



In memoriam

Sidarta Corral

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Irish Migration Studies in Latin America

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History, Art, Image

Carol Dell'Amico, Special Issue Editor

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Guest Editor's Introduction

This special *IMSLA* issue—History, Art, Image—was inspired by my experiences during the Sixth Biannual SILAS Conference, *Island Relations*, which it was my great privilege to attend in Havana, Cuba, in 2017. Margaret Brehony and Cliona Murphy, co-editors in chief of the journal, were discussing themes for future issues one fine evening, and it occurred to me to suggest an issue revolving around the Image, or Art. I had been struck by the visual evidence of Irish immigration to Cuba as I walked around La Habana Vieja—the O'Reilly street name plaque and the façade of the Hotel Palacio O'Farril, for example—and by the vivid images that accompanied many of the conference presentations, some of which had touched on artists and creative collectives. The call for submissions in 2019 accordingly announced the special focus on art and images, welcomed work on all Irish-Latin American/Iberian subjects, and invited shorter entries linked to images along with articles and book reviews.

I am grateful to the authors of this issue for answering the call with their wonderful work, which is arranged alphabetically by author last name and begins with Nuala Finnegan's "Between Worlds/Entre Mundos: Images of Life between Mexico and Ireland". Finnegan's compelling entry documents a photographic exhibition of the same title, which Finnegan directed. An initiative of the Centre for Mexican Studies, University College Cork, the exhibition's twelve photographers, all Mexicans recently arrived in Ireland, are represented in this issue, each with an image accompanied by text in both English and Spanish. The goal of the exhibition, according to Finnegan, was to create an opportunity for the photographers to reflect "on ideas of home, belonging and identity shaped from their multiple lived experiences between languages and cultures". The cover image for this special issue is one of the show's beautiful photographs, by Sidarta Corral, to whom the issue has also been dedicated.

Following Finnegan's piece is Giselle González García's "Irish Hunger Strikers Monument in Havana, Cuba: Public and Private Commemorations". The inclusion of González's piece gives me great pleasure because her talk in Havana about an Irish enclave in the city was one of the inspirations for this issue. Currently a graduate student at Concordia University's School of Irish Studies, González here has, as her title suggests, written on the Havana Hunger Strikers Monument, exploring its various plaques, images and commemorations and considering the prominent Cuban and Irish figures who officiated.

Like Finnegan's piece, Tina Lawlor Mottram's entry and the project it documents reflect creative energies at work. In 2018, Lawlor became the first Irish artist-in-residence at *Zona Imaginaria*, an art space serving the underprivileged in Buenos Aires province, Argentina. At *Zona Imaginaria*, Lawlor worked with local children to produce a storybook that combined the local Mariana of Pocito legend with the Irish "Salmon of Knowledge" story. Links to videos of Lawlor and the children reading the book are provided, and Lawlor also reports on how her stay in Argentina informed subsequent artistic endeavors of her own.

Departing from the issue special topic is Lourdes Márquez Carmona's "Irlandeses en la Carrera de Indias: Aproximación a la Presencia de la Colonia Mercantil de Cádiz (España) en el Siglo XVIII en Xalapa (México), a través de los Protocolos Notariales" ("The Irish in Pursuit of the Indias Trade: A Look at the Presence of the Irish Merchant Colony of Cadiz (Spain) in Xalapa (Mexico) during the XVIII Century, through Notarial Records"). As Márquez's title states, her article is an investigation into an eighteenth-century Irish merchant community on the Atlantic

coast in southwestern Spain. According to Márquez, these Irish families had made their way to Spain as exiles following the implementation of the Penal Laws.

Marking a return to the issue's special topic are Edmundo Murray's "The Diplomacy of Art: Irish, Spanish and Latin American Artwork in a Historic Building of Geneva" and "Art, Sound, Nature: A Conversation with Irish-Colombian Musician Katie James". In the former, Murray discusses (amongst others) Irish gifts of art to United Nations agencies, including, intriguingly, a commissioned work that never arrived at its destination for having been deemed unsuitable. In his second piece, a conversation with the Irish-Columbian musician and activist Katie James, Murray presents his interview of the singer-guitarist along with an interwoven history of her extraordinary family's experience as members of the Atlantis Primal Therapy Commune.

Joining Márquez with an historical piece, and preceding this issue's book review section, Edward Walsh's "Journalist, Medical Doctor and Newspaper Editor-Proprietor in Bust-Up" entertainingly presents the details of a public spat that played out in the pages of *The Standard* newspaper in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1894. No duel was fought, but reputations were rather hilariously impugned and sternly defended.

While the articles and entries on this issue's special topic cannot be the first on such topics in this journal, I certainly hope that the fine pieces assembled here will contribute to inspiring future submissions on the arts. I heartily thank my CSUB colleague, Cliona Murphy, and SILAS's president, Margaret Brehony, for the wonderful, enriching experience that guest editing this issue has been.

Carol Dell'Amico
California State University, Bakersfield

Entre Mundos/Between Worlds: Images of Life between Mexico and Ireland

Nuala Finnegan¹

Don't forget to look back every now and then to remember where you come from.
Que no se te olvide voltear para atrás de vez en cuando para que no se te olvide de dónde vienes.
Roselyn Sánchez

Stories of movement and migration have thus far been integral in shaping our twenty-first century world. Writing this article in the midst of a Covid-19 pandemic that has so dramatically suspended our freedom of movement, images of travel and mobility come into sharper focus as though they belong to a past that can never be recovered. It seems particularly pertinent to remember therefore that the vast array of microhistories of movement between and across the Atlantic in the last two decades tell a story of accelerated globalization, transnational encounter and hybrid identity formation. This article documents a recent community art project that sought to shed light on one such microhistory of transnational mobility — that of people of Mexican origin to Cork City, Ireland over the course of the twenty-first century. The transatlantic encounter between Ireland and the English-speaking countries of the Americas has been amply documented in both image and word.² However, whilst there has been cultural and scholarly interest in significant Irish communities in the Spanish speaking world,³ the presence of the Spanish-speaking communities of the Americas in Ireland is less explored and less visible.

From my own engagement work in the Centre for Mexican Studies, I can attest to the growing numbers of Mexicans and a broader community of residents in Cork with Latin American connections, roots and origins. In terms of reliable statistical data, it is known that as of April 2019, there were 622,700 non-Irish nationals resident in Ireland accounting for 12.7% of the total population.⁴ Research into migration in this context, however, frequently pivots around the dual issues of European mobility and freedom of movement on the one hand, and the urgent social concerns that emanate from the asylum process as it is currently configured and its system of Direct

¹ Nuala Finnegan is Professor of Spanish and Latin American Studies at University College Cork and Director of the Centre for Mexican Studies. In 2011, she was awarded an OHTLI award from the Federal Government of Mexico, an honour that recognizes individuals who have aided, empowered or positively affected the lives of Mexican nationals in other countries.

² To name just two recent book-length studies, see Gabriela McEvoy's *La experiencia invisible. Inmigrantes irlandeses en el Perú* on Irish immigrant experience in Peru (2018), or Tim Fanning's comprehensive overview of notable Irish presences on the continent, *Paisanos: Forgotten Irish Who Changed the Face of Latin America* (2016). Margaret Brehony's ground-breaking exhibition, *The Irish in Latin America* (in partnership with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade), charted a rich history of Irish migrant pathways to the Americas and multiple other scholars have examined the varying migration trends. Much of this research may be tracked through the journal, *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*.

³ Work on the Irish diaspora in Argentina is of particular note. See, for example, Helen Kelly's *Irish 'Ingleses'. The Irish Immigrant Experience in Argentina 1840-1920*.

⁴ Statistics are from the Central Statistics Office and are available at:
<https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/er/pme/populationandmigrationestimatesapril2019/>



“María”

These pictures represent the combination of two worlds and how we have adapted to them. “María” is a nahuatl doll from the state of Querétaro, where I come from. My dad brought it when he visited me and when he gave it to me he said: “this is a small piece of your home in Cork”.

Mis fotografías representan la combinación de dos mundos y cómo nos hemos logrado adaptar. María, es una muñeca náhuatl que viene del estado de Querétaro de dónde soy yo. Me la trajo mi papá cuando me visitó y cuando me la dio me dijo: “un pedacito de tu casa en Cork”.

Elisa Vallejo Márquez



“Any given weekend - Cualquier fin de semana”

When you live in Mexico City to be able to see such an amazing view of nature is something you have to organize, pack and get ready as a special activity in a weekend or holiday. In Cork every day you just get into your car, you drive 5 minutes and boom! Nature will surprise you with its awesomeness.

Cuando vives en una ciudad tan grande como la Ciudad de México, tener la oportunidad de disfrutar la naturaleza implica un gran esfuerzo. Tiene que ser en fin de semana o vacaciones y esto implica organizar, empacar, reservar, cargar, recorrer kilómetros, encontrar donde estacionarse, etc. En Cork un día cualquiera puedes simplemente subirte a tu coche, manejar 5 minutos o simplemente dar la vuelta en la esquina y... boom! La naturaleza te va a sorprender con todo su esplendor.

Carla Olea

Provision on the other.⁵ For the most part, as the Latin American community falls outside of these two categories, it has largely escaped researcher scrutiny.⁶ This community does however feature within this picture of increasing diversity in Ireland, having grown in number significantly in the last two decades. Of particular note is a sizable Brazilian presence to the extent that Portuguese is now Ireland's third largest heritage language and that Brazilians account for 16% of the top ten registered nationalities in the country.⁷ The Mexican community accounts for 2% of registrations and continues to increase.⁸ There is, however, little data available on the experiences of Mexican citizens throughout the country and part of the objective of the project was to draw out reflections from this growing, dynamic community on ideas around diasporic belonging, home, place and togetherness.



"Bud! Are you okay?"

To discover Ireland is such an adventure, always drifting between being in the correct place and time to see unique moments, moments that are difficult to see in your home town. Sometimes, surprisingly, you can see otters, seals and even the odd drunk man enjoying the summer in the River Lee. Other days you go to Blarney Lake, and you will find swans, ducks and horses playing dead.

Descubrir Irlanda es una aventura, siempre a la deriva de estar en el tiempo y lugar preciso para ver momentos únicos y difíciles de ver en tu ciudad natal. A veces caminas por el río Lee y sorprendentemente ves nutrias, focas y hasta uno que otro

⁵ Ronit Lentin is one of many scholars to have tackled the issues. See "Asylum seekers, Ireland, and the return of the repressed", *Irish Studies Review*, 2016, 24:1, 21-34; "Pregnant silence: (en)gendering Ireland's asylum space", *Patterns of Prejudice*, 2003, 37:3, 301-322; *After Optimism: Ireland, Racism and Globalisation* (2006). With R. McVeigh.

⁶ Some people of Latin American origin in Ireland have citizenship from other European countries. There are also asylum seekers from Latin American countries in Ireland, from Nicaragua and Venezuela, to name just two examples.
<https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/people/we-don-t-know-how-long-we-ll-wait-for-asylum-but-we-have-hope-now-1.3235545>

⁷ <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cpnin/cpnin/>

⁸ The then Mexican Ambassador, H.E. Carlos García de Alba estimated the Mexican population to be between 1,000 and 1,500 in Ireland in 2011. Una Mullally, "Ireland's Mexican Wave", 16 September 2011. Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland-s-mexican-wave-1.601082>. The Census data of 2016 places Mexico on the list of "between 1,000 and 10,000" nationally. For further information, see Census of Population 2016 – Profile 7 Migration and Diversity. <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cp7md/p7md/p7anii/>

borrachito disfrutando del verano. Otros días vas al lago de Blarney y te encuentras con cisnes, patos, y caballos que juegan al muertito.

José Baruch Romero



Untitled

Never before in my life have I experienced being this far away from my family. I've lived in another part of my own country but it doesn't compare to the experience of living in another country with a different language. Living here I've had the emotional experience of running into other Mexicans in Cork, someone who can understand my regional jokes, and someone I can speak with in my native language after many days of speaking only in English. Although our ways of living, the food and the activities we used to do in México are very different from what we experience here in Ireland, we are still smiling, we are happy to know a different place like Cork and we are also very grateful for how friendly and respectful Irish people and foreign people from all the world have been with us.

Nunca en mi vida había experimentado el estar tan lejos de la familia, había vivido en otro estado de mi propio país pero nunca se comparara a la experiencia que el vivir en otro país con un lenguaje diferente. Aquí he experimentado la emoción que es encontrar otro Mexicano en la misma ciudad de Cork, que pueda entender tus chistes regionales y se vuelve el deshago después de hablar varios días en otro idioma. Aunque no son las mismas condiciones de un hogar compartido, comida, de pertenencia, de actividades que solíamos hacer en México, seguimos sonriendo, estamos felices de conocer un lugar diferente como Cork y también estamos muy agradecidos con el trato respetuoso y amigable que nos han brindado los irlandeses y extranjeros de todo el mundo, gracias a todos nuestros nuevos amigos.

Guadalupe Beatriz Márquez

The community of people of Mexican origin in Cork has grown exponentially in the twenty-first century. From a tiny number in the early 2000s to approximately 350 residents today.⁹ Within the community, there is much diversity both of generation/age and region of origin as well as many different migration stories. Some come to study in the university, others come to learn English for

⁹ It is impossible to know the exact figure and this approximation comes from my own experience of engagement with the community and information relayed to me by members of it who have compiled these estimates from their figures. In so far as they can be accurate, there are approximately 219 of whom 138 are adults (63%), 56 are children under twelve (25%) and 26 students. Sources for this figure come from data on access of those popular social media sites such as the Facebook page, Mexicanos en Cork (<https://www.facebook.com/MexicanosenCork/>) and/or attendance at activities of the community (such as the annual party to celebrate Independence). The overall figure also allows for a more transient population that doesn't necessarily engage with activities of the community among whom are large numbers of people who come to access English language courses. With an estimated figure of 2,035 Mexican students registering at language schools in Ireland in 2018, (a figure provided by the organization MEI - Marketing English in Ireland), it is possibly an underestimate of figures for Cork. I am grateful to Margaret Brehony, Cecilia Gamez Campanella and Patricia (Paty) Neilan for their help in compiling this statistical snapshot.

short periods, others come to take up highly skilled employment opportunities in the multinational and pharmaceutical sectors. Others have made Cork their homes through marriage with Irish or other European citizens. From this mosaic of stories, different lived experiences emerge. In cultural terms, it is a particularly active community, participating enthusiastically in civic projects like the St. Patrick's Parade (for which they won an award for Best Dance Group in 2016 and again in 2018), as well as multiple cultural festivals throughout the city including the Cork Jazz Festival and Dragon of Shandon Parade, Shandon Street Festival and Tory Top Park Family Day. There is particularly strong collaboration with the Centre for Mexican Studies in University College on multiple community engagement projects like the annual *posada* hosted by UCC, and the Day of the Dead altar which has been ongoing for many years and which incorporates an interactive workshop element with children, an exhibition, public talks and which has been a collaborative venture with UCC, hosted in the city at St. Peters since 2016.



Untitled

I arrived in Ireland in September 2017 to do a Masters in UCC but my experience in Cork has gone beyond the academic. As soon as I arrived in Cork I met a group of surfers with whom I have been able to learn a lot about Irish culture, the sea and enjoy the green landscapes. As a Mexican I had never experienced a cold beach or covering up from head to toe. I didn't know people had to use wetsuits, gloves, boots and hoodies to be able to swim in the sea, at the beginning that was mind-blowing. That's why I have chosen to show this image of my surf experience in Ireland.

Llegué a Irlanda en septiembre de 2017 para hacer mi maestría en UCC pero mi experiencia en Cork ha ido más allá de lo académico. Al poco tiempo de mi llegada fui acogida por un grupo de surfistas con quienes he pasado mucho tiempo y gracias a eso he aprendido mucho de la cultura irlandesa, pero sobre todo, del mar y he podido disfrutar de los verdes paisajes. Al ser de México, no conocía la experiencia de ir a la playa con frío y cubierta de pies a cabeza, ni sabía que la gente tenía que usar trajes de neopreno, guantes, botas y gorra para poder nadar en el mar, al principio todo eso era de otro mundo. A través de esta imagen muestro mi experiencia del surf en Irlanda.

Brenda Mondragón Toledo



“No transportation”

I’ve been living far from Mexico, for around 12 years, but I’ve never seen a disruption like the one suffered in Cork during the snowfall in 2018. It reminded me of a flooding I lived through in Chiapas, Mexico or other natural disasters sadly common in our country. At the time of the snow, we were living beside the bus depot in Cork, shown in the picture, a depot always empty during the day with its buses out transporting people around the city. This time it was full of buses with everyone at home not able to go anywhere. The situation sounds scary but in fact it wasn’t. We were all the time surrounded by our Irish neighbours, asking us if we needed something as we have two small children. That was indeed another sign that we feel safe, protected and mainly happy in Cork. Just like home.

He estado viviendo lejos de México cerca de 12 años pero nunca había visto una interrupción como la sufrida en Cork durante la nevada del 2018. Este evento me recordó una inundación que viví en Chiapas, México, y otros desastres naturales que tristemente son comunes en nuestro país. Nosotros vivíamos junto al depósito de autobuses de Cork que se ve en la foto, un depósito siempre vacío durante el día, transportando a la mayoría de la gente en la ciudad; en esta ocasión estaba lleno de autobuses con todos en casa sin la posibilidad de ir a ningún lugar. La situación sonaba escalofriante pero de hecho no lo fue. Nosotros estuvimos todo el tiempo rodeados de nuestros vecinos irlandeses, preguntándonos si necesitábamos algo porque tenemos dos niñas pequeñas. Ese fue otra señal de que estábamos seguros, protegidos y sobretodo, felices en Cork. Como en casa.

Erwin Morales

Between Worlds/Entre Mundos: Images of Life between Mexico and Ireland was an initiative of the Centre for Mexican Studies, University College Cork and had its roots in a panel I convened for the Society for Irish Latin American Studies conference, *Comparisons, Conflicts and Connections: Ireland and Latin America in the Past, Present and Future*, held in Trinity College Dublin in April 2019. This panel comprised a conversation between two Brazilian artists resident in Ireland (Silvio Severino, Elis Taves O’Sullivan) and an Irish artist (Rita Duffy) on the interconnections and entanglements in their work of the concepts of Ireland and Latin America. On foot of this conversation, and realizing that there were many artists of Latin American origin resident in Ireland with whom conversation might be fruitful, the idea for this exhibition emerged. *Entre Mundos/Between Worlds* then, was an exhibition of photographic images by members of the Mexican Community in Cork which presented visual reflections on ideas of home, belonging and identity shaped from their multiple lived experiences between languages and cultures. The exhibition call asked participants to speak to “how it feels to live and move in two worlds. At once” (Ellen Hagan). Its aim was to produce a set of visual reflections that could provide a sense

of what it meant to be Mexican in Cork for a diverse audience. It was a collaborative project managed by a curatorial team, led by me as director of the Centre for Mexican Studies alongside two key team members, Cecilia Gamez Campanella, long-term Mexican in Cork resident and collaborator of the Centre for Mexican Studies, and Silvio Severino, a Brazilian digital collage artist, based in Cork. We were fortunate also to work with partners also in Cork City Library who facilitated us with exhibition space and their expertise.¹⁰



"Hello and thank you to the King Star"

The hardest part of living in Cork, for me, has been to adapt to the local climate. I couldn't stop eating chocolate the first months, which here is delicious by the way, but it still couldn't lift my spirit, therefore I was sad and sleepy most of the day. It wasn't until I bought some vitamins that my mood improved a bit. Nevertheless, since the sun started shining bright in the sky again, hot, like I'm used to, I've felt really happy. Now every time I see the sun I lift my hand and greet him, thanking him from taking all that cold weather away.

Lo más difícil para mí ha sido aceptar el clima. En los primeros meses no paraba de comer chocolate, que por cierto aquí es delicioso, sin embargo, no podía cambiar mi estado de ánimo, normalmente me encontraba triste y con mucho sueño. Hasta que compré unas vitaminas y me ayudaron a mejorar un poco mi estado de ánimo. Pero desde que comenzó a salir el sol brillante, caluroso como estoy acostumbrada a sentir, me siento muy feliz. Y cada que veo el sol levanto la mano para saludarle y doy gracias de no sentir más frío.

Esthela Silva

One image was selected from each photographer and exhibited alongside a brief biography of the photographer and their own written reflections on the images they took. The project insisted on a bilingual approach throughout, with all text in both English and Spanish. The rationale for this was twofold: on the one hand, we hoped that it might empower those members of the Mexican

¹⁰ We were deeply indebted to the commitment to the project shown by Liam Ronayne, Director of the Cork City Library and Patricia Looney.



Untitled

I have lived almost all my life in the countryside in the mist forest in the mountains in México, so the beautiful landscape of the coastline of Cork has been a pleasure for me. I can spend hours with my camera walking through all the corners of this county, recording images that help me to remember that feeling I have lived with in México almost all my life.

He vivido casi toda mi vida en el campo, en el bosque de niebla en las montañas en México, así que el hermoso paisaje de la costa de Cork ha sido un deleite para mí. Paso horas con mi cámara recorriendo los rincones de este gran condado grabando imágenes que me ayudan a recordar ese sentimiento con el que he vivido en México casi toda mi vida.

Sidarta Corral

community not very confident in English to respond to the project call and we insisted on English to ensure that the ideas surrounding the image would translate back to its audience based in Cork and made up of predominantly English speakers. As the result of Silvio's expertise, it was also possible to screen a video mashup of the images alongside the contextual information. The exhibition was opened on October 7th 2019 as part of University College Cork's Community Engagement week by the Mexican Ambassador to Ireland, H.E. Miguel Malfavón Andrade.

Visual Reflections on Uprooting and Regrounding

The concepts of uprooting and regrounding¹¹ so central to migrant experience constitute an evocative starting point from which to commence analysis of this particular exhibition. Images ranged widely from rural and urban land and cityscapes, to objects, people, animals, and body parts. The photographer profiles were equally diverse and featured a professional art photographer with an established career, Sidarta Corral, and a four year old girl, Amelia Morales.¹² The majority of photographers who submitted images were resident for less than five years in Ireland and several were students at University College Cork. It is highly probable that the project appealed directly to the student community because of its association with the university and their familiarity with

¹¹ These concepts of migrant experience are explored in the collection of essays, *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*, edited by Sara Ahmed, Claudia Castada, Anne-Marie Fortier and Mimi Sheller (Berg 2003).

¹² The project owes everything to the participating photographers who generously gave of their time and energy. The curatorial team was deeply saddened by the death of one of the photographers, Sidarta Corral, in June 2020.

its environment. Indeed, one of the images features the university explicitly. In any follow up project, it is envisaged to explore more broadly reflections from those people of Mexican origin resident in Cork for a longer period to get a sense of how those concepts of uprootedness play out over time.



“Brought you flowers – Te traje flores”

A few years ago I left Mexico with the idea of travelling around the world, to learn new languages and to meet extraordinary people. I was so excited to start this new adventure that I just packed my stuff, took a plane and landed in this beautiful and amazing place, Ireland. At the beginning everything was new and exploring this place was what motivated me every day. However, things changed and I stayed longer than expected, Ireland touched my senses and caught me slowly and nicely. This mysterious, privileged and beautiful green emerald captured my heart and made me fall in love with its charms and people. So I gave my flowers to Ireland, I merged my colours, flavours and fragrances. And now, we belong together. After all, I understood no matter how far you go, traditions and flowers will let you settle down anywhere and there, you will find home!

Hace algunos años dejé México con la idea de viajar por el mundo, aprender nuevos idiomas y conocer gente extraordinaria. Estaba tan emocionado de empezar esta nueva aventura que sólo empaqué mis cosas, tomé un avión y aterricé en este hermoso y extraordinario lugar, Irlanda. Al principio todo era nuevo y explorar este lugar era mi motivación cada día. Sin embargo, las cosas cambian y me quedé más tiempo del que esperaba. Irlanda tocó mis sentidos y me atrapó despacio y amablemente. Qué misteriosa, privilegiada y hermosa verde esmeralda que se ganó mi corazón y me hizo que me enamorara de sus encantos y de su gente. Entonces di mis flores a Irlanda, combiné mis colores, sabores y fragancias. Y ahora nos pertenecemos. Después de todo, comprendí que no importa qué tan lejos te vas, tradiciones y flores te permitirán echar raíces donde sea, ¡y ahí encontrarás un hogar!

José Soto

Some of the images navigate ideas of belonging and longing, Guadalupe Beatriz presents a picture of togetherness as two female subjects are posed entwined contemplating one of Cork’s many bridges. Carla Olea’s children are also shot side by side in an image of intimacy as they look out at a lake. Water is a central component of both images. Symbolising flow and movement, it is also elemental and thus part of a vision of the world that is shared even if not through the same space

or time. Both these representations then stage ideas of belonging in environments that are tinged with beauty but also strangeness. The idea of strange permeates many of the images including the horse playing dead by Baruch Romero, or Erwin Morales's aerial shot of Cork's Capwell bus station under snow, captured in its frozen glory during the extreme period of snow in March 2018. This image signals strangeness across both contexts — as strange for a Mexican audience as it is



Romeo Domínguez "untitled"

Everybody has a different perspective of the world. By looking at the world through someone else's point of view we can learn a lot about that person and about what they culturally think is beautiful, important, and worthwhile. I firmly believe that communication through art, but especially the visual arts, is the best form of diplomacy that can exist between two people, cultures and countries.

Cada persona tiene una perspectiva diferente del mundo. Mirando el mundo a través del punto de vista de alguien más podemos aprender más de esa persona y entender que lo que piensan culturalmente es hermoso, importante y que vale la pena. Creo firmemente que la comunicación a través del arte, pero especialmente a través del arte visual, es la mejor forma de diplomacia que puede existir entre dos personas, culturas y países.

Romeo Domínguez

for natives of Cork city for whom extreme snow is still a rare occurrence. Moving through the exhibition, we encounter images that privilege displays of Mexican presence like objects (flowers, dolls) in carefully constructed mise-en-scenes that feature historic and immediately recognisable buildings from Cork's cityscape such as St. Finbar's Cathedral (completed in 1879) or the Quadrangle, the old quarter of University College Cork, constructed in 1845. So, José Soto places a female subject in full Day of the Dead make-up and costume against the backdrop of St. Finbar's cathedral. Elisa Vallejo Márquez playfully positions a Nahuatl doll in University College Cork's "quad" (old quadrangle). Poignant in a number of ways, her text explains that the doll was a gift from her father and embodies a little piece of her Querétaro home. Here the miniature dimensions of the doll when juxtaposed with the imposing backdrop of the nineteenth century buildings connote ideas of vulnerability and frailty. There are also other displays of obvious Mexicanness in the civic life of the city such as Romeo Domínguez's evocative capturing of Mexican participation in the Cork Jazz Festival parade. In this way localized terrains are shot through with visual displays of otherness, inserted into the cityscape as provocation, contesting conventional viewpoints and challenging spectators to look anew at buildings or landscapes that are familiar.

