragments/pieces on the ground, broken but standing, and damaged surfaces/chipped/cracked.

Gravestones: This section is to provide an approximate number of burials that are looked at each site. In this case, gravestones that are specifically Basque.

All of this information is easily replicable, as well as information that a large age range of volunteers can address. While there is opportunity for individual listing of the gravestones, the abridged version focused on macro data collection from each cemetery. Gravestone conditions, orientations, and number of gravestone types were more generalized, since the associated pictures would also show what was written on the abridged survey form.

Since the two cemeteries are not abandoned, they were easy to locate via the online platform Google Maps. Maps of the Jordan Valley, Oregon, and Emmett, Idaho cemeteries are included in the appendix. This information was then paired with the master list of burials at each site, eliminating any unnecessary time spent guessing which individuals were listed as Basque. While the lists were comprehensive in size, potential for unmarked graves, cremations, no gravestone, or recently deceased community members were accounted for when verifying that each individual had an associated grave marker. Since each cemetery had about two hundred Basque burials, the primary focus for data

collection was photographing the gravestone carvings themselves. The BMCC requested that multiple pictures of each gravestone be taken by the volunteers. The pictures included base measurements, directional facing, and multiple angle photos of each gravestone. These images not only provided extra information for further examination within this research but could also provide reference for any future researchers who would like more detailed information about the gravestones themselves.

The process for providing cemetery information is based off the Michigan General Cemetery Survey, as well as information presented by the Association of Grave Studies and Lynette Strangstad's "A Graveyard Preservation Primer" (1988). Each provided a template and guidance on how and when to take pictures of the gravestones in the cemeteries for both optimal lighting, and procedures for all requested information. Optimal lighting was emphasized in these primary resources. The reason for this emphasis is that during the ideal timeframe (about ten am to noon), the shadowing on the gravestones captures inscriptions that could be missed during a cloudy day. However, pictures can still be taken during a cloudy day without major repercussions if the gravestones are not severely weathered. While Strangstad did assert that black and white photographs of the gravestones provide needed high-contrast for observing gravestone details (Strangstad, 1988), the capabilities of todays' technology has opened up options for photographing the gravestones.

Technology

An important transition in the field of gravestone documentation is the ability to use cellular devices, either alongside DSLR cameras, or by themselves. For the case of the collaborative efforts between myself and the BMCC, transference of pictures between 2010 and 2021 has become an easy process that was unavailable during Deetz and Dethlefson's gravestone symbol documentation during the sixties. While there could be grounds for disagreement that cellular devices should not be used to collect photographed field work, this would disregard the multiple benefits of using such devices: the immediate access to large cloud storage, accessibility for anyone who has a cell phone, and high image resolution that can rival a baseline DSLR camera. As archaeologists integrate new technologies into their practices, it is only obvious that such devices will be consistently

used in professional settings, and particularly those focused on public collaboration. While this is not to say that other electronic equipment will be replaced by the one device for recording information, cell phones can aid researchers in their data collection efforts. Transferring the acquired information via a cloud-based system, such as Google Drive, is also beneficial due to storage access. While an SD card can save multiple terabytes of information, the associated cost tends to be exorbitant, unless one has funding for such access to data storage. Cloud based systems on the other hand, provide the same amount of storage for less monetary expense up front. Obtaining picture documentation of the gravestones creates a point of accessibility for both the creators and the recipients of the information that is both cost and time effective. Such technical accessibility also supports the integration of volunteers' information for the research project as well.

Since the focus of this research is to analyze Basque gravestone symbols, it must be addressed how I use "gravestone symbol" in the following capacity. Though multiple points of information are addressed in this study, the primary focus is on the etched imagery that is usually seen alongside the deceased's names. Gravestone symbols in this research excludes epitaphs as symbols but does include them in the general research. As expressed by Montifolca in her San Diego study, with reference to Victor Turner's analysis "The Forests of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual", the usage of gravestone symbols "… are the smallest unit of ritual behavior and are used to help understand the world" (Montifolca, 2013: page 32).

Data classification for this specific research proved to be challenging. Not for lack of data, but rather a method that was best to classify the symbols. While there are various methods that are more popular for providing readers with replicable data (e.g., Deetz and Dethlefsen in 1969), often it was found that individual researchers tended to create methods that best suited the type of information they were looking to expand upon. Harnois (2000), Nutty (1977), Meyer (1992), Mueller (1992), Foster (2020), and others each demonstrated proficiency in their collection methods for their research. Each had provided different means for collecting their site-specific material. The general trends for information gathering centered on the categories of sex, age, epitaphs, gravestone shapes, and symbols. While inspired by other classifications for gravestones, I will provide an outline in the following pages that pertains to the Basque burials. While the research scope focused

on the engravings of each gravestone, observations also included grave marker form and material. This was partially due to the inclusion of differences in shape and carving styles, such as columnar style gravestones that were carved to mimic a child's form.

Since gravestone documentation does not have a singular method, determining how to classify and identify gravestones proved a bit challenging, but not impossible. One difficulty for classification came from the use of family plots and marriage burials. While listed individually on the decedent list, a common trait was for married couples to share a gravestone, thus resulting in the decorative elements being deemed "the same " for each. For the sake of this study, individuals were listed separately, meaning that some elements which were "shared" would be counted twice. Thus, the presented data tables are totaled based on the individuals who are buried, rather than the actual gravestone count. This was done to keep with the numerical accuracy of the provided list of decedents. What must be noted however, is that there were also noticeable symbols that reflected the individual's personality. For example, symbols involving the deceased's hobbies were more frequently observed than originally thought. Family plots were also taken into consideration, in that their burials were also individually counted. One other difficulty when taking pictures was the potential for missing gravestones that were marked as "unknown"; while there were undoubtedly burials that were of Basque heritage that had not been marked, they easily could have been overlooked by either myself or the volunteers when collecting pictures for reference.

Gravestone symbols were amongst the data that was collected from the two sites of Jordan Valley, Oregon, and Emmett, Idaho (Figure 3.1, figure 3.2). With focus on Basque burials, the collected data

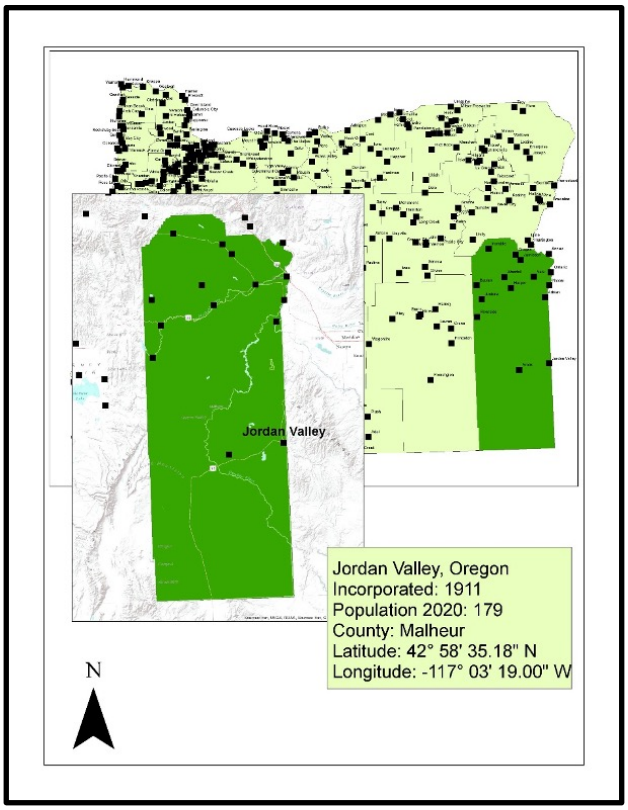


Figure 3.1 – Location Map of Jordan Valley (OR)

Created by author

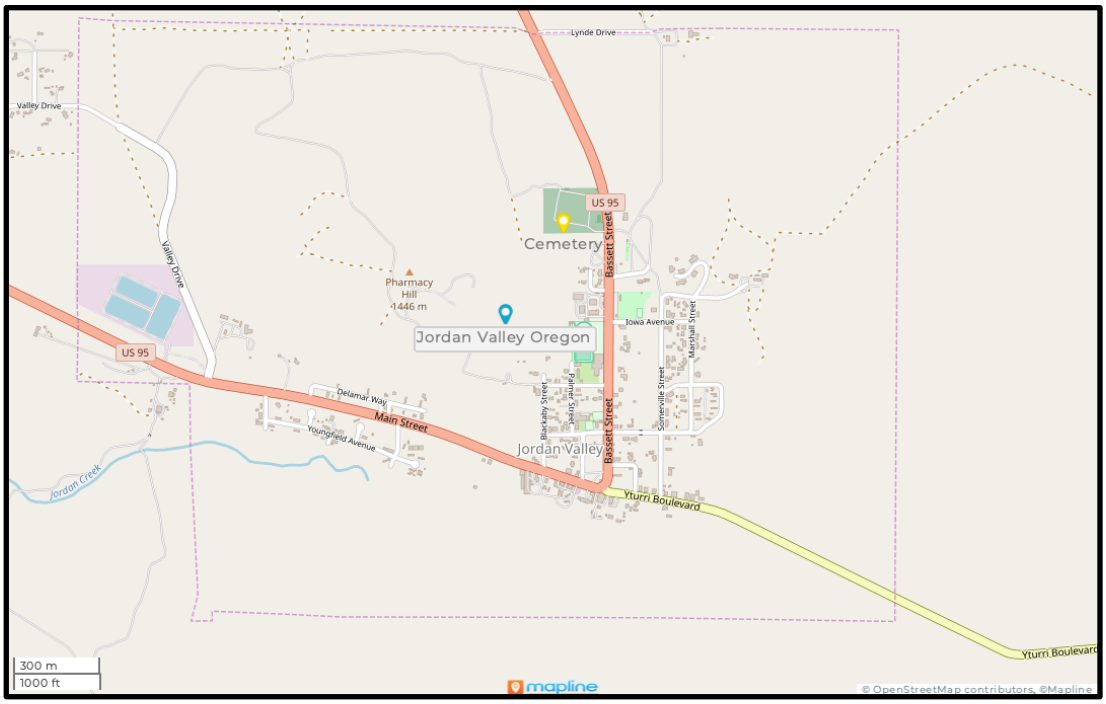


Figure 3.2 – Town Map of Jordan Valley (OR), with cemetery site pinned in yellow

Created by author

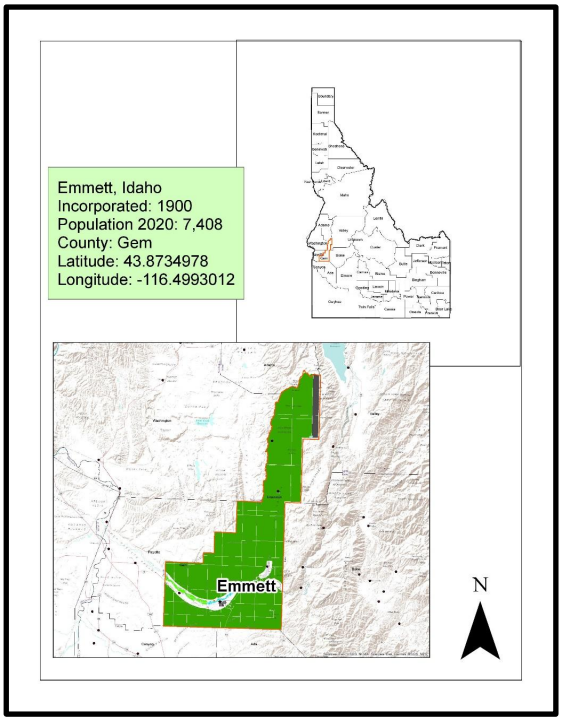


Figure 3.3 – Location Map of Emmett (ID)

