

‘I am an Argentine’: Irish Catholics in Buenos Aires, 1906-1913

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Abstract

Between 1822 and 1945, about 30,000 Irish people migrated to Argentina. While the majority settled in the rural provinces, a small community gradually developed in Buenos Aires. Predominately Catholic, this urban group rejected assimilation and established an autonomous, insular community until the late 1870s. This article argues that as the Irish Catholic community began to participate in Argentine social and political affairs, they increasingly identified with their host society instead of Ireland. It also considers the origins of their Argentine nationalism and explains the motives for their integration into porteño (Buenos Aires) society. Methodologically, contemporary foreign language newspapers are analysed to gauge the degree to which the Irish-Argentine Catholics integrated between 1906 and 1913.

Between 1881 and 1914, 4,200,000 Europeans immigrated to Argentina. More than half of those migrants were Italian, and another quarter were Spanish (Devoto 2003: 247). Both groups settled predominately in the Federal Capital of Buenos Aires, where they exerted an overwhelming social, cultural, and political influence. As a result of their numerical preponderance and notoriety, both groups have rightly provided a cynosure for recent scholarly inquiry (2).

Still, dozens of other ethnic groups contributed to the metamorphosis that transformed Buenos Aires in the aforementioned period; in many cases, their stories have been overlooked (3). While such communities were less significant than their better-known contemporaries from a numerical standpoint, each had a constitutive role in the production of the composite *porteño* culture that emerged. This article will isolate one such group, the Irish, with the intention of understanding how and why such a traditionally insular and self-contained community finally decided to integrate into the amorphous urban sphere around them in the late nineteenth century.

By examining two English-language, Irish Catholic newspapers in Buenos Aires from 1906-1913, it will be possible to gauge the degree to which the community embraced an Argentine identity by that period. It will be argued that, while the Irish maintained a rigid programme of isolation throughout the peak period of their immigration to Argentina from 1820-1879, several factors undermined this

strategy in the decades that followed. Without the continued flow of new migrants, the community gradually lost its singular sense of Irishness, as the majority of its members were increasingly born in Argentina. As the influx of Irish immigrants to Argentina dwindled, the cultural bridge between community and homeland weakened. Also, Father Anthony Fahy, the charismatic leader of the Irish-Argentine community who had initially implemented the plan of isolation, died in 1871, and a capable successor did not emerge in his wake. In his place, new institutions surfaced that favoured greater participation in Argentine affairs.

As yet, we know relatively little about the Irish community in the city of Buenos Aires after the 1890s. The classic studies of the community conclude before 1900, when immigration had effectively ended (4). This study will begin to address this lacuna. In terms of Irish diasporic studies, it may be located within the burgeoning historiography on collective identity and assimilation (5).

The Hiberno-Argentine Review and Fianna

The Hiberno-Argentine Review was a Catholic weekly published from 1906-1924 and then from 1924-1935 as *The Argentine Review*. Though produced in Buenos Aires with an emphasis on local affairs, the periodical regularly noted the social and economic condition of provincial *irlandeses*. Letters of correspondence were published frequently from the provinces,

indicating that its readership extended beyond the city of Buenos Aires.

Aside from the compulsory front-page news and editorials, the typical issue of the *Hiberno-Argentine Review* followed a similar format. There was a strong interest in both cultural and historical Irish traditions. A typical issue included Irish jokes and folklore, traditional Irish recipes, memorable historical episodes, letters from correspondents in Dublin or Cork, the latest news regarding Ireland's struggle for self-rule against Great Britain, or a note about the state of Catholicism in Europe.

Fianna was another Catholic periodical produced for the Irish community in Buenos Aires that was published intermittently from 1910-1913. Irish folk tales and historical narratives dotted each copy, as did stories about the history of the Irish in Argentina and their contribution to national development. Editor Patrick McManus was a particularly vocal opponent of imperialism and regularly criticised British manoeuvres throughout the world.

Other themes that resonated throughout the pages of *Fianna* were analogous to those of *The Hiberno-Argentine Review*. Frequent reports of Argentine political and social issues were included that readers were encouraged to debate.

There also was a strong interest in Irish landmarks in each issue. Typically, a photo of the Irish Parliament building, St. Patrick's Cathedral, Donegal Castle, or another historical site was included, along with a brief narration of its importance. Since the majority of the readership had never been to Ireland, these inclusions were less nostalgic and more instructional in purpose.