Other images deploy tropes that are familiar cross-culturally yet punctured with deeply personalized twists. One such example is Roselyn Sánchez's image of the footsteps in the sand or another is provided by Esthela Silva who presents an image of her hand held up to the sun. While



Untitled - Amelia Morales



"Decisions – Decisiones"

"Don't forget to look back every now and then to remember where you come from" – those are the words my dad always tells me before starting a new trip. And precisely that is the meaning of this picture. Every footprint means a decision that has been taken and shows how far my steps have taken me. These footprints make me feel anxious about not knowing what is next but excited to think how far I can go, walking ahead with a firm step.

"Que no se te olvide voltear para atrás de vez en cuando para que no se te olvide de dónde vienes"-, son las palabras que siempre me dice mi papá antes de emprender un nuevo viaje. Y precisamente eso significa esta foto, cada huella significa una decisión tomada y el ver hasta dónde me trajeron mis pasos, me hace sentir, ansiedad al no saber qué es lo que sigue, y emoción de pensar hasta dónde puedo llegar, siempre con paso firme y hacia adelante.

Roselyn Sánchez

striking a visual chord of commonality with a Cork audience, the texts that accompany these images nevertheless reveal deep personal insights: the footsteps connect with words Roselyn's father used to whisper and the hand, strategically shot against a shaft of sunlight, discloses a particular longing for light and heat. Images of movement and activity —so often foregrounded in migrants' narratives of home and homelands —also punctuate the images throughout. We see it in the shot of vehicles in the bus station by Erwin Morales, or in the figure of a mother, standing next to a child's buggy or stroller. Looking at this image, knowing that it was taken by the subject's four year old daughter, Amelia Morales, the audience appreciates this deep connection between the mother and the child's learning and moving through the new environment in which she finds herself. Roselyn Sánchez's footsteps leading away into the sand suggest further pathways, a walking into the beyond. Brenda Mondragón Toledo's energizing image of surfing captures her own narrative of belonging and merging and here again, we return to water as central motif. Sidarta Corral's exquisite shot of a jagged southern Irish coast-line also incorporates water, alongside rock, another elemental image of beauty. From this brief overview then, it can be discerned that these visual testimonies pinpoint ideas about inbetweenness in ways that are aesthetically accomplished as well as deeply engaged with the project remit. Moreover, they stage multiple moments of migrant belonging and estrangement; togetherness and entanglement in images that are playful, poignant and powerful, sometimes all at the same time. Ultimately, we can see how they bring together ideas around uprooting and regrouping that encapsulate a snapshot of living between worlds in Cork in the Autumn of 2019.

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Irish Hunger Strikers Monument in Havana, Cuba: Public and Private Commemorations

Giselle González García¹

It is generally believed that the 1981 Hunger Strike held a considerable weight in the internationalization of the Northern Irish conflict and the creation of a favorable scenario for the beginning of the peace process.² Indeed, the memory of the 1981 hunger strikers is today imbricated, and some say monopolized, within the self-narrative of the republican movement in the North of Ireland.³ Regardless, as Brian Conway has influentially suggested, Sinn Féin has become an active choreographer of the hunger strikers' memory, if not the only one.⁴ The monument dedicated to their memory in 2001 in Havana, Cuba has been the location chosen for several instances of official commemorations and has been curated with specific political purposes by different choreographers of memory (Figs. 1, 2). Furthermore, it has been a part of important acts of private commemoration carried out by ordinary and anonymous individuals.



Figure 1: The Irish Hunger Strikers Monument, Havana, Cuba.

The monument is located at Victor Hugo Park in downtown Havana. It is one of the four monuments that exist in total on the premises. Together, these monuments seem to build on each other's meanings, with the common theme being the fight for independence from colonial powers, republicanism, and international solidarity with Cuba. The center piece is the Victor Hugo monument, erected in 1937, which includes inscriptions of the French writer's anti-colonial

¹ Giselle González García obtained her BA in History at the University of Havana and is currently an MA student at Concordia University's School of Irish Studies. Her primary areas of interest are Irish migration to Colonial Cuba, material culture, memory studies, and global Irish diaspora studies.

² Rebecca Graff-McRae, *Remembering and Forgetting 1916: Commemoration and Conflict in Post-Peace Process Ireland* (Dublin; Portland, OR: Irish Academic Press, 2010): 175.

³ Ibid: 174.

⁴ Brian Conway, "Conclusion: Trajectories of Memory" in *Commemoration and Bloody Sunday: Pathways of Memory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 142-160, 188-91.

sentiments: “Not a single nation has the right to set its claws upon another. In this conflict between Spain and Cuba, insurgent is Spain. To discover an island gives no rights to martyrize it...”⁵ Another of the monuments is dedicated to Freemason Francisco Pi y Margall, with a plaque that reads, “What colony did not rise against its colonizer....?”⁶ Both of these works serve to legitimate the Cuban anti-colonial wars and call to mind the similarities with Irish republican and nationalist narratives.

Thus, a monument whose inscription reads, “to all men and women that have fought for Irish independence”,⁷ and that is dedicated to the 1981 hunger strikers, is a fitting addition to this park’s evocation of anti-colonialism. The upper part of the first plaque on the monument has an image that represents the mythical figure of Cú Chulainn,⁸ allegedly modeled after the one at the General Post Office (GPO) in Dublin. Certainly, the similarities between them are striking (Fig. 3), connecting in a semiotic way the cause of the hunger strikers with the 1916 Rising and Irish independence, but also with the idea of self-sacrificing acts for the homeland. Moreover, the strikers’ monument’s setting in a public space in Havana dedicated to the anti-colonial struggle connects the memory of the hunger strikers to Cuba’s own history. Interestingly, the most famous Cuban to have effectively used a hunger strike for political purposes, Julio Antonio Mella McPartland (1903-1929), was the son of an Irish immigrant woman, Cecelia McPartland (born c.1881 in Lisnadarragh, Co. Cavan). Mella was a leader of the working class, a founder of the first Cuban Communist Party, and a vocal critic of the imperial colonization of Latin America. Sadly, he was killed while in exile in Mexico.



Figure 2: On the left Cú Chulainn’s representation at the hunger strikers’ monument in Havana, and on the right at the General Post Office in Dublin.

⁵ Text extracted from pictures of the monument taken by the author. Translated from the original in Spanish.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ This is the most common interpretation of this figure by Irish sources. Cuban oppositionist groups tend to see in it a chained Prometheus.

The Hunger Strikers Monument has a second plaque, which reads, in part, “In memory of the Irish martyrs and of the International solidarity between Cuba and Ireland, 1981-2001”. Following this, there is a list of the Irish hunger strikers’ names, preceded by the word VOL (Volunteer) and the dates of their death in English. At the bottom, additionally, there are the following words in English, “They sacrificed their lives for Irish freedom”. This phrase appears also in Spanish and Irish.

These ideas of self-sacrifice and solidarity resonate with the Irish republican political rhetoric of the 1980s. Their self-presentation as successors of the 1916 republican generation and the direct allusion to a connection with the Easter uprising serve to present them as inheritors of its legacy and responsible for achieving all of Ireland’s freedom. Rebecca Graff-McRae puts forward the idea that the 1981 hunger strikers were aware of their position within the history of the republican movement, and that they embodied previously established traditions of self-sacrifice and martyrdom that were already well established in the deep memory⁹ of the Irish republican movement.¹⁰

The monument in Havana was unveiled by Sinn Féin (SF) leader Gerry Adams in an official ceremony that took place in December of 2001 within the context of the twentieth anniversary of the loss of the lives of these Irish men (Fig. 3). The performance around this very first act of official commemoration resembled protocol usually afforded in Cuba to heads of state. There was a large crowd gathered, many of whom were children in their primary school uniforms. A minute of silence was observed in memory of the hunger strikers, and a wreath was laid in front of the monument.



Figure 3: Gerry Adams unveiling the monument in December 2001.

⁹ About the conceptualization of deep memory, see for example Guy Beiner, “Between Trauma and Triumphalism: The Easter Rising, the Somme, and the Crux of Deep Memory in Modern Ireland” in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 46, No.2 (2007): 366-389.

¹⁰ Graff-McRae: 163. See also Stephen Hopkins: “‘Our Whole History has been Ruined!’ The 1981 Hunger Strike and the Politics of Republican Commemoration and Memory” in *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 31, No.1 (2016): 44.

The monument is made out of what looks like Cuban grey marble from the Isle of Pines, and it originally had two bronze blocks, one with a quote from a Fidel Castro speech, the other with the names of the 1981 hunger strikers.¹¹

Often referred to by SF members, the first part of the speech given by Fidel Castro in 1981 is as follows:

On speaking of international politics, it is *impossible to be silent* about what is happening in Northern Ireland. *I feel dutybound* to refer to it. I feel that the Irish *patriots* are these days writing *one of the most heroic pages of human history*. They have won the admiration and respect of the world. They also deserve its support. There are ten who have died in the most emotional gesture of *sacrifice*, of *personal selflessness* and *courage* imaginable. Humanity should be ashamed that before its very eyes such *crimes* are committed. These *young* fighters are not asking for independence to end their strike; they are not making unattainable demands. They are only demanding something as simple as recognition of what they are: *political prisoners*.¹²

However, it is the second part of this speech that is immortalized in bronze on the hunger strikers' monument. Originally in Spanish, the words might be translated as follows:

The stubbornness, intransigence, cruelty and insensibility of the United Kingdom's Government before the international community regarding the problem of the Irish patriots, who are on a hunger strike until death, remind us of Torquemada and the inhumanity of the inquisition during the Middle Ages... Tyrants [must] tremble when they are faced with men who are willing to die for their ideas after sixty days on a hunger strike[!] Following this example, what were Christ's three days on Calvary which for centuries has been a symbol of human sacrifice[!] It is time to put an end to this disgusting atrocity through denunciations and pressure by the world community[!]¹³

The next commemorative event that took place at the Havana monument is less documented, but not less interesting. Within the context of the twenty-fifth anniversary campaign, SF sent a delegation to Havana. This included a visit to the monument by former hunger strikers Raymond McCartney and Mary Doyle, accompanied by SF press officer Dominic Doherty. They had been invited by the Cuban government with the specific purpose of marking the twenty-fifth anniversary.

Between 2005 and 2015 there seems not to have been any further official commemorations. During this ten-year period, which coincided with the stepping down of Fidel Castro in 2008, the monument fell into a state of disrepair. Then, in 2015, Gerry Adams visited the island again. This was a very low-profile visit. Cuban media kept a tight silence around it. The Irish media was the

¹¹ Additions to the monument are addressed, below.

¹² Fidel Castro, "Speech at the 68th Inter-Parliamentary Union Meeting in Havana". Official Council of State Version. University of Texas Database, <http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/castro/db/1981/19810915.html>. Retrieved 13 April 2019. Italics are mine.

¹³ Fidel Castro. Ibid. While I have provided the translation of this speech for the University of Texas' database, I have added some punctuation marks and words within brackets, which might give a slightly different intonation and meaning to the excerpt.

only one to report on the four-day visit, which again included a commemoration ceremony held at the monument. This time, all the rhetorical focus was on the Obama-period change of policy towards Cuba.¹⁴ Although Adams first and second visits to Cuba seem to have been similar, their media coverage was very different. His next one, in November of 2016, was for Fidel Castro's funeral.

During 2016 a series of events brought new life to the monument and the activities around it. Cuba and Norway had been designated as international co-guarantors of the peace process between Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) and the Colombian government, and Havana was the seat for the peace talks. SF sent representatives to advise the Colombian guerrilla members in issues of disarmament, reintegration of combatants to society, and the organization of post-conflict life.

On 3 May 2016 a large group composed of FARC delegates went to the monument. This was not exactly a commemorative moment, but the preparation for one. The members of FARC cleaned the monument, helped with the gardening, and planted some vegetation themselves, all of this in anticipation of the 5 May commemoration, on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the day Bobby Sands died (Fig. 4).



Figure 4: *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (FARC) Commemoration, 5 May 2016.

One last moment of official commemoration took place as recently as 2 March 2018. On this day, Gladys Ayllon, a representative of the European division of the *Instituto de Amistad con los Pueblos*¹⁵ (ICAP), and Danny Morrison, a high profile SF member and current Secretary of the Bobby Sands Trust, carried out an official commemoration at the monument (Fig. 5). Also present were officials from the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MINREX), and from the Foreign Affairs Department of the Cuban Communist Party's Central Committee (CCP), as well as some unidentified Irish friends.

¹⁴ <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/cubans-vindicated-by-us-policy-change-says-gerry-adams-1.2378657> . Retrieved 19 January 2019; Ruadhán Mac Cormaic's article in the *Irish Times*, Monday, 5 October 2015.

¹⁵ Institute of Friendship with the Peoples; my translation.



Figure 5: Sinn Féin's Danny Morrison and ICAP's Galdys Ayllon, Commemoration March 2018.

Instances of unofficial commemoration

On a personal note, the original idea for this essay came when, while running a Google search on the Irish Hunger Strikers Monument in Havana, I stumbled onto many social media posts about it. These posts ranged from a single picture of the Irish tricolor flag laid in front of the monument to more serious and permanent ones, such as the plaque that was added to the monument (discussed below).

Different sources reveal that, apparently, there is a vigil that takes place at the monument every 5 May.¹⁶ Unfortunately, my efforts to find out who originally commissioned the monument came to no fruition. The aesthetics of it suggests that it was a Cuban who designed it; however, the inclusion of the Cú Chulainn image modeled after the one at the GPO and the Irish translation suggest that it was a collaborative project.

Another interrogative arises around the additional plaque positioned strategically at the monument between the first and the second original ones. The message engraved in it, in English, reads:

“In memory of my cousin Robert (Bobby) Sands who died 5th May 1981 at HM Prison Maze, and my brother Vol. James (Grissle) McGrillen, Ballymurphy, who died 15th February 1976. Your sister Sheila Allister, Newcastle, Co. Down.”

This plaque seems to have been added between 5 May 2016, when in pictures of the FARC commemorations there appears no indication of the plaque, and 15 November 2016, when I visited the monument myself and it was already in place (Fig. 6).

¹⁶ www.bobbysandstrust.com/archives/2755. Retrieved January 15, 2019.



Figure 6: Plaque privately added to the Monument in 2016.

The discourse of the additional plaque is *sui generis*. First, with its references to “my cousin”, “my brother”, and “your sister”, it is clear that it is the result of an act of private, familial, and intimate commemoration. I could find no social media posts about this. Second, it links Bobby Sands with his cousin James McGrillen, who was an IRA¹⁷ member killed by the British Army in Belfast. McGrillen was a Catholic, and like Sands, he died at a very young age when he was twenty-five.¹⁸ He was not a political prisoner, and neither was he a hunger striker, therefore, this plaque makes the memories that this monument embraces more complex. It also broadens up the spectrum of these memories, from the symbolic ones connecting 1916 to the 1981 hunger strike, to other episodes of the Northern Irish conflict.

A final point that should be made here is that the Irish hunger strikers’ monument has been incorporated into the Irish Tour of Havana since the early 2000s. Irish tourists enquire on social media as to the monument’s location and how can they visit it. It has also been included in lists of symbolic sites that commemorate an Irish diasporic presence in Cuba, and has been linked to other republican militant figures of Irish ancestry who played a key role in Cuban history, specifically Julio Antonio Mella McPartland and Che Guevara.

The Irish Hunger Strikers Monument has had for many years a semiotic function in the evocation of the events of 1981, but also in the connections it establishes with other historical events. Its solidarity networks’ dimension can be gleaned by simply looking at the monument, however, the acts of commemoration associated with it suggest a more complex relationship between its referents and commemorators.

¹⁷ Irish Republican Army, IRA

¹⁸ <https://belfastchildis.com/tag/james-mcgrillen/>. Retrieved, April 13, 2019.

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The “Salmon of Knowledge” Shared with Children in *Zona Imaginaria*, San Fernando, Argentina

Tina Lawlor Mottram¹

Abstract: Argentina has the fifth largest Irish community worldwide and in 2018, Tina Lawlor Mottram became the first Irish artist-in-residence in *Zona Imaginaria* in San Fernando, Buenos Aires province. *Zona Imaginaria* is a not-for-profit arts centre founded in 2008 by the Argentinian artist, Lucrecia Urbano. This entry explores the use of artistic endeavours to increase the cultural capital of lives in underprivileged areas and presents the way in which the residency informed the visiting artist’s work.

Keywords: Tina Lawlor Mottram, *Zona Imaginaria*, Lucrecia Urbano, The Salmon of Knowledge.

“La historia es siempre la misma, oprimidos contra opresores, y hoy los opresores son dueños de la comunicación.”²

Javier Parbst

History is frequently a description of victors in struggles, the powerful writing their own legacy on monuments and in official documents, textbooks, and literature. Image, however, is decipherable by the eye, with the viewer an active interpreter of what is shown. My first image shows street art on the *Casa Cultural Padre Pancho Soares* in Tigre town, close to Buenos Aires, as I first saw it from the train I was taking to my residency nearby in San Fernando (Figs. 1, 2). These are hand-painted images on a cultural centre dedicated to Padre Pancho Soares, who worked on behalf of Tigre’s poor and who was assassinated in the 1970s military takeover. At first glance, the image might seem to be but a colourful depiction of hands waving, outlined graphically on a blue and black background. Yet, with the slogan above it, “*Fuera Ingleses de Malvinas*”, the meaning becomes clear. The panel over the door reads as “Freedom for Milagro Sala, Political Prisoner of Macri”, referring to the controversial 2016 arrest of the indigenous leader of the Túpac Amaru Neighbourhood Association in Jujuy province in northern Argentina. Many, including Amnesty International, continue to protest that her arrest was politically motivated. Sala has declared her innocence; recently condemned to thirteen years imprisonment, this association in Tigre continues to protest on her behalf.

Finding out about this arresting artwork on the Padre Pancho Soares cultural centre was the start of my exploration into history on the streets of the Argentine province of Buenos Aires in 2018, when I was the first Irish artist-in-residence in *Zona Imaginaria* in San Fernando. *Zona Imaginaria* is a not-for-profit arts centre, founded by artist Lucrecia Urbano in 2008, offering free creative

¹ Tina Lawlor Mottram currently lectures at Medway Adult Education, previously worked for HMSO, Collins Publishers, and as the Design Manager at the Royal Armouries, HM Tower of London.

² My translation of Javier Parbst’s words: “History is always the same, oppressed against oppressors, and today the oppressors are the owners of communication.” Parbst is town councillor in the area in which my residency was located.

workshops to local children. The *Cartonera* style book created during this residency was illustrated by the children in my group, with my assistance (Fig. 3). Titled (in translation) “Pulgar the dog and his magic paw”, it incorporates some adventures of a local dog along with elements from the “The Salmon of Knowledge” Irish myth and the Argentinian Mariana stories. Mariana is known as an indigenous storyteller whose pockets were full of gold—which the *conquistadores* wanted to remove; eventually her dog transforms magically into a monster, thereby depriving them of their gold prize. “Patterns for Peace”, my subsequent exhibition at the Royal Engineers Museum in Gillingham, Kent, UK, reflects on my experience and various Black Madonna images I saw on my South American travels and elsewhere.³ What follows in this paper is an exploration of how art can increase the cultural capital of lives in underprivileged areas and how this residency inspired my artistic purpose.



Figures 1, 2: Casa Cultural Padre Pancho Soares (calle Vilela 1006), Tigre, Argentina.

The dynamics informing this cultural centre’s art seemed to me comparable with energies I witnessed nearby in Villa Jardín, San Fernando, where my residency was located. Like Tigre, Villa Jardín is a district of stark contrasts. Javier Parbst, a local town councillor and member of Tigre’s cultural centre describes Tigre as follows: “We live in a district of great contrasts, with very wealthy areas alongside neighbourhoods without running water, sewers or asphalt”⁴. San Fernando’s poverty, so similar, can be illustrated by the story of the infamous “Wall of Shame” of 2009. This wall was the three-metre high barricade that the then-mayor of San Isidro, Gustavo Posse, built to separate San Fernando from the more affluent San Isidro. The wall significantly disrupted the lives of especially those living in San Fernando, owing to transportation blockages. The then-president of Argentina, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, weighed in on the controversy, describing the wall as exclusionary in an interview with the mayor of San Fernando, Gerardo Osvaldo Amieiro; and a host of European papers reported on the incident, as well. Finally, Posse was forced to dismantle the wall, which by then had been decorated by graffiti such as “Somos

³ Lawlor Mottram, Tina, “Patterns for Peace”, Royal Engineers Museum, Kent, UK, July-October 2019.

http://serpentinacreation.com/site/?page_id=2674

⁴ Original text: “Vivimos en un distrito con contrastes muy fuertes, con zonas de muchísimos riqueza y barrios sin agua, cloacas ni asfalto”.

iguales”, but the wall remains a reminder of the strict and steep separation of rich and poor in this Argentinian region. As for the number of the poor, roughly a third of the local population is precariously employed and lacks access to routine health care.⁵

Cultural capital and cultural exclusion

Cultural capital, as defined by Pierre Bourdieu, refers to the set of cultural experiences and aesthetic sensibilities that enable people to wield power and status in society (Bourdieu 1986: 46-58). Cultural exclusion, as discussed by John O’Hagan et al., is part of the greater cycle of poverty in which “exclusion from access to cultural goods and resources that are regularly accessed by the better-off in society provides an unfair advantage for communities” (O’Hagan et al 2007: vi). On the problem of exclusion and art, Eleonora Belfiore proposes that “arts and heritage play a positive role in alleviating the symptoms of social exclusion” (Belfiore 2002: 1-4), which supports Bourdieu’s sense of the interconnected forces involved in people’s marginalization. The idea of the positive role the arts can play in alleviating the symptoms of exclusion is also shared by Lucrecia Urbano, the founder of *Zona Imaginaria*. Her belief that art can transform lives and her efforts to connect local residents and international artists are showcased in a book entitled *Zona Imaginaria*.⁶

“The Salmon of Knowledge” at the Zona

Knowing that Argentina is home to the fifth largest Irish community in the world, I felt that it was apt to introduce “The Salmon of Knowledge” story to local children. It was certainly a magical part of my own youth in Ireland. My sessions with the children commenced with me acting as *seanchai* (the Irish storyteller as “a bearer of old lore”). I explained that Irish history was and continues to be handed down from one generation to the next by storytelling. I also referenced the Argentinian storyteller Mariana of Pocito. Besides being known for having outwitted the conquistadors and telling stories to children, she is said to have had a dog. The canine added to our own story was inspired not only by Mariana’s, however, but also by the roaming strays and guard dogs of San Fernando—and the dog Bran belonging to Fionn MacCumhail in the salmon story. Our dog became known as Pulgar, or Thumb, because of the way Fionn’s thumb is a part of the myth. The magical salmon ate nine hazelnuts from nine magical hazelnut trees, which had fallen into the river. Fionn is warned not to eat the fish, but as he is cooking it, the fish blisters and bursts; he burns his thumb and sucks his thumb to soothe it, thereby absorbing the fish’s wisdom. There is a storyteller figure in “Pulgar the dog and his magic paw”, named *Maedbh*, so that children learned about both languages spoken in Ireland. They had little problem understanding this, given Argentina’s many indigenous languages, such as Mapuche, Quechua, and Guaraní.

Influenced by the *Cartonera* style books which have been created by many Brazilian and Argentine art groups and also my personal environmental concerns, our handmade book was created from leftover, recycled printing proofs from the Arta Ediciones *Zona Imaginaria* book. The book took shape over the course of the month of my residency, then was read by the children.

⁵ See “El conurbano bonaerense, la región más pobre del área metropolitana”, a report by DeBrown University, Buenos Aires, 4 July 2014.

⁶ Balut, Valeria and Lucrecia Urbano, Eds., *Zona imaginaria*, Arta Ediciones, Argentina, 2017

The children were photographed by Zona and the work was shared with families and the Zona community via YouTube and Vimeo.⁷

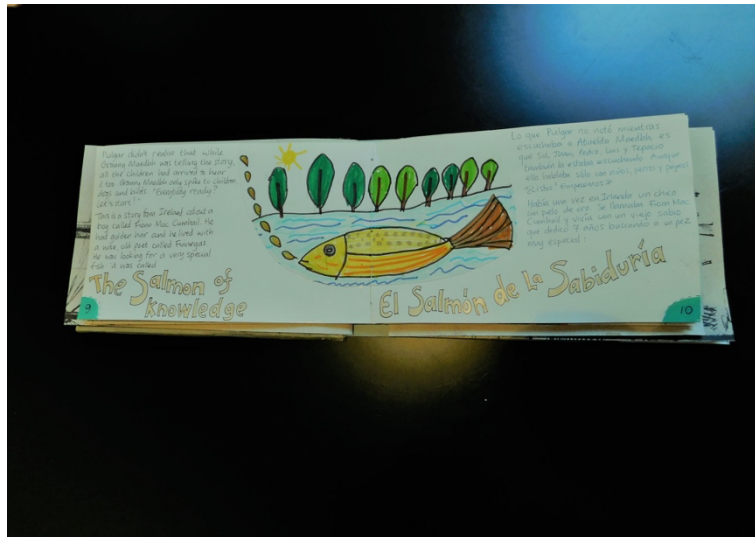


Figure 3: A page from “La pata mágica de Pulgar, el perro”..

Unlike children I normally work with, none of *Los Aprendices* had mobile phones to record themselves. In fact, several days when they came for workshops, there was no power and we had to make do by setting up tables outside where the light was better. There were black outs every week, which made me unhappy; locals were resigned. Furthermore, I watched the highest devaluation of the peso since the 2001 financial crash while I was in San Fernando, with President Macri negotiating with the International Monetary Fund. Needless to say, foreign travel is a dream for most locals. All of this points to why Urbano believes in her project. She believes that the invited international artists offer her community new perspectives, in addition to developing their “capacity to interpret visual culture”, as discussed in depth with Marian Otera for *La Voz* newspaper in 2019. The resulting article, “*El arte transforma las personas y su entorno*”, reveals insight not only the philosophy of the founder but also shows above all how she wants to provide local “children with the ability not only to interpret but also confidence and curiosity, improving their overall quality of life and well-being”.⁸

Other artist-led projects in *Zona* have included making a vegetable garden in an unused green space outside the house; also seed sharing and tree planting supported by government agencies, banks, and arts organisations. I observed that almost every house in the neighbourhood grows plants, flowers, and vegetables, while Urbano remembers many empty, unused spaces before *Zona* opened its doors. One of *Zona*’s apprentices has capitalised on his experiences and opened a vegetable shop close to the arts centre, selling locally grown produce.