Created by author

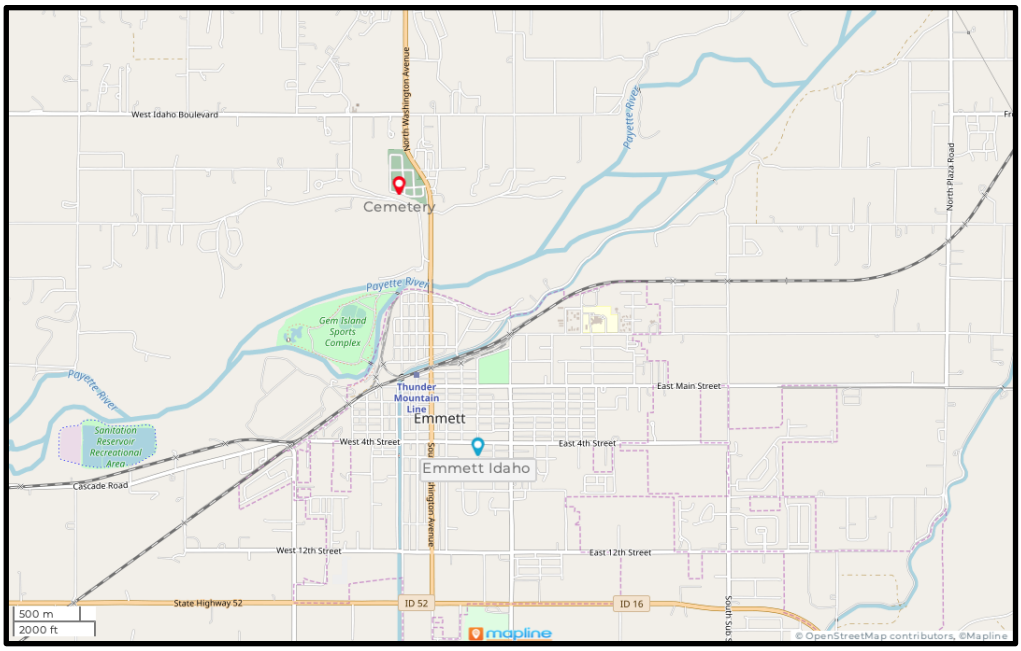


Figure 3.4 – Town Map of Emmett (ID), with cemetery site pinned in red
Created by author

fell within a temporal boundary of 1900 to 2021, due in part to the given dates on the gravestones, as well as recognizing the time frame of both towns being settled. All of these categories were referenced in the chronological framework of decades. This breakdown of time is consistent with other analyses of documenting gravestones and any pertinent trends for design elements and gravestone styles.

Supplementary information was categorized into gravestone shapes, sex, kinship terms, and date of death. Gravestone shapes were divided into subcategories of flush, block, military, columnar, and unusual. Though there are more categories for gravestone shapes, these five categories incorporated the primary shapes that were found at both cemeteries. Flush gravestones, or flat gravestones, are flush with the land in which they lay. I included bevel gravestones under this category as well, which vary slightly in shape from flush. Block gravestones, also known as upright gravestones, are designs that are perpendicular to the ground that have larger bases. Slant markers were also included in this category. Military gravestones, much like the symbolism category, were based more on the inscriptions that evidenced a military burial, which in turn necessitated its own category. Columnar gravestones included the gravestones that had one to two columns included on

or as the monument. Unusual gravestones were a larger encompassing category, given the types of graves that could be deemed unusual in their shapes. In reference to Nutty's gravestone categorizations, Nutty stated unusual gravestones to be "idiosyncratic type gravestones (which) are characterized as having their own singular and unique traits which do not necessarily fall into the other categories of gravestone forms" (Nutty, 1978: page 100). Shapes included in this category were hearts, crosses, benches, and others that did not fall in the previously listed categories for gravestone shapes.

Sex, as was also determined in Foster's research, utilizes the biological attributions to male and female. Categorization of children, however, was left under a gender neutral "child" designation, relying more so on their age grouping rather than sex. Kinship terms were also documented since the rate of use in each cemetery was consistent. Coleen Nutty had an expansive list of kinship terms from her research that lent itself to this research, which will be listed in the appendix in a modified format that better fits the Basque kinship terms. Kinship terminology was a potentially important category to consider in support of the gravestone symbols. The expression of kinship terminology provides measurable points for determining potential relationships the male, female, or child had to their kin and community. This knowledge can then support determining any potential relationships for given use factors of specific symbols, and the frequency they were used per biological sex.

While age of the deceased was needed for determining their age groupings, ultimately the date of death was applied in ten-year increments. Though the most important point for this research are the gravestone symbols, the vital statistics of birth and death dates can provide insight into more time specific design features that could have been influenced by popular trends in each decade. Date of birth and death also helped me determine if there was a need to break down the elements by age grouping. Reference to age groups provided a means for separating out markers that would be classified as children's markers versus adults and elderly. Child burials commonly are assumed to have the Victorian lamb motif, which does hold true, but there were other less elaborate motifs for children as well which will be seen in the following analysis. Such a style seemed to wane with the progression of the twentieth century and was found to be non-existent with the few child burials from the turn of the twenty-first century to the present. Age groups for this research were broken into specific age categories that are reflective of adulthood in

contemporary groupings. It was thought this type of age grouping was best, given that many of the graves were within contemporary times. The following age groups categories are:

0-17

18-44

45+

This type of age grouping would not allow for potential differences in determining what constitutes the age of a child during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, the contemporary groupings allowed for temporal parameters that would still be agreeable in representation of the collected data.

Gravestone symbols were also categorized separately into five categories: Religious, secular, Basque, military, and flowers. The categories were created this way to provide possibilities for demonstrating any correlative points in the statistical analysis. Religious symbols included Catholic symbolism, plus allowances for Protestant symbolism, or other religious symbols should there be any. Secular symbols, while initially a generic sounding grouping, included assorted symbols that were not explicitly religious in their presentation. The symbols included in this category were of pastoral scenes, occupations, hobbies, and miscellaneous symbols. Basque symbols, as elaborated on in chapter two, included the highly specific lauburu, but are not limited to only that symbol. Although some of the religious symbols potentially had overlapping meanings that could be argued as being Basque, this symbol category included distinctive Basque symbols. Military symbols were a designated category due to the type of inscriptions and symbols that are found on military burials. The flower category was a recent addition to the categories. Although this symbol category could have potentially fit better under a nature category where both flowers and pastoral scenes would have been grouped together, I best thought it to be a separate category given the frequency of singular flowers as a gravestone symbol.

The establishment of these categories occurred prior to collecting the raw numbers from the cemeteries, but were adjusted when certain trends – for example, flower symbols – became more apparent. Rather than attempting to hold fast to predetermined ideas on what the information would look like, it was better thought to have a generalized idea that could be adjusted to better reflect what information was gathered from the cemeteries. In the following chapter, I will address how the data was interpreted, and what statistical methods were used to bring about such results. Any significant trends will be expanded upon in the next chapter. The presented graphs will correspond to the number of individual burials and their corresponding symbols.

Chapter Four **– Results and Analysis**

After determining how to categorize the information, the raw data was placed into Microsoft Excel spreadsheets. This was done to maintain consistent records of information that would then be used in the statistical analysis. Outside of the Basque gravestone symbols, the other information gained provided information for examining any relationships between the symbols and age, sex, and kinship. The total amount of individual Basque burials that were included from Jordan Valley and Emmett totaled 236, with gravestones totaling 171. Emmett burials totaled 130, whereas Jordan Valley's equaled 106; the gravestones respectively total to 92 and 79 (see appendix for total list). Individual burials in this case pertains to the physical person who was buried and not the individual gravestones, as married persons are often buried together. It must be noted that it is likely there are unaccounted burials in each site, either due to research oversight, or no evidence of the burials in each cemetery, whether through misinformation or unknown resting place.

Each of the below listed variables were analyzed, in order to provide a more substantial understanding on what or who influenced particular elements of the gravestones. While some of the analyses are not as fully expanded upon, the exploration of any areas that could have potential for correlations were appropriate for providing better support should anomalies or trends prove evident. Some information was pre-determined to not be useful – such as gravestone material – and were left out of the analysis. Age was also not explicitly needed, except for general determination for specific time periods and their corresponding information of kinship, sex, and particular symbols. It was thought that these categories would provide the most useful information in support of symbol usage in the cemeteries.

An initial look at the data revealed an interesting increase in the use of religious symbols in the 1960s. This suggested a potential relationship be decades and the type of symbols gravestones. Through discussion with the Statistics Assistance Center at the University of Idaho, it was determined that the best method for determining a potential relationship between decades and symbols was a chi-square analysis. The analysis provided information on the variable relationships; that is, if the variables were independent or not. The primary variable, being the gravestone symbols, was run against the decade

variable to see whether there were trends to take notice of. The outcome of the chi-square is found below in the symbol section.

Gravestones Shape

Table 4-1 – Monument Geometry at Jordan Valley (OR) and Emmett (ID)
Created by author

Type	Count	Percentage
Flush	132	77%
Bevel	3	2%
Block	21	12%
Columnar	14	8%
Unusual	1	1%
Total Gravestones	171	100%

Out of the 171 gravestones shapes from the two cemeteries, 132 were flush, 21 were block, 14 were columnar, 1 was unusual, and 3 were bevel. It must be noted that unknown gravesites were not accounted for when determining the number of Basque burials at each cemetery. Out of the four generalized groupings of gravestones, the most common shape was that of the flush category. This upholds the assertion put forth by Meyer (1990) that, while economic resources played a role in people's decisions for the grave marker, the rise of the lawn mower also highly encouraged the transition to more in-ground grave markers. Flush gravestones were found in all decades, meaning that the style was not a new phenomenon to the cemeteries of the late 1900s. The trend of flush style gravestones became popular during the rise of memorial park cemeteries and continued in popularity given their affordability and style that would not detract from its surroundings (Yalom, 2008). The flush gravestones also included military designated stones – separate gravestones that served to memorialize the deceased's service in the Military.

Military gravestones accounted for 25 of the flush gravestones. Within this sample, all military gravestones were placed on a gravesite in addition to a more standard gravestone representing the deceased. Military burials were designated separately, given the distinctive veneration for veterans at the time of burial. Being in military service was a point of pride for the Basque people, calling back to their own love and patriotism for their

home country. Such sentiments then carried over to their service for the United States military as well. Patriotism then was an unquestioned role the Basque men took on during World War I and World War II with little question. It was noted that there were two gravestones to commemorate men serving in WWI, and eight gravestones to commemorate serving in WWII. There were three markers commemorating men serving in the Korean War, whereas there was only one gravestone commemorating men serving in Vietnam. Desert Storm had no evidenced gravestones, which could indicate either a drop-off in the amount of Basque who are serving from the Jordan Valley and Emmett communities, or that those who participated are currently still alive at the time of this writing.

Block was the second most used type of grave marker, with 21 of the gravestones as block, equating to 12% of the markers falling into the category of block styled stones. While flush gravestones demonstrated both economic propensity and geographic necessity, block markers gave strong indication on the decedent's financial status. While not chosen entirely for the purpose of displaying wealth, the application rate of block gravestones nevertheless reflected times of economic prosperity for the individuals who used them. What is interesting is the time frame the block gravestones are primarily found – over half were used between 1920 until 1960. There are more block gravestones found in Jordan Valley as well, in comparison to Emmett. What this could indicate is there had been initially more wealth in Jordan Valley given its history of silver mining, as opposed to Emmett which was more reliant on agriculture. With such economic stability during the beginning of the twentieth century in Jordan Valley, wealth would have been easier to accumulate for the Basque in the area.