Despite an undeviating preoccupation with Ireland, this article will demonstrate that both periodicals were concerned primarily with life in Buenos Aires by the early twentieth century. First, an overview of the Irish presence in Argentina until that period is practical.

The Irish in Argentina, 1520-1905

The first Irishmen to set foot on the shores of the Río de la Plata were likely to have been three men from Galway who accompanied Fernão de Magalhães (Ferdinand Magellan) during his famous voyage to the Southern Cone in 1520. Very few followed until 1785, when more than one hundred Irish butchers and tanners were recruited to Buenos Aires to establish an export sector based on trading hides and tallow to Europe and jerked beef to Brazil and Cuba. Most of these men were unmarried Catholics who quickly assimilated into the local community. Until the turn of the nineteenth century, Irish migration to Argentina was spasmodic and numerically marginal. There were no Irish communities, and none of the migrants came to form the core of future Irish migratory settlements (McKenna 1992: 66-67).

After the failed British invasions of Buenos Aires in 1806 and 1807, many British merchants realised the export potential of the River Plate and became the most influential foreign group in the region the following decade (Scobie 1971: 100). Several deserters and captives from the British forces were Irish conscripts who remained in Buenos Aires to construct stone quays for the emerging port. Other groups moved to the hinterland to become small farmers and continued to maintain ties with the British merchants in Buenos Aires (McKenna 1992: 69).

During Argentina's subsequent war of independence against Spain (1810-1820), several Irishmen joined the ranks of the rebel garrison, lured by the promise of income, quick promotion and adventure (Graham-Yooll 1981: 87). After the war ended, a prominent flow of migrants began arriving from Ireland and settling in the Pampas, where land and cattle were abundant.

While small pockets of Irish people emerged in Buenos Aires during the 1820s, their population likely did not reach the several hundreds until the 1840s, during the potato famine in Ireland. Despite objections from Governor Juan Manuel de Rosas to both

European immigration and British incursions during his Anglo-French blockade, Irish immigration persisted in the 1840s due to the efforts of Father Anthony Fahy. His protests against Rosas' position led to official enquiries and, later, to permission for Irish immigration.

Fahy acted as a father figure and leader to the Irish, to whom he gave financial advice and for whom he arranged marriages to preserve ethnic and cultural homogeneity. He strove to maintain a self-reliant, insular Irish community free from vice and assimilation into an unfamiliar foreign culture. New settlers were met at the docks when they disembarked and were assigned rooms in approved Irish boarding houses. Men were typically placed in either meat-salting plants or cattle *estancias*, while women were often paired with an Irish partner for marriage. The policy of isolation and non-assimilation proved to be highly successful as the Irish Catholics developed into a self-reliant community in Buenos Aires by the mid-nineteenth century (Bishop 1999: 149). Still, it appears that this strategy was not predicated on ethnic bigotry and intolerance, but rather was rooted in a devout sectarianism that preferred English Catholic traditions to the perceived secularism of Buenos Aires.

In the decades following Fahy's death in 1871, religious leaders and community institutions struggled to sustain his programme. The Irish Hospital, St. Patrick's Society and the Irish Ladies Beneficent Society were capable institutions plagued by mismanagement and infighting.

Within the national climate of optimism and fiscal growth, there were signs by the late 1870s that the Irish-Argentine community was gradually eschewing Fahy's separatism in favour of greater participation in Argentine affairs. In 1879, the General Brown Club was founded to campaign for a greater Irish voice in Congress. In subsequent decades, several Irish politicians rose to electoral prominence with a platform that encouraged continued immigration and the moral and spiritual elevation of the '*paisano*' (Korol and Sábato 1981: 147-51).

Other factors also undermined the traditional bonds that had held the Irish community together. The liberal intellectual climate of Argentina in the 1870s aroused a popular feeling of anticlericalism that led to the termination of the Jesuit College in 1875. The Irish Sisters of Mercy likewise came under public fire and left the country for over a decade (Graham-Yooll 1981: 159-60). Also, the 1870s marked the last phase of considerable Irish emigration to Argentina until the 1920s, thereby lessening the relative presence of Irish-born individuals and eroding the intimate affiliation between Irish-Argentines and Ireland.