⁷ See *Zona Imaginaria* website on my residency and “Pulgar the dog and his magic paw”:

<http://www.zonaimaginaria.com.ar/NEWS/tina-lawlor-mottram.html>

http://serpentinacreations.com/site/?page_id=2225

Vimeo links: Children reading their book * <https://vimeo.com/291508105> Children reading their book *

<https://vimeo.com/291505680> Tina Lawlor Mottram reading the book

⁸ Urbano, Lucrecia (interviewed by) Otera, Marian, “El arte transforma las personas y su entorno” in *La Voz* newspaper, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 15 May 2019.



Children and staff member Leonardo Blanc at *Zona Imaginaria*, with Tina Lawlor Mottram, right.

Artist-in-Residence exhibition: “Patterns for Peace”



Figure 4: “Black Madonna,” Tina Lawlor Mottram, 2019. Monoprint on paper. Exhibited in “Patterns for Peace”, Royal Engineers Museum, Gillingham, Kent, UK, 2019.

My residency in San Fernando and travels through Brazil resulted in an exhibition entitled “Patterns for Peace” in the Royal Engineers Museum in Kent. The Black Madonna (Fig. 4) was created after the Madonnas I had seen in *La Plata* cathedral and *La Aparecida* in Brazil, in addition to Madonnas I had previously seen in Montserrat (Catalonia), Prague, and Dublin. As a series, my

Madonna images are hand-coloured monoprints on recycled paper, presenting the Madonna as Earth Mother, religious icon, and protector. With respect to various of my creative choices, the intense blue colour reflects the spring blue seen in the domes of the Russian Orthodox church, near where I stayed in central Buenos Aires; the browns echo the colour of ploughed, rain-soaked coffee and banana plantations of *Minas Gerais*; and the use of gold was a direct reference to the famous gold in the pockets of indigenous storyteller Mariana. While I had been interested in Madonna figures for some time, this exhibition of my work at the Royal Engineers Museum would never have taken the final form it did if I had not spent time in San Fernando. Working with the children of San Fernando while living a month as a resident in *Zona* humbled me and made me determined to let them and their world speak through my art.

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Irlandeses en la Carrera de Indias: Aproximación a la Presencia de la Colonia Mercantil de Cádiz (España) en el Siglo XVIII en Xalapa (México), a través de los Protocolos Notariales

The Irish in Pursuit of the Indias Trade: A Look at the Presence of the Irish Merchant Colony of Cadiz (Spain) in Xalapa (Mexico) during the XVIII Century, through Notarial Records.

Lourdes Márquez Carmona¹

Resumen: Con este trabajo se pretende analizar la presencia de la colonia mercantil irlandesa del Cádiz del siglo XVIII en Xalapa (Virreinato de Nueva España), a través de los instrumentos de descripción de los protocolos notariales de esta ciudad, custodiados en el archivo de la Universidad Veracruzana (México), accesibles a través de Internet. Muchos de ellos fueron firmados por importantes comerciantes de origen irlandés residentes en Cádiz, ciudad portuaria del sur de la Península Ibérica, que acudieron a esa localidad mexicana para el intercambio de productos entre la metrópolis de España y los territorios de ultramar durante la “Carrera de Indias”. La interrogación del sistema de búsqueda ha permitido obtener datos sobre su presencia. Estos serán analizados y sistematizados con el nivel de la información de cada ficha descriptiva, lo cual nos dará una idea aproximada de la importancia de esta colonia mercantil irlandesa en Nueva España a lo largo del siglo XVIII. Al mismo tiempo permitirá investigaciones futuras.

Palabras claves: Cádiz (España), comerciantes, Irlandeses, carrera de Indias, Siglo XVIII, fe pública, fuentes de documentación, protocolos notariales, Xalapa (México).

Abstract: This paper analyzes the presence of the Irish merchant community from Cadiz in Xalapa (Viceroyalty of New Spain) during the XVIII Century, according to the descriptions recorded in the notarial protocols of the city, at present preserved in the Archives of the Universidad Veracruzana, and available on-line. Many of those records were signed by important merchants of Irish descent who had settled in Cadiz (a port city in South-western Spain) and who had travelled to Xalapa in order to promote the exchange of goods between the Spanish metropolis and its overseas territories during the “Carrera de Indias.” Archival research has yielded details of their presence, which, once analyzed and systematized, and based on the abundance of information contained in the entries, have shed light on the importance of this Irish merchant colony in the New Spain of the XVIII Century, and will also open up further research possibilities.

¹ Nacida en Cádiz (España), Lourdes Márquez Carmona cursó sus estudios en las Universidades de Cádiz y Granada, y la Universidad de Barcelona. Su actividad profesional es como documentalista del *Centro de Arqueología Subacuática de Andalucía del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico*.

Key words: Cadiz (Spain), merchants, Irish, XVIII Century, sources of documentacion, notarial protocols, Xalapa (Mexico).

Introducción

El puerto de Cádiz, situado en el suroeste de España, se convirtió oficialmente en 1717, con el traslado de la Casa de Contratación y el Real Consulado de Indias, en la cabecera del comercio de ultramar con América, relevando de ese puesto a la ciudad de Sevilla. Se configuró como puerto de abastecimiento para las flotas españolas de salida y para las naves que realizaban el tornaviaje y llegaban, sin haber padecido el temido naufragio de la nave, a este fondeadero. Este monopolio se mantuvo hasta el Decreto de Libre Comercio firmado por el rey Carlos III, en el año 1778.

Desde un primer momento, el empresariado de Europa fue consciente de la importancia de la zona portuaria de la Bahía de Cádiz como puerto de entrada y salida de las mercancías en los barcos que hacían la ruta atlántica, con nuevos nichos de mercado en el continente americano. Esta actividad mercantil ejerció de polo de atracción para individuos de otras nacionalidades: franceses, genoveses, holandeses, flamencos, ingleses e irlandeses, etc., y por supuesto, de otras partes de España. Decidieron establecerse definitivamente como núcleos familiares o como individuos aislados, formando en ocasiones familias *ex novo* al vincularse a mujeres, normalmente hijas de hombres de negocios ya establecidos en la ciudad.

Muchos de ellos vieron en esta profesión la oportunidad de labrarse un futuro. Este fue el caso de muchos jóvenes irlandeses de familias pudientes venidas a menos, que se vieron obligados a emigrar de Irlanda por el problema de la religión y las consecuentes leyes penales impuestas por los ingleses, por no renunciar a la religión católica y no convertirse en protestantes. Su única salida era incorporarse a los ejércitos de países católicos como España y Francia o reciclarse en hombres de negocios. Así que paulatinamente los miembros de estas incipientes familias de comerciantes se establecieron en las principales ciudades portuarias del arco atlántico. Entre ellas Cádiz, que vio florecer una potente colonia de extranjeros que crearon redes comerciales de correspondientes o factores, con los que controlaron las actividades mercantiles de la Carrera de Indias. Su deseo de aventura en América les proporcionaría a algunos de estos jóvenes emprendedores grandes riquezas y una posición social bastante reconocida.

Una de esas redes transnacionales corresponde a la familia irlandesa de los Butler. La oportunidad de negocio propició un trasvase de activos familiares desde Irlanda hacia Cádiz y otras ciudades de Andalucía, Islas Canarias y territorios de ultramar. A esta ciudad portuaria del sur de España llegó en 1730 William Butler Langton, proveniente de Kilkenny (Irlanda), atraído por las oportunidades comerciales que ofrecía la ciudad. Generó una amplia descendencia, muchos de cuyos miembros siguen habitando en la actualidad en Cádiz y del resto de España, entre la cual se encuentra la autora de este artículo. Su historia y la de su descendencia es tratada de manera contextualizada en la monografía “La memoria de los irlandeses: Cádiz y la familia Butler” (Márquez 2015).

El origen de esta estirpe se remonta al siglo XII cuando caballeros normandos se trasladaron desde Francia a Irlanda a apoyar a uno de los reyes celtas en sus luchas internas. Este apellido está estrechamente vinculado a Andalucía, sobre todo a capitales que ejercían la actividad del comercio marítimo como fueron Cádiz, Málaga, Huelva y por supuesto Sevilla a través de la vía fluvial del Guadalquivir. En esas localidades andaluzas y en otras, como las Islas Canarias, se fueron estableciendo desde fines del siglo XVII miembros de este clan familiar, tejiendo una tupida red mercantil entre diversos puertos de España, Inglaterra, Irlanda y por supuesto los territorios de América. Su mayor apogeo fue el siglo XVIII, que coincide lógicamente con la Carrera de Indias. Idéntica situación sucedió con otros clanes irlandeses.

La presencia de la familia Butler y la de otros importantes miembros de la colonia mercantil irlandesa de Cádiz, se detecta en la masa documental de los protocolos notariales que firmaron en el Archivo Histórico Provincial de esta ciudad, que suman la cantidad de más de ochocientos. Asimismo, por fortuna, también contamos con un reflejo documental de algunos de ellos, en el caso que vamos a tratar en esta ocasión, en la ciudad mexicana de Xalapa. En este lugar se celebraban las famosas ferias con los productos de la ansiada flota que arribaba periódicamente al puerto de Veracruz, en Nueva España.

Tengo que agradecer a la Unidad de Servicios Bibliotecarios y de Información (USBI, Xalapa) de la Universidad Veracruzana (México) su doble esfuerzo por conservar los documentos notariales de tres importantes ciudades del Estado de Veracruz: Xalapa, Orizaba y Córdoba, así como su labor de difusión a través de una aplicación informática que permite su consulta remota a través de Internet. Nos da acceso, como bien dicen, a la cultura del Viejo Mundo. Y en el caso que voy a analizar, nos ha permitido detectar a través del índice onomástico de la Colección Especial del Archivo de los Protocolos Notariales de Xalapa, en adelante PNX, la presencia de algunos miembros de la importante colonia irlandesa de Cádiz en el negocio de la Carrera de Indias. Ya que, “al otro lado del charco”, como aun decimos en Cádiz, están custodiados documentos de fe pública firmados, entre otros comerciantes asentados en Cádiz, por estos extranjeros originarios de Irlanda o sus hijos, que acudieron a Nueva España, en concreto a Xalapa, para el intercambio de productos entre la metrópolis y los territorios de ultramar.

Pero antes de pasar a analizar su presencia en esta población, que ya avancé hace años en la monografía sobre la familia Butler (Márquez 2015: 96) creemos necesario realizar una breve explicación de esa misma presencia en el puerto de Cádiz.

La Colonia Mercantil Irlandesa de Cádiz en el siglo XVIII

La bibliografía sobre los vínculos históricos que unen los países de Irlanda y España y las comunidades de comerciantes irlandeses asentados en las principales ciudades portuarias en el espacio común atlántico, es muy abundante. Estos agentes sociales que, con el soporte de la compañía mercantil familiar, se arriesgaron a salir de su zona de confort y algunos a cruzar en unos navíos de escasa seguridad el océano Atlántico, contribuyeron a transformar la economía, sociedad y cultura, creando lazos transnacionales. La comunicación entre ellos era continua, en un altísimo porcentaje, efectuada por vía marítima. A veces la única y más rápida posibilidad, aunque muy arriesgada ante un posible naufragio de la nave, de mantener los interrelacionados nexos económico y familiar. En bastantes ocasiones no sucedía así y naufragaban en el trayecto,

perdiéndose mercancías y hombres. Estos restos materiales en la actualidad forman parte de un patrimonio arqueológico subacuático común.

Sevilla, en un primer momento como dijimos, y Cádiz posteriormente, ejercieron como centros redistribuidores de las mercancías procedentes de América y del lejano Oriente, de los productos agrícolas de la zona andaluza y manufacturados de la industria artesanal del norte de España y Europa. De este modo se generó un circuito en ambos sentidos, de intercambio de productos entre América y Europa.

La ciudad de Cádiz fue vital, ya que desde su bahía salían por orden real las flotas de Indias desde 1717, cumpliéndose hace tres años el tricentenario de la firma del decreto el 12 de mayo después de muchas discusiones y pleitos entre ambas poblaciones (García Baquero 1988: V1-212). Así, los comerciantes establecidos en Sevilla, entre ellos los irlandeses, debieron trasladarse hacia esta ciudad, aunque algunos siguieron teniendo vinculación con esta como fue el caso de Agustín Butler que también residió en Xalapa como veremos posteriormente.

El siglo XVIII fue el gran siglo oro de Cádiz que alcanzó una opulencia nunca jamás vista, materializada en su arquitectura defensiva, religiosa y civil. Esta actividad comercial obligó a las familias mercantiles a establecer una representación de sus compañías en puntos neurálgicos de ultramar, tanto en importantes puertos de Europa como de América. Fueron creando redes a distintos niveles (provincial, regional, nacional y transnacional), como sucedió con el caso de la familia Butler, enlazadas por los agentes de comercio. Estos factores eran al mismo tiempo, miembros de la compañía comercial y de la familia, acudiéndose a falta de descendencia masculina a la vinculación del yerno a la empresa. El rol de estos jóvenes llegados, en la mayoría de los casos, de las ciudades irlandesas de Cork, Dublín, Galway, Kilkenny, Waterford, etc. fue fundamental en la interconexión regional e interestatal. Especialmente en el siglo XVIII en España y sus territorios americanos (De Oñate 2001). Se convirtieron de este modo en conectores del eje Irlanda-Cádiz-Veracruz-Xalapa.

Los jóvenes solteros eran los que generalmente debían trasladarse a América para encargarse de los negocios de la compañía. Y a su regreso, ya con una posición más solvente, se planteaban la posibilidad de establecer su propia familia y compañía mercantil. En muchas ocasiones eran creadas por varios miembros de una misma familia.

Los comerciantes extranjeros que demostrasen varios años de residencia en la ciudad, obtenían la nacionalidad española mediante la “carta de naturaleza”. Sus hijos, nacidos en Cádiz, por tanto ya españoles, podían inscribirse en el Consulado de Cargadores de Indias. Ello facilitaba enormemente la práctica comercial para las empresas que operaban desde este lugar. Son los llamados jenízaros, como es el caso de Agustín Butler, Miguel Langton, Julián O’Callaghan, etc., todos relacionados directamente con mis ancestros William Butler Langton y María Josefa O’Callaghan.

Pero antes de ir a América los comerciantes debían solicitar una licencia de pasajero a Indias. Ponemos como ejemplo a Julián Ramón O’Callaghan (cuñado de William Butler Langton) y a Agustín Butler. Entre los fondos del Archivo General de Indias se conservan sus respectivas licencias de “mercader al virreinato de Nueva España”, concretamente a Veracruz. Ambos

residieron en Xalapa. En el caso de Agustín, ya habitaba allí en junio de 1769 (Márquez 2015: 97). Y las respectivas travesías atlánticas se realizaron con éxito.

Xalapa, centro operativo de la colonia mercantil irlandesa en el virreinato de Nueva España

Xalapa, actualmente capital del estado mexicano de Veracruz, es una ciudad de interior de alta montaña, situada a unos 100 km de la ciudad portuaria que da nombre a este estado.

En este período pertenecía al Virreinato de Nueva España y en ella se celebraban desde 1720 las famosas ferias de intercambio de mercancías llegadas de Europa a bordo de los galeones de Indias y los productos que ofrecía América. Gracias a este evento periódico se convirtió en un importante punto estratégico en la economía colonial del siglo XVIII (Juárez 1977: 26), activando esta actividad mercantil el crecimiento demográfico y urbanístico.

Su posición estratégica, la convirtió en centro de redistribución de mercancías transportadas mediante la arriería. Nos podemos hacer una idea del medio físico en el que se desarrollaron estos irlandeses gaditanos por el siguiente párrafo:

en los últimos años de la década de los setenta la población de Xalapa mostrará una estructura laboral de mayor complejidad y que el pueblo mismo tuviera una imagen urbana más definida. Las casas eran unas de cal y canto y otras de piedra y barro techadas de tejas. Las principales calles estaban empedradas y existía, además de la Plaza Mayor, de la iglesia parroquial y del convento de San Francisco, un hospital de religiosos seguidores de San Roque y un beaterio de religiosas. Había edificios para depósitos de géneros, almacenes, bodegas, posadas, mesones y casas-habitación. (Blanco 2000: 107) [Fig. 1]

Los comerciantes establecidos en Nueva España se movían, para el intercambio de productos, entre el puerto de Veracruz y Xalapa. De este modo atendían la demanda de productos del mercado colonial, obteniendo pingües beneficios para sus empresas por esa actividad en la que ponían en riesgos sus vidas en la travesía transoceánica.

Pero no sólo estaban allí establecidos los irlandeses, sino que también estaban presentes otros hombres de negocios residentes en Cádiz, que actuaban como representantes de importantes compañías mercantiles formadas por varios socios irlandeses, existiendo entre ellos nuevamente en numerosas ocasiones una conexión familiar y mercantil.

La colonia irlandesa de Cádiz presente en los protocolos notariales de Xalapa en el siglo XVIII

Revisado el inventario de descripción del fondo notarial de la serie documental *Protocolos Notariales de Xalapa*, disponible a través de Internet, se han extraído de los índices onomásticos los apellidos de los comerciantes irlandeses residentes en esa población mexicana. Podemos constatar que coinciden con los miembros de la colonia irlandesa operativos en la ciudad gaditana

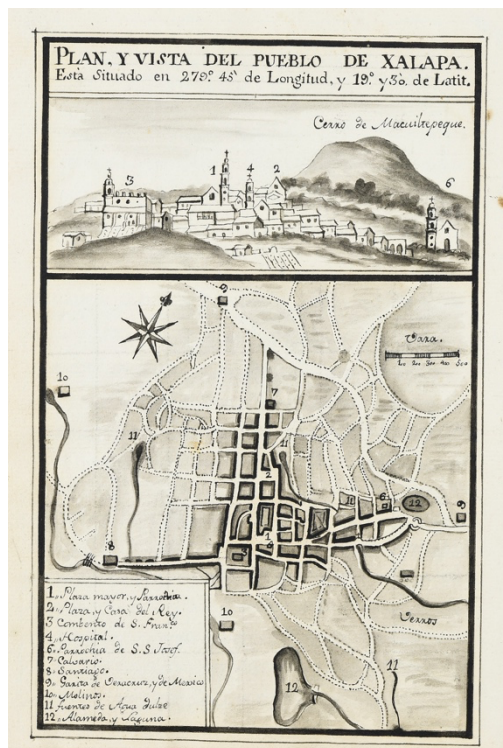


Figura 1: *Xalapa, centro operativo de la colonia mercantil irlandesa en el virreinato de Nueva España.*

a lo largo de esta centuria, y que también están presentes en los protocolos notariales del Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz. Su presencia es bastante significativa y el arco cronológico abarca desde 1754 a 1809.

El término geográfico “Irlanda” aparece solamente referenciado en cuatro ocasiones. Mientras que los nombres de irlandeses o compañías mercantiles formadas por individuos de esta procedencia mencionados son un total de treinta y cinco. Aunque en realidad podrían ser treinta y seis, ya que José Antonio Blanco podría ser la castellanización del apellido White, familia irlandesa que también estaba operativa en la plaza gaditana.

Sus nombres y apellidos ordenados alfabéticamente son: Agustín Butler, Antonio Butler, Juan Butler, Pedro Butler, Tomás Butler, Butler y Mathew Compañía, Nicolás Brun, Tomás Brun, Carew Langton y Compañía, Liborio Claussel, Antonio Rafael Grant, Esteban Grant de Guzmán, Juan Ricardo Grant de Guzmán, Enrique Hayden, Nicolás Hickie, Juan Kelly, Hurtado Kindelan Tomás Kindelan, Nicolás Langton, Miguel Langton, Margarita Linch, Juan Murphy, Tomás Murphy, Patricio Noble, Julián O'Callaghan, Pedro Alonso O'Crowley, Hugo O'Connor, Antonio O'Dwyer, Diego Antonio Porter, Roberto Quirbán, Thomas Patricio Ryan, Domingo Tomás Terry, Diego Tracy, Bartolomé Valois y Tomás Wading.

Muchos de ellos aparecen mencionados con la fórmula “vecinos de Cádiz”, otros “de España”, pero sin especificar esta ciudad, (aunque en realidad estaban empadronados allí). A esta fórmula se acompañaba la de “residentes en Xalapa”, y los menos “en Veracruz”. Se menciona por ejemplo en 1761 a Domingo Ignacio de Lardizábal y Francisco Ignacio de Amenábar, apoderados de *Butler Matheus y Compañía*; en 1766 a Francisco Javier de Medina, vecino de España, apoderado de Patricio Noble y Josefa de Medina, marido y mujer, vecinos de Cádiz; en 1767 a Sebastián Lasquetti y Julián Ocalaghan, vecinos de España, (Cádiz en realidad); en 1767 a Antonio Sáenz de Santamaría, vecino de España que otorga poder especial a don Domingo Tomás Terri (castellanización de Terry), vecino de Cádiz; en 1767 a Martín de Miranda y Tellechea, vecino de Veracruz residente en Jalapa, otorga poder general a su hijo Miguel Ignacio de Miranda (residente en Veracruz) y a los comerciantes y vecinos de Cádiz, Patricio Noble, y Tellechea, y a Bartolomé de Valois; en 1769 a Antonio Oduyer (castellanización de O'Dowyer), vecino de España (residente en Cádiz); en 1771 éste recibe una cantidad a cuenta de un riesgo de mar dado en Cádiz por Tomás Patricio Ryan; en 1774 a Enrique Hayden, vecino de Cádiz; en 1779 a Pedro Alonso O'Crouley, vecino de España (residente en Cádiz); en 1782 a Agustín Butler, vecino de España (natural de Sevilla pero residente en Cádiz) que canceló una escritura firmada en esta ciudad portuaria a nombre del irlandés Miguel Langton, vecino también de ella; o también ese mismo año Agustín, como hijo y heredero de Tomás Butler, otorgó poder general a los propietarios de Careu (castellanización de *Carew*), *Langton y Compañía*, que residía en Cádiz; y para finalizar este listado, en 1802 Tomás Murphy, comerciante y residente en Veracruz, otorgó poder a su tío don Pedro Porro, residente en Cádiz.

Si especificamos la tipología de documentos de los PNX en los que participan los miembros de la colonia irlandesa de Cádiz, el desglose es el siguiente: cancelación de escritura (4), cancelación de escritura de obligación (11), cancelación escritura riesgo de mar (3), codicilo (1), depósito (2), obligación de pago (1), poder (3), poder especial (7), poder especial para cobro de deuda (1), poder general (15), poder para nombrar albacea (1), poder para testar (6), ratificación sustitución de poder (1), recibo (2), solicitud cambio de poder (1), sustitución de poder para cobro escritura de riesgo (1) y testamento (2). Lo que hacen un total de 62 escrituras en las que tanto como otorgantes como los que son nombrados albaceas testamentarios o titulares del poder, y de ellos en tres ocasiones se menciona claramente la tipología “riesgo de mar”, mecanismo en la que algunos comerciantes irlandeses de Cádiz estaban especializados.

El *Riesgo*, al igual que el *Seguro Marítimo*, eran un instrumento financiero, utilizado por los hombres de negocios para evitar la inseguridad que suponía invertir el capital en el trasiego por vía marítima de las mercancías con las que incrementaban su capital.

La diferencia entre “seguro” y “riesgo” consiste en que, en el primer caso, el firmante de la póliza de seguro era una persona que disponía de capital, pero que prefería destinar una cantidad para asegurar las mercancías o el barco y así cubrir cualquier situación imprevista, como podía ser un naufragio o el deterioro del cargamento, o bien su captura por un enemigo. De modo que el comerciante siempre tenía asegurado un beneficio en caso de cualquier fatalidad.

El mecanismo financiero que aparece reflejado en los *Protocolos Notariales de Xalapa* es el *Riesgo marítimo*. Suponía que el que arriesgaba no poseía capital suficiente, con lo cual lo pedía en préstamo a cambio de una parte del beneficio. El investigador y antiguo director del Archivo

Histórico Provincial de Cádiz y del Archivo General de Indias, Manuel Ravina, ha escrito varios trabajos sobre la temática. Asimismo, la investigadora García Fernández también ha tratado el tema en su trabajo sobre la comunidad extranjera de Cádiz (García 2004: 78). Se ha centrado sobre todo en la Notaría N.º 9 conservada en esa institución, que era la preferida por excelencia por la comunidad extranjera, entre ellos los irlandeses.

Los premios o ganancias de los británicos en Cádiz oscilaban entre un 26% y un 55 % (García 2004: 74). Los plazos de pago también variaban entre un período de cuatro meses y dos años y siempre iban asociados a un fiador que permanecía en la ciudad y que se hacía cargo de la deuda. Aunque con las mujeres viudas se tenía mayor consideración, llegándose a ampliar hasta cuatro años su el pago (Márquez 2015:128-130).

A continuación analizaremos, dado el espacio del que disponemos en este trabajo, sólo algunos de los datos de los agentes sociales, relacionados con Irlanda, implicados en la firma de esa tipología de documentos ante un notario en la ciudad de Xalapa, para dar validez oficial a su voluntad. Con ello efectuaremos una primera aproximación a la intrincada red de relaciones personales y comerciales que mantenían entre ellos en el eje mercantil Cádiz-Xalapa.

Juan Ricardo Grant de Guzmán. Hay que decir que es el primer individuo irlandés, con fecha más temprana, 22 de mayo de 1754, cuyos datos aparecen en los PNx. Se utiliza la fórmula “natural de Irlanda y vecino del pueblo de Jalapa”. Era hijo legítimo de los difuntos Esteban Grant de Guzmán y Anastasia Luet, viudo de doña María del Rosario Ravelo, vecina de Cuba y otorgó poder para testar y nombramiento de albacea a su hijo el licenciado Nicolás Ricardo Grant de Guzmán, Clérigo Presbítero, Domiciliado en el Obispado de Puebla. Como herederos nombró a sus hijos Nicolás y a José de Guzmán. (PNx 27-1752-10136. F.283vta-286vta.). Por lo que vemos, él y su familia estaban ya plenamente integrados en el entramado social de estas localidades americanas. Incluso cinco años después, el 16 de marzo de 1759, ya había renunciado a su apellido irlandés, firmando como Juan Ricardo de Guzmán otro poder para testar. (PNx 27_1759_12193 18 - 21vta.).