Columnar styled gravestones were among the least used styles for the Basque burials in both cemeteries. There were 14 columnar gravestones found in Jordan Valley, accounting for 8% of the sampled gravestones. This style was also associated with economic affluence that the Basque may or may not have emphasized in the memorializing of those who had passed. Columnar, more so than block gravestones, give strong indication on the wealth of the individuals and their families at the time of burial as these were the most expensive gravestones. The time frame of use must be noted, given that the last burial involving a columnar styled gravestone was 1933 in Jordan Valley. A potential reason for such an abrupt cut-off with columnar styles in Jordan Valley could be the

implementation of the Taylor Grazing Act in 1935. This act stripped Basque sheepherders of their rights to grazing lands, which plummeted their financial stability (Hatfield, 2003). The earliest columnar style gravestone between the two sites for Basque burials was placed in 1903. Two of the columnar style gravestones were also dedicated to children who had passed away, the eldest being thirteen when he died. This could also indicate that the children came from more affluent families in the area.

Bevel styled gravestones accounted for three of the gravestones – one in Jordan Valley, two in Emmett - totaling 2% of the gravestones. Similar to flush gravestones, bevel gravestones measure about the same for surface area, and are raised about two to three inches. From the back to the front of the gravestone they slightly slant downwards. Bevel gravestones are also less expensive than block styled gravestones. This gravestone style for this research did not seem to indicate anything of importance.

The least used, but still relevant, are the unusually shaped gravestones. Dubbed to be “idiosyncratic” by Nutty (1976:176) and Harnois (2000:55), these unusually shaped markers fell into three shape types: cross, heart, and rounded. Though there were other unusually shaped gravestones present in each cemetery, the Basque grave markers only included these three designs. Bench designs were excluded because while it must be noted that the benches did serve as a type of memorial to the deceased person, they did not serve as a physical marking on where their body lay in the cemetery. The rate of use for these out of the ordinary styles is also .01% percent of the total grave markers that were analyzed from both cemeteries. The rounded gravestone and cross were both found in Jordan Valley, and potentially made of the same material, given the amount of wear on both. Inscriptions were on each gravestone but were illegible aside from a potential date of death on the cross. The heart gravestone was found in Emmett. This one was for the burial of a young daughter of a well-known couple in Emmett – Simon and Josephine Galdos. Having come to Emmett in 1917, Simon (Sam) and Josephine Galdos operated a boarding house for forty years with their daughter Marie (Lyon, 1977). Their daughter Waneta passed away in 1921 at the age of eight. Because of this young age, the Galdos might have thought it to be fitting to honor their daughter. Given that the inscriptions on the two gravestones in Jordan Valley were illegible, it is difficult to determine exactly how these gravestones might fit into the overall picture of Basque burial practices.

Sex

Table 4-2 – Sex Demographics at Jordan Valley (OR) and Emmett (ID) Cemeteries
Created by author

Basque Burials

Type	Jordan Valley	Emmett	Total
Male	66	81	147
Female	47	57	104
Child	4	4	8
Total	117	142	259

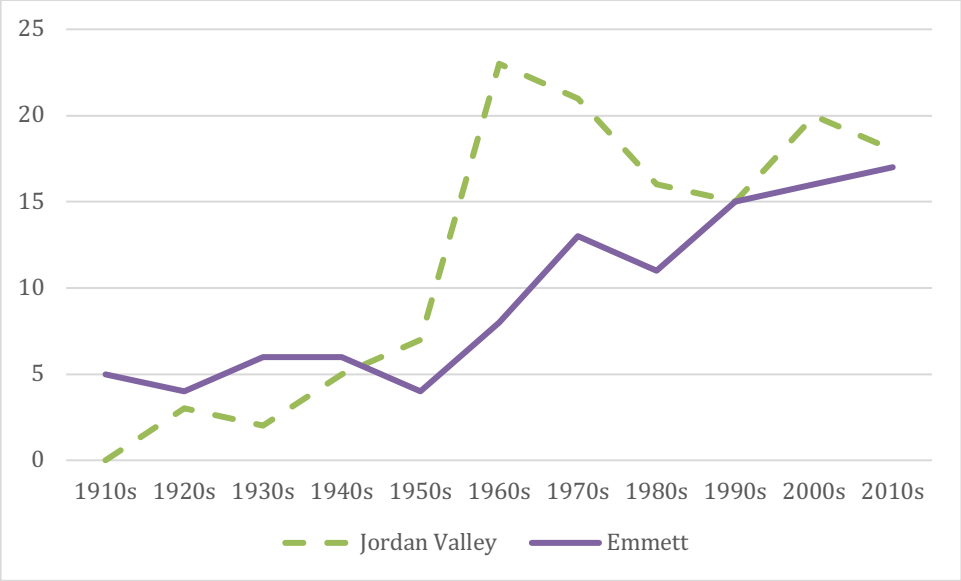
Representation of men, women, and children who were buried at each cemetery was also accounted for in the raw data. Between the two cemeteries, a total of 147 (57%) men were buried, with 104 (40%) women, and 8 (3%) children. Understanding the rates in which males, females, and children are represented at the two cemeteries will help provide a basis for correlations between represented sex, and symbol usage. These numbers could be indicative of several different factors on sex representation. A primary reason for counts found and shown above in table 4.2 would be the distribution of population amongst males, females, and children, as driven by immigration into the towns. This could also be indicative of health care in each town. Since the nearest town to Jordan Valley with a medical facility is one hour away by car, accidents associated with occupation could become lethal. Similar situations could happen with Emmett, though they have maintained small medical facilities throughout the duration of the town's existence (Lyon, 1977). A portion of the gravestones that had places for both the husband and wife marked burial plots that were not entirely filled, with one spouse still living. While this would technically skew the correlations between sex and symbolism, living spouses' gravestone inscriptions were still taken into consideration when counting the number of Basque burials at both cemeteries. Since every grave marker with this variation were only missing the spouses' date of death, it was deemed acceptable to include their pre-carved information and symbols into the data. It would be reasonable to state that there is a strong likelihood that the living relatives made decisions both on the gravestone styles, as well as what symbols would potentially be used to represent the deceased.

Date of Death

Dates of death provided a more generalized overview on death rates within the two cemeteries. Although the focus of this research is on the integration of Basque symbolism, further research could be beneficial in observing health within the rural Basque communities. From the raw numbers, dates of death had two peaks within the temporal boundaries in the 1960s, and in the 2000s. The total number of deaths from each cemetery per decade occurred in the following order:

Table 4-3 – Jordan Valley (OR) and Emmett (ID) Total Deaths per Decade
Created by author

Type	Count	Percentage
1910s	5	2.1%
1920s	7	3.0%
1930s	8	3.4%
1940s	11	4.7%
1950s	11	4.7%
1960s	31	13.1%
1970s	34	14.4%
1980s	27	11.4%
1990s	30	12.7%
2000s	36	15.3%
2010s	35	14.8%
2020s	1	0.4%
Total Deaths per Decade	236	100%



Graph 4-1 – Basque Graves Related to Decade of Death at Jordan Valley (OR) and Emmett (ID)
Created by author

Each decade's death rate is possibly reflective of population growth determined by work in each town. In separate counts, Jordan Valley would potentially see more of a population decline given the volatility of mining in the area, which would drive population rates higher or lower, depending on the need for workers. In contrast, Emmett has seen slow but consistent growth as a town - potentially due to the more stable agricultural base of the town.

Kinship Terms

Kinship terms were used as a data point for correlation to determine if kinship terminology was expressed during certain time periods. Kinship terms were compared with dates of death to explore any potential trends on familial expressions; were there more inferences of mother as opposed to father? Were children referenced in a higher capacity during the turn of the twentieth century, or mid twentieth century? The category of sex would then relate to kinship terms, where the breakdown of death rates between males, females, and children could be more easily determined. If there were higher rates of the term "mother," does that mean there are more women buried at the cemeteries? Nuclear

family references followed Father and Mother, primarily with son and daughter. Aunt, Uncle. Grandfather and grandmother were expressed as well, but to a much lesser degree than Father and Mother. The Basque family structure follows that of the nuclear family in the westernized conception; that is, that the family is made up of a father, mother, and children. While there were some variations on this that were evidenced in the spread of terms, ultimately those involving nuclear family roles had the highest rate of usage. Out of the 259 burials, 112 had kinship terms associated with them. The term Mother was used in 13 of the burials with references to familial roles. Father is also used at the same rate, with 13 out of 259 individuals listed on the gravestones. The earliest use of Father out of the total was found in 1943. The earliest reference to Mother was in the year 1952. The lack of earlier representation of parental roles on the gravestone inscriptions could be due to the cost of having lengthy inscriptions and was something that was not deemed necessary to remember the deceased by, since both Basque communities were tightly knit. The kinship term Father, however, was also utilized for determining clerical roles; that is to say, a Father of the local Catholic church. What is of interest for the comparison of the two sites, is that this religious naming was found only once in the Emmett cemetery, as well as only one Catholic father in the Jordan Valley cemetery. Since both communities brought in Basque Catholic fathers from the Basque Country, this finding does demonstrate the communities' dedication to practicing their religion through Basque methods.

The kinship terms of son accounted for 6 of the used kinship terms, with 3 gravestones bearing the inscription of daughter. Initially it had been thought that there would be more evidence of these two kinship terms, but that tended to not be the case. The reference to daughter came significantly earlier than any references to Mother or Father; the kinship reference was used in 1921, twenty-two years prior to Father. Son on the other hand, appeared in use in 1948 in Jordan Valley, also referencing an infant's death. This is a rather interesting point to note, as there could be a few explanations for this difference. While unlikely, there could have been few to no deaths of infant boys until 1948. A more reasonable explanation, however, might be that the family who buried their sons and daughters saw little need to express who was buried there – the parents knew it was their daughter or son (Douglass, 1969). The third most referenced kinship terms were those of aunt, uncle, grandmother, and grandfather. These relatives, though falling outside of the typical western nuclear family structure, still attained their family titles on their gravestones.

This evidence shows that, while much less frequent than the mother/father/son/daughter titles, a few families' statuses were still important in their portrayal on their gravestones.

Basque and Spanish terms in contrast, were fewer in number, totaling to six kinship terms. Both languages were utilized for non-nuclear family members of grandparents, and parent's siblings. The most unique kinship terms came from one male who passed away in 2015; his inscriptions were Senar, Aita, and Txitxi. All three of these names are Basque, and directly reflect the decedent's place of birth. A separate gravestone inscription included the term Tio, which is Spanish, and also referenced Brother and Uncle. The two gravestones that had Basque names used for the grandparents interred there, were addressed by their Basque titles "Popi" and "Amuma". These were the only times Basque or Spanish kinship terms were referenced, and all occurred after 1990. While the gravestones that included Tio, Popi, and Amuma did not list the places of birth, it could be best thought that the connection to the Basque country was direct and recent. All other kinship terms were written in English.