In the short-term, however, it may have been the unprecedented growth of the Argentine-born cohort that weakened the community's ties to its homeland. The census of 1895 registers 16,284 individuals of Irish descent in the province of Buenos Aires, yet only 4,693 had been born in Ireland. By comparison, there had been 8,623 individuals of Irish descent in the province in 1869, and the majority – some 5,246 – were born in Ireland. It is noted that over that twenty-six year span, the number of Irish-born individuals was relatively constant, though the total number of the Irish community in the province doubled. Furthermore, in 1895, only 2,852 individuals of Irish descent lived in the city of Buenos Aires - comprising less than 1 per cent of the population – and a mere 915 of those had been born in Ireland (Coghlan 1982: 18-22).

Memory and Morality: Irish Catholics in Buenos Aires, 1906-1913

At the turn of the twentieth century, *The Hiberno-Argentine Review* and *Fianna* were two of the most widely-read periodicals within the Irish Catholic community. Both emphasised moral restraint, hard work, and an intense sense of community fellowship and collective purpose. However, while these qualities were traditional pillars of Father Fahy's inward-looking programme, they were no longer accompanied by a rejection of Argentine culture and stoicism towards local affairs. Increasingly, both periodicals conveyed a

strategy of integration that simultaneously stressed both the retention of Irish values and participation in the political, social and cultural affairs of Buenos Aires.

From 1906 until 1913, both *The Hiberno-Argentine Review* and *Fianna* sustained an interest in national politics, the activities of radical strikers and unions, the education system, the military, export prices, the monthly inflow of immigrants to Buenos Aires, Argentine diplomacy, urban crime and political corruption. In an illustrative editorial written in 1910, an anonymous author in *Fianna* denounced an epidemic of fraud that had been plaguing national elections. The writer implored the community to avoid bribes and place honest votes, stating that 'the vote of an Irish-Argentine (should) be always considered a guarantee of political good faith' (*Fianna* 9 July 1910: 26-27). Another editorial published in *The Hiberno-Argentine Review* criticised the lawless nature of the interior provinces and argued for an increased police presence to prevent theft and murder. The writer contended that if development and migration to the interior were to continue, the stability and security of the region would have to be demonstrated.

The newspapers also published fascinating moral critiques of Argentine society. If Irish Catholics were to participate more actively in the affairs of the nation, they seemed to prefer to do so in an environment liberated from the vice that Father Fahy had feared decades earlier. A pillar of his segregationist strategy was the perceived moral superiority of the Irish community and the fear that assimilation would damage their honourable character. One such critique was published in the weekly 'News and Views' section of *The Hiberno-Argentine Review* on 27 November 1908. It noted that in the preceding twelve months the residents of the city of Buenos Aires had spent one hundred million dollars gambling at the racetrack and lottery, a fact that could not 'be regarded as favourable to the character and status of the capital' (HAR 27 November 1908: 6). A comparable editorial was published in *The Hiberno-Argentine Review* criticising the legal sale of erotic novels (HAR 20 November 1908: 5).

Beyond this vigilant attentiveness to national affairs and local customs, both papers exhibited a passionate sense of Argentine nationalism that was perversely underpinned by Argentina's historical struggle against Great Britain, a fact that engendered a common bond between the Irish and their host society. Between 1906 and 1913, the Irish were nearing the apogee of their struggle with Great Britain for home rule, which ultimately lasted from 1801 to 1922. In Argentina, the Irish Catholic community found inspiration in the historical tales of the failed British invasions of 1806 and 1807 (HAR 1 October 1909: 34). One reader condemning British imperialism throughout the world mockingly alluded to 1806 when 'the combined Spanish and Argentine forces drove back to the sea the bastards that came to rob Argentina and establish their yoke in this free land' (*Fianna* 7 April 1911: 57-58). A tourist from Dublin provided an account of his visit to the San Domingo Church in Buenos Aires, where captured British flags from the failed invasion were kept. Apparently choosing his words carefully to avoid smugness, the writer referred to the 'remarkable series of reverses those four British flags...commemorate' (HAR 21 December 1906: 7).