Nicolás Brun. Hijo legítimo de Tomás Brun y Margarita Linche (castellanización del apellido irlandés Linch) y natural de Balegen (Irlanda), Condado de Mayo. El 20 de noviembre de 1758 otorgó poder de albacea testamentario a Roberto Quirbán, vecino de México, junto con don Juan Antonio de Herreros, vecino de España. Es una de las cuatro ocasiones en que el término “Irlanda” aparece (PNx_27_1758_11686 F. 88vta. – 90 Fecha 1758/11/20).

Compañía Butler Matheus. Domingo Ignacio de Lardizábal y Francisco Ignacio de Amenábar, con vecindad en Cádiz, pero residentes en Xalapa, actuaban en calidad de apoderados de esta empresa que pertenecía a los irlandeses residentes en Cádiz, Antonio Butler y Francisco Mathew. Ambos solicitaron la cancelación de una escritura, por la cantidad de 2,360 pesos plata, que fueron recibidos de Ignacio Huarte, Caballero de la Orden de Santiago, también vecino de Cádiz, quien se obligó a pagarlos a don Antonio Butler. (PNx 27_1761_8720 F. 86 – 87. Fecha 1761/04/25).

Antonio Butler, natural de Ross (Irlanda), es uno de los primeros miembros de la familia Butler que operan en la ciudad gaditana. Por el año 1730, trece años después del traslado de la Casa de Contratación, ya se había instalado en la ciudad, siendo uno de los socios de las casas comerciales

de este clan con la carta de naturaleza más temprana solicitada. En 1743, llevaba más de treinta años de residencia en la ciudad y en su curriculum mercantil llegó a tener varias compañías en Cádiz, entre ellas la denominada *Butler & Mathew*. También poseía importantes negocios en Huelva, donde dos importantes familias irlandesas, los Wadding y los White (castellanizados como Blanco), controlaban el mercado (Foley 1994:9).

Francisco Javier de Medina. Vecino de España y residente en Jalapa, en calidad de apoderado del matrimonio, de **Patricio Noble** y Josefa de Medina, matrimonio vecino de Cádiz (PNX 27_1766_11834 F. 21vta. - 24vta. Fecha: 1766/02/03). Sustituye su poder en don Juan Antonio Chirlin, procurador de Número de la Real Audiencia de México, para que cobrase una escritura de riesgo cuyo plazo se venció. Vivía en la calle Ahumada numero 13 de Cádiz y fue albacea testamentario de William Butler Langton (AHPC. Testamento de Guillermo Butler. Leg.: Disposiciones Testamentarias 1740-1775. Signatura: 1642 Protocolo N. 9. F. 337V y 338 R y Lario de Oñate 2000: 65).

Julián Ocalaghan y Sebastián Lasquetti. Ambos vecinos de España, en realidad Cádiz y residentes en el pueblo de Jalapa. Otorgaron un poder general a don Pedro Antonio Cosío, vecino de Nueva Veracruz, para que los defendiese y representase si fuese necesario en pleitos, causas y negocios, civiles y criminales. Su nombre completo Julián Ramón O'Calaghan Everard, aunque en Irlanda sólo se ha atendido al apellido paterno. Era hijo de los irlandeses Julián O'Callaghan y Clara Everard, hermano de María Josefa, casada con William Butler y nieto del teniente general Reynaldo MacDonnell y sobrino de Diego Murphy, como vemos apellidos todos claramente irlandeses. De modo que por sus venas corría nombres de clanes bien conocidos en Irlanda y España. Nacieron en La Graña (El Ferrol), pero habitaban en Cádiz. Su hermana María Josefa se esposó con un irlandés afincado en Cádiz, mi antepasado William Butler Langton. Se dedicó a comerciar en la Carrera de Indias, como podemos inferir a través de la documentación conservada en el Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz (Márquez 2015: 119). Su presencia queda registrada en los PNX en los años 1767, 1774 y 1775. Fue socio de Sebastián Lasquetti, que pertenecía a la colonia mercantil de procedencia de la península itálica (PNX 27_1767_12360 Fecha: 1767/02/03).

Nicolas Langton, Miguel Langton, Careu² Langton y Compañía. Nicolas Langton aparece mencionado en 1773 en los PNX como remisor para Juan Kelly, su factor en Xalapa, (también irlandés), de unas mercancías (PXN 27_1773_9958 F. 215vta. – 220 Fecha: 1773/10/11). Miguel Langton su hijo, nacido en Cádiz, aparece ya operativo en los PNX en 1775. De esta importante familia mercantil irlandesa decir sólo que Nicolas Langton era primo hermano de William Butler Langton. Nacido en 1705, al igual que él, llegó a Cádiz en 1724 procedente de Kilkenny. Se esposó con la hija de otro irlandés comerciante residente en Cádiz, Lorenzo Carew, originario de la ciudad irlandesa de Waterford. Éste creó una importante compañía mercantil en la que incluyó a su yerno Nicolás, y de la que William Butler fue tesorero. Su hijo Miguel Langton, también fue comerciante de Indias y aparece mencionado en los PNX, operando en 1781 con su factor Agustín Butler. Éste pertenecía a la familia de los Butler, al nacer en 1745 en Sevilla del matrimonio entre Tomas Butler y María Clarke. En 1782 firmó un poder en Xalapa al estar próximo a regresar a Sevilla. Existen diversos trabajos sobre Márquez e el clan mercantil de los Langton y a ellos remitimos. (Fannin 2003: 347-352) (Márquez 2015: 108) (Lario de Oñate 2016: 155). [Fig. 2]

² Castellanización del apellido irlandés Carew.

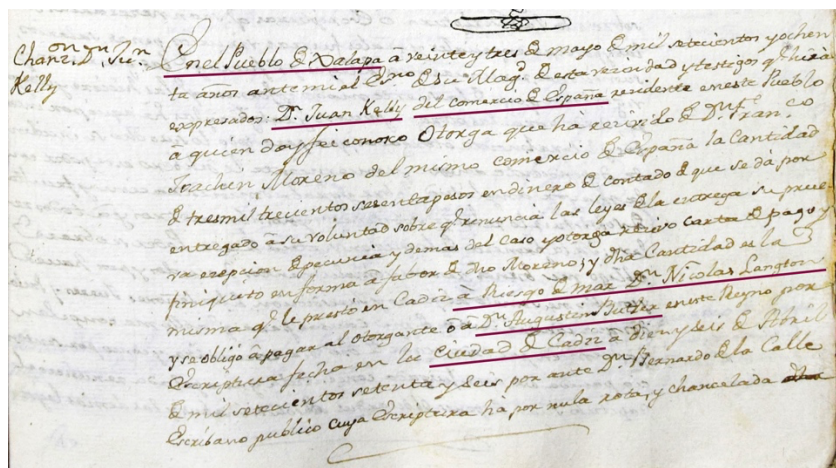


Figura 2: Nicolas Langton aparece mencionado en 1773 en los PNX como remitente para Juan Kelly, su factor en Xalapa.

Pedro Alonso O’Crowley. Finalizamos este recorrido selectivo mencionando a otro importante miembro de la colonia mercantil irlandesa nacido en Cádiz y que en 1773 ya se encontraba en Xalapa comerciando. Nacido en 1740 de padres irlandeses, además de comerciante, fue un importante hombre de letras, escritor, traductor y coleccionista de antigüedades (Bernabeu 2010) (Millán 2016). De su obra mencionamos su trabajo manuscrito denominado “Idea compendiosa del Reino de Nueva España [Manuscrito] en que se comprenden las ciudades y puertos principales, cabeceras de jurisdicción, su latitud, rumbo y distancia a la capital México, etc., publicado en 1774. De ella he extraído una de sus ilustraciones sobre la villa de Xalapa que reproducimos en este artículo.

Podríamos seguir mencionando las vinculaciones personales y profesionales de estos miembros de la colonia irlandesa de Cádiz en Xalapa, pero sólo he efectuado una pequeña selección de esos personajes por el espacio limitado en este trabajo. Aunque seguro en un futuro próximo se podrá ampliar en nuevas publicaciones.

Conclusión

A pesar de la brevedad, espero haber dado una primera aproximación a la presencia de la colonia mercantil irlandesa de Cádiz en el reino de Nueva España y demostrar su importancia en la ciudad de Xalapa (México), en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII.

Sólo hemos tratado con un poco de profundidad la historia de unos cuantos de los hombres de negocios irlandeses que aparecen en los PNX. Muchos de ellos, irían regresando paulatinamente a la capital gaditana y fueron testigos de la caída de la actividad mercantil de Cádiz y su bahía, a consecuencia del decreto de libre comercio en 1778, que habilitaban a otros puertos peninsulares a ejercer el comercio de la Carrera de Indias. A ello se uniría el problema de la merma del comercio transoceánico por las guerras navales entre las potencias europeas (Inglaterra, Francia y España).

Esta caótica situación hizo que los hombres de negocios irlandeses, al igual que otras colonias de extranjeros, fueran abandonando el puerto de Cádiz a fines del siglo XVIII y principios del siglo XIX para establecerse en otros lugares de Europa o América. Como sucedió con la familia Langton que emigró a Bath, en el sur de Inglaterra (Márquez 2015: 199-214). Aunque algunos permanecerían en Cádiz y poblaciones aledañas, como hicieron ciertos miembros de la familia Butler, descendientes de William Butler Langton.

Una posible línea de investigación futura, sería localizar a los irlandeses que permanecieron en el reino de Nueva España y que se fusionaron con las élites locales y se mimetizaron en ciudadanos españoles, castellanizando sus apellidos. Se convirtieron en la oligarquía local y seguro que al igual que en el virreinato de Chile, participaron en las reivindicaciones de la independencia de la metrópolis, de lo que ya consideraban su tierra. Mencionamos de ejemplo a Bernardo O'Higgins, uno de los padres de la patria chilena, cuyo padre, Ambrosio, fue factor en América de Antonio Butler y posteriormente, gobernador de la Capitanía General de Chile y virrey del Perú.

Los comerciantes de la metrópolis que decidieron quedarse, formaron una oligarquía que invirtió en bienes raíces y formaron su propia familia al otro lado del atlántico. (Blaquez 2000: 97). Esos estrechos lazos históricos entre ambos países perviven aun genéticamente en los descendientes que habitan tanto en España como en México, y que además pueden delatar, como sucede en Cádiz, sus apellidos o el tono pelirrojo de su piel, aun después de varias generaciones. Y por supuesto, puede constatar los estudios genéticos del ADN.

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**Art, Sound, Nature:
A Conversation with Irish-Colombian Musician Katie James**

Edmundo Murray¹

A farm in the central mountains of Colombia. A derelict wooden hut and other broken elements may have been the farm's house but now are invaded by the luxuriant vegetation surging over the whole place. Vines and big yellow flowers climbing on the walls. Shrubs trying to block the passage towards a windowless door. Tall tropical trees are visible high over the wooden construction and throw shadows on the magic of a luminous stage (*Toitico bien empackao* online video).

- I was born in 1985 in Inishfree, Co Donegal. My mother is English and my father was Irish. I grew up with my mother in Colombia in the Atlantis community. When I was two years old, with my parents and two older sisters we travelled for a whole year visiting the Canary Islands, Cape Verde, Venezuela, and then settled in Colombia. Sometimes we stayed overnight in caves and beaches, or with farmer families. The idea was to go up to Bolivia, but when we arrived in Colombia my mother had a first-sight love with the country. ... She was searching for alternative ways of living and connecting with nature (Katie James interview, 22 April 2020).

The Atlantis Primal Therapy Commune was established in September 1974 by a group of young British and Irish activists, with Katie's mother Jenny James as its co-founder. After a year spent in a rented farmhouse in the British Lake District, on 10 April 1975 they took up residence in a big house in Burtonport, Co Donegal. In 1976 they moved a short distance offshore to Inishfree island, where Katie was born. Jenny James, born in 1942 in Dartford, Kent, was brought up in a Communist family but her parents left the party over the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956. As a teenager in Dartford, Jenny was actively involved in politics, nuclear disarmament campaigning, and the typical mystic and vegetarian movements of the 1960s in search of a new bond with nature.

I'm supposed to be on the Peruvian altiplano milking a llama and learning Quechua or rowing round floating islands on Lake Titicaca; but here I am in verdant, lush Colombia, surrounded by fruit trees (Jenny James 1990: 146).

The Atlantis community's interests focused on emotional therapies and adopted some of the ideas by the psychologist Arthur Janov (1924-2017) from the United States, particularly his "primal therapy". It was a means to elicit repressed pains, particularly the emotional distress experienced in childhood. For their noisy ways, the community members were styled "The Screamers" by their neighbours in Burtonport, who were not always happy with the community.

¹ Edmundo Murray is a retired publishing officer at the World Trade Organization in Geneva, Switzerland. He has been the first editor of this journal and founding member of the Society for Irish Latin American Studies. His most recent books are *Centre William Rappard: Home of the World Trade Organization, Geneva*, co-authored with Joëlle Kuntz, and *Symphony of Flavors: Food and Music in Concert*, as editor.

I don't think there is any room for them in Burtonport. They are a nuisance... I can't live here because I'm so close to them. I can't lie on bed in the night and you hear this horrible screaming, really horrible when you hear it in the middle of the night (Hugh Boyle, a Burtonport neighbour, in Quinn 1979: 0'58").

- The Atlantis community in Ireland ... it was really peculiar for a small Donegal town in the 1970s Catholic and conservative Ireland. Can you imagine my English and atheist single mother with her ultra-alternative lifestyle confronted to such an environment?

The bottling up of pain and poison inside ourselves and the stifling of our love impulses simply does not work: twisted and thwarted, our feelings overflow in one way or another — on to our children and animals, into pollution and warfare, cancer and car crashes, or they stagnate in barren, boring lives. At Atlantis we have brought back colour and natural drama into everyday living (Jenny James 1980: 1-2).

The Screamers... I remember from my youth. That was a group of 50 people who worshipped on an island off the coast of Donegal and who went around screaming their heads off as a release. It was an organised religion and if they had screamed for five years, they would be qualified under these rules to solemnise marriage (Dáil Éireann debates 2012).

Hitching through Ireland, looking at the map, it was right somehow that Atlantis was away on the west coast. It felt like coming to the end of the world. There was nothing beyond it but the sea (Jenny James 1980: 31). However, the future of the Atlantis community would be far beyond the ocean.

- We left Ireland for various reasons. In the Atlantis community, children were born at home and were home-schooled. That was not seen in good light by the Irish people there. The Irish welfare started to look closely at the community. ... And my mother wanted to live in a place where sustainable agriculture was possible over the whole year and where it was not necessary to buy anything. She spoke fluent Spanish and she thought about South America.

Katie and her older sisters Alice and Louise grew up with the peculiar ways of the Inishfree community. Some parents and families of the community members were suspicious of the activities and regarded them as a dangerous sect. Furthermore, the group received bomb threats from the IRA. The authorities called them to be deported. Owing to the fragile situation, preparations were made to start the long journey to South America.

In the Colombian mountains, a woman sings and plays the guitar sitting at the centre of the farmhouse passageway. She smiles looking directly at the viewer — we are part of the song. She sings in Spanish with a formal Colombian “campesino” accent from the Andean region. Her looks are not Colombian though, or at least what most Europeans have in mind when they imagine someone from that country. She wears a sober blue tunic over a black top in contrast with the blond hair falling on her shoulders. Her gestures are that of someone accustomed to play classic guitar but without the rigidity (Toitico online video).



Katie James.

- My father Fred was Irish, from Cork. He came with us to the Canary Islands and Cape Verde, but my parents separated there. He went to live in Venezuela and married there. He had a daughter, Eileen Moloney Monasterios, who is Irish-Venezuelan. ... I am an Irish and English citizen, not yet Colombian. ... I recently applied for Colombian citizenship. When I return from a foreign trip, I feel I am coming back home. ... Culturally, I feel myself very Colombian. There was a time when I had the feeling that I wasn't from here or from there. Anywhere I am seen as a foreign person. ... Most of the times, one of the first questions when I meet with someone is: Hi, where are you from? ... I have always been the different one.

The family's wanderings in the Atlantic and in South America were an amazing journey. Katie and her sisters were small girls and the group had very limited means. They departed from Ireland in March 1987 and arrived in the Canary Islands, where they stayed in different places until November of that year. They sailed south to Cape Verde in a Swedish boat. In January 1988, the group left Cape Verde sailing in the French schooner barque *Bel Espoir*. They arrived in Martinique and from there they went to Venezuela. They crossed to Colombia in April and after so much hitch-hiking and wild camping they finally settled near Icononzo, Tolima department, in the central Andean region of Colombia. The community eventually established an ecological farm in this idyllic setting, which had a strong influence on Katie's lifestyle.

- My first recalling is from the farm we had in Tolima. ... I still need my time in the farm. I need to connect with myself and with the earth, and with the most basic things in life. I love growing things. Sometimes when people see me with make-up before a concert they can't believe that I am a *campesina*, a farmer.

I see our girls growing up, learning to dance and sing and act and play music, earning their living spontaneously by being who they are and never ever knowing the agonies, inanities and hypocrisies of the English school system. ... Three blonde children screamed with delight ... How near we are to living as we should (Jenny James 1990: 33, 92).

However, due to the expiration of their residence permits, in November 1988 the family was deported from Colombia. They travelled through Ecuador and Peru until they could go back their Colombian home in June 1989. Jenny James's book *Atlantic Adventure* is an extremely interesting narrative of their radical journey from Ireland to the heart of South America.

The social clash between the rural and the urban, the food producer and the food consumer, the concerns of the "campesino" apprehensive with agriculture market inequalities, the nonchalant attitude of his wealthy clientele, the simplicity of life in the countryside versus the swift indifference of city dwellers who never stop to think all what takes to bring food to their table. All these subjects surface to the harmonic narrative of the song with a smile in the artist's eyes. I am challenged by the farmer to recognize and appreciate his labour, his dedication to provide for the life of the people in the cities around the world (Toitico online video).

When Katie was established with her family in Tolima, the area was under control of the guerrillas. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC in Spanish) had been established in 1964. Ten years later, under the influence of the Cuban Revolution and Ernesto Ché Guevara's guerrilla tactics, the different groups were unified into an organized revolutionary army following Marxist ideals. A cease-fire was negotiated with the government in 1984 and when the Atlantis community acquired the farm in Icononzo in 1988, the FARC was in total control of the area, including the municipal administration, security and public education (Murray 2006).

They tell us we are now in country controlled by the FARC - the Communist guerrilla force; and that the army don't come in here. They are extremely pushy about us staying. I'd like to be persuaded by them that we've 'arrived', it's so beautiful here (Jenny James 1990: 145).

The FARC leaders initially thought they were spies. After some resistance, they saw the "gringos" in more positive ways. Both the community members and the guerrillas agreed on socialist values of class struggle and egalitarianism. The FARC officers came to think it would be positive for their local and international reputation to have an avant-garde community of young British and Irish people in their territory.

Jorge says the guerrilla movement is very successful and popular and that the army has incurred so much hostility that it doesn't dare to come into any area run by them. He says the guerrilleros would be delighted if we settle here. 'Why?' I asked. It's good for them, he says, because the people's movement is into culture and as foreigners with the 'right' attitudes and ideas, we bring what they want (Jenny James 1990: 146).

Yesterday, I was visited by the FARC Commander for this region. He told me that the day previously he had called a meeting in our local village Rovira, in which they discussed with the local people the fact that forest cutting has to stop; to which end, rather than waiting eternally for Government help to change to other forms of farming, they were going to begin a programme of

communal vegetable gardens with “technical help” from the gringos (that’s us) (Jenny James, Green Letter N° 5, 21 September 1995).

Later on, partly owing to the government’s military pressure and partly to their own financial needs, the FARC enhanced their idealistic views with more material sourcing, including kidnapping ransoms and paid “protection” of farmers and business people, as well as criminal incursions in drug production and distribution activities. Their officers became more aggressive and people suffered murders and forced migration. At one point, the relationship of the guerrilla fighters with the community changed and the community had to move further to other locations. Forced displacement and violence materialized for Atlantis as well, and they had to find a new place.

- The new farm was in the Caquetá department, on the road from Neiva to San Vicente del Caguán, within the FARC-controlled ‘red zone’ during the peace negotiations with president [Andrés] Pastrana. But the FARC commanders told us that they could not house foreigners in their area during that period, so we had to leave that place and go back to the Tolima farm moving plants and animals on *chivas* [rural buses]. ... It was at that time that we heard about the three Irishmen in that region.

On 11 August 2001, three men travelling on false passports were detained in Bogotá's El Dorado airport while attempting to leave Colombia. They were suspected of being IRA explosives experts hired by FARC commanders to provide military training to their fighters. The three men, styled locally *Los Tres Monos* (the Three Blonds), admitted that their real names were Martin John McCauley, James William Monaghan and Niall Connolly and that they had arrived from San Vicente del Caguán. Three years later, the Appeals Court sentenced them to seventeen years in prison. However, at the time of the sentencing they were no longer in Colombia as they had jumped bail and managed to flee the country. They were back in Ireland just eight days after the IRA's historic announcement of its cessation of illegal activity. They were never extradited back to Colombia. The case had major political ramifications, with great damage to Sinn Féin’s reputation in Ireland. Recently, on 22 April 2020, a Colombian court granted full amnesty to the three men.

I had spent yesterday (a Sunday) and all my Sundays in Bogotá in the guerrilla section of the high security wings of various prisons with the three Irishmen accused of being FARC trainers, and talking to many FARC commanders (Jenny James, Green Letter N° 65, 19 June 2004).

- Then we had to flee again due to a very sad event. But the new forced displacement from Tolima was much more difficult. That was difficult... very hard.

The farm in Tolima was finally occupied and evicted by guerrilla fighters. The Atlantis community had to move again. On 9 July 2000, two young members were put to death. Irish-born Tristan Murray García, son of Jenny James’s eldest daughter Rebecca, and his Colombian friend Javier Nova went to the farm to say good bye to their family and friends. They were stabbed and beheaded by FARC guerrillas in Hoya Grande. Later, a couple of neighbours who witnessed the killings and were willing to denounce the culprits were murdered by the same guerrillas.

- We received much help and support in those difficult times. An Atlantis member living in Bogotá, the Irish astrologer Anne Barr, connected us with a family in Tabio (Cundinamarca) who received us in their *finca* during one year. Then we moved to a new place in the Puracé National Park, southeast of Popayán. My mother still lives there.

Since she was a little girl, Katie's context was living between Mother Nature and music. During the family's journey in South America, her mother always travelled with musical instruments to entertain the people in the remotest of mountains and rainforests.

In one village, they [Colombian soldiers] pointed paranoidly at my violin case, stood back as if it would explode, and demanded I open it; when everyone saw it was safe, they all crowded round to see the unknown instrument (Jenny James 1990: 135).

Jenny's violin was stolen later on in Peru, but music stayed forever with her daughters. In 2003, along with her sister Louise and friend Laura Costello, Katie recorded her first album, *Semillas de Paz*.



Katie James.

Seeds of Peace, is the name of our first CD of songs about ecology, peace, anti-drugs, anti-war, anti-formal education, anti-money, and - why not - a couple of love songs. ... Recently in a distant mountain village called Balboa, my 18-year-old sister Katie and I sang for a big group of refugees. It was one of the most beautiful experiences we have had singing in years, no microphones, no stage, just us and them in an open field. We sang for ages, we talked too, we told them we had been displaced as well and that we had lost relatives we loved so much. We all knew what it felt

like and no-one could understand each other better. They were from all different parts of Colombia, but had become one big family (Jenny James *Green Letter* N° 65, 19 June 2004).

- I lived five years in Popayán, a city more or less near the Huila farm, the new place we went after Tolima. With my teenage sisters we were attracted to that different, more urban world. Popayán is a very cultural city. I learned classic guitar in the local conservatoire. That was my first contact with formal education. We also sang in the Popayán choir. ... I play violin and read music since I was nine, and then I started to compose. My mother was my first music teacher. ... At twenty, I decided to pursue an academic career in music. But I was home schooled so I didn't have a high-school diploma. During six months I had to go through a difficult crash course in physics, mathematics, biology and other subjects. I lost a couple of kilos... but I succeeded at the difficult tests to join the university in the ICFES [acronym for Instituto Colombiano para el Fomento de la Educación Superior]. So I was able to start my university studies in Bogotá. ... I was very happy there. I took classes in singing, guitar, piano and other courses in the jazz and Latin American folk music programme. ... It was very important to complement my previous intuitive compositions with all the musical theory. I graduated in 2012 with an M.A. in music.

The singer addresses the viewer directly and denounces our neglect of rural life. It is a sort of musical conjuration. Her sharp questions are emphasized by the contagious rhythm of the Andean “bambuco”, a genre in 6/8 meter typical of the mountainous region and the fertile valleys of central Colombia. The guitar serves as accompaniment and bass line, and highlights the solos in variations of tempo. But the central feature is the voice, a clear and effortless intonation focusing on the song’s message (Toitico online video).

- I very much enjoy singing and accompanying myself with the guitar. Of course I play with other musicians but I appreciate creating my own music. In 2018, I went to play alone in Scotland, The Netherlands, Italy and France. I like accompanying my singing because it is more demanding with the guitar technique. ... Lately I am focusing more on Latin American themes, especially the music of the Andes. ... I'm in Bogotá since 2007, a big city. ... In the beginning it was a kind of conflict between the urban context and my rural background. Then I understood that I had to find a balance between the two worlds. ... Very frequently I write songs about the contrasts between the city and the countryside. ... I created the song *Toitico bien empacado* after having had the experience in those very different environments.

The song's title *Toitico bien empacado* means “Everything well packed”, and it has many references to food ways. The use of *toitico* (everything) is a diminutive reduplication of *todo* (*todo* > *todito* > *toito* > *toitico*). In Latin American Spanish, diminutives are not limited to nouns and adjectives but they are also applicable to adverbial forms, such as in *apenitas* or *nomasito*. Mostly under Afro-Antillean influence, reduplication is used for emphasis purposes, as in *ahoritita* (right now) and *cerquitica* (very near). On the other hand, *empacado* (familiar pronunciation of past participles such as *empacado*, packed) is a reference to food distribution and packaging. The title points to the different ways foodstuffs are presented in the city and the countryside. City residents seldom perceive the actual features of their acquired vegetables, dairy or meat as they are in natural form. Instead, sophisticated preparations and packaging conceal the real food colours and flavours in

order to preserve it during the longer distribution cycles and, especially, for the marketing purposes of creating a positioning for the brand and customer loyalty.