Table 4-4 – Male Kinship Terms used at Jordan Valley (OR) and Emmett (ID)
Created by author

Kinship Terms - Male

Type	Count	Percentage
Father	13	46%
Grandfather	1	4%
Uncle	1	4%
Husband	4	14%
Tio	2	7%
Senar	1	0%
Aita	1	0%
Txitxi	1	0%
Popi	1	4%
Brother	2	7%
Dad	4	14%
Total	31	100%

Table 4-4 – Female Kinship Terms used at Jordan Valley (OR) and Emmett (ID)

Created by author

Kinship Terms - Female

Type	Count	Percentage
Mother	13	41%
Grandmother	3	9%
Aunt	1	3%
Wife	7	22%
Sister	3	9%
Amuma	1	3%
Amatchi	1	3%
Mom	3	9%
Total	32	100%

Table 4-5 – Child Kinship Terms used at Jordan Valley (OR) and Emmett (ID)

Created by author

Kinship Terms - Child

Type	Count	Percentage
Infant	2	5%
Baby	1	2%
Son	6	14%
Daughter	3	7%
Total	44	100%

Table 4-6 – Neutral Kinship Terms used at Jordan Valley (OR) and Emmett (ID)

Created by author

Kinship Terms - Neutral

Type	Count	Percentage
Parents	2	0.4
Grandparents	2	0.4
Friend	1	0.2
Total	5	100%

Gravestone Symbols

Gravestone symbols, which are the focal point of this research, were broken down into five main categories: Religious, Secular, Military, Basque, and Flower symbols. Religious symbol usage amongst the Basque grave markers had the highest rate of use, with 119 of the 223 gravestone symbols having some type of religious connotation. Many, if not all, of these symbols were Catholic in nature. Potential discrepancies with this statement is that one of the most popular symbols on the gravestones (an empty cross) could easily indicate Protestantism. Catholicism however, is referenced as being the most prevalent religion for the Basque due to the high percentage of Basque immigrants who continued to practice Catholicism. This practice would then continue even as the immigrated from their homeland to the United States.

Religious symbols that had shown a strong connection to age and gender were those of religious animal icons; that is, lambs and doves. While sheep were also referenced in non-religious portrayals, the grave markers for children followed in typical Victorian styles, with a sharp change to modern styles. From the 8 child burials, 2 had distinct carved lambs on a block gravestone, while 1 was carved blocks with doves and various plant materials, mainly ferns. The referencing of the innocence of lambs and the purity of doves as attributed to characteristics of children were consistent with the Victorian style children graves. The 5 gravestones that did not follow the Victorian trend, had symbols relating back to the child's family's inclination to their religion, and their Basque heritage. These were also more recent burials, occurring within the past 30 years. This also follows when other Basque symbols were used, as is outlined in the later Basque symbols section. What was highly unusual in the progress and regression of religious symbols was a significant spike during the 1960s. Prior and after the 1960s, the religious symbols followed more typical trends. The following bar graph provides visual context from the chi-square analysis provided by the Statistics Center at the University of Idaho.

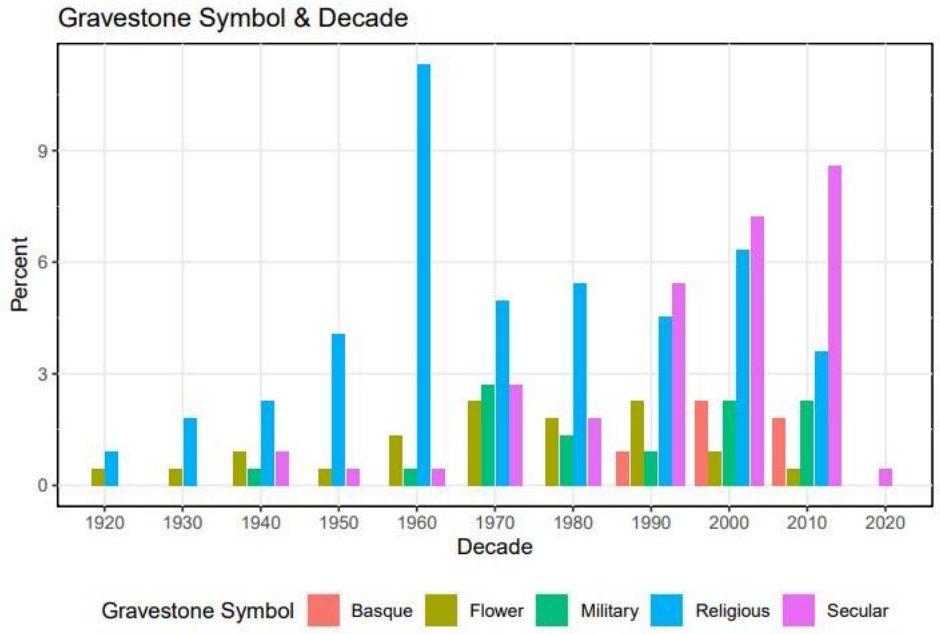
Secular symbols were also prevalent in both cemeteries, with many gravestones having overlap of both religious and non-religious symbols. This category included pastoral scenes, hobbies, occupations, and miscellaneous. Secular symbols began to arise in the 1940s, and while they had a brief decline in the 1950s, had a significant jump in

representation during the 1960s. By the decade of the 2010s, secular symbols outpaced the use of religious symbols.

Table 4-7 – Gravestone Symbols at Jordan Valley (OR) and Emmett (ID)
Created by author

Gravestone Symbols

Type	Count	Percentage
Religious	119	53%
Secular	44	20%
Military	25	11%
Basque	11	5%
Flowers	24	11%
Total Symbols	223	100%



Graph 4-2 – Gravestone Symbol usage over time at Jordan Valley (OR) and Emmett (ID)
Provided by University of Idaho Statistics Assistance Center

The most popular secular symbol was not necessarily a symbol, but rather portrayals of scenic landscapes that mimicked the cemeteries' surrounding landscapes. Since nature is considered idyllic and peaceful in all forms, it comes as no surprise that

both the deceased and their families would have such concepts represented on their gravestones. Following scenic symbols were those of occupations and hobbies. Such characterizations are reminiscent of Meyer's 1990 analysis on Pacific Northwest Loggers and their occupational folklore: the more dangerous the occupation, the more frequent the motif. While ranching and farming could be deemed far less dangerous than logging, nevertheless the created mythos that provides the frame for Basque sheepherding in the Intermountain west prevails. What is interesting to note, are the subtle transitions from sheepherding being represented, to more common cow ranching that were displayed.

For the geographic regions of Jordan Valley and Emmett, this subtle shift in occupation for the Basque descendants is worth noting. Considering the idealization of Basque sheepherding in the United States, recognizing this occupational change provides a better context for their adaptability to what types of work were popularized during specific time periods. In the case of representation of sheepherding versus cattle ranching, 10 had clear cattle ties, whereas 7 evidenced working with sheep. These were dominantly found in Jordan Valley, which strongly relates to the town's economic history of mining, ranching, and sheepherding. The few gravestone symbols that were not entirely clear on what the occupation was were those that depicted a saddled horse. Since horses are used in both herding cattle and sheep, it is probable that the given depiction of a saddled horse could indicate either a ranching or sheepherding occupation. Four of the grave markers depicted work horses and correlated to the number of ranching symbols in the same time period(s) from the 1980s through the 2000s. The extra ranching symbols also amounted to four, and included a pair of boots, a cattle rope, a branding symbol, and the outline of a steer's head.

While occupations were evidenced on the gravestones, so too were hobbies that were deemed important enough to portray the individual in their passing. By observing the rate in which hobbies were represented, the symbols were found during the time frames from the nineteen-eighties to the two-thousands. Presentation of the individual through the love of a hobby, while minimal, demonstrated that there was great pride in the ability and time to partake in the hobby. Explicitly displayed types of hobbies tended towards outdoor recreation of fishing and golf and quilting or baking. These tended to follow along traditional gender norms, in that the outdoor recreation symbols were on men's graves, while the

quilting and baking were seen on women's gravestones. Golf, however, was seen on both male and female gravestones.

Basque Symbolism

Being the focal point of this research, Basque gravestone symbols had a separate category for analysis. There is considerable overlap with certain types of religious icons that have an association with Basques who are practicing Catholics. Aside from such markers, the list of symbols involving Basque culture are more the focal point for consideration of usage. Initial discussions with the Basque Museum had created an assumption that many of the markers would follow a similar trend to the Basque graves in the Morris Hill cemetery in Boise, Idaho. Between the large Basque population, and the additions of the donated grave markers through the Liz Hardesty Cemetery Project, there were over 100 Basque graves that were given gravestone markers with Basque symbols on them. The numbers at Emmett and Jordan Valley however, did not entirely meet expectations of high rates of Basque symbols being present. In chapter one, a description of the lauburu was given, since it is one of the most commonly utilized symbols that marks relationship to the Basque community, both in the homeland and at large. Out of the 11 burials that had Basque symbols, all of them had the lauburu symbol. It was found then that this was the most represented symbol on the Basque grave markers, making up 5 percent of the Basque burials, which was 11 out of the 259 burials that were documented in each cemetery. There were three symbols that expressed other parts of Basque culture and identity. The oak tree of Guernica was referenced on one couple's block gravestone – the tree of Guernica signifying freedom in the Basque country since the fourteenth century (Patterson, 2007) The Boise Basque dance troupe Oinkari was also referenced on one burial, with the decedent portrayed as an active participant in the activity. One gravestone had the Basque sheepherding wagon in Jordan Valley, where sheepherding was prevalent. There were two gravestones that had French Basque symbols – one fleur de lis, and one Celtic cross. Both had the lauburu present as well. What must be noted however, is that all of these markers did not appear on the gravestones until after the 1990s. This also includes other Basque symbology, including the Basque dancing, sheepherding, and Basque phrases. The earliest Basque symbol was found in the Emmett cemetery, where the lauburu was used in 1993. Beyond this, all other Basque symbols were used between 2002 and 2017.

The application of Basque symbols between males and females leaned slightly more towards females; there were ten Basque symbols referenced for the females, while there were eight referencing male burials. Of the females, of them are still living at the time of this writing, with six males still living.

Chapter Five – Conclusion

The intersections of religion, economics, sex, and geographic location were among the multi-factored influences on the Basque and their association with their dead in these rural towns. Many of the totals followed similar trends as those expressed in similar analyses on gravestones and symbols. Montifolca found that uses of symbols in the Sand Diego cemeteries had direct correlations to what ethnic groups were present, which then influenced expression of religious styles, language, as well as provided responses to economic and social traumas (such as World War II). Harnois examined cultural changes and any societal relationships that could be reflected in gravestone forms in South Dakota regional history. Broce introduced how the Slovak immigrants in the Great Plains seemed to not indicate anything of their heritage through gravestone symbol transmission, a potential shift towards leaving behind their old-world identities for an American identity. These and multiple other studies have shown the complexity of maintaining a group's culture while navigating new territories – both literal and figurative – and how through their deceased community members they portray who they are, or who they are becoming. Such studies can also provide evidence that cultural identities might not be a central means of expression for an ethnic group.

Brief Review

The Basque in Jordan Valley and Emmett are no exception. Both towns would see an increase of Basque from the 1880s until the 1920s, as would their cemeteries officially beginning in the 1920s. It is through their cultural expressions in gravestone symbolism and inscriptions that a sense of who the people are in the rural intermountain west is obtained. Where Basque gravestone symbolism splits from other ethnic group gravestone symbolism is through the implementation of Basque symbols, but also perhaps more importantly, through the deceased's names.

Ethnically, the Basque have been established to be a unique group within Europe, withstanding years of varied acceptance both within and outside of their homeland, to attempted dominance during the Spanish Civil War from 1936 to 1939. Because of such a long and fluctuating history, resilience is a dominant characteristic of the Basque

community. The symbols that are used then in the intermountain west are a call back to their long history and aspirations to be a unified and recognized nation. As outlined in the correlative data, the lauburu was the most significantly used Basque specific symbols. Though the other Basque symbols inspire the onlooker to recognize that the grave they are observing is Basque, the lauburu has become a meaningful symbol of Basque unity that extends from the Basque country.