A story published in *Fianna* in 1910 reported that the British were set to return the Falkland/Malvinas Islands 'to the rightful owner the Argentine nation' to commemorate the centennial celebration of Argentine independence (*Fianna* 17 March 1910) (6). Another from 1913 ridiculed British entrepreneurs for exploiting the Putumayo indigenous people in the provinces, pointing out that Irish *estancieros* in Gran Chaco treated the Putumayo with dignity and kindness (*Fianna* July 1913). In these instances, the Irish merged their enmity towards Great Britain with specific episodes from Argentina's national history, thereby claiming a degree of shared intransigence towards the nation. In Argentina, the Irish not only saw a progressive democracy open to immigration and brimming with economic potential, but also one that had historically rejected the imperialistic advances of their perpetual adversary.

This sense of pride in the Argentine nation was ubiquitous in both newspapers throughout the period and was consistently manifested through stories extolling the contributions of the Irish to national development and frequent passages recounting important historical episodes and Irish-Argentine heroes. An emblematic obituary published in 1907 for Thomas McGuire recounted his experiences as one of the original settlers during the great migration of the 1840s. The piece celebrated his pioneering spirit in the Pampas, where 'he plodded along with an unbroken confidence in the future of his adopted land.' The contribution of these Irish settlers also surfaced in the column when its writer commented that 'the trackless prairies of the Pampa were changed into well ordered estancias provided with all the appanages (sic) of modern progress.' Although McGuire was celebrated for his economic success and commitment to encouraging development and immigration in the countryside, 'he never forgot the dear old land beyond the seas' (*HAR* 8 February 1907: 13-14).

A similar obituary from 1905 praised the pioneer Eugene Cronin for struggling 'under a semi-tropical sun to form the base of a modest fortune'. Another from 1907 commented that 'Frank Rauth was a typical Irishman in every sense of the word. A staunch and practical Catholic, he never belied the creed of his ancestors...and was an ardent lover of the cherished land that gave him birth.' The piece concluded with a proud eulogy to other fallen forbearers, hopeful that 'generations of Hiberno-Argentines yet unborn, will recall with pride and veneration the memory of those grand old pioneers of our race in the River Plate...They are leaving us; but the bright example of their many remains' (*HAR* 8 March 1907: 15-16).

These tributes appeared almost weekly in both papers and consistently reinforced several themes. First was a pioneering spirit among the early immigrants who arduously struggled against all odds to survive in a foreign land. There also was a recurring feeling that the success of the Pampas as an agricultural basin after 1850 was due in large part to the efforts of

the Irish, who embraced their adopted homeland and contributed to its growth as a republic. Furthermore, most obituaries noted the moral character of the deceased and their commitment to Catholic values. Finally, nearly every tribute noted that the departed never left the memory of Ireland behind.

The Irish Catholics also exhibited an exceptional fascination with former Argentine President Bartolomé Mitre (1821-1906). Occasional mini-biographies were published in both papers that described his promotion of immigration and recognition of the Irish contribution to the Argentine economy. The same year of his death, the Irish community in the County of San Andrés de Giles, a subdivision of Buenos Aires, erected a monument in his honour in a public square. A spectator commented in *The Hiberno-Argentine Review* that both the Irish and Argentine flags were flown during the procession, which included a visit from members of the Mitre family. The correspondent wrote that the monument 'reflects credit on the worthy citizens of Giles who wish to perpetuate the memory of the deceased patriot' (*HAR* 4 January 1907: 7).

Six years later, *Fianna* republished a piece Mitre had written in 1873 celebrating the Irish contribution to national development (*Fianna* July 1913: 157). One passage is remarkably similar to the tenor of dozens of columns printed in both papers between 1906 and 1913 and is emblematic of the collective purpose the Irish community had gradually embraced after the mid-1870s:

The descendants of those clans, confirmed in the Christian faith by the teachings of the Celtic Paul, have come to our shores, and hung up their native harps to accompany the Melodies of their countryman, Thomas Moore, not as slaves who weep for their expatriation to the shores of the Babylonian river, but as free men and voluntary exiles who have found a new country where labour is productive, and where their children are born and grow up under the aegis of hospitable institutions.

Mitre echoed the same themes of the obituaries and tributes to deceased Irish-Argentines,

noting the selfless sacrifice and contribution of Irishmen to Argentine development. He also defended the Irish-Argentine goal of having their sons elected in the provincial chambers in the same letter:

By the popular vote, the native-born son of an Irishman, there to represent, as an Argentine, the interests of the Irish community and the two noble races destined to 'increase and multiply' under the auspices of Liberty, Labor, and Prosperity.