- People in the city live completely disconnected from their roots in the countryside. They have no idea about the sources of our food and the labour of our farmers. It is difficult to understand why people see it so remote. I wish they could go to a farm and work with their hands for a couple of days. Paradoxically, most of the people in the cities come from the countryside and have farmer parents or grandparents. The connection is not so distant. ... In Bogotá there are so many people who can't even identify a coffee plant! ... I was working in the vegetable garden on the farm with all those fruits and plants around me, and I realized I was humming a *bambuco* tune and then I had the melody and the lyrics. ... The narrator is a *campesino*, a farmer who complains about the ignorance of the people in the cities about the origins of their food. ... This song was a success that I had never expected. It went viral in the social networks and created a strong connection with the public, even if it was not conceived to attract the audience. People connect with the song, not with the accessories such as in a large videoclip production.

The narrator in the song is a *campesino* who grows coffee, sugarcane, maize, potatoes, and a lavish panoply of fruits and vegetables that are used to prepare *arepas* (maize cakes), *agua 'e panela* (sugarcane infusion), *ajiaco* soup and so many dishes of the Colombian traditional cuisine. He tills the soil manually with the hoe and the plow, and he offers his abundant produce to the urban resident. As Katie explains, the song addresses the negligent unawareness of the people in the city regarding the production and preparation of their food, which they find easily in the corner store, well packed and ready to use.

Furthermore, the song has other social and environmental readings. By addressing the audience with *Sumercé* — equivalent to “your grace” in English and formerly used by the slaves to address their masters — a hierarchy is established beyond the geographic boundaries between the city and the countryside. This is further emphasized by the use of formulae such as *Discúlpeme* and *Ay perdón señor*. However, it does not mean a meek or subservient attitude from the farmer, who is proud of his work and agricultural products. The assertion of life in the countryside and the rural values of respect for nature and for one's own roots are rather conspicuous in the song chorus: *Y cuénteme qué sabe de su tierra / Cuénteme qué sabe de su abuela / Cuénteme qué sabe del maíz / ¿O acaso ha olvidado sus antepasados y su raíz?* (Tell me what do you know about your home, what do you know about your grandmother, what do you know about maize, or did you forget about your ancestors and your roots?).

- Now I behave very naturally in front of the public, but I owe that to my mother. When we were small kids she used to organise theatre shows. I was a very shy girl and she helped me very much to confront the public. She always insisted that I had to connect with them. ... The better you know the different art branches the more critical distance you can take. If not, the contact with the work of art is immature, superficial. ... Performing in videoclips has been a good school ... immediately you start watching movies in a different way, beyond the entertainment level. ... Music occurs in time. It's a unique instant connecting with the audience.

I think on the people working at the disgraced seafood market in Wuhan. Humble farmers trying to sell their produce obtained with stubborn effort while the world blames them for the coronavirus crisis. I think about the midwestern rural workers in the United States being manipulated by the grandeur of the politicians' void promises and being scorned by the well-raised and educated urban public in the media. The South American ranchers who lost their land and had to send their small children to work. The silent victims of man-made droughts and floods and the global warming that is killing traditional agricultural resources. The farmers in Europe and everywhere waking up in the wee hours in winter to milk their cows or to feed their cattle just to receive comically low revenues. We buy their products in the supermarket without asking ourselves how they arrived to the shelves. Food and music cycles bring about new ways to narrate production, distribution and consumption. We are not just witnesses but active players in the artistic creation of unconstrained beauty.

Katie James embodies the challenging grievances of the rural workers who toil and nourish the crowded cities of the world. Her *campesina* feelings make us think about the power of art. The power of the message. The power of representation, the cosmos in a song, a film, a sculpture, the instant of light when the connection is real. The hunger behind the delicately coloured fruit in a still life. The intention of the artist to create a work of art (Kant's "design"), the meaningful emotion shared by the artist and the receiver (Tolstoy's "infectiousness").

In her voice, Katie's music becomes art, sound and nature.

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The Diplomacy of Art: Irish, Spanish and Latin American Artwork in a Historic Building of Geneva

Edmundo Murray¹

Abstract: This article focuses on the works of art offered by Irish, Spanish, Brazilian and other governments and institutions to embellish the Centre William Rappard since 1926 to date. The Centre William Rappard is the first building in Geneva designed to house an international organization. It was built for the International Labour Office, and later occupied by the United Nations High Commissioner for the Refugees, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade secretariat, and currently the World Trade Organization. The article studies the messages sent by powerful players of international relations who donate, receive, restore and sometimes suppress works of art to support their political aims.²

Keywords: *Art history, International relations, censorship*

Introduction

On a clear Sunday morning on 6 June 1926, Albert Thomas led a group of international personalities into the recently opened building of the International Labour Office (ILO) (Fig. 1). They arrived at the main entrance, went between the large stone female sculptures “Peace” and “Justice” by Luc Jaggi, through the wooden door donated by Australia and a vestibule into the profusely decorated neoclassical main hall. Thomas, an experienced French politician who had been minister of arms and ammunitions during World War I was appointed, somehow paradoxically, to lead the ILO in times of peace. The International Labour Organization was one of the institutions created by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. The other was the League of Nations, which would later become the United Nations Organization (UN) and would integrate the ILO as one of its specialized agencies in 1948.

Art Deco geometric patterns prevail on the gleaming floor of the main entrance hall, the elegant furniture, the ceiling and even inside the elevator (a “paternoster” lift). Thomas and the procession of dignitaries admired the artworks that have been ordered by the architect, Lausanne-born Georges Épitaux (1873-1957). The monumental “Genius” guarding the building on its north façade and the “Three Graces” on the lake-side terrace were sculpted by Maurice Sarki (1882-1946). Léon Perrin (1886-1978) from Neuchâtel created the decorative haut-reliefs on the original façades and the library’s ceiling, depicting stylized images of labor. Many other decoration details were conceived under the spirit of the peace- and justice-seeking mission that the new international

¹ Edmundo Murray is a retired publishing officer at the World Trade Organization in Geneva, Switzerland. He has been the first editor of this journal and founding member of the Society for Irish Latin American Studies. His most recent books are *Centre William Rappard: Home of the World Trade Organization, Geneva*, co-authored with Joëlle Kuntz, and *Symphony of Flavors: Food and Music in Concert*, as editor.

² The choice of Irish, Spanish and Brazilian artwork does not obey to other design than adapting the framework of this article to a journal dedicated to Irish-Latin American relations. This is further developed in the concluding remarks.



Figure 1: International Labour Office (ILO) building, Geneva, Switzerland.

organization received from its member governments, employer institutions and workers trade unions and federations.

Hopeful and optimistic thoughts filled the public present at this important event. In the early 1920s the world was hungry for peace. People were marked by the horrors of World War I together with international social turmoil that followed the Bolshevik Revolution and extreme nationalism, protectionism and racist and imperialist views in international relations. The League of Nations and the ILO were the first international organizations with a broad mandate to attain peace and harmony in the world societies. The Centre William Rappard was a solid metaphor of the optimistic times. But human history is not rational and it is rarely linear. A few years later, another catastrophic conflict would confront most nations.

In 1977, the ILO departed from the building and moved to its current office in Grand Saconnex, in the international quarter of Geneva. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) secretariat and the United Nations High Commissioner for the Refugees (UNHCR) moved into the Centre William Rappard, together with the Graduate Institute of International Studies library. When the GATT became the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995, this new organization occupied the whole building. Further renovations and the construction of a new annex were performed in 2008-2013.

National governments, professional associations and trade unions wished to leave their mark in the historic building. Gifts were offered and displayed in prominent places. With the change of people and customs, some artwork was hidden or even destroyed. At the present time, works of

art from Ireland, Spain, Brazil and other countries are a landmark in the building and are appreciated by hundreds of diplomatic visitors, trade experts and international civil servants working in the building.

In August 2001, I joined the WTO as a publishing officer and started working in a lakeside office of the majestic Centre William Rappard. In awe, I went everyday through its historic conference rooms and sober corridors feeling the ghostly presence of so many past visitors, foremost international personalities and officers of various organizations that had been working and conferencing between these walls over decades. Less than six weeks later, after I joined, the September 11 attacks changed the world. In the following years, as it happened with many public offices in most cities, the building was equipped with security guards, cameras, defense devices and a perimeter barrier system. Fear became a complex and expensive business disguised behind the “security” euphemism.

The works of art in the Centre William Rappard followed the metamorphosis of the building and the organizations housed in it.³ Some were donated, later covered or destroyed, and finally rediscovered and restored. Others were placed in prominent positions in the building and subsequently downgraded to almost hidden locations. Others still, such as the first Irish gift discussed below, didn't arrived in Geneva although they were conceived to decorate the building. I focus on some of these changes to show the volatility of human design within the context of the international organizations.



Figure 2: The Brazil Room, Centre William Rappard, Geneva.

³ The building and its adjacent park are named after William Emmanuel Rappard (1883-1858), Swiss diplomat and scholar who played a major role in bringing the League of Nations to Geneva in the early 1920s. A virtual tour of the Centre William Rappard is available at the WTO website: <https://www.wto.org/vt/index.html> (cited 12 December 2019).

The Geneva Window that never arrived to Geneva (and went to Miami)

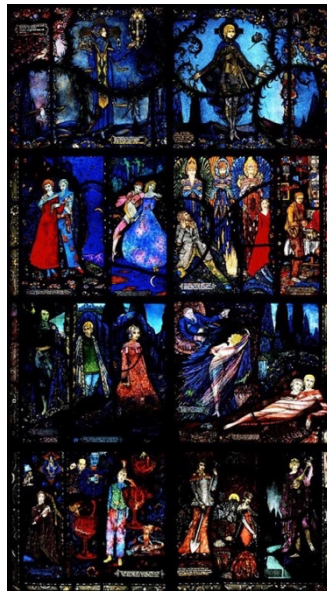


Figure 3: *Geneva Window* (1930), Harry Clarke (1889-1931), stained-glass window, 180 cm high, 100 cm wide.

The ILO was the first international organization that the Irish Free State joined in 1923. Two years later, to assert the fragile sovereignty, the young government proceeded to re-ratify the ILO conventions previously ratified by the British administration (Ó Cearbhaill, 1980: 25). With a negative perception of the League of Nations among some of the Irish leaders, the ILO was at any rate an important international forum to get recognition to Ireland.⁴

The Irish Free State was one of the first governments to react to an ILO international call in 1924 for artistic contributions to decorate their new building in Geneva. Negotiations in the League of Nations were complex due to the British powerful position and their strategy to represent the empire's dominions as a whole instead of granting them a free hand to defend their own interests. Instead, within the context of the ILO British predominance was not undisputed. Furthermore, negotiation subjects were more technical and less politically-manipulated. Hence, the Irish government made great efforts to gain international recognition as an autonomous republic. This was a pragmatic reason to actively participate in the new labor international organization in Geneva and to support its request for artwork.

In November 1926, the government commissioned Harry Clarke (1889-1931), a well-known artist and illustrator to produce a decoration for the Centre William Rappard. The first idea was to create

⁴ Even if in the 1930s Éamon De Valera played a leading role in the League of Nations, initially he characterized the organization as “simply the form of tyranny . . . an association to perpetuate power for those who had got it”; Harry Boland condemned it on the grounds that “any scheme built up by the British Government and by the Cecils must necessarily be evil to Ireland”; a French supporter of the Irish cause claimed that “little else could be expected from an organization run by Freemasons in the city of Calvin” (Keatinge 1970: 135).

five stained-glass windows to brighten the central section of the sweeping staircase. However, a German gift of five windows by Max Pechstein had already been accepted by the ILO. Another location on a different staircase was selected for a window, just outside the office of the Deputy Director of the ILO (it is now the meeting room of the WTO Deputy Directors-General). Clarke envisaged eight panels of a stained-glass window, including illustrated texts from fifteen Irish writers, such as W.B. Yeats, Lennox Robinson, Liam O'Flaherty, George Bernard Shaw, James Joyce and others. Yeats and Robinson were extremely enthusiastic about the project and made many suggestions. Clarke's scheme, including "illustrations of extracts of texts by modern Irish writers on eight panels, was a highly original take on the project as the other ILO artworks either stuck rigidly to the theme of labour or were largely decorative" (Kennedy 2019: 77). Based on Clarke's reputation as a religious stained-glass artist, the Irish government "gave its approval to the scheme without seeing the final design" (Kennedy 2018: 112).

In 1930, with great difficulty owing to an advanced lung illness, Clarke completed what came to be known as the *Geneva Window* (Fig. 3). However, the conservative elites in the new republic, driven by strict moralities and fearing the reaction of the powerful Roman Catholic hierarchy, were not ready to accept the modernist, playful and erotic aesthetics in Clarke's window. The Irish President William Cosgrave and other officers rejected the artwork. They disliked some panels, including the one illustrating O'Flaherty's novel *Mr Gilhooley* that depicted a drunkard "leering at a young woman, who dances naked before him, her body partly masked by the folds of a diaphanous mantle" (Kennedy 2018: 113).⁵ Cosgrave considered that those were "subjects that would displease" in Geneva (113), and objected to "scenes from certain authors... as representative of Irish literature and culture", indirectly referring to some Protestant writers selected by Clarke (Bowe 2002: 121). The Secretary at the Department of Industry and Commerce R.C. Ferguson wrote that the window portrayed the Irish as "a bizarre almost viciously evil people steeped in sex and drunkenness and, yes, sin" (Kennedy 2019: 87). Regarding the scene of "the almost naked male figure [that] clasps his companion's hand to his crotch", the bishop of Killaloe stated in 1931 that it was a "pity that Clarke had chosen to 'immortalise' a group who did not represent 'the mind or character of Ireland'" (Kennedy 2018: 113).

After Clarke died of tuberculosis in Davos, Switzerland, in 1931, his widow Margaret Clarke continued dealing with the government. She bought back the *Geneva Window* from the authorities and it remained in their studio until the 1960s. In 1988, Clarke's sons sold the window to the philanthropist and collector Mitchell Wolfson Jr., and it is now a central piece of the Wolfsonian-FIU Museum in the Art Deco district of Miami Beach, Florida. In 1997, the Wolfsonian collection was donated to Florida International University.

According to the art historian Róisín Kennedy, "Clarke chose to celebrate an aspect of Irish cultural life that was coming under fire from official legislation. ... Its open references to sexuality were extremely rare in art in the Free State" (2018: 114). The negative reception by the government reflects the leaders' conservative views and their fear towards the rigidity of the Catholic establishment in late 1920s Ireland, as well as the fragility of Ireland's position in the recently created international fora in Geneva.

⁵ The text from *Mr Gilhooley* cited in this panel read "She came towards him dancing, moving the folds of the veil so that they unfolded slowly as she danced". In April 2019, sections of this panel were in exhibition at the Hugh Lane Gallery of Dublin.

In what came to be the first move to suppress artwork created to decorate the Centre William Rappard, Harry Clarke's *Geneva Window* never went to Geneva. As it is accounted for later in this article, a new gift from the Irish government would be offered to the authorities of the ILO in the 1960s. In the meantime, other governments were willing to leave an imprint on the organization's headquarters, and used diplomatic channels to form its hectic art collection in Geneva.

“He wishes that it be removed”: hiding the Spanish *Pygmalion*

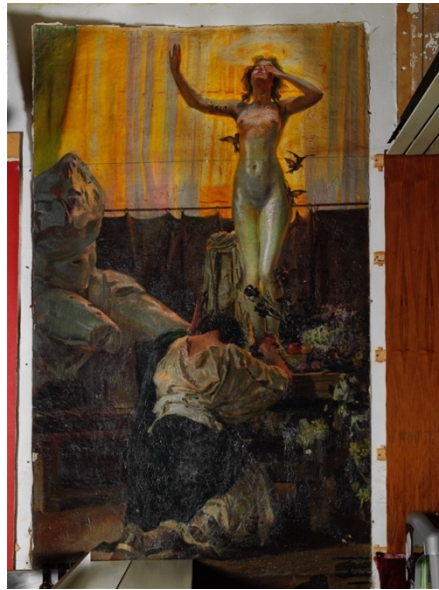


Figure 4: *Pygmalion* (1925), Eduardo Chicharro y Agüera (1873-1949), oil on canvas, 3.12 m high, 1.67 m wide.

A wonderfully naked woman awakens under floods of light from her revery of stone. Sometimes styled Galatea, she is the creation of the ancient legendary sculptor Pygmalion from Cyprus. He prostrates at her feet imploring to Aphrodite so that the statue becomes flesh and blood.⁶ Aphrodite's attendant Eros, in the form of birds, kisses the woman's body to awaken her. In contrast with the view of the gorgeous female figure, a mutilated sculpture of a colossal beheaded man silently defies the scene from the shadows.⁷ It is a stunning visual drama made of love, divine light and eroticism.

Chicharro's *Pygmalion* is one of the rare pictorial representations of the myth depicting the exact moment when the sculpture becomes human (Fig. 4). Most artistic renderings refer to the period before the mythical awakening, when she is still made of stone or wood, or after it when she is human. In several of the later versions, Pygmalion and Galatea are embracing and are sometimes

⁶ The sculptor at Galatea's feet may be seen as a female artist by some viewers.

⁷ It may be a likeness of the *Belvedere Torso*, a marble statue from the first century BC or AD in the Vatican Museum, which probably caught Chicharro's attention during his residence in Rome, 1912-1925. I thank Róisín Kennedy for this reference.

surrounded by children as in a familiar happy-ending narrative (in one black-humored version, Galatea finds out that Pygmalion has played this game many times and he enjoys thus plenty of other statue-lovers; she duly stabs him to death).

Madrid-born Eduardo Chicharro y Agüera, a graduate from the Spanish School of San Fernando, was a disciple of the master of light and skin, Joaquín Sorolla y Bastida. An outstanding portraitist—Alphonse XIII and the royal family were among his subjects—and landscape artist, Chicharro was influenced by Spanish Modernism. He was famous for his treatment of exotic subjects and his symbolist interest in light and color. Founder of the Spanish Association of Painters and Sculptors, Chicharro worked in Rome, where he was later appointed Director of the Royal Spanish Academy. It was in that city that he painted this version of *Pygmalion*. Later on, he returned to Spain where he received numerous awards, including gold medals for his famous paintings *Las uveras* and *Armida*. Among his followers were his son, the painter and poet Eduardo Chicharro Briones, and the Mexican muralist Diego Rivera.

Chicharro's painting was presented by the Spanish government to the ILO on 14 May 1925 to decorate their building. No records survived about its installation or where it was placed after the 1926 building opening. Ten years later, when the first annex was built on the lake-side area, *Pygmalion* was hung in the Correspondents Room (later renamed "Room Y"). But an outcry was raised against it.

Following the new annex completion, "the Director [Harold Butler] was startled with the view of the Spanish painting by Chicharro in the Correspondents Room. He wishes that it be removed and placed in a less visible location".⁸ Harold Butler's "wish" was fulfilled in a radical way. The architect and his team tried to remove the painting but the canvas would break, thus *Pygmalion* was covered with wood panels and hidden from view for at least seventy years.

What kind of art would provoke such a reaction from the ILO officers? Was it the nudity or the representation of the myth that offended their sense of morality? When the GATT secretariat moved into the Centre William Rappard in 1977, the Correspondents Room became a small cafeteria. Thirty years later, an ILO archivist reported the existence of photographs showing *Pygmalion* in this room. Since the painting was not relocated to the current ILO office, the archivist believed that it would still be concealed under the wooden panels.

It was a bright discovery on 27 April 2007, when a team of WTO workers removed the panels and uncovered *Pygmalion*. Some sections of the canvas were in a poor shape and the WTO commissioned Eric Favre-Bulle and his team of experts to restore it to its present condition.

Since then, no moves have been made to hide or remove *Pygmalion*. Still, assistants at the WTO conference service report that certain staff and delegates are intimidated by the massive presence of the naked woman in Room Y and prefer to book other rooms for their meetings.

⁸ Maurice Thudichum to George Épitaux, 25 September 1937 (ILO Historical Archives, Ref. M. 200/2/2/9), and Georges Épitaux to ILO administration, 4 October 1937 (ILO Historical Archives), my translation. Épitaux replied in French that the cost would be higher than the painting itself. On the margin, somebody (perhaps Butler) handwrote "That is certain".

At different times, in different places, art bewilders people and makes them uneasy. This is one of the few acid tests of a work of art. Art seldom pleases the public, at least at the time of its first exhibition. Art is provocative because it challenges our ethic or aesthetic ideas and opens our minds to new values and attitudes.

In search of Irish artistic neutrality



Figure 5: *Irish Industrial Development* (1961), Seán Keating (1889-1977), oil on wood panels, 3.58 m high, 6.25 m wide.

After the failure of the *Geneva Window* 1930, the ILO and the Irish government were busy with the many world conflicts and the brutal changes occurring in international relations. Almost three decades passed until a new project came to life to offer a gift to the ILO. Michael O’Callaghan, an Irish delegate to the ILO in 1957, is credited with the initiative to resurface the donation of a work of art for the Centre William Rappard. After a meeting held at the ILO on 9 June 1958, it was mentioned in the stiffly bureaucratic language of the *procès-verbal* that “O’Callaghan should be entrusted with any follow-up action which he may consider necessary in connection with the proposed Irish gift. Latest information would seem to indicate that work on the gift, which is to take the form of a mural painting to be placed on the wall opposite the ‘Dignity of Labour’ painting above the main staircase of the Office, is presently under way” (ILO Historical Archives, Internal Committee to Co-ordinate Gifts from Governments for the I.L.O. Building, ADM 102-1000, 9 June 1958).

A friend of Harry Clarke, Seán Keating of Limerick was known for his idealistic images of the West of Ireland, which would gradually evolve into allegorical and realistic representations of the landscape and people of that region. In 1959, Keating received the commission from the

Department of Industry and Commerce led by Jack Lynch.⁹ The mural was to be placed in Centre William Rappard's sweeping staircase, facing Maurice Denis's *The Dignity of Labour*. In May 1960, Keating travelled to Geneva to inspect the hanging space and returned again the next year to install the mural panels. The mural was officially unveiled on 19 June 1961 during the forty-fifth session of the International Labour Conference with the presence of Jack Lynch and other personalities (Fig. 5).

Owing in part to the negative experience with the *Geneva Window* thirty years before, any reference to fictional literature, religion and, especially, sex and drinking were banned from the themes depicted in *Irish Industrial Development*. Furthermore, there is a conspicuous absence of women among the represented subjects in contrast to Harry Clarke's imagery of "young and beautiful female figures often in compromising situations with their lovers" (Kennedy 2019: 86) in *Geneva Window*. It is as if the female visual contact could pollute the message conveyed by the artist and the officers in Dublin and Geneva who approved this piece. The neutrality sought by the artist was key in the conception of this piece. The mural offers a traditional view of Ireland and, at the same time, a positive perspective of its future development as an industrialized society, instead of its reputation as a backward agricultural country.

The elements included in the painting refer to various aspects of labor in Ireland. On the left, a group of four workers are manipulating electricity cables on what seems to be a reference to Keating's previous artistic work in the Ardnacrusha hydroelectric power station (the "Shannon Scheme"), which is an evocative and colorful record of the most significant industrial development of the early years in the history of the Irish Free State. In the foreground, a group of three scientists in white laboratory coats are working, according to art historian Éimear O'Connor, on a computer (personal correspondence, 8 July 2009). Digital computers have been developed in the United States since the 1940s. In 1955, the MIT's Whirlwind machine was the first digital computer with magnetic random access memory and in the UK, the EDSAC computer was the first stored programme electronic computer. The artist, who was aware of these developments through Irish and British newspapers, imagined what a computer would be and included it in the mural. This scene may be viewed as a farsighted vision of the country's economic development in the twenty-first century, especially taking into account that in the twenty-first century Ireland became one of the most important software exporters in the world.

In the centre of the mural, a construction worker is shown in front of what appears to be a red water tank with a tall grain storage tower in the background. The right-hand section of the mural shows a ship moored to a dock, a large crane, a car and a tractor. The ship in the dock to the right is a reference to Irish Shipping, a company established in March 1941 to ensure the supply of food and cargo during wartime. On the ship's hull the name *Arch* is visible, which may refer to the *Irish Larch* dry cargo vessel owned by Irish Shipping in 1956-1968.¹⁰ These objects are being observed by a tourist, which recalls this important industry in Ireland. Separated from the vessel by a grove of birch trees, a traditional village and a country road are the backdrop for a jockey on horseback flanked by cattle. This is a reference to Ireland's horse racing industry, in particular to the Irish

⁹ Cork-born John Mary (*Jack*) Lynch (1917-1999) served as Minister of Industry and Commerce in 1959-1965 and as Prime Minister (*Taoiseach*) of Ireland in 1977-1979.

¹⁰ Irish Shipping vessels were usually named after trees.

Hospitals' Sweepstake, which ran a lottery linked to major horse races.¹¹ On the left of the mural, shown under a construction ladder, the artist includes a portrait of himself looking directly at the viewer and a portrait of Jack Lynch looking upwards.¹²

With flamboyant flair, *Irish Industrial Development* presents a view of Ireland that is somehow different from the rural and maritime images distributed by promoters of tourism. A modernist and progress-oriented perspective is epitomized by the cheerful expression the young worker climbing the left-hand ladder and looking hopefully into the future.

Keating's *Irish Industrial Development* and Jorge Colaço's Portuguese blue tile panels *Fishing*, *Grape-picking* and *Agriculture* (1928) are some of the few works of art in the Centre William Rappard that have not suffered any censorship during almost a century of art suppression and rediscovery. Both represent labor and workers in an acceptable way for the political purposes of the elites in their time. Besides, they have not offended any feeling or beliefs from the viewers at the time of their inauguration or thereafter. Art speaks to very different publics during long periods of time. It also raises their concern about changing values and behaviors.

Representing Latin American diversity: the inauguration of the Brazil Room

Brazilian diplomacy plays a traditional, albeit unofficial, leading role in the international fora. Representing the largest and most powerful country in Latin America often means for Brazilian ambassadors that they have to harmonize strategies between the group of regional ambassadors. Graduates from Rio Branco Institute, the school of diplomacy in Brasilia, are among the best diplomats in the region and are very active in all countries promoting Brazil and Latin America.¹³ Thus, it is not surprising that the only Latin American art pieces in the Centre William Rappard came from Brazil and are those in the Brazil Room (Fig. 2).