Symbolic expression, however, are not the only means in which the Basques' culture is continued within the intermountain west. As stated in previous chapters, the Basque language itself – barring the dialectic differences that occur within the Basque country – has remained linguistically unique, retaining most of its original structure for at least three thousand years (Kurlanksy,2003; Bilbao, 2009). With such a distinct language, cultural continuity could be expressed through names alone; each built upon the mono-syballic words that continuously point back to the Basque country – to home. While this was not explicitly observed through the Basque symbols – consider how few there currently are – the retention of Basque last names has been crucial as an ethnic identifier. As exogamous marriage has begun to be more normalized within the Basque community, loss of Basque names became more of a reality, which is where the implementation of Basque symbols has begun to both substitute and supplement the preservation of Basque heritage within the cemeteries.

Early twentieth century social science studies reference assimilation and acculturation to be the means in which an ethnic group finds its place within a new context that is external to their homelands. A particular one is sociologist Joseph Gaiser on the Basque in Jordan Valley in 1944. As his studies progressed, he asserted that the Basque, though unique in their language and other customs, would most certainly assimilate to the Anglo-Saxon way of life that was prominent in America. To a certain extent, one could say he was correct. Upon initial glance at Basque descendants today, one might not be able to discern that they are Basque without hearing their last name. However, from the context of heritage representation through their gravestone symbolism, that has begun to change. Alongside that, such assumptions were found to be incomplete when describing the social processes that develop between communities, families, and individuals navigating a foreign space. This reassessment on self-expression has been presented through more dynamic

approaches, including, but not limited to, revitalization. I believe it is the expression of revitalization that best describes the application of Basque symbolism during distinct time frames as shown in chapter four.

Research Recap

The findings from this study were initially expected to follow that of the assumptions that both the Basque Museum and Cultural Center and I held; that Basque symbolism would be a common occurrence on the gravestones, so following the general trends that had been observed in the Boise cemetery and through the Ahuatzu Cemetery Project. While this research has proven otherwise, I would state that it is still highly insightful. Rather, it is because of the rising interest of understanding and knowing from where one comes – a movement that began to take hold in the sixties that encouraged revitalization that there has begun to spring up such self-representation after the first generation. While the relationship of religion signifying the passing of the body from this life is still prevalent, alongside – and even in place of – there has been a rise in full expression of pride in ones' ancestral heritage. One means of such pride within the intermountain west region is the establishment of the Basque Museum and Cultural Center in Boise, Idaho. Established in 1985, the BMCC has been able to serve as a physical space to encourage the preservation of Basque history in the United States – particularly in the intermountain region. substitute and supplement the preservation of Basque heritage within the cemeteries.

The first goal, that of redetermining a research project during the pandemic, was finding an alternative area of research. I came upon the Ahuatzu Cemetery Project and was accepted by the Basque Museum and Cultural Center as a project to be worked on for them and myself. The obtainment of crucial information – lists of decedents and potential family in each community – was given to the researcher, thus forming the starting place of who needed to be looked for in the target cemeteries.

The second goal was two-fold, in which I learned to balance the priorities that the BMCC had with the end goals of creating a full research paper, so that each part was cohesive with the other. This step involved determining who would be potential volunteers for each site, as well as what information was most needed for the interested parties. To

assist in creating interest from younger generations in their Basque heritage, I was encouraged by the Basque Museum and Cultural Center to reach out to local community members who would want to assist in collecting the relevant information for this project. The BMCC provided contact information for community members they best thought would be interested in participating. All correspondences took place via email, which was useful given the covid-19 pandemic setting. Email correspondences, however, cannot take the place of in-person interactions; clarity in what was being requested was vulnerable to being misinterpreted without discussing steps in-person. Coordinating volunteers while having never met them also proved challenging. Aside from each volunteer's connection to the BMCC, no face-to-face interaction occurred between the volunteers and me. I believe this left room for people to not fully understand what expectations were, as well as simply not being able to encourage volunteers to commit to the project. This occurred with Jordan Valley, in which conversations ended without response from the potential volunteers. While this can happen with in-person interactions as well, I believe that meeting the volunteers would have been beneficial to seeing a higher response rate. While the coordination proved challenging for the previous reasons, nonetheless I obtained volunteers in Emmett who collected photographs for this project. In hindsight, there turned out to be unnecessary steps to the photo collections. This was mainly due to restructuring the project, given the shortened time frame from the covid-19 pandemic, as well as reprioritization on what information would be most relevant. This pertained to the volunteers collecting the gravestones' measurements, since gravestone size played little part in the final analysis. Collaborative efforts then, while not the most ideal in implementation, overall were conducive to achieving the main goals of both the researcher and the Basque Museum and Cultural Center.

The divergent portion of this step came from the timeline, given that, per circumstances, the actual implementation of volunteers obtaining the cemetery photographs could not be done until winter weather had passed from each site. Once winter had passed, the volunteers were able to actively go and obtain the necessary photographs. While this put constraints on procuring the information in a timely manner for the Basque Museum and Cultural Center, the time frame of information gathering became conducive for the volunteers to also have opportunity to ask any questions that arose, as well as flexibility with their personal schedules. The information was requested to be collected no later than

mid-April, since the final edits of this research were being written during that time. The information was delivered as requested, thus fulfilling the expectations of information procurement, and community involvement at each site.

The third goal was that of compiling the collected information, and synthesizing it to best reflect the acquired data, and to redetermine any inconsistencies that came from the project's initial assumptions. Evidence of trends in gravestone styles, use of kinship relating to sex, and gravestone symbols expressed how multiple factors can influence what is present on the gravestones.

There was disappointment that two of the initial towns (Burns, Oregon and McDermitt, Nevada) would not be included in the full project. However, it was understood that given lack of volunteer response and time restrictions, the outcome would still positively serve the BMCC in their goals for the overall project of collecting gravestone photos and any extra information that would be useful to the BMCC. Each of these points have concluded following overall trends seen in other cemetery and gravestone studies. Both areas follow wider spread transitory periods in gravestone styling as well, particularly due to the growing ease of access in modern time periods leading up to the present. The utilization of the chi-square statistics verified the rates of significant use of Basque symbology, which was shown to have an uptick in use from the 1990s until the present.

This study's primary value is to provide the Basque Museum and Cultural Center in adding to their own resources about the Basque community's burials. Thus, this will help provide their stakeholders ease of access to information that families may deem important, rather than having interested parties seek out their family member(s)' resting place through other resources. This research will have also contributed to the larger field of gravestone studies; while an expansive study area, this contribution will help with understanding the Basque immigrant history in the intermountain west. The collaborative nature of this research will also have provided a template for the BMCC to use if they so desire in future endeavors collecting burial information.

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Appendix

Appendix A – Jordan Valley Oregon Pictures

Figure 1: Jordan Valley

Figure 2: Jordan Valley

Figure 3: Jordan Valley

Figure 4: Jordan Valley

Figure 5: Jordan Valley

Figure 6: Jordan Valley

Figure 7: Jordan Valley

Figure 8: Jordan Valley

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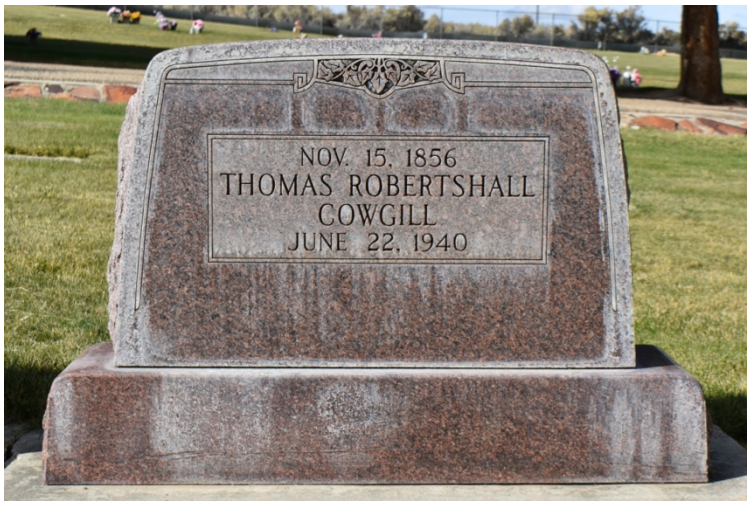

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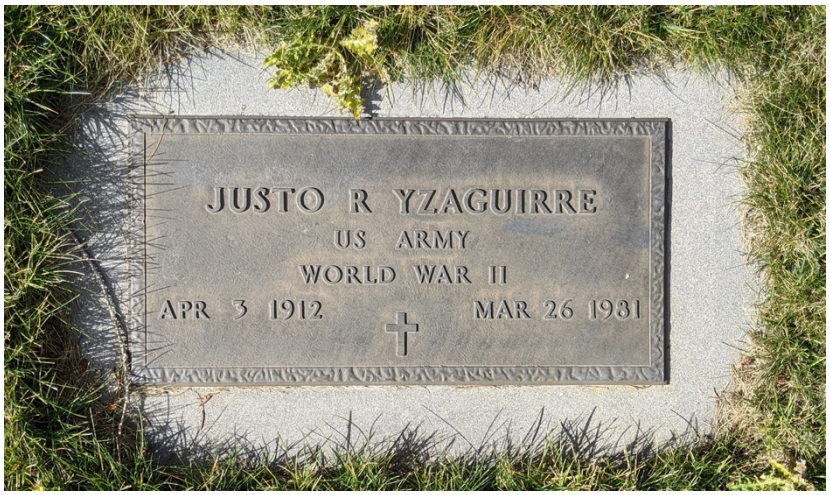

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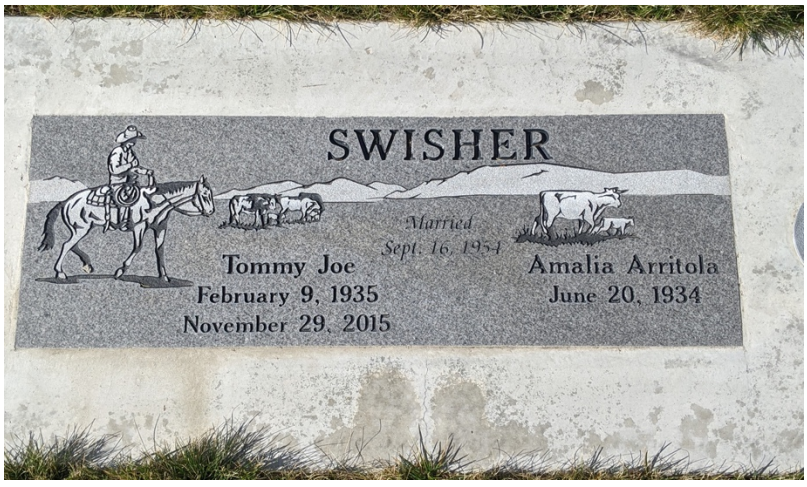