Two critical points are made in Mitre's proclamation. The first is the idea that the Irish would retain a level of autonomy while still participating in Argentine institutions, a point that foreshadows a ubiquitous theme in both newspapers. The second is that the protagonist of Mitre's vision is the *native-born son* of an Irishman. Fahy's generation had identified primarily with Ireland because it was overwhelmingly their place of birth, and the site of their formative years. They could not forget Ireland because it had given them their identity. The majority of Mitre's 'Irish' had likely never been to Ireland, and never would. In the mid-1870s, the percentage of Irish-born Argentines was decreasing; by 1895, only 32 per cent of the Irish community in the city of Buenos Aires had been born in Ireland (Coghlan 1982: 18-22). Thus, while the community retained a sense of pride in their customs and native history, they were less committed to ethnic segregation because they identified more with their own nation of birth.

The Sinn Féin Debate and Irish Catholic Integration

The most illuminating example of Irish Catholic integration in the early twentieth century was a public debate that engrossed the community throughout 1908, creating a flashpoint that helped codify the objectives and collective identity of the group. At issue was the establishment of a branch of the Sinn Féin political movement in Buenos Aires in late 1907. Founded first in 1905 by Dubliner Arthur Griffith (1871-1922), the movement was a hyper-nationalist, anti-imperialist crusade that campaigned for Irish self-rule (Coogan 2002: 21-22).

Several Irishmen in Buenos Aires attempted to found a local branch of the movement and held initial meetings beginning in late 1907. The episode quickly became an ebullition for the Catholic community, who used the event to work out conflicted feelings of nationalism. The debate materialised in *The Hiberno-Argentine Review*, which typically provided a forum to resolve similar intra-communal disputes. The issue at hand was clear: should the community support the movement in a show of solidarity with its homeland, or were local affairs of paramount importance?

Many Irish-Argentines were willing to support Irish industries, political ideals, and political activists, but contended that their primary loyalty should align with their adopted home. Others were pleased that an organisation interested in their homeland had been founded. Though *The Hiberno-Argentine Review* observed that Sinn Féin meetings were 'fiascos' lacking organisation and vision, they stated that 'as a matter of notorious fact we are warm supporters of Sinn Fein...It is on the contrary, a real practical economic force, making for sound, sensible end...In this we are, and always have been, hand in glove with Sinn Fein' (*HAR* 24 January 1908: 5-6).

The most outspoken critic of the movement was a reader who used the pseudonym 'Irish-Porteño,' and his comments typified the dispassion for Irish politics that many Irish-Argentine Catholics felt. In one of his most biting letters, he defined 'Irish-Argentines' to be only those of Irish descent born in Argentina, not Ireland, and contended that this group had 'no desire to dabble in Irish politics, and that they do not, consequently, wish to become Sinn Feiners.' His diatribe continued:

Is he a patriot, who, in his own native soil, publicly proclaims himself an adherent of a foreign political organization? I'm an Argentine, and foreign politics do not interest me – hence I am not in a position to laud or condemn it...But even if I were certain that it were the best policy for Ireland and that it would ultimately bring about her freedom, I would not, even then consider myself under any obligation to join it. And why? Solely and simply because I am an Argentine and consider that as

such I am bound to Argentina, and should lend my services – small and insignificant as they may be – to her political and social amelioration...Now, why should we be expected to give out pecuniary assistance to a foreign political organization when here in Argentina there are hundreds upon hundreds of children of Irish origin growing up without any education, and in many instances, crying to heaven for the very necessities of life (HAR 10 January 1908: 14-15)?

Although it is difficult to determine whether or not this position was shared by others in the community, certain clues emerge from these letters that indicate that rejection of the Sinn Féin movement was commonplace. For example, another letter from 10 January 1908 reiterated the same viewpoint:

I may safely say, without exaggeration, I know the Irish-Argentines, my countrymen, well, and that I am in tune with their thoughts and feelings, their likes and dislikes, and therefore I assert...that they, as a body...have no sympathy with the Sinn Féin, or any other new fangled fandangle imported here (HAR 10 January 1908: 16).