When the north annex of the Centre William Rappard was built in 1937, the Brazilian government committed funds to acquire artwork, furniture and decorations for a meeting room in the Centre William Rappard. Also called "Room C", this charming space offers a view of Lake Geneva and the centenary trees in the William Rappard park, framed by the majestic view of the Alps. It was also one of the three committee rooms dedicated to the ILO constituencies: workers (Room A), governments (Room B) and employers (Room C).

¹¹ Winners were determined according to the results of various races, including the Derby, the Cambridgeshire and the Grand National. The "Sweep" in Ireland became an important source of financial revenue, providing funding to build many of the country's hospitals in 1930- 1986. A significant amount of the funding was raised from Irish immigrants in the United Kingdom and the United States, where lotteries were generally illegal.

¹² Art historian and Keating expert Éimear O'Connor does not think that this person is Jack Lynch (personal correspondence, 8 July 2009), contrary to the opinion of other scholars such as Joseph McBrinn and Róisín Kennedy.

¹³ In June 2007, with Claire Healy and others we organized the SILAS conference at NUI Galway and requested support from the Latin American embassies in Dublin and London. No reply came from the embassies except for Brazil. The second day of the conference ambassador Stelio Amarante, who came personally to listen to the papers, offered a generous serving of *salgados* made by a Brazilian cook living in Ireland. This gesture illustrates the proactive attitude of Brazilian diplomats.

However, the Brazilian offer ran into various problems that delayed the inauguration of the Brazil Room. Among the problems was the availability of leather for the walls. The original plan was to panel the walls with different kinds of Brazilian wood. Eventually, the material chosen was leather made from goat skin that is better sound isolation than wood. For these reasons, the decoration work was not completed until 1951.

The Brazilian coat of arms, placed above the main door to the room, was carved in wood following a mould obtained through the Brazilian consulate in Geneva. The ribbon underneath includes the country's official name, "United States of Brazil" (replaced in 1964 with the current name, "Federative Republic of Brazil"), and the date of the republic's proclamation on 15 November 1889.

The decorative map of Brazil hanging on the north wall of the room is made of glass ornamented with gold leaf. It was created by Jean Desnos (1910-1950), a designer of Art Deco furniture in Lyon. One of the peculiarities of the map is that Brasilia, the country capital, is not featured. The city was planned and developed only in 1956, and did not replace Rio de Janeiro as the capital of Brazil until 1960.

The furniture for the Brazil Room was supplied by the Brazilian employers' associations National Trade Confederation (CNC) and National Industry Confederation (CNI). It includes a remarkable oval table designed by the architect Georges Épitaux and made of Brazilian wood, and armchairs made of wood with leather dyed in the green color which is prominent in the Brazilian flag. Curtains in the same green were added to the decorations.

In 1975, the ILO moved to its current headquarters in Grand Saconnex, near the UN office at Palais des Nations in Geneva. The oval table and some of the furniture in the Brazil Room were taken to the new premises and never returned to its original setting. However, the map, the leather paneled walls and the coat of arms remained in the room.

During the renovation period of the Centre William Rappard that started in 2008, the Brazil Room was refurbished with new features. Since the original furniture could not be recovered, the Brazilian CNI stepped in and presented a replica of the oval table and the set of wooden chairs upholstered in green leather. On 9 September 2013, the renovated Brazil Room was inaugurated with the presence of WTO Director-General, Brazilian-born Roberto Azevêdo, the Foreign Minister of Brazil Luiz Alberto Figueiredo Machado and CNI Director of Industrial Development Carlos Eduardo Abijaodi.

Like Keating's and other artworks, the decorations in the Brazil Room have never suffered any suppression or destruction, other than the transfer of some of the original furniture to the ILO. During the nearly century-old history of the Centre William Rappard there have been alternate periods of censorship and rediscovery of the original works of art.

Art suppression and rediscovery

At different times, under different organizations and for different reasons, artwork in the Centre William Rappard has been covered, removed, relocated to remote places in the building and even destroyed. In other periods, some works of art were recovered and restored, and finally placed again in their original venue.

Apart from the *Geneva Window* and *Pygmalion* mentioned above, the dark claws of censorship closed on other important pieces. The ILO departed from the building in 1975. During the next two years the building was transformed and important renovations were accomplished. Among the new occupants arriving in 1977, the GATT secretariat moved into the north section.

The GATT has been signed in 1947 by 23 governments. It was a multilateral treaty, not an organization, and initially it lacked a secretariat. The International Trade Organization, proposed earlier in 1945 did not come into existence when the United States congress voted against it. For this reason, a reduced GATT secretariat managed international trade with support of the UN until the creation of the WTO in 1995. When in the 1960s the GATT secretariat increased its contracting parties and responsibilities, the Swiss government and the city of Geneva offered the north section of the Centre William Rappard to house the secretariat.

A priority of the GATT in that period was to build an identity for the secretariat. The new building presented a challenge since it has been associated for half a century with the ILO and labor issues (some in Geneva still know it as *L'édifice du BIT*, the ILO building). Therefore, every symbol of labor in the premises was regarded with suspicion.

Olivier Long, the Swiss diplomat who succeeded Eric Wyndham White as Director-General of the GATT secretariat requested the Swiss authorities that all works of art about labor in the Centre William Rappard should be removed. After some negotiation, Albert Hahn Jr.'s *Building the Future* in the main entrance hall and Gustave-Louis Jaulmes's murals *The Triumphant Peace* in the "Salle des Pas-perdus" were hidden under wooden panels and marble. In Room A, Dean Cornwell's colorful murals on labor were removed from the walls and deposited in the Gardeners' Villa. According to former GATT officers Peter Williams and Roslyn Jackson, the sole intention was to change the identity of the building from labor to trade.¹⁴ Otherwise, among ILO staff it was known that the politics of Cold War were the ultimate reason. The GATT officers were worried that images of labor in their new building would be interpreted as left-oriented sympathies within a conflict context between Western powers and socialist governments.

Roger Praplan, the architect responsible for the building renovation in 1975-1977, wrote that "during these renovations we undertook with full knowledge covering the artwork with wooden panels. For once, cultural imperatives eased the architect's work" (Roger Praplan to Joëlle Kuntz, 25 May 2008). I asked Mr. Praplan what he meant by "cultural imperatives" and he told me that

¹⁴ Williams and Jackson visited the renovation works at the Centre William Rappard before the GATT moved into the building. They opposed to the removal and covering of the works of art, and asked Deputy Director-General Gardner Patterson not to cover them but they were told that it was a decision already taken by Director-General Olivier Long. Personal interview with Peter Williams and Roslyn Jackson (8 April 2019).

“Olivier Long did not want to show profane, sentimentalist, almost human works of art in an office dedicated to trade”.¹⁵

The three works of art mentioned above were covered or removed in 1977 and almost forgotten thereafter. When I started working in the Centre William Rappard in 2001, nobody was aware of the artwork hidden under wooden panels. In 2007, thanks to the effort of the above-mentioned ILO archivist who was aware of the existence of these pieces, the WTO acceded to uncover the works of art. In this way, *Building the Future*, *The Triumphant Peace* and Cornwell murals on labor in Room A were recovered, restored and placed again in their original locations.

Cycles of art appreciation and suppression are a significant element in the history of the Centre William Rappard. Not surprisingly, owing to developments in social values sometimes exacerbated by the global media, these cycles continue up to the present. In 2019, the caricature painting *In GATT We Trust* by former GATT staff Claude Namy was removed from its location and sent to a deposit allegedly for the “offensive” and “problematic” roles of women included in the depicted scene, a meeting in the GATT secretariat in 1966.

Gift-giving, censorship, and cultural exclusivism are important aspects of international relations and diplomatic life. At times, they materialize in the decorations of international organization buildings, as it has happened repeatedly with the works of art at the Centre William Rappard. These factors are the result of actions by powerful players and, most frequently, of the social context encouraging or constraining decision-making in the international organizations.

Three further questions

Why do governments offer works of art? The reasons for governments and institutions to present gifts and the nature of those gifts are closely linked to the ideological, political and cultural thinking prevalent at the time the donation is made. In the Centre William Rappard, some gifts have been the result of opposing views.

The magnificent *Dignity of Labour* by Maurice Denis on the left side of the main staircase was a gift of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (ICTU) in 1931. This donation was made in reaction to Albert Hahn Jr.’s ceramic Delft panel *Building the Future* in the entrance hall, a gift of the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU, also known as the Amsterdam International or Yellow International) in 1926. What prompted the Christian unionists to commission their mural was the absence of explicit religious symbols in *Building the Future*. The dialogue between these two works of art reflects the debates at that time between the materialist view of the labor movement and the social values promulgated by the Christian churches, which were very active in the first decades of the ILO.

Gifts are a key element of the protocol. Following diplomatic etiquette, an official visitor who is scheduled to meet the organization’s officers customarily presents a gift. Most of the times, gifts are handcraft made by local artisans in the visitor’s country, such as tapestry, ceramic vases and

¹⁵ Personal interview with Roger Praplan (31 July 2019), my translation.

dishes, boxes and containers, jewelry or replicas of boats, carriages and animals. With a gesture of mutual respect, hosts offer the visitor an object that is representative of the organization.

Gift-giving follows the principle of reciprocity in that the real and perceived value of the gift cannot be so high that it would be difficult or impossible to return the favor in kind. This situation would be embarrassing for the donor and the receiver. That is why the nature of some gifts is consulted before the meeting. Presents foster good relationships and place the other party in a good-will debt.¹⁶

One reason to present elaborated artwork is that it ensures somehow its long-term exhibition, thus symbolizing the durable relationship between the giving and receiving parties. However, in an nearly century-old building events such as the change of occupant institutions make the artwork meaningless or even detrimental to the new organizations. The works of art are thus in peril.

Is this really art? One common circumstance of all occurrences of art suppression in the history of the Centre William Rappard is that those performing or demanding censorship in any form customarily aim to denigrate the work of art or the artist.¹⁷ They cite the supposedly poor qualities of the piece or simply declare that they do not like it. They speak about the immorality of the represented subjects or their inconvenience or controversial performance regarding the international organizations housed in the building. Also, they deny the public character of the work of art as if it was exhibited in a private venue and not in a building owned and used by governments and public bodies.

Only the artist may value his or her creation as a work of art. Critics, experts or the public are on the side of the reception and appreciate it positively or negatively, but they should not declare if a piece is art or not. There are a number of indicators that help to identify a work of art:

- Uselessness. Art has no aim or benefit in itself. The artwork is created for nothing. Following Kantian aesthetics, art is free from any interest (architecture, decoration or cuisine may be considered as counterexamples).
- Meaningfulness. Art must convey a message, a feeling or an emotion. Leon Tolstoy wrote about the “infectiousness” as the capacity of the artwork to unite artist and receiver through an emotion.
- Uniqueness. The work of art is the only one of its kind (this has been relativized with the massive repetition of the online media).
- Representativeness. Art follows nature, it is necessarily idealistic (even the most abstract painting represents something in some way).
- Historicity. Reception is ever-changing with new readings and responses. Art is “without an end” (Kant) and “universal” (Tolstoy). Art is not created in a vacuum, and its nature and concepts change with time and space.
- Intentionality. The artist does feel the emotions he or she conveys (“design” according to Kant, “sincerity” to Tolstoy).

¹⁶ French President François Hollande’s visit to Timbuktu, Mali, in February 2013 provides an illustration of the complexities of gift-giving. A live camel for a French zoo was offered to the President by the local authorities. But the enterprise presented many bureaucratic issues and the camelid was left with a Malian family without clear instructions. To much scandal, it transpired that the poor animal ended its days in a warm *tajine*.

¹⁷ Indeed, those undertaking censorship seldom call their deeds “censorship”.

- *Ars celare artem*, it is art to conceal art. This phrase by the Roman poet Albio Tibullo (54-19 a.C.), wrongly attributed to Ovid, means that real art gives no weight to the medium or the techniques used in its creation.

Furthermore, Walter Benjamin argued that “works of art are received and valued on different planes. Two polar types stand out; with one, the accent is on the cult value; with the other, on the exhibition value of the work. Artistic production begins with ceremonial objects destined to serve in a cult” (1969: 7). Most of the times, when a work of art is under the threat of censorship its cult value is predominant over its exhibition value. This leads to the third conclusion, a certain “cult value” prevalent in Irish Studies and other field disciplines.

Is Irish Diaspora Studies a cult? As advanced in the first note of this article, I made an odd selection of artwork in Geneva’s historic Centre William Rappard. I adapted my choice of Irish, Spanish and Brazilian works to the field of “Irish-Latin American studies”, which reduces the narrative to a limited and somehow myopic horizon.¹⁸ Indeed, a variety of international organizations, governments and institutional players share the artistic, architectural and decorative history of this building, and they should be taken into account to write a complete history. In other words, I followed here the cultural exclusivism of many in Irish Diaspora Studies who focus on everything Irish while neglecting a large part of anything else.

I tried to be as impartial as possible, but this article is a metaphor of the above-mentioned values. Art commission, creation, hiding, destruction, recovery and restoration are the result of decisions taken at different times by different persons in various entities, and are linked to complex political reasons. Considering the body of artwork in the Centre William Rappard within the framework of international relations in Geneva should be the object of a broader study, to which I hope to have contributed.

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¹⁸ I resisted the temptation, so frequent among scholars in Irish Diaspora Studies, to search Irish links among the artists of other pieces in the Centre William Rappard. It is clear to me now that there is little scholarly value in researching remote family connections just to establish that someone had an Irish ancestor (except to falsely imply that those connections are the source of his or her contribution). One recurrent example is Ernesto “Che” Guevara’s remote Irish links, which had no impact whatsoever in his ideas and actions.

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Journalist, Medical Doctor and Newspaper Editor-Proprietor in Bust-Up

Edward Walsh¹

Abstract: This article explores the acrimonious relationship between three high profile, well-known Irishmen—a journalist, a newspaper editor, and a medical doctor—that played out in Buenos Aires newspapers in 1894.

Keywords: *Medicine-men, quacks, Michael Dinneen, William Bulfin, Lovat Ashe Mulcahy, Fr Anthony Fahy O.P., Edward Wallace, The Southern Cross, The Standard & River Plate News, Siege of Buenos Aires 1880.*

Preliminaries

How did a journalist, a medical doctor and a newspaper editor-proprietor become embroiled in conflict in Buenos Aires in 1894? What provoked a medical practitioner to threaten legal action for defamation against a newspaper? What brought journalist Michael Dinneen,² editor-proprietor William Bulfin³ (alias Che Bueno), and Dr Lovat Ashe Mulcahy (Fig. 1) into confrontation? This was a very public spat between three high profile and well-known Irishmen. The dispute went public but curiously was played out in the columns of *The Standard*, an Irish-owned publication with a distinctly British flavour and bias. Bulfin now best remembered for his books *Tales from the Pampas*⁴ and *Rambles in Erin*⁵ penned a series of articles in *The Southern Cross* (TSC) under the title “Sketches of Buenos Aires;” his piece “Medicine Men” appeared on Friday, 2 February 1894. It did not go unnoticed. Mulcahy felt he had been libelled and promptly sought redress. Was there a justified cause for complaint?

The liberty of the press is something for which editors, proprietors and journalists have struggled. As crusading journalist Pete Naughton of the *Daily Telegraph* recently commented, “newspaper lawyers aren’t always the most popular people in the office, so often their job is to tweak, rewrite, or even scrap stories that risk landing the paper in court.... And if something does slip through the net, and a story is found to have broken the law, the consequences can be severe; tarnished reputations, vast legal fees, even jail sentences”.⁶

¹ Edward Walsh MSc has researched and written about nineteenth-century Irish migration history and the Irish people (including Catholic priests) who came to live and work in Argentina. Editor of *South-Eastern Catholic History*, the journal of the Essex Recusant Society, he lives and works in London.

² Michael Dinneen, born Cork 1839. Studied in Dublin and Paris. On graduating from University in Paris he was offered and accepted a teaching position in Chile and remained there until 1880 when he came to Argentina. While working as a teacher he began writing articles for *The Southern Cross* and was editor of the newspaper 1882-1896. See *The Southern Cross, Número Del Centenario*, 1985, p.13.

³ William Bulfin (1863-1910) native of Derringlough, County Offaly, the fourth of ten siblings. Studied at university in Galway and emigrated to Argentina in 1884. Lived initially in the camp from where he started contributing articles to *The Southern Cross* and subsequently teaching English at Colegio San Salvador in Buenos Aires. Columnist and editor/proprietor TSC 1892-1908. Bulfin used the pseudonym Che Bueno. See op. cit. No.2, p.13.

⁴ Published by Thomas Unwin, London, 1900.

⁵ Published by W. H. Gill, Dublin, 1907.

⁶ Pete Naughton, “Expenses podcast: The unsung hero of the scandal”, *The Daily Telegraph*, 5 June 2019.

In this instance the *dramatis personae* were Dinneen, editor of *TSC* 1882-1896, Bulfin *TSC* editor-proprietor 1896-1908, and Lovat Ashe Mulcahy (born Dublin 1849), son of Dr John Moore Mulcahy and Margaretta Ashe of County Tipperary. After boarding school in Waterford, Mulcahy spent two years in Germany with Dr Pilgrim at Mainzer Schloss and subsequently should have entered Sandhurst Military Academy but sailed on the *S.S. Córdoba* from Liverpool for Buenos Aires at age eighteen. He very quickly came into contact with the legendary Dominican Fr Anthony Fahy who obtained Mulcahy a position on Edward Wallace's⁷ estancia near San Antonio de Areco. A two-year stay allowed him to learn about sheep farming as well as the Spanish language. On returning to Buenos Aires he was able to teach English, German, French and Spanish. In 1874 he entered the University of Buenos Aires Medical School.



Figure 1: Lovat Ashe Mulcahy and wife, Elena Matilde Dickson.

Mulcahy's renewed Consular declaration No. 6348⁸ made on 25 September 1874 to Interim Consul Ronald Bridgett⁹ describes him as being age twenty-five, "oficio: estudiante de medicina (y

⁷ Edward Wallace (1810-1884) a native of County Westmeath. Arrived in Argentina 1820-1839. In 1855 he bought an estancia at Baradero and handed the administration to his nephew Paul O'Neil. He also owned land near Carmen de Areco and Arrecifes. In his will he left his goods and chattels to seven inheritors including all his nieces and nephews. A wealthy man who never married he also left generous legacies to the Hampton Carmelite Convent, Drumcondra, Dublin, as well as to the Irish Convent, Buenos Aires. See Arbol Genealógico Edward Wallace webmaster@irishgenealogy.com.ar accessed 11 February 2020.

⁸ This plaque is a Mulcahy family heirloom.

⁹ Ronald Bridgett (1839-1899), Acting British Consul Buenos Aires 1873-1874. Appointed Consul to the Argentine Republic 1884. Acting Consul General at Buenos Aires, 1885. Retired on pension January 1899, living at Martinez

professor), nacido: en Irlanda, estatura: 6 pies, pelo: oscuro, ojos: azules”. That was the very year Mulcahy entered Medical School at the University of Buenos Aires.

On graduating in 1880 his thesis “Historia de la Ovariectomía en la República Argentina” caught the attention of the local press. This surgery he had undertaken. His thesis, printed by M. Biedma of 133-135 Calle Belgrano, consisted of 102 pages and was dedicated “To My Friends – Pedro Murray and José García Fernández – Friendship”. To the faculty he wrote as follows:

Señor Presidente: [Doctor Don Guillermo Rawson]
Señores Académicos:

Hoy por primera vez cabe a un hijo de la Gran Bretaña, el alto honor de presentar una Tesis con el fin de optar el grado de Doctor en Medicina de la Facultad de Ciencias Médicas de Buenos Aires; y debo manifestar aquí con este motivo, como una pálida demostración de gratitud, que las distinciones inmerecidas que siempre me dispensaron mis catedráticos en los seis años que he asistido a la Facultad, y el afecto verdaderamente fraternal que siempre me profesaron mis condiscípulos, mas de una vez me hicieron olvidar por momentos, que era extranjero, creyéndome mas bien uno de los hijos de esta hospitalaria tierra.

The Standard's Editor's Table column of 20 April 1880 commented as follows: “We have pleasure in congratulating our talented countryman Dr Lovat Mulcahy on the brilliant exam he passed last week for his diploma as Doctor of Medicine. His thesis was on ‘Ovariology’ and it is worthy to remark that Dr Mulcahy is the first Englishman that has ever presented a thesis to the Faculty of Buenos Aires on taking the diploma of medical doctor.” On 9 May the same newspaper noted that he had set up consulting rooms at 320 Calle Maipu. Note that in his letter to the Faculty of Medicine, Mulcahy describes himself as “a son of Great Britain” (“un hijo de la Gran Bretaña”) rather than Irish, and *The Standard* then refers to him as an Englishman.



Figure 2: Mulcahy's door plaque, 320 Calle Maipu.

(FCCA); death due to drowning on 16 February 1889. See *Foreign Office List, 1900*; Harrison, London, 1900, p. 235c.

Mulcahy's first appointment after graduation was at the British Hospital and subsequently with the Army. Scarcely a month after graduating on 22 May 1880, *The Standard* reported that "we understand that Dr Mulcahy has been appointed house surgeon of the British Hospital. No better man could have been selected. We are requested to state that his appointment will in no way interfere with Dr Mulcahy's private practice, and he will attend his consulting rooms as normal".

At that time the old British Hospital stood in front of the Parque Lezama. The resident medical officer Dr Thomas Carylton,¹⁰ being ill, led to Mulcahy's appointment as physician and surgeon. And when revolution broke out that same year he promptly volunteered his services to the defending army. His offer accepted, Mulcahy was appointed regimental surgeon to the regiment commanded by Colonel Sebastián N. Casares¹¹ by letter of 21 June 1880 addressed to "Al Señor Médico Director del Hospital Inglés, Dr Lovat Mulcahy", advising him that the "Cuerpo de Sanidad de las Fuerzas de la Defensa de Buenos Aires" was pleased to name him as their representative in that hospital.



Figure 3: Signed autograph photo portrait of Colonel Sebastián Nicomedes Casares.

¹⁰ Dr Thomas Baxter Carlyon, Surgeon and Resident Medical Officer at the British Hospital from 1880 to 1881. See Jeremy Howat www.argbrit.org, *Doctors in Practice with the English-Speaking Community in Argentina during the 19th and early 20th centuries*, accessed 20 February 2020.

¹¹ Colonel Sebastián Nicomedes Casares, 1846-1918; Fig. 3.

Casares' forces held the line in Lezama Park and the British Hospital was just across the way. While duty called Mulcahy hither and thither, the enemy was watching with strict orders to shoot anyone who attempted to cross no man's land. A contemporary account in *The Standard* told how "once, on returning to the lines from the Hospital the Doctor was spotted and sniped at by a sergeant and two men of the attacking force. He had to speak to Col. Casares, and a little danger more or less was all in the day's work. When the three riflemen appeared 100 yards away and opened fire the doctor stood quite still. Not deeming it good for to be bowled over running as if he were a rabbit. But the men of his regiment saw no objection to running—to his rescue! A platoon came up at the double and were about to treat the trio to a volley when Dr Mulcahy stopped them, saying 'Don't fire, they will not hit me, and I do not want to be the cause of their death!' When the trouble ended Colonel Casares brought the regimental surgeon before the troops on parade and thanked him for having shown before the enemy an example of courage, coolness and humanity worth of all praise. The gallant officer subsequently sent him an autograph portrait with the following inscription 'Al distinguido Médico de la Segunda División de Bs As en 1880, Dr Lovat Mulcahy, por su abnegación y valor. Su Jefe, S. N. Casares'".¹²

Normality returned to everyday life and Mulcahy wrote to the British Hospital giving notice of his resignation and an insight into his time in charge:¹³

Buenos Aires

August 26th 1880

To the Señores of [the] British Hospital

I beg to give notice that I have retired from the B. Hospital after a term of 3 months & 3 days, Mr Carlyon¹⁴ having returned. At the same time I wish to express my thanks to the Committee for their kindness to me during my term of office, & especially to Messrs Tucker,¹⁵ Salisbury & Wanklyn¹⁶ of the visiting committee for the kind manner in which they expressed their satisfaction with the internal arrangement of the hospital, also to Doctors Alston¹⁷ & Peacan¹⁸ for their prompt assistance when called by me.

Without entering into details I will give a brief statement of what passed during my time as House surgeon.

When I entered, the nurses newly arrived from England were sick, one only being on duty, there were several hired nurses who although good & willing to work were not to

¹² Photo portrait of Colonel Sebastián N. Casares with signed hand-written inscription; photo from the Mulcahy family private papers.

¹³ 26 August 1880 letter, Mulcahy to the Señores of the British Hospital from the Mulcahy family private papers.

¹⁴ Dr Thomas Baxter Carylton, Resident Medical Officer at the British Hospital, 1880-1881. See Jeremy Howat op. cit. No. 10, accessed 5 March 2020.

¹⁵ This is possibly George H. Tucker, an accountant of 188 Calle Reconquista, Buenos Aires. See Mulhall *Handbook of the River Plate*, 1885.

¹⁶ This is probably Fredrick Wanklyn, Managing Director of the Mercantile Bank of the River Plate Ltd., 85 Reconquista, Buenos Aires. See Mulhall, *Handbook of the River Plate Republics*, 1875.

¹⁷ Dr John Alston, 1839-1901, native of Glasgow; a medical doctor who arrived in Buenos Aires between 1867-1868. Attended the British Hospital between 1861 and 1881. Memorial in his memory in St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Buenos Aires. See Jeremy Howat op. cit. No. 10, accessed 5 March 2020.

¹⁸ Dr Luke Bartholomew Peacan, 1848-1926, native of Galway who practised medicine in London before moving to Argentina in 1875. See Jeremy Howat op. cit. No.10., accessed 5 March 2020.

be compared to the present staff. My first duty was to get rid of them which I succeeded in doing in a short time, I also noted, that some of the servants were completely unfit for duty especially the night watch, who was habitually drunk, these I took the first opportunity of sending away & am happy to say replaced them by excellent men; from this moment the Hospital, gave, no further trouble, the newly arrived nurses went on duty, they certainly are a credit to the hospital, capable, kind & hardworking with their patients, keeping the wards thoroughly clean & making the sick feel comfortable & happy.

There was not a single complaint during my time of office with the exception of Mr Younger the Committee is already aware that Mr Younger apologised for his mistake; this is rather surprising because during the revolution we all know the difficulties there were in getting things from town, the hospital never felt the siege I think I may say partly through my influence in passing what I wanted through the trenches.

I found it necessary to give orders for many things which were wanting for the establishment, the servants always complaining that they could not fulfil their duties for want of some utensil or other.

The last two months the patients increased and towards the end of my second month there were 47 in hospital.