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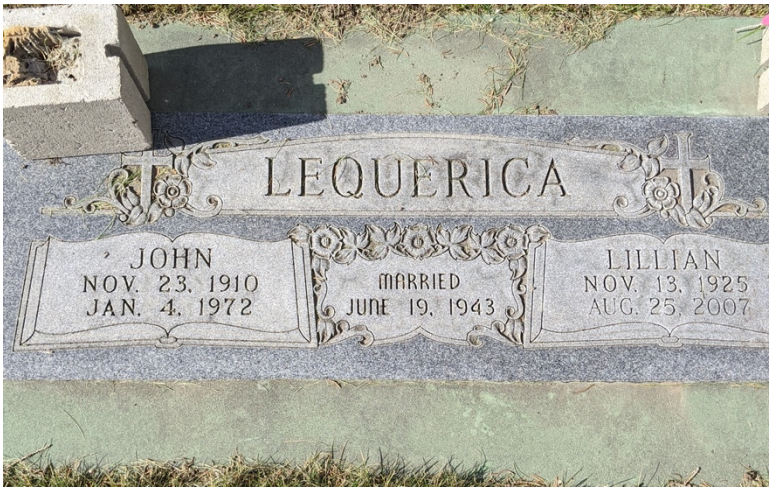

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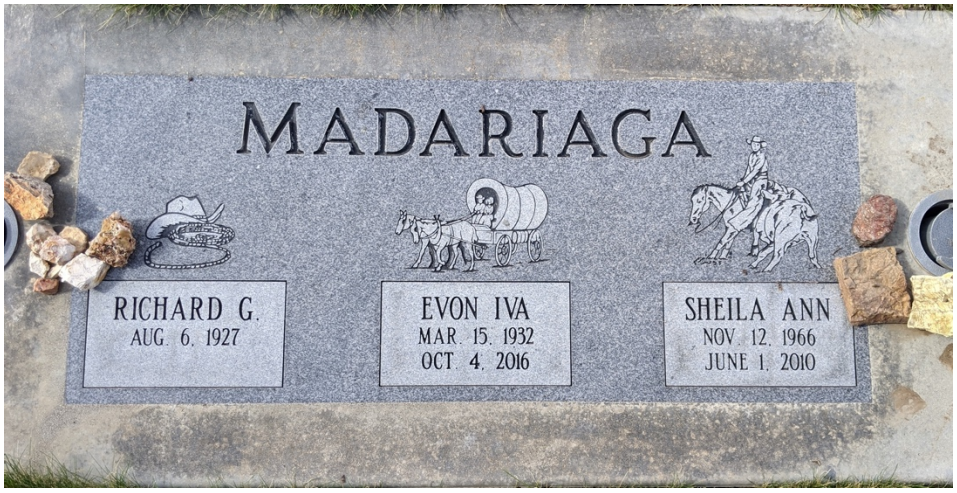

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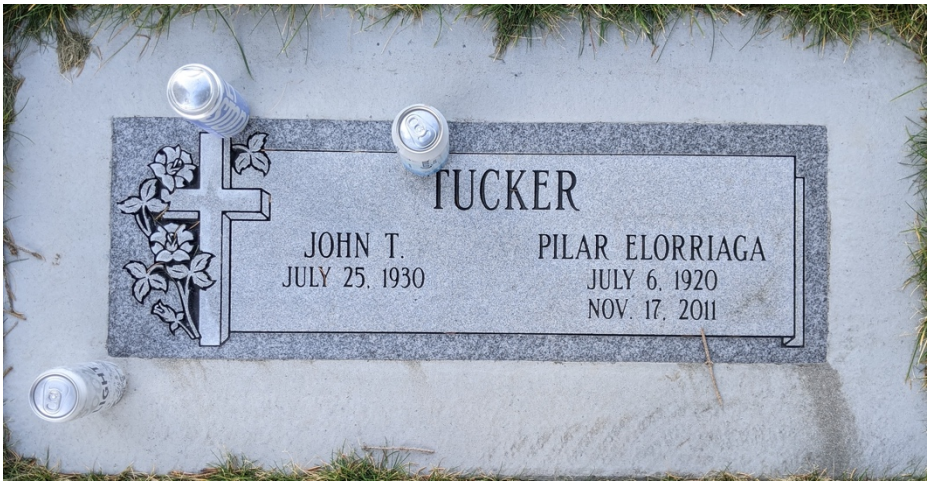

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Appendix B – Emmett Idaho Pictures

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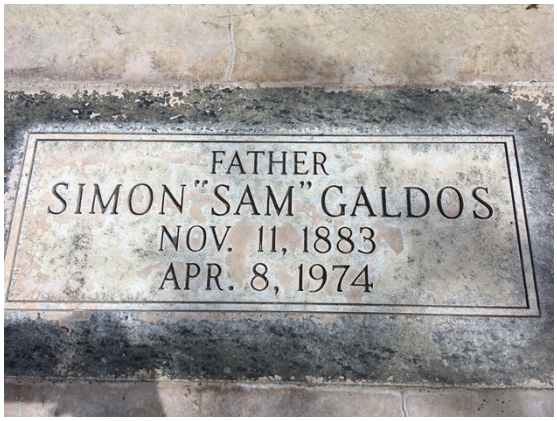