Another ‘Criollo’ argued that ‘if our Irish friends consider it their duty to support the Sinn Féin scheme with us the case is very different. We too have a nation and a race to uplift and to save’ (HAR 24 January 1908: 14). Argentine-born individuals of Irish descent seemed willing to support Ireland in spirit and purpose but preferred to concern themselves primarily with problems in Argentina. Poverty and political representation were more pressing concerns for a group far less connected to Ireland than previous generations had been. The same ‘Irish-Porteño’ who had articulated the most derisive assault on the movement submitted another letter on 31 January 1908. Like the anonymous writer who claimed to speak for the entire Irish-Argentine community, ‘Irish-Porteño’ alleged that he was in tune with the sentiments of his fellows:

Having come in contact with my fellow countrymen during many years in mostly every Irish-Argentine centre I was in a position to know their sentiments and feelings, and I accordingly asserted that they were not interested in Irish party politics, much less

anxious to become adherents to a movement...I furthermore maintained – as I do still – that we could not, as true Argentines, join an organization that was both foreign and political. That my views have been sanctioned by the Irish-Argentine community is amply proved by the fact that not a single Irish-Argentine...has objected to them. On the contrary my views have been ably defended and upheld by several Irish-Argentines...I objected to Sinn Féin on the ground that as an Argentine it would be wrong for me to adhere to it as it would clearly demonstrate that I was devoid of love and patriotism towards the land that gave me birth (HAR 31 January 1908: 15-16).

Another reader identified as ‘Porteño’ made a similar argument. Again, speaking on behalf of the broader community, he stated that ‘we, Porteños, don’t understand Sinn Féin, and don’t want to either...We, or most of us, would like to see Old Ireland get her rights, (though) if we do our duty I guess we have enough to do to look after our own country’s affairs’ (HAR 20 November 1908: 11).

Conclusion

Each of these letters adds to our understanding of Irish-Argentine feelings towards integration by the early twentieth-century. As evidence has demonstrated, the community of Irish-Argentine Catholics were interested in the social and political affairs of Argentina and increasingly identified with that nation over the country of their ancestors. While both *The Hiberno-Argentine Review* and *Fianna* demonstrated a strong affinity for Irish history and culture, the editors, writers, and readers expressed a stronger loyalty to the social concerns of their adopted home of Argentina, which by the twentieth-century was in fact the place of birth of roughly 70 per cent of the Irish community in Buenos Aires. The group was much likelier to be interested in addressing issues of poverty, child welfare and the promotion of increased immigration as a political policy than supporting the movement for self-rule in Ireland.

Though the group continued to speak English, preserve community institutions and practice endogamy by the early twentieth century, they

identified primarily with Argentina and displayed an exceptional interest in local affairs. Accordingly, this article has suggested that the group was engaged in the process of 'integration' between 1906 and 1913.

This process began after the death of Father Fahy, the influential and passionate leader of the community who had promoted its segregation for so long, and likely continued into the 1930s and 1940s. Tellingly, the name of *The Hiberno-Argentine Review* was permanently changed to *The Argentine Review* in 1924, a move

that signalled the process of integration to be well underway.

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Notes

1 Brad Lange is a graduate student at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia (United States of America). He is interested in the social and cultural history of immigrant groups throughout the Southern Cone.

2 The most well-known studies are Jose Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*, and Fernando Devoto and Gianfausto Rosoli, *La Inmigración Italiana en la Argentina*.

3 This is not to say that all minority groups have been neglected by historians. Classic studies include Narciso Binayán, *La Colectividad Armenia en la Argentina*; Liliana Cazorla, *La Inmigración Sirio y Libanesa en la Provincia de Buenos Aires: A Través de sus Instituciones Étnicas*; Ronald C. Newton, *German Buenos Aires, 1900-1933: Social Change and Cultural Crisis*; and James Lawrence Tigner, 'The Ryukyuan in Argentina.'

4 See, for example, Patrick McKenna, 'Irish Migration to Argentina,' Korol and Sabato, *Cómo Fue la Inmigración Irlandesa en Argentina*; Coghlan, *El Aporte de los Irlandeses a la Formación de la Nación Argentina*; Graham-Yooll, *The Forgotten Colony*; and Thomas Murray, *The Story of the Irish in Argentina*.

5 See, for example, Andy Bielenberg (ed.), *The Irish Diaspora*; Charles Fanning (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Irish Diaspora*; and Arthur Gribben (ed.), *The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America*.

6 It appears that this event never transpired.

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