Four patients died, 3 of them having entered in a dying state, living only a few days.

This Sir is a brief sketch of what passed in the British Hospital during my time of office; if the Committees need any further details from me, I will be only too happy to meet their wishes.

I remain

Yours sincerely

L. Mulcahy M.D.

Mulcahy was not one of those doctors, dentists, physicians, surgeons and other professionals who advertised their services on page two of *The Standard*. He attended the rich and poor, the humble and the powerful. He married Elena Matilde Dickson at St John's Church in 1888, and they had five children. Mulcahy's father-in-law, George Dickson, was a farmer in the 25 de Mayo area in the west of the Province of Buenos Aires; agriculture now became an integral part of family life and he would eventually take over the running of the estancia. Subsequently he would donate part of the land for the railway line, for a station named "Mulcahy" as well as the nearby town also named in his honor. He died in 1934 aged eighty-three and was buried at the Chacarita British Cemetery. There is a wooden tablet dedicated to his memory in St John's Cathedral.

The Spat

The bust-up that played out in the pages of *The Standard* began with the following entry titled "Medicine-men" by Bulfin, aka Che Bueno:

Sketches of Buenos Aires. Medicine Men¹⁹

According to the "guías" and other sources of information such as signboards, brass and iron door plates,²⁰ and the advertisement columns of newspapers there cannot be much less than a thousand people in Buenos Aires who write themselves down as doctors of

¹⁹ *The Southern Cross*, Friday, 2 February 1894.

²⁰ Dr Mulcahy's brass door plate is still in possession of the Mulcahy family. See attached illustration, Fig. 2.

medicine or surgery, or both. Amongst these there are some very eminent men, and many of all ages and nationalities who are conscientious, worthy, and enthusiastic practitioners. There are also a good many shams—professional individuals with and without diplomas, who should be safely stowed away under lock and key—individuals with abilities of a transcendental order in the way of bluff—individuals who do much damage to the public and bring disgrace upon what we must all look upon as one of the noblest and most useful of professions. You can call these folks anything you like: quacks, imposters, beasts of prey, or any other combination of your spare adjectives that seems most suitable to you. For my part, I call them Medicine-Men. The name is far-fetched in a way, but it covers all the ground that is necessary. A Medicine-Man in his pristine splendour was, according to Fenimore Cooper²¹ and well-informed writers, a public character of much notoriety and influence, a blatant imposter, a brazen-faced quack, a criminal of much distinction who was regarded by many foolish people as an oracle, and by a few sensible people as something between a devil and a ballad singer, a person with the pretensions of Satan and the ignorance of an owl; with the sententiousness of a stork relieved by the peculiarities of the catamount and the skunk. My medicine-men are, of course a degenerate race. Their system is less imposing, their rites less ceremonious. Instead of smoking you like a haddock they feel your pulse and look down your throat. Instead of sending you to the hell of the white man, they send you to the “botica.”²² But they kill you all the same.

Here are some particulars about them—some stray happenings on the trail of the Medicine-Men. These statements about to be made are guaranteed. I can prove them all to be solid facts. If any medicine-man wishes to take up the cudgels for his tribe and all is works and poms, he is welcome to do so. He will come off second best, no matter where he presents himself with his cudgel, whether at law, or to the press, or at the private or public address of the present writer.

There is an able bodied medicine-man here who sports the door plate of a medical surgeon in Calle Maipu. He is an evolution. He once used the birch in the capacity of dominie, I believe, but threw it aside for the scalping knife of his present baneful calling. If a child is taken to him with diphtheria he will most likely treat it for “empacha.”²³ The “empacha” will be effectively combatted, but the diphtheria will walk off with the child meanwhile. Once a man of my acquaintance came in to him from the camp with something wrong with his lungs. This particular medicine-man examined him and said it was indigestion. He gave him drugs for the care of indigestion and, of course, the poor fellow’s stomach got all wrong in a short time. He came into town again, and the medicine-man having examined him, declared that it was a combination of the liver and heart. Drugs to put both of these organs right were accordingly administered. The patient accordingly got worse, and came into town again. The medicine-men then called in one or two physicians, or genuine doctors, and held a consultation. Result: the patient was far beyond hope. The lung disease had been allowed to work its way unchecked for two years and more, while the rest of the man’s vitality had been undermined by being unnecessarily tampered with. What was an able bodied and energetic medicine-man to do under such circumstances? Cave in? Nothing of the kind. He laughed to scorn the dictum of the physicians—of the accredited scientists—and serenely proceeded with his quackery. He told his patient,

²¹ James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851), American writer of the first half of the nineteenth century.

²² Pharmacy.

²³ Indigestion.

“P’shaw man, there’s nothing at all the matter with you. All you want is change of air. We’ll take a special train, or a pair of special sleeping coaches and go up country.” This was of course plain philanthropy. A medicine-man with a small and constantly decreasing practice proposes to take a special pair of sleeping coaches, or a whole special train, if necessary, and go up to Cosquín, or Alta Gracia, or even to Rosario de la Frontera, and have a good time, and get nice cool air, and in general live on the fat of the land—all at the expense of the man whom at least two respectable and experienced doctors of medicine had pronounced past care!

This was disinterested—medicine-men have always been and are disinterested. They will either take payment in money or scalps. Sometimes, nay often, they get the money, but they generally always get the scalps as well.

The patient of whom I am speaking now did not go up country. He was not able. His friends took him out to the camp to die at home. He died within a few days after going out. The medicine-men said “I told you so. If he had taken that special pair of coaches as I suggested he would have ____”

Well, I suppose for my part, he would have died the other side of Rosario, if he lived to reach so far. All this happened not so very long ago; perhaps not quite 10 years ago, perhaps not quite 10 weeks ago.

There is another medicine-man here who is supposed to know a great deal about surgery, who is said by himself and others to be a wonderful man at bone-setting. He has a door plate too, and waiting rooms, and cases of instruments, and a broadcloth double-breasted coat, and other external significations of science and respectability. A little boy that I know fell over a rug and injured his arm. He was taken to this medicine-man’s study in the Calle 25 de Mayo, if I remember rightly. The arm was examined and the medicine-man said that the wrist was injured. The wrist was therefore bandaged up with a slice of half inch board and some calico. The fee was paid. Come back in 10 days; thank you; good day. In 10 days more the bandages were taken off and the arm pronounced sound. But it was no such thing. The arm remained swollen and the boy could not use it at all to his satisfaction. He was then taken to Dr Pirovano.²⁴ This really eminent yet modest and unpretentious specialist found that the arm had been broken half way between the elbow and wrist, that it had knitted of its own accord, that it was crooked, and that it would more than likely break again, which it did and in the same place. Dr Pirovano then set the bone as well as he could, but it will never be perfectly straight. It was the right arm too.

Now, the medicine-man responsible for this criminal blunder is an Englishman and, save the mark, is a Consulting Surgeon or assistant medicine-man to an important British institution here. What is wrong with him? Let us see.

When the mother of the child called his attention to the arm, he said:-

“Yes, yes, we’ll examine it!”

“Now then, I see all that is wrong.”

“But doctor, I was only going to suggest that ____”

“Now my good madam, I would suggest that you leave this to me.”

“Yes, but I wanted to tell you about how his arm pains him here.”

²⁴ Dr Ignacio Pirovano, 1844-1895, was an eminent and much revered doctor known as “the father of Argentine surgery”. The Hospital General de Agudos “Dr Ignacio Pirovano”, named in his honour, is located at Avenida Monroe 3555, Coghlan, Buenos Aires.

“Positively, my good lady, this is irritating. Have I not said that I have examined the arm?”

“Yes, but —”

“Well then the wrist and the wrist only is injured. I suppose I ought to know!”

What is wrong, I repeat, with this man? Snobbishness, ignorance, carelessness, or whiskey—or an accumulation of all these evils condensed into a solid bump of dangerous self-sufficiency?

There are amongst us also medicine-men who write books on various diseases. I know such an author personally, and I know such a book. It is a book that has been puffed in some of the newspapers as likewise has been the author, and by the most inveterate and bombastic puffer on the Continent of America. This book can be read on a railway journey or in bed, or at any place or time that a mortal could devote two or three hours to it. The effect of its pages upon the mind *are* startling. When you have laid it down you are, no matter how healthy you may be, more than half convinced that you have heart disease, or are verging towards paralysis, or are in the beginning of consumption, or that your liver and all other digestive machinery is out of gear, or that you may be laid up tomorrow or after with hopeless indigestion, or blue devils, or hydrophobia, or a good average dangerous insanity. This book is very eloquent on symptoms. Any time you compare notes between yourself and this book you are sure to find a few dangerous symptoms scattered about your person waiting only for the proper opportunity to lay you in your grave. No matter at what time of the day or night you make a general survey of yourself with the aid of this wonderful catalogue you are sure to find out that you are in a fair way of going to pieces unless you set about putting into practice what the book suggests. And what does the book suggest? After much circumlocution and word fencing it suggests that you take the first train that passes and go to have a consultation with the learned specialist who wrote it.

Once a Salvation Army Captainess put a tract into my hand which had the pretentious heading “Do you know you are going straight to Hell?” As I was on my way with ‘copy’ to *The Southern Cross* office I thought that this question was irrelevant, but I studied up the tract a little in search of explanations. The tract said that I was bound for Styx sure enough. But that if I looked up the Salvation Army Head Quarters at such and such a place my marching orders would be satisfactorily modified. I did not do so, and as I am here now writing these lines it is, I suppose, unnecessary to say that neither did I go to the other place. But that is not the point. What I wanted to show was and is, that the pamphlet of symptoms written, published and circulated by the medicine-man answers the same purpose as the blood curdling tract give me by the young person with the horrible looking bonnet and the Cockney twang. The pamphlet says with merciless plainness:-

“Look here” you’re just going to burst in some awful manner, and burst you will, friend, if you don’t go right away and have a talk with Dr So and So.”

I know two cases regarding this book. One man read it here in town, went to his author and got physic. He took the physic going to bed. Half an hour afterwards he became twisted into the fourth power of a double-tied bow knot, so he sent for the medicine-man. “What is it?” said the specialist and author when he arrived.

“Sir,” said the suffering patient, “that stuff of yours has knotted me up like a tangle of fence wire. Have you got any medicine about that would untie me?”

“What do you mean?”

“I mean d__ you, do you know, of anything that would thaw me out? If you do fetch it along.”

The medicine-man took a note of the situation and went on his way. He had no key to unlock the mystery, no antidote. The patient however had a bottle of Scotch whisky, the which he emptied into himself with much benefit. He was around to interview the specialist next morning, but fortune did not favour him. The medicine-man is still alive.

Last week, another man read his book on the way down to Mar del Plata. When he arrived there he felt sure that he was dangerously ill, so he posted back to town. The physician to whom he applied for relief on this arrival here is an able and distinguished man, and destined to go ahead in his profession. He saw at once how the affair stood. The sufferer had lowered his system by overwork. Too much brain exertion had left him nervous. In this condition it was his misfortune to consult the medicine-man who gave him his pamphlet, the which he earnestly exhorted him to read. The result was that the physician of whom I made mention just now had the greatest difficulty in persuading the unhappy patient that there was really nothing seriously amiss with him—that he was merely suffering the natural consequences of have read, pondered over, and inwardly digested the nefarious literature of the medicine-man. He was alright in two days. He would be in an asylum, or in his grave now had he given himself over to the hands of the literary hoax, as that specious scoundrel meant that he should do.

There is another medicine-man of much notoriety here whom I should place in my pillory—but I refrain from doing so on account of what might be termed personal reasons. He set one man’s arm so badly that he had subsequently to cut it open two or three times in order to extract splinters of bone that he had neglected to place in position. With another man he did what was more culpable still—cut open his neck, probed it once a week for nearly two years, injecting all sorts of burning liquids into it, kept him in bed for six weeks, opened the wound and re-opened it again and again, and all to do what a genuine doctor, to whom he went when tired of the torture inflicted on him by the medicine-man, effected in one month by means of a simple ointment.

I forebear going closer to this man’s individuality, because his two victims of whom I have spoken are of the newspaper craft, like myself. They are two of the best newspaper foremen in Buenos Aires, and hold responsible positions. Anybody who knows that the worry of a newspaper printing office is—how many annoyances arise from careless printers, defective grammar, badly written copy etc., will appreciate the magnitude of this medicine-man’s cruelty in sending these man back to their work under the conditions I have described. Anybody who knows the merits of the case will, I am confident, assert, that it would have been less unfeeling to saw them to pieces and finish them off at one sitting. The printer who tries to work with a broken arm or inflamed throat is simply torturing himself to death.

There is a medicine-man here also who graduated for his profession on the English race course and attended lectures on the green lawn around the stable doors of Ascot. Most likely Nature intended him for a veterinary surgeon, but with perversity characteristic of the turf he did not respond to his vocation. He came to this country. Up in Córdoba they gave him a diploma and let him loose upon this republic with what a humorous man might call a game licence. Carrying the sporting metaphor a little further it might be said that he has potted a fairly good bag. To give a history of his cures would be to write a book. He

has cured, in an almost miraculous manner, cancers, consumption, apoplexy, heart disease, and successfully amputated for broken back and broken neck.

Of all our medicine-men he is the most distinguished. He has more honours on his roof tree than nearly all his colleagues put together.

Medicine-men! Medicine-men. This city swarms with them. Today one man—a sailor gets drunk, dead drunk; sleeps in the sun, and when he wakes up, he finds that some medicine-man accuses him of having yellow fever. A horse kicks another man, and retires into private life to get better. He gets a bit feverish, and raves a little, and forthwith along comes a medicine-man to report that it is a case of yellow fever.

A cabin boy on board ship gets a sore throat and a medicine-man is called in, who gets a pen-handle with which he churns around in the poor lad's throat until his mouth is full of blood. Then he pours in coarse salt and vinegar. The ship's captain objecting to this brutality throws the quack overboard—who of course not drowned—who of course lives to come to dry land take an action against the captain for knowing more than a—medicine-man.

A man falls from his horse and breaks his neck. He is stone dead when the medicine-man arrives. That functionary examines the corpse, feels its pulse, its poor dead heart, takes off its boots, twists its nose, opens its eyes, and solemnly states, "Can't do anything with him. He's in a state of *comma*." Would that this and all other medicine-men were not only in a state of comma, but still more emphatically punctuated. Would that they were all at a Full Stop!

Medicine-men! Medicine-men. Ex-parsons, ex-fifth class shop assistants, ex-jockeys from London, ex-bummers; why, at any rate we are going ex-shoe-blacks, ex-'basura'-men, ex-tramcar drivers, and even retired cart horses will shortly put up door plates with a view to ending their days in the interesting pastime of counting up their dead.

It is painfully evident that the Municipal authorities, or the National Municipal Medical Board, or somebody high in power, is to blame for all this. Let it not be supposed that I object to people developing from 'basura' men into doctors. Nothing of the kind. All I say is, let merit find its level. Let it be not talked down by imposters. If the shoeblack or jockey has brains enough let him give up shining boots and riding races, and study medicine if he can. Intellect is the only true criterion of caste, and, as Buckle²⁵ says so say I: "The hall of science is the temple of democracy." But let it not be sham science. If the shoeblack or jockey go practice medicine, let their science be genuine. If not, and when they are convicted of quackery, let them be tied up by the necks to the nearest lamp posts. Adopt this measure and see how our stock of medicine men will decrease; adopt it and see how many lamp posts will be ornamented with a medicine-man each. —My own idea.

There is more to be said upon this subject yet. Whether it will be said or not depends altogether on the medicine-men themselves.

Che Bueno.

Clearly annoyed, believing his reputation to be impugned, Mulcahy took up the cudgels; his letter appeared in *The Standard*, Sunday 18 February 1894:

Buenos Ayres, Feb. 17th To the Editor of *The Standard*
Sir,

²⁵ Henry Thomas Buckle (1820-1862). English historian and author of the unfinished *History of Civilisation*.

Medicine Men

In *The Southern Cross* of Feb. 2nd an article appeared under the title “Medicine Men,” and signed “Che Bueno,” attacking several doctors in this town, and I believe myself to be one of those alluded to, but *The Southern Cross* of Feb. 16th publishes another letter signed “Che Bueno” which contains the following:

To the Editor of *The Southern Cross*

Dear Sir,

Permit me to make a few remarks in reference to an article contributed by me to your columns, and which appeared under the heading of “Medicine-Men” in your issue of the 2nd inst.

In the first place, I learn that Dr Mulcahy, of Calle Maipu, accuses me of alluding to him in said article. I do not know Dr Mulcahy, even by sight, and if he has found a cap to fit himself in my article that is no affair of mine. I reiterate that a man, now dead, was treated for indigestion while the ailment was lung disease, but wish at the same time to place on record that the case cited, by me in my article of the 2nd did not refer to Dr Mulcahy.”

This letter was inserted in consequence of my having called personally at the office of *The Southern Cross* and afterwards sent my lawyer there to demand retraction of what I consider to be a libel on me, or otherwise a statement that I was not the medical man referred to, which the public would be led to suppose from the personal description given in the original article.

To that extent the cap *did* fit me; but as to the medical part of the article it was, as far as I am concerned, false in all its details.

Dr Mulcahy.

Dinneen’s rather withering rejoinder to Mulcahy was by way of a letter published in *The Standard* on Tuesday 20 February; and there the matter seems to have to come to an end as there was no further correspondence or comment about the matter in the newspapers:

Buenos Ayres, February 17th 1894

To the Editor of *The Standard*

Sirs,

Medicine Men

Will you kindly allow me as Editor of *The Southern Cross* to occupy a small portion of your space in reply to Dr Mulcahy’s letter, which appeared in *The Standard* of yesterday.

In the first place, it surpasses my comprehension, as it must that of any rational being how Dr Mulcahy could refer to “Che Bueno’s” letter in *The Southern Cross* of last Friday as a retraction. In that letter “Che Bueno” simply reiterated what he had already stated. If he had said “I do not reiterate,” etc., then Dr Mulcahy to be logical should put it down as reiteration.

In the next place, though it is evident from “Che Bueno’s” letter that the medical case in question did not refer to Dr Mulcahy, still, even if it were otherwise, “Che Bueno” would have been perfectly justified in my opinion in standing on the defensive as he has

done, according to the legal principle so commonly quoted by Jurists: “accusare nemo se debet nisi coram Deo” – [no man is obliged to accuse himself except before God.]

In the third place, I am certain that “Che Bueno’s” letter of Friday was not written through any terror of the law or its consequences. Dr Mulcahy and his lawyer called on me, it is true. I received them most courteously, and I promised to do all in my power that Dr Mulcahy would not suffer through any publication that may have appeared in *The Southern Cross*. “Che Bueno’s” letter was written in fulfilment of that promise.

I would take our contributor’s word even if an empire were at stake, but I have corroborative evidence of two or three honourable witnesses that the case stated by him is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Anybody calling at my office may satisfy himself of the accuracy of this declaration, provided he will undertake to make no further use of the information received.

Finally, I am afraid that Dr Mulcahy is a little too sensitive in regards of the matter in dispute. You and I and many other editors in Buenos Ayres are referred to as literary “chambones.”²⁶ We go out and laugh heartily over the matter. At least, I do and I hope you to do the same.

Yours very truly
Michael Dinneen.

Back home in Ireland all three protagonists would have been familiar with quacks, bone setters and medicine men. And I don’t subscribe to the view that the differences were due to sectarianism. In fact a few years later, on 3 January 1896, the editor of *The Southern Cross* was unequivocal in commenting that it was neither a religious paper nor the church organ and unashamedly declared “*The Southern Cross* is perfectly independent”.

Was this a storm in a tea cup? No. Certainly what Bulfin wrote was incendiary and potentially libellous and so it is not difficult to understand why Mulcahy reacted as he did. Maybe, just maybe, as Dinneen suggested, the medic was a tad touchy. Perhaps Dr Mulcahy was indeed extra sensitive but in those days there were many quacks in populated cities such as Buenos Aires and London. It was imperious then for Mulcahy to preserve his prestige at all costs, even if the damage came from an “honest and renowned professional” who apparently meant no ill. In any case I am not convinced that “Che Bueno” was totally innocent. He must have known Dr Mulcahy had his consulting rooms in the Calle Maipu, and enjoyed mentioning it, leaving the remark lingering and creating suspicion even if he wasn’t the man he was criticising.

But then those were other times. And why was this whole episode played out in the columns of *The Standard* rather than in *TSC*? Probably because *The Standard*, a daily broadsheet published Tuesday to Sunday had a significantly wider and greater circulation than the weekly *TSC*.

I am indebted to Nicolás and Viviana Mulcahy for providing me with a photo portrait of Dr Mulcahy with his wife taken by A. S. Witcomb. Englishman Alexander Spiers Witcomb (1838-1905) was the famed Porteño society photographer of the day, whose collection of 500,000 negatives became part of the Archivo General de la Nación. I am also indebted to Nicolás and Viviana Mulcahy for the copy of the signed autograph photo portrait of Colonel Sebastián Nicomedes Casares.

²⁶ Chambones: clumsy, cack-handed.

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Imilcy Balboa Navarro, Universitat Jaume I

En Cuba, a lo largo del siglo XIX, el debate sobre el poblamiento tuvo como eje fundamental el problema de la mano de obra. Asentar población y procurarse brazos para la agricultura insular se convirtieron en sinónimos. Colonización e inmigración, en consecuencia, fueron conceptos que estuvieron mezclados y se usaron indistintamente para definir actividades diferentes pero que en la práctica se presentaban a menudo asociadas.

El éxito de la fórmula azúcar-esclavos había condicionado la posibilidad de contar con una corriente continuada de inmigración libre. Por un lado, la existencia de la esclavitud había viciado las relaciones laborales y generado una actitud de rechazo a las labores agrícolas en los ingenios, consideradas como trabajo exclusivo de los africanos. Del otro, debemos tener presente factores como la ausencia de medidas encaminadas a facilitar el acceso a la propiedad de la tierra, los bajos salarios en comparación con el elevado coste de la vida y las condiciones climáticas e higiénicas de la isla. La mayoría de los proyectos de inmigración blanca culminaron con un escándalo o con la marcha de los inmigrantes a las ciudades. Por lo que estas iniciativas fueron limitadas y no alcanzaron a solucionar los problemas relacionados con el aumento de la fuerza de trabajo en la agricultura.

Irlanda y Cuba. Historias entrelazadas, viene a aportar al debate sobre la inmigración en la isla, una parcela particular y apenas estudiada: la inmigración irlandesa. El volumen coordinado y editado por Margaret Brehony y Nuala Finnegan trata de establecer un puente -como declaran las coordinadoras en la Introducción- entre dos elementos comunes del pasado de ambas islas: su condición colonial y de religión católica, para rastrear la presencia irlandesa en la mayor de las Antillas, que fue pequeña, es cierto, pero que pervive en los apellidos, fácilmente identificables, y nos devuelven a algunas de estas familias con un pasado esclavista, emparentadas con las elites insulares; junto a los que se asentaron a los campos y ciudades vinculados a los proyectos de colonización, la construcción del ferrocarril, o determinados oficios urbanos.

El libro reúne una serie de estudios de especialistas en literatura e historiadores, que nos van presentando a determinadas figuras, más o menos conocidas, junto al resto de inmigrantes -pocas veces mencionados- que llegaron a la isla en busca de un futuro mejor.

El capítulo I, “La llamada de la libertad: la voz de Richard Robert Madden en el movimiento antiesclavista,” a cargo de Gera Burton, desde una perspectiva menos conocida en la historiografía cubana, aborda la labor antiesclavista de Madden, como funcionario del gobierno británico, en un triple escenario: Jamaica, Cuba y Gambia. Las presiones que tuvo que enfrentar por parte de los propietarios de esclavos en las dos primeras islas; y en África, los incumplimientos de las compañías británicas involucradas en el tráfico con el establecimiento del “sistema de prendas.” Para terminar con los desacuerdos de Madden con su propio gobierno y su ostracismo.

En un segundo bloque podemos agrupar los estudios dedicados propiamente a analizar la inmigración irlandesa a la isla desde varios ángulos: los proyectos de inmigración-colonización,

los enterramientos y la inmigración de mujeres. Aquí encontramos el capítulo 3 de la autoría de Margaret Brehony, “Procesos de ‘blanqueamiento’ étnico y políticas de raza, trabajo e identidad nacional,” el cuarto, escrito por Giselle González García, “Morir en La Habana: microhistoria de los inmigrantes irlandeses enterrados en el Cementerio General (1859-1862) en la Cuba colonial: un estudio de caso de inmigrantes irlandeses (1818-1845),” y el quinto acápite de Rafael Fernández Moya, “Diáspora irlandesa en Cuba: presencia de la mujer en el desarrollo económico y social.”

La llegada de irlandeses a Cuba venía avalada por la Real Cédula de colonización de 1817, destinada al fomento de la población blanca con peninsulares y canarios, o en su defecto con europeos católicos de potencias amigas. Pero en realidad fue marginal dentro de los proyectos de colonización y el número de estos, al parecer fue mucho menor que la corriente de trabajadores “irlandeses y católicos” que desde Estados Unidos llegó con destino al ferrocarril, y que las propias autoridades situaban en la década de 1850 en poco más de 600 trabajadores (ANC, Fondo Gobierno Superior Civil), mientras llamaba su atención la escasa relación con los habitantes y el resto de trabajadores, viviendo confinados en los puntos habilitados por las compañías. El trabajo de Brehony se inserta en el debate inmigración-colonización presente en la isla a lo largo del siglo XIX, al que hemos hecho referencia al inicio, y pone el foco de atención en los inmigrantes con menos recursos que embarcaban persiguiendo las promesas de una vida mejor y tuvieron que enfrentarse a privaciones de todo tipo para finalmente verse obligados a abandonar las colonias donde se ubicaron inicialmente. Al propio tiempo extiende su análisis a las ciudades, así como a las condiciones de vida y trabajo para adelantar una hipótesis: en el caso de los colonos irlandeses la coerción laboral pesaba más que los condicionantes étnicos.

En “Morir en La Habana,” González, a partir de los registros de enterramientos en el Cementerio general de La Habana (hoy cementerio de Colón), a los que añade los de la parroquia de Ceiba Mocha en Matanzas -aunque no aparecen el título- y a partir de una lista de poco más de un centenar de enterramientos, extrae algunas conclusiones interesantes, que le sirven para caracterizar este tipo de inmigración compuesta mayoritariamente por hombres solteros, que murieron entre los 30 y 39 años, en hospitales dedicados a la caridad pública, lo que demostraba que de forma general, carecían de recursos. Mientras Fernández Moya describe la presencia de las mujeres en la diáspora irlandesa rastreando los matrimonios, pero también a aquellas que sobresalieron en las artes o que practicaban diversas profesiones como enfermeras, maestras o cuidadoras de niños, junto a las trabajadoras del servicio doméstico, las minas de cobre de Santiago de Cuba, el ferrocarril o la prostitución.