Figure 7.14

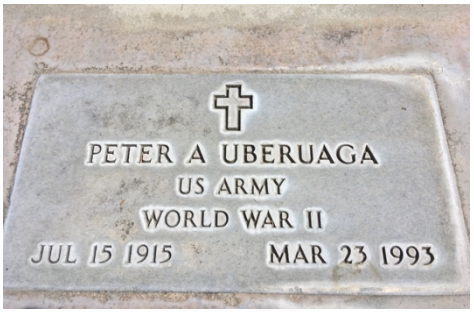

Figure 7.15

Figure 7.16

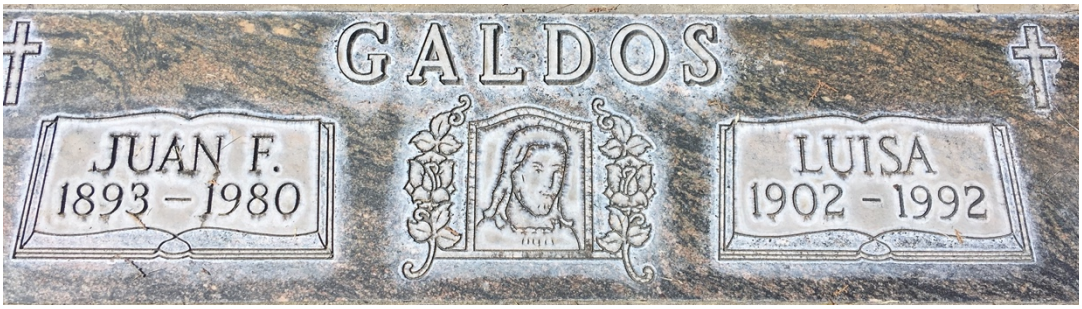

Figure 7.17

Figure 7.18

Figure 7.19

Figure 7.20

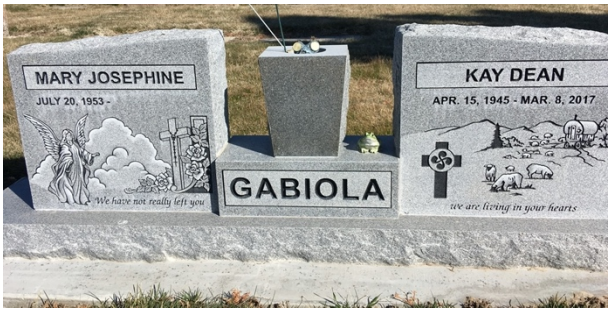

Figure 7.21

Figure 7.22

Figure 7.23

Figure 7.24

Figure 7.25

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Figure 7.29

Figure 7.30

Figure 7.31

Figure 7.32

Figure 7.33

Figure 7.34

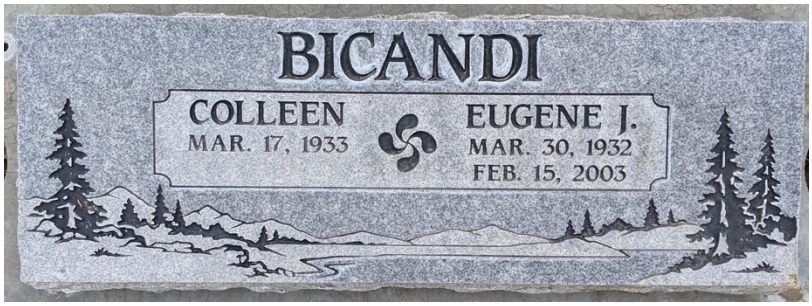

Figure 7.35

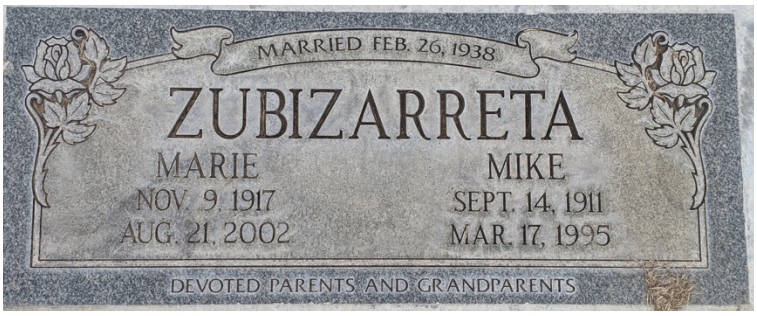

Figure 7.36

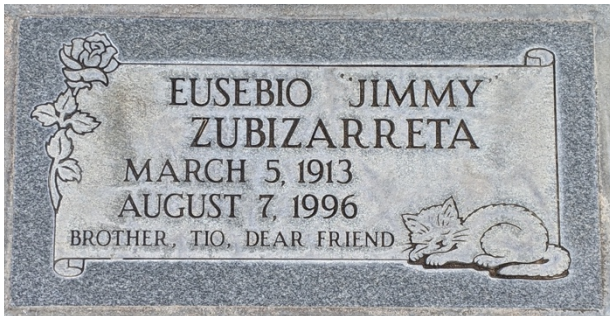

Figure 7.37

Figure 7.38

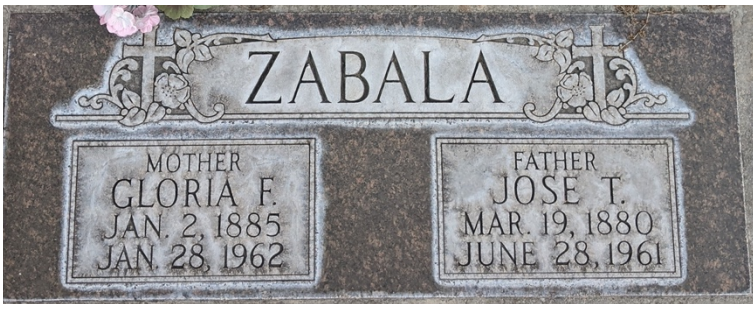

Figure 7.40

Figure 7.39

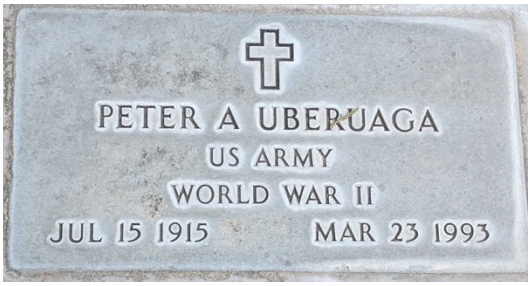

Figure 7.41

Figure 7.42

Figure 7.43

Figure 7.44

Figure 7.45

Figure 7.46

Figure 7.47

Figure 7.48

Figure 7.49

Figure 7.50

Figure 7.51

Figure 7.52

Figure 7.53

Figure 7.54

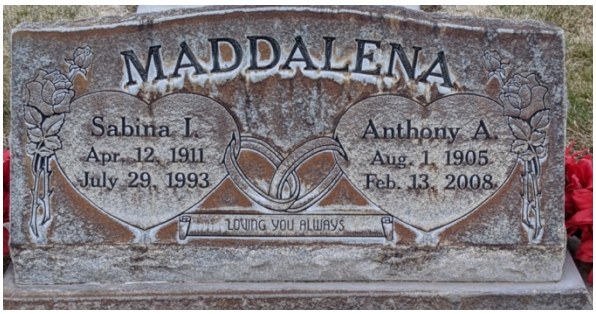

Figure 7.55

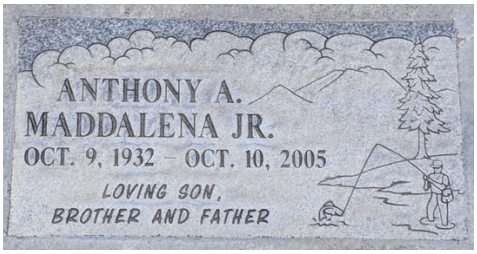

Figure 7.56

Figure 7.57

Figure 7.58

Figure 7.59

Figure 7.60

Figure 7.61

Figure 7.62

Figure 7.63

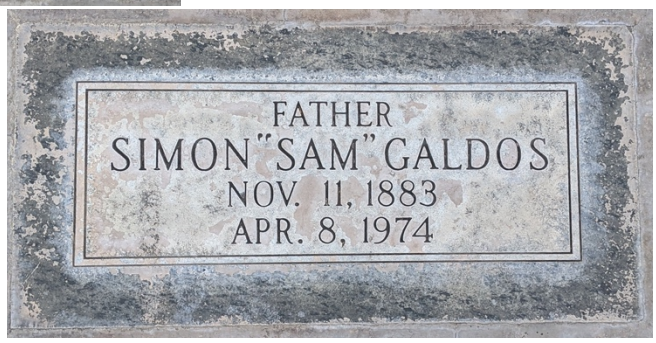

Figure 7.64

Figure 7.65

Figure 7.66

Figure 7.67

Figure 7.68

Figure 7.69

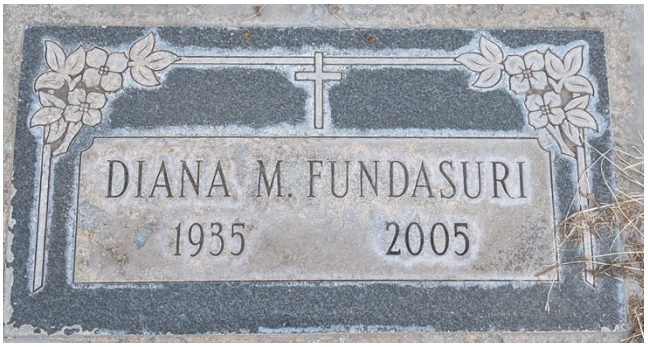

Figure 7.70

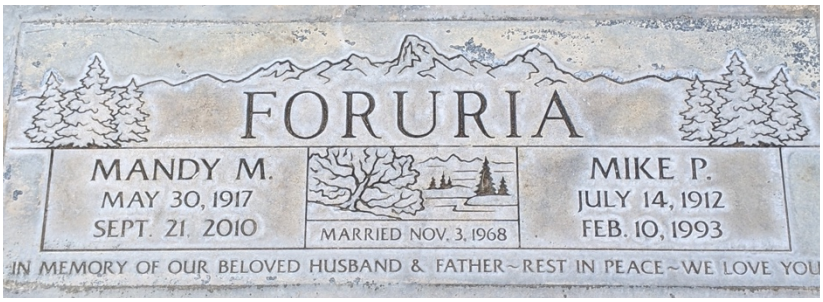

Figure 7.71

Figure 7.72

Figure 7.73

Figure 7.74

Figure 7.75

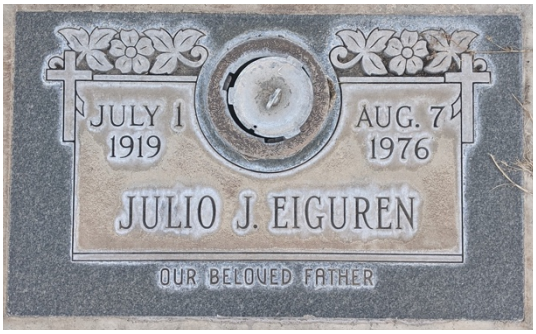

Figure 7.76

Figure 7.77

Figure 7.78

Figure 7.79

Figure 7.80

Figure 7.81

Figure 7.82

Figure 7.84

Figure 7.83

Figure 7.85

Figure 7.85

Figure 7.87

Figure 7.88

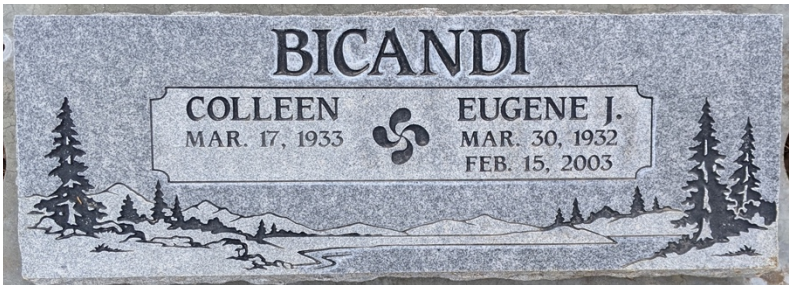

Figure 7.89

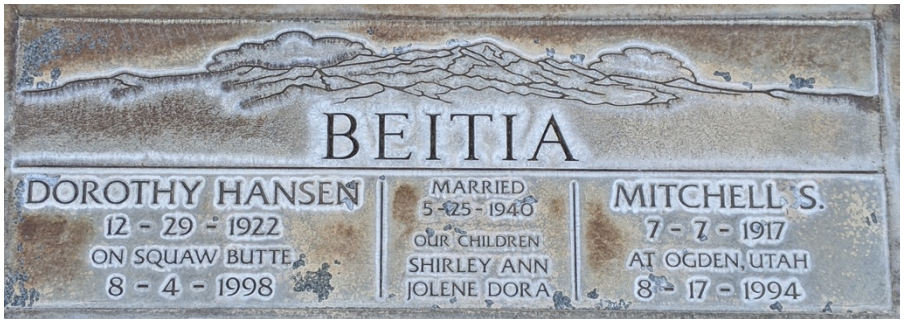

Figure 7.90

Figure 7.91

Figure 7.92

Figure 7.93

Figure 7.94

Figure 7.95

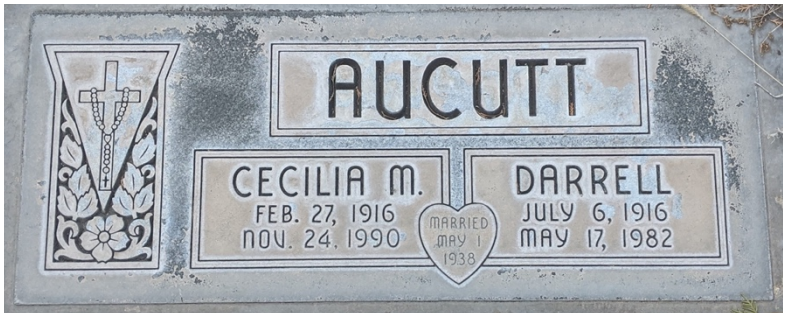

Figure 7.96

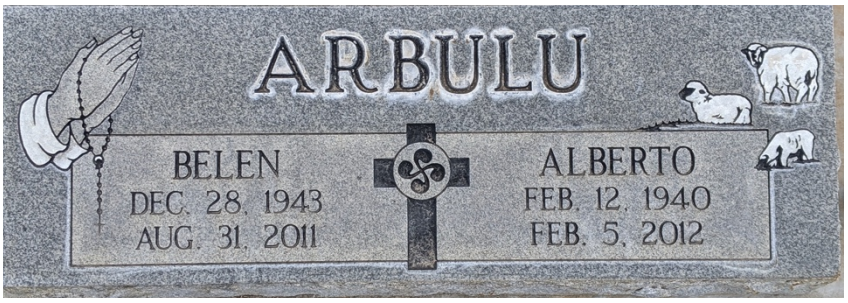

Figure 7.97

Figure 7.98

Figure 7.99

Figure 7.100

Figure 7.101

Figure 7.102

Appendix C – GENERAL CEMETERY SURVEY FORM

BASQUE GENERAL CEMETERY SURVEY FORM

(This survey form is modified from the Michigan General Cemetery Survey Form)

Survey Date

_____

Current Cemetery Name_____

Address_____

Village/City_____Township_____

County_____

Cemetery Coordinates_____

Accessibility to public

- ☐ unrestricted
- ☐ restricted (private property)
- ☐ by car
- ☐ by foot

Park Condition

- ☐ currently in use
- ☐ abandoned
- ☐ maintained, but not in use

Overall evaluation of condition of grounds

- ☐ excellent
- ☐ good
- ☐ fair
- ☐ poor

Context

- ☐ urban
- ☐ rural
- ☐ residential
- ☐ commercial
- ☐ industrial

Topography

- ☐ flat

☐ rolling

Natural features: _____

Orientation of markers (N-none/very few, S-some, M-most, A- all)

East/West_____ North/South_____ other (explain)

_____

_____

Condition of markers (give approximate number, check all that apply)

☐ inscriptions illegible _____
☐ inscriptions legible _____
☐ no inscription ____
☐ sunken/tilted stones ____
☐ fragments/pieces on the ground ____
☐ broken but standing ____
☐ damaged surfaces/chipped/cracked ___

Gravestones

Approximate number of burials _____

PHOTOGRAPHING GRAVESTONES

(Instructions modified from Michigan General Cemetery Survey Form and the Association of Gravestone Studies)

- Photographing gravestones is best done in clear, sunny conditions.
- Snow and rain will prevent proper pictures.
- The cemetery coordinates will be found associated with each picture taken at the cemetery, both on Apple and Android phones. For example, for the entry way picture of the cemetery, write down the associated coordinates 49.054, -115.804, on the line where it says, “Cemetery Coordinates”. One coordinate at the cemetery entry will suffice.
- Pictures taken on a smart phone must be submitted in .jpg format to the recipient. Pictures may be condensed to zip files. Pictures taken using a digital camera must also be submitted in .jpg format.
- The survey form must also be submitted with the pictures, either as a scanned PDF or JPG. The title should read “Moscow (ex.)” Cemetery Survey Form.
- Two to three pictures should be taken of the entry ways of the cemeteries; their entry way signs; and if possible, a general overview picture of the whole cemetery. The picture labeling will be the same as the formatting below.
- When submitting pictures, pictures must be labeled in the following format:
    1. Date first: yyyy-mm-dd
        a. Example: 2020-12-01

2. Location second: City-State
    a. Example: Boise-Idaho
3. Details third: Detail1-Detail2
    a. Example: vandaljoe-headstone-one.jpg (Note: the order is last name, then first name)
4. Final Example: 2020-12-01-Boise-Idaho-vandaljoe-headstone-one.jpg
    a. The “one” indicates which picture out of the series of pictures per gravestone. See instructions below.

- The front and back of the gravestone must be photographed. If the gravestone is four sided, all sides must be documented. The total number of pictures per gravestone will either be –
    1. **Two** pictures for flush (in ground) or beveled (mostly in ground) gravestones.
        a. One close up for the inscription, one showing the whole gravestone.
    2. **Three** pictures for block, head/upright, foot, or family gravestones.
        a. One close up for the inscription, one showing the front of the gravestone, one showing the back of the gravestone (if any marks are present).
    3. **Three** pictures for cross, columnar, obelisk, or table gravestones.
        a. One close-up for the inscription, one showing the front of the gravestone, one showing the back of the gravestone (if any marks are present).
- When taking pictures, keep the camera level with the gravestone – do not unnecessarily tilt the camera.
- Take precautions to minimize elements in the background (cars, people,shoes) when taking pictures of the gravestones.
- If necessary, gently remove pots/flowers/memorabilia from the gravestone before photographing. Replace any items that were moved to their original spots after taking the pictures.
- Do not attempt to clean off gravestones with any liquid. Gently brush loose debris away with hands or a soft, dry brush, if necessary.

EQUIPMENT NEEDED

- Clipboard
- Survey form for Basque Graves
- Pens/pencils
- GPS (if one is provided. Otherwise, use of Google or Apple maps is acceptable)
- Soft brush (optional)

Appendix D – Emmett Idaho Kinship Data

Kinship one	Kinship two	Kinship three	Sex	DOD	Gravestone type	Gravestone Symbols	Second symbol	Third symbol	Epitaph
Daughter	sister	none	Child F	2002	Unusual	Basque	Religious		no
Son	brother	father	Male	2005	Flush	Secular			no
None	none	none	Female	1993	Block	Secular	Flowers		yes
None	none	none	Male	2008	Block	Secular	Flowers		yes
None	none	none	Female	2008	Block	Secular	Flowers		yes
None	none	none	Male	Living	Block	Secular	Flowers		yes
None	none	none	Female	2010	Flush	Secular			yes
Husband	Father	none	Male	1993	Flush	Secular			yes
None	none	none	Male	1979	Flush	Military			no
None	none	none	Female	1997	Flush	Religious			no
None	none	none	Female	1998	Flush	Secular			no
None	none	none	Male	1994	Flush	Secular			no
None	none	none	Male	1978	Flush	Military			no
None	none	none	Female	2016	Flush	Religious			no
None	none	none	Child M	2015	Flush	Secular			no
None	none	none	Female	1967	Flush	Flowers			no
None	none	none	Male	1965	Flush	Flowers			no
None	none	none	Female	1978	Flush	Flowers			no
None	none	none	Male	1974	Flush	Flowers			no
Son	none	none	Child M	1945	Block	Flowers			no
None	none	none	Male	1925	Flush	Flowers			no
None	none	none	Female	1967	Flush	Flowers			no
None	none	none	Male	1938	Flush	Flowers			no
None	none	none	Male	1966	Flush	Religious	Flowers		no
None	none	none	Female	1969	Flush	Religious	Flowers		no
None	none	none	Male	1995	Flush	Religious			no
None	none	none	Female	1990	Flush	Religious			no
None	none	none	Male	1982	Flush	Religious			no
None	none	none	Female	2000	Flush	Secular			no
None	none	none	Male	1970	Flush	Secular			no
None	none	none	Female	2004	Block	Religious			Basque
None	none	none	Male	2009	Block	Religious			no

None	none	none	Male	2014	Flush	Military			no
None	none	none	Female	Living	Block	Basque	Religious		no
None	none	none	Male	2014	Block	Basque	Religious		no
None	none	none	Male	2017	Block	Basque	Religious	Military	no
Brother	tio	friend	Male	1996	Flush	Secular	Flowers		no
Parents	grandparents		Female	2002	Flush	Flowers			yes
Parents	grandparents		Male	1995	Flush	Flowers			yes
father	none	none	Male	1957	Flush	Religious			no
mother	none	none	Female	1984	Flush	Religious			no
None	none	none	Female	2011	Flush	Religious	Basque	Secular	no
None	none	none	Male	2012	Flush	Religious	Basque	Secular	no
None	none	none	Female	1952	Flush	Religious			no
None	none	none	Male	1993	Flush	Military			no
father	grandfather	papa	Male	2019	Block	Secular	Flowers	Flowers	yes
mother	grandmother	amuma	Female	Living	Block	Basque	Religious	Flowers	yes
None	none	none	Male	1985	Flush	Secular			no
None	none	none	Female	1942	Block	Secular			no
Son	brother	uncle	Male	2017	Flush	Secular			no
None	none	none	Female	2015	Flush	Religious			no
None	none	none	Male	1984	Flush	Religious			no
None	none	none	Male	1960	Flush	Secular			no
None	none	none	Male	1993	Flush	Basque			no
None	none	none	Female	2006	Flush	Basque			no
None	none	none	Male	1973	Flush	Military			no
Son	none	none	Male	1948	Block	Flowers			no
None	none	none	Male	2015	Flush	Military			no
Daughter	none	none	Child F	1921	Unusual	Religious			no
mother	none	none	Female	1952	Block	Religious			no
father	none	none	Male	1974	Flush	Secular			no
None	none	none	Child M	1931	Block	Religious			no
None	none	none	Female	1984	Flush	Flowers			no
None	none	none	Male	1959	Flush	Flowers			no
None	none	none	Male	1983	Flush	Flowers			no
Baby	none	none	Child F	1924	Flush	Religious			no
father	none	none	Male	2010	Block	Basque	Secular		yes
mother	grandmother	none	Female	2004	Block	Religious			yes
None	none	none	Female	2007	Flush	Secular			no

None	none	none	Male	2002	Flush	Secular		no
tio	none	none	Male	2017	Flush	Secular		no
wife	mother	amatchi	Female	2002	Flush	Flowers		yes
None	none	none	Female	1980	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Male	1987	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Female	2005	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Male	1962	Flush	Religious		no
father	none	none	Male	1948	Flush	Religious		yes
None	none	none	Male	1950	Block	Religious		no
None	none	none	Female	1960	Flush	Religious		no
none	none	none	Male	1973	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Male	2008	Flush	Military		no
None	none	none	Female	1958	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Male	1972	Flush	Religious		no
mother	none	none	Female	1962	Flush	Religious		no
father	none	none	Male	1961	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Male	2008	Flush	Military		no
None	none	none	Female	1965	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Male	1966	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Male	1989	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Female	1963	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Male	2008	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Male	1988	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Female	2006	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Male	1968	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	Male	2003	Flush	Military		no
None	none	none	Female	Living	Block	Basque	Secular	no
None	none	none	Male	2003	Block	Basque	Secular	no
mom	none	none	Female	1974	Flush	Flowers		no
dad	none	none	Male	1984	Flush	Flowers		no
None	none	none	Female	2004	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	Male	1979	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	Female	1983	Flush	Religious		no
father	none	none	Male	1976	Flush	Religious		yes
None	none	none	Male	1976	Flush	Military		no
wife	mother	none	Female	1993	Flush	Secular		yes
None	none	none	Male	1971	Flush	Military		no
son	father	grandfather	male	2015	Flush	Secular		yes

Appendix E – Jordan Valley Oregon Kinship Data

Kinship one	Kinship two	Kinship three	Kinship four	Kinship five	Kinship six	Sex	DOD	Stone type	Gravestone Symbol	Second Symbol	Epitaphs
Wife	Mother	Amuma	none	none	none	F	NA	Flush	Basque		yes
Senar	Aita	Txitxi	none	none	none	M	2015	Flush	Basque		yes
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1991	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2005	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2015	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2007	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1982	Flush	Military		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1977	Flush	Flower		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2010	Flush	Flower		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2012	Flush	Secular		yes
Parents	none	none	none	none	none	M	2010	Flush	Secular	Religious	yes
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	NA	Flush	Secular	Religious	yes
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	NA	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2011	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2002	Flush	Basque		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2005	Flush	Secular		no
Daughter	Sister	Wife	none	none	none	F	1990	Flush	Flower		yes
Dad	none	none	none	none	none	M	1998	Flush	Religious	Secular	no
Mom	none	none	none	none	none	F	NA	Flush	Religious	Secular	no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2018	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2008	Flush	Religious	Flower	no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2017	Flush	Religious	Flower	no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1993	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2011	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2002	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2004	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1949	Flush	Secular		no
none	none	none	none	none	none	M	NA	Flush	Secular	Flower	no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2014	Flush	Secular	Flower	no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	NA	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2016	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2010	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2020	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	NA	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1982	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2005	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1997	Flush	Religious		no

Popi	none	none	none	none	none	M	2016	Flush	Secular	Military	no
Amuma	none	none	none	none	none	F	NA	Flush	Basque		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1985	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1985	Flush	Military		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2002	Flush	Basque		yes
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2011	Flush	Secular		yes
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1978	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1999	Flush	Military		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	NA	Flush	Military		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2015	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	NA	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2016	Flush	Military		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2016	Flush	Military		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2011	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	NA	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2011	Flush	Military		no
Dad	none	none	none	none	none	M	1977	Flush	Secular		no
Mom	none	none	none	none	none	F	1991	Flush	Secular		no
Wife	Parents	G-parents	none	none	none	F	2004	Flush	Secular		yes
Husband	Parents	G-parents	none	none	none	M	2018	Flush	Secular		yes
Mother	none	none	none	none	none	F	1970	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2010	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1977	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2002	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1998	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1968	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2005	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1963	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1969	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1961	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1973	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1972	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2007	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1968	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1992	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1972	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1983	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1966	Flush	Military		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	Child F	1940	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1985	Flush	Secular		no

None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1991	Flush	Flower		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1975	Flush	Flower		no
none	none	none	none	none	none	M	1959	Flush	Religious		no
none	none	none	none	none	none	F	2002	Flush	Religious		no
none	none	none	none	none	none	M	1975	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1962	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1936	Block	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2003	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1977	Flush	Military		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1944	Columnar	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1932	Columnar	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1944	Block	Military		no
Son	Infant	none	none	none	none	M	1993	Block	Religious		no
Father	none	none	none	none	none	M	1967	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1957	Block	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1958	Block	Religious	Chertudie	no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1981	Flush	Religious		yes
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1995	Flush	Religious		yes
Father	none	none	none	none	none	M	1961	Flush	Religious		no
Mother	none	none	none	none	none	F	2005	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2015	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	NA	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1983	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1968	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1980	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1994	Flush	Flower		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1986	Flush	Flower		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1981	Flush	Military		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1961	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1965	Flush	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2009	Flush	Secular	Shadow Elordi	yes
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1999	Flush	Flower		yes
wife	mother	sister	G-mother	aunt	farmer	F	1995	Flush	Secular		yes
wife	mother	sister	G-mother	golfer	none	F	1994	Flush	Basque		yes
husband	father	G-father	brother	uncle	golfer	M	1991	Flush	Secular		yes
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2009	Flush	Military		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2008	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1972	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	2008	Flush	Military		yes
Daughter	none	none	none	none	none	F	1950	Flush	Secular		no

None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1991	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	2006	Flush	Secular		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1971	Flush	Secular		no
Father	none	none	none	none	none	M	1969	Flush	Religious		no
Mother	none	none	none	none	none	F	NA	Flush	Religious		no
Father	none	none	none	none	none	M	1953	Block	Religious		no
Mother	none	none	none	none	none	F	1972	Block	Religious		no
Father	none	none	none	none	none	M	1943	Block	Religious		no
Mother	none	none	none	none	none	F	1966	Block	Religious		no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1998	Flush	Religious	Secular	no
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	NA	Flush	Religious	Secular	no
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1943	Block	Religious		yes
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1965	Block	Religious		yes
None	none	none	none	none	none	M	1939	Block	Religious		yes
None	none	none	none	none	none	F	1969	Block	Religious		yes