La inmigración de irlandeses a los dominios de España en América y el papel del Colegio de los Irlandeses o Colegio de San Patricio de Nobles Irlandeses (Salamanca, fundado por Felipe II), en la conformación de una elite religiosa, militar y administrativa, ha sido un tema recurrente en la historiografía (ver por ejemplo Peadar Kirby, *Ireland and Latin America: Links and Lessons*, Gill and MacMillan, Dublín, 1992 y Román Álvarez Rodríguez, *Los irlandeses en Salamanca: un legado secular*, Centro de Estudios Salmantinos y Salamanca Ciudad de Cultura y Saberes, 2016). Este interés toma cuerpo en el libro en tres capítulos, el segundo: “La conquista del espacio atlántico sobre hombros negros,” escrito por Julio David Rojas Rodríguez; el sexto: “James O’Kelly: corresponsal de guerra en Cuba,” de José Antonio Quintana García y el séptimo: “José Martí: el retrato olvidado de Oscar Wilde,” de Félix Flores Varona.

El estudio de Rojas, siguiendo la estela de los emprendidos por José Manuel Serrallo Álvarez y Allan J. Kuethe (“La familia O’Farrill y la élite habanera,” en Julián B. Ruiz Rivera y Manuela Cristina García Bernal eds.), *Élites urbanas en Hispanoamérica. De la conquista a la independencia*, Universidad de Sevilla, Sevilla, 2005) que examina la familia O’Farrill y su estrategia para conseguir la preminencia social a través de los matrimonios y la carrera militar, centra su atención específicamente en las implicaciones de la saga familiar en el comercio de esclavos para destacar que fue la familia que se mantuvo activa durante más tiempo en la trata de africanos, desde la llegada del primer O’Farrill como factor de la South Sea Company hasta la factoría de esclavos que mantuvieron en la costa de Gallinas (Sierra Leona). Los acápites de Quintana y Flores que cierran el volumen, examinan respectivamente las circunstancias del viaje de James O’Kelly, como corresponsal del *New Herald* y su obra resultante: *La tierra del mambí*; y la percepción que tuvo José Martí del escritor Oscar Wilde, a partir del texto publicado en 1882, menos trabajado por la historiografía, según señala el autor.

En el capítulo introductorio las editoras, Brehony y Finnegan, destacan que el volumen “hilvana historias dispares sobre diáspora y movimiento; historias sobre sufrimiento, triunfo, integración y aislamiento” y en este sentido *Irlanda y Cuba. Historias entretreídas*, cumple su objetivo apoyado en fuentes documentales y periódicas, registros parroquiales, libros de cementerios, y testimonios de la época, que ponen “rostro” a la inmigración irlandesa a la isla y su aporte a la sociedad cubana.

Barry Whelan, *Ireland's Revolutionary Diplomat: A Biography of Leopold Kerney*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, 2019, 356 pp.

ISBN: 978-0268105051

Dr Dermot Keogh RIA, Emeritus Professor of History and Emeritus Professor of European Integration Studies, University College Cork

The cover of this elegantly-produced book is well chosen and aptly captures the thesis which Dr Barry Whelan cogently argues in the text. The Irish Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary Leopold Kerney is photographed in court dress clutching his top hat, at the ceremony on 10 April 1939 where he was about to present his credentials to the new *de facto* ruler of Spain, General Francisco Franco. Flanking Kerney, two unidentified diplomats stand with arms raised in the fascist salute. Besides providing an arresting image, this photograph illustrates the central thesis of this well-researched book – from the time he began his professional career in 1919 as a Dáil Éireann envoy until his retirement after World War II, Kerney remained throughout his life – in the words of the author – “Dev’s republican diplomat” (9).

Throughout this work, Dr Whelan argues that the Taoiseach and Minister for External Affairs between 1932 and 1948, Eamon de Valera, “defended his loyal colleague despite the scheming of civil servants” (9). Kerney, it is true, did not have a very easy professional time. He remained on the republican side (to use that hackneyed phrase) during the civil war, and kept faith with de Valera during the remainder of the 1920s. On becoming President of the Executive Council and his own Minister for External Affairs, de Valera, took firm control of his twin portfolios. Kerney, a “diplomat by accident” at the time of the War of Independence, was – together with a few other republican loyalists like Art O’Brien - reinstated in the diplomatic service on the recommendation of an official commission. That decision was not popular on the opposition benches and in 1933 a former Minister for External Affairs, Desmond Fitzgerald, attacked Kerney’s appointment in the Dáil as the commercial attaché to Paris. He described it as an “unnecessary office” and the appointee as having acted treacherously to the state in 1923. For good measure, he threw the ultimate 1930s’ insult at Kerney – that he was a communist sympathiser (101-102).

De Valera was not put off by those robust allegations and when a residential mission was opened in Madrid in 1935, Kerney presented his credentials to the President of the Second Spanish Republic, Niceto Alcalá Zamora on 3 September. Kerney and de Valera had more to worry about than the histrionics of even one of the most distinguished members of the opposition. Dr Whelan referred to “the scheming of civil servants,” which I have quoted above. He argues convincingly that the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, Joseph Walshe, had opposed Kerney’s appointment to Spain and that, for a variety of reasons, he did not ever have confidence in Kerney’s professionalism and his judgment over the following decade.

Because of the way the Irish diplomatic service was composed in the 1930s and 1940s, Dr Whelan argues that “Kerney was simply not one of the ‘lads’ and never would be” (98). Although a Catholic, but not a particularly pious one, he had converted from Protestantism, had attended ‘Protestant’ Trinity College and had been an unrepentant anti-Treatyite throughout the 1920s. The author paints a portrait of the Department of Foreign Affairs at the time as being presided over by Joseph Walshe, an ex-Jesuit scholastic, and ultra-conservative Catholic. Dr Whelan argues that “many in the department, like Joseph Walshe, were former students of Jesuit-run colleges, which

were on the pathway to career advancement and networking for the wealthier elites of independent Ireland” (98). I feel that that is a statement which needs to be supported by empirical evidence. The cadets who joined in 1935 were as follows: Cornelius Cremin was educated in St. Brendan’s diocesan college Killarney and at University College Cork; Denis Devlin studied with the Jesuits in Belvedere College and later attended the Dublin Diocesan Seminary, Clonliffe, and University College Dublin; and William Warnock was educated at the High School, Dublin and at Trinity College Dublin. However, Dr Whelan’s substantial point is well made; Walshe kept Kerney in his cross-hairs throughout his diplomatic career in Spain. On the basis of the evidence to date, it is more likely that the secretary of the Department of External Affairs objected more to the fact that Kerney was one of the reinstated than that he was a convert to Catholicism, not ostentatiously religious and a Trinity Graduate. Dr Whelan chronicles the endless rows over expenses, professional time wasted on petty issues by both parties. But one does not have to be paranoid etc....

The author purposefully sets out to do battle with “successive leading historians, many of whom have passed damning judgments on Kerney” and acknowledges that “restoring the reputation of any historical figure is no easy task” (8). This is a very valuable study if, at times, unnecessarily defensive of the main protagonist. The author had the advantage of having access to the Kerney family papers besides the National Archives of Ireland and the personal papers of leading actors together with holdings in Spain. While rereading the text I was reminded constantly that there was no requirement for him to be defensive about his subject. The biography of Kerney’s professional life is a story worth telling in itself without having to carry the self-imposed burden of ‘restoring’ his reputation.

This monograph is a strong piece of research and an original contribution to the growing number of Irish diplomat biographies. Based on an examination of new primary source material, Dr Whelan’s book is as impressive as it is original. While I knew that Kerney had contracted polio in 1936, this book explains the seriousness of his illness coming as it did at a critical time in Spanish history – just before the outbreak of civil war. He was fortunate to be able to return to Ireland where he then suffered the loss of his brother. His own recovery was further complicated by the contraction of sinusitis. Walshe wrote to him: “Dear Mr Kerney. The Minister was very sorry indeed to learn of your sudden illness. We all hope that you will make a rapid recovery to complete health” (118). For the remainder of the civil war, Kerney, once he recovered, was based – together with other diplomats – in the Golf Hotel, in San Juan de Luz, on the French side of the border but not far from Burgos, the headquarters of General Franco, and the seat of his government. Dr Whelan argues that Kerney was opposed to an early recognition of the general as head of the Spanish government and that he cautioned de Valera to take his time doing so. He points out that de Valera had withstood pressure from the opposition in the Dáil to declare on the side of Franco.

But I do remember reading Kerney’s report from Salamanca around St. Patrick’s Day 1937 where he recommended recognition. As I can’t check the file because of lockdown, I don’t wish to be emphatic or dogmatic. But I thought that Kerney was converted early on to the view that the Franco side would win out. Here in the section on civil war, it would have been very helpful to have consulted the journals of the Rector of the Irish College, Alexander J. McCabe, who had useful observations to make on Kerney.

The chapter devoted to Frank Ryan provides an even-handed coverage of what turned out for Kerney to be one of his most testing diplomatic challenges, faced as he was by competing interests in the case. De Valera took a strong personal interest in getting Ryan released. The Spanish archives provide additional information on the case, the charges made against him and the reasons for his sentencing to death. Perhaps Walshe and the head of military intelligence, G2, Col. Dan Bryan, may have been all too ready to accept the British Intelligence version of what Kerney was allegedly doing in Madrid and the nature of his contacts with German Intelligence? Dr Whelan makes interesting observations on that fraught time in Kerney's professional life during the action he took in the early 1950s against Desmond Williams, Professor History, UCD. This was a painfully sad episode for both parties.

After his retirement, de Valera hand-picked Kerney to lead a trade mission to Argentina in 1947. The primary – but secret – purpose of his visit was to conclude discussions on the establishment of residential diplomatic relations between the two countries. As I have been researching this area, I find it very interesting to read Kerney's report (in his personal papers). It contrasts strongly to what Irish diplomats serving in Buenos Aires subsequently felt about the success or failure of his mission. The trade side, despite some difficulties, yielded very positive results. Kerney felt that he had overcome the final hurdle in establishing diplomatic relations with the government of General Juan Domingo Perón. That was perhaps overstated. After further negotiations in Washington DC between the ambassadors of both Ireland and Argentina, an Irish envoy arrived in Buenos Aires in December 1947 and an Argentine diplomat in Dublin in 1948.

Kerney is quoted in this book as saying that de Valera gave him personal instructions to speak vigorously on the question of Irish Partition. During his stay in the Argentine capital, Dr Whelan writes that Kerney 'began to get slightly tired of the folksy repetition of "God Save Ireland" and other hyperbolic Irish customs that went on into the early hours of the morning' (234). His report states that he "disliked hearing criticism of the Protestant delegates on the mission and observing the rabidly anti-English attitude of the diaspora, and he bit his tongue on the more than one occasion when guests referred to the Taoiseach as "that b*****d de Valera" (234). But what Kerney did not know was that his speech to 200 guests in the Plaza Hotel on partition and neutrality was so controversial that it alienated many Irish Argentines – a number later refusing to turn up to the reception to receive the Irish chargé, Matthew Murphy, in December 1947.

While I am overwhelmingly positive in my assessment of this original piece of research, I would like to have seen greater use of Spanish primary and secondary sources, evidence of the consultation of Irish ecclesiastical archives and of the journals of Fr. McCabe.

I hope that in future work Dr Whelan will amplify this study and delve more deeply into a number of key areas that he has opened up so interestingly and arrestingly in the text.

This book ought to be required reading for all students studying Irish diplomatic history.

Harry Dunleavy, *Irish Immigration to Latin America*, New Jersey, Newman Springs Publishing, 2019, 255 pp.

ISBN: 978-1645315810

Gabriela McEvoy, Lebanon Valley College

The text *Irish Immigration to Latin America*, written by Harry Dunleavy, professor of mathematics and former officer of American ships, is an important contribution to the studies of Irish migration to Latin America. The book takes a tour of eleven Latin American countries: Cuba, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Panama, Bolivia, Peru, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, and Chile. It is an easy-to-read, accessible book that combines anecdotal experiences of the author, historical information, and brief biographies of prominent Irish figures in Latin American societies.

Through his book, Dunleavy highlights the participation and contribution of the Irish in the various political, economic, and cultural settings of the host countries. In this way, the author points to a constant Irish presence throughout various historical periods in Latin American societies, ranging from the stage of conquest and colonization to the start of republican life. Equally important is the incorporation of the lives of Irish descendants, who come to participate in different spheres of Latin American societies.

Dunleavy's book shows that the Irish migrant arrives in Latin America with arms, religion, an adventurous opportunism, and the intention of becoming integrated into the new country. To this end, Dunleavy compiles the lives and work of prominent Irish figures, such as Viceroy Ambrosio O'Higgins (1720-1791) in Peru, General Francis Burdett O'Connor (1791-1871) in Bolivia, Father Anthony Fahy (1805-1871) and Admiral William Brown (1777-1857) in Argentina, and Eliza A. Lynch (1833-1886) in Paraguay, among many others. In this sense, this book serves as an important reference source for readers who seek information pertaining to a specific subject of Irish immigration in Latin America.

Nevertheless, *Irish Immigration to Latin America* suffers from a few deficiencies. First, the text lacks a conclusion, which could have made it more cohesive overall. It is precisely in the conclusion that the author has the opportunity to present and synthesize the final results of the research and demonstrate the importance of the work in the studies of the Irish diaspora in Latin America. This bibliographical shortcoming ultimately reduces the academic value of this book. Furthermore, although the author has been thorough in his research, it is not fully documented in his references, and the author's citation methods lack consistency. Any researcher wanting to use Dunleavy's text as a bibliographic source may find it difficult to adequately do so because of this lack of organization. Finally, the author's own anecdotal experiences, though generally of value, often appear in places that interrupt the flow of the text and can distract readers when important historical events are being presented.

In short, *Irish Immigration to Latin America* is a valuable contribution to the research and compilation of information, historical events, biographies, and places linked to Irish memory in Latin America.

Juan José Delaney, *What, Che?: Integration, Adaptation and Assimilation of the Irish-Argentine Community through its Language and Literature*, Ediciones Universidad del Salvador, Buenos Aires, 2017, 192 pp.

ISBN 978-950-592-245-1

Maria Medina, National University of Ireland, Maynooth

No study of the Irish diaspora in Argentina can be complete without referencing Juan José Delaney, whose fiction and non-fiction narratives are often cited by researchers from Argentine literature and Irish studies. This book is part of his corpus of reference publications. The title, *What, Che?: Integration, Adaptation and Assimilation of the Irish-Argentine Community through its Language and Literature*, reveals not only the topic of this work, linguistic in essence, but also the informal tone and the author's love for, and use of, words. The book is based on Delaney's doctoral thesis at the School of Modern Languages, Universidad del Salvador, Buenos Aires, presented in October 2015. His supervisor, Laura Patricia Zuntini de Izarra, also lends the book additional authority, considering her international profile in the study of Irish diasporas, particularly in Argentina and Brazil.

The book is written in English and contains five chapters. Delaney lays out the originality and scope of his research in the brief introduction, which makes clear that the study is concerned primarily with language. In an attempt to make his project multigenerational in scope, Delaney opts to analyse language in fiction and non-fiction narratives from the late 1800s to the end of twentieth century. The narratives chosen are *Tales of the Pampas*, by William Bulfin (1900), *You'll never go back*, by Kathleen Nevin (1946) and four short stories by Rodolfo Walsh (1964-1970). Delaney affirms that this study can also be seen as a project of ethnography, as it aims to learn about people, communities and institutions, resulting in a descriptive and interpretative narration. His references to Marcel Mauss, Margaret LeCompte and Jean Schensul appear to inform the theories behind this work; however, the work avoids jargon or heavy theorisation, making it more accessible to a general audience.

Chapter 1, "The Irish in Argentina: Historical Context", offers a brief overview of Ireland as a country of migration, and how this issue relates to language. The problematisation of language subsequently provides the core theme that runs through the entire work. What emerges in these pages is the history of the Irish language since 1541 and the attempts to annihilate it, which resulted in the use of Irish being limited to rural areas and/or the peasantry. Gradually, the use of English was seen as an opportunity for social mobility; therefore, Irish began to be associated with poverty. What follows is an account of Irish migration to Argentina, particularly from 1806, and of the role of English, Irish and Spanish languages in the new land. This is developed further in chapter 2, where the author discusses languages and the Irish community in Argentina: Irish, Hiberno-English or Irish-English, Hiberno-Argentine and Irish-Porteño. Aware of the differences in social status amongst the Irish community, Delaney affirms that his study focuses on the majority of Irish migrants who lived and worked in the countryside, as it was here where their particular relationship with language emerged. It is in this context that an Irish-Argentine lingo emerged, created by the Irish migrants and their descendants in the new country. A study of oral texts enabled the author to compile a glossary of Irish-Porteño brogue, Irish-Argentine lexicon, idioms, statements and transferred errors.

Chapters 3-5 expand on processes of integration, adaptation and assimilation to the host country respectively, and their representation in linguistic and literary forms. Integration is studied in private letters, the newspaper *The Southern Cross*, and the novel *You'll never go back* (Kathleen Nevin, 1946). According to Delaney, the death of Fr Anthony Fahy (1804-1871) and the *SS Dresden* Affair in 1889 can be seen as two events that marked the end of an era and the beginning of the adaptation process (Delaney 2017:98). During this period, the author affirms in chapter 4, language serves as a living testimony of the Irish adaptation to their host country and its language by incorporating new words that, at the beginning, were part of the working life of Irish migrants in the countryside. With references to books, private letters and local newspapers *The Hiberno-Argentine Review*, *Buenos Aires Herald* and *Fianna*, Delaney emphasises the writers' "conscious or unconscious determination to become Argentines" (103). An introduction to William Bulfin and his literary work is provided in chapter 4, together with a review of Bulfin's collection of short stories titled *Tales of the Pampas* (1900). Approaching the stories through a linguistic lens, Delaney confirms that "Mainly referred to camp activities and gauchos, their sayings and habits, a range of about forty Spanish words (sometimes misspelled) contribute to enrich the linguistic melting pot" (112). The author makes use of footnotes to provide the reader with a glossary, as he reveals that the characters in the stories become bilingual and bicultural, just like the Irish community in Buenos Aires. The chapter is completed with a brief analysis of interviews with Irish-Porteños between sixty-five to ninety years of age that "feel more Irish than Argentine" and "have not yet assimilated into the new culture" (116). An addendum closes the chapter—a note concerning a diary written by John Brabazon in 1845 and published in Spanish translation by Eduardo Coghlan in 1981 with the title *Andanzas de un irlandés en el campo porteño* (*The Customs and Habits of the Country of Buenos Aires from the year 1845, by John Brabazon, and his own adventures*). In this diary, language is also pointed out as a serious problem, allowing "[p]recise descriptions and comic or tragic situations" (122).

The final chapter addresses "the new generations", or the third and subsequent generations of the Irish diaspora, and their perceptions of identity and belonging to the Irish community. They are characterised as deserting the traditional social spaces within the community, such as schools, churches and other various institutions, as they began intermarrying. The period of Argentina's most recent military dictatorship, also known as the Dirty War, in the 1970s, also contributed to the division of the Irish community, as Delaney explores through the so-called "St. Patrick's massacre".¹ The chapter offers another selection of interviews that "convey the attitudes of speakers in relation to their Irish-Argentine identity" (129). Two of the interviewees reveal surprise at the fact that the interviews were to be conducted in English, affirming that Spanish was their mother tongue. The next section introduces Argentine writer Rodolfo Walsh, third-generation Irish, and his negative perception of the Irish community in Buenos Aires.

¹ On 4th July 1976, a community of five Pallotine priests and seminarians in the Parish of *San Patricio*, Buenos Aires, were massacred, accused of poisoning the minds of the young. Two of the priests were of Irish descent, Fr. Alfie Kelly and Alfredo Leaden. In 2007, Argentinians Juan Pablo Young and Pablo Zubizarreta directed *4 de Julio: La masacre de San Patricio*, in an attempt to keep alive the memory of the community and the impact of the event, for which no one has, as yet, been brought to justice.

An appendix is added to the book, containing a series of maps, documents, photographs, newspaper clips, and the transcripts of the original ten interviews. These are all elements that can be useful to the general reader and researchers alike. Unfortunately, sources are generally missing, making it difficult for a researcher to use it for reference, such as the first page of the original diary of John Brabazon (159) which does not offer place, date, or photographic credit. The bibliography offers interesting local sources (Devoto:2009; Landaburu:2006; Steiner:2009); however, some may suggest it is rather short, considering the high volume of information contained therein. It should be noted that there are more references that can be found in footnotes that are not included in the bibliography section, as seen on page fifteen, for example. Regrettably for the researcher, there are also a few citations that are not referenced at all.

The interviews are indeed interesting, as they provide researchers with a variety of content that can be approached from many disciplines. However, more information could have been given here in terms of theoretical framework. Some references to scholars are provided throughout the book, but the aim(s) and methodology of this work are missing. The speakers chosen are between sixty-five and ninety years of age, which places them as third and fourth generation Irish; why is English then used to conduct the interviews, even though English is not their first language? In some cases, it was only acquired in school and clearly not used in everyday life; in others, the interviewees repeatedly affirm that Spanish is their mother tongue. If the aim is to assess the attitudes of speakers towards their Irish-Argentine identity, would it not be more insightful to give the speaker a choice of language? Also, although these are interviews, the questions are missing in the transcripts. More information on interview style and use of English would have been helpful. The same could be said about the glossaries and linguistic varieties. However fascinating, one cannot help but wonder why a glossary of language used in the Argentine countryside is referred to as Irish-Porteño, when historically *porteño* has been used to address the people from the port (and later the city) of Buenos Aires. For clarification purposes, a definition and contextualisation of these terms would have been beneficial considering that this study is, as the author puts it, linguistic over literary.

At a glance, the book could appear overwhelmingly saturated with information for the reader as both linguistic and literary studies of oral and written texts are provided, but a close reading would reveal abundant references and ideas that can act as preliminary sources for future research projects on this topic. For example, while the study is centred primarily on the Irish community in Buenos Aires province, the Irish also settled in other provinces, a topic which is still pending further investigation. As the study of contact linguistics and bilingualism is the focus of this book, it could become a useful point of departure for further, comparative studies that incorporate other countries where the Irish found the same “problem” throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.²

What, che? is a work that fuses history, literature, and sociolinguistics. There is a great deal of information about the history of Ireland and Argentina, and also about Irish, English and Spanish languages with a multigenerational approach. This seems to be a study of languages from a sociocultural perspective, despite the lack of theoretical references. Integration, accommodation and assimilation concepts were included in this work, although decontextualized. Other theories,

² There are many studies on migration and bilingualism that could serve as inspiration for this potential project. In a sociocultural study of bilingualism and migrant experiences in the United States, (where over 300 languages are present, apart from English) Lucinda Pease-Alvarez (2002) explains that native language loss occurs by the third generation, and that bilingualism can be seen as a bridge that links two monolingual generations.

such as Communication accommodation theory by Howard Giles, have been used to study “ethnolinguistic vitalities” (Giles and Hogan 2007:299). Likewise, contact linguistics can provide the framework to the study of code-switching, borrowing, and creole, all addressed in this study.

What, Che? is a testimony of Delaney’s passion for the study of the Irish diaspora in Buenos Aires, and he succeeds at proving that this study is far from over. This book is an open invitation to continue exploring this topic from many disciplines: Cultural Studies, Irish Studies, and Spanish Linguistics in Argentina to name but a few.

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Edmundo Murray, University of Zurich

More books about Irish-Latin American relations have been published in the last ten years than in the whole history of relations between Ireland and Latin America. The second decade of this century has been generous in Irish-Latin American research, and its scholars are laying a solid groundwork for future students.¹

The interesting history of diplomatic relations between Ireland and Argentina has been the object of a few articles and occasional book chapters in the past.² Professor Keogh's study on early Irish-Argentine diplomatic relations is not only the first book-length title about this subject, but also the fruit of many years of research and the result of extended archival experience by a seasoned scholar and recognized authority in this field. Furthermore, according to the author, it is the first step of an ambitious project. The author is working on a second volume, a diplomatic history of Ireland and Argentina, dealing with the twentieth century up to the 1990s.³

We read in the preliminary pages of Keogh's book that it is "a translation from the manuscript 'Argentina and the Irish Revolution (1890-1922)', with support of the Irish Embassy in Argentina" (preliminary pages). I have not been able to read the original in English, but it has been rendered in neat and precise Spanish language, which is not a feature in many writings in this field. The Argentine translators affiliated with Universidad del Salvador are to be congratulated for their job. Furthermore, editors and publishers of English-language texts are encouraged to give them to native speakers of Latin American languages in order to spell correctly place and people names and other words and phrases in Spanish or Portuguese that are seldom written correctly.

¹ A non-exhaustive list of other book-length studies published in the last ten years includes:

- Juan José Delaney (2015), *What, che? Integration, adaptation and assimilation of the Irish-Argentine community through its language and literature*
- Gabriela McEvoy (2018), *La experiencia invisible: Inmigrantes irlandeses en el Perú*
- Sarah O'Brien (2017), *Linguistic Diasporas, Narrative and Performance: The Irish in Argentina*
- Tim Fanning (2016), *Paisanos: the forgotten Irish who changed the face of Latin America*
- Helen Kelly (2009), *Irish 'Ingleses': The Irish Immigrant Experience in Argentina, 1840-1920*
- Michael Lillis (2014), *Eliza Lynch – Queen of Paraguay*, and documentary film
- Maria Eugenia Cruset (ed.) (2018), *Argentina e Irlanda 1816-1916-2016: actores, acciones y conmemoraciones*
- Carlos Iglesias (2018), *Irlandeses en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires*
- Laura Zuntini de Izarra (2011), *Narrativas de la diáspora irlandesa bajo la Cruz del Sur*
- Irish Department of Foreign Affairs (2017), *The Irish in Latin America*
- Harry Dunleavy (2019), *Irish Immigration to Latin America*
- Margaret Brehony and Nuala Finnegan (eds.) (2020), *Irlanda y Cuba: Historias Entretejidas*.

² Among them:

- Kennedy, Michael, "'Mr. Blythe, I Think, Hears from Him Occasionally': The Experience of Irish Diplomats in Latin America, 1919-23" in Kennedy, Michael and J.M. Skelly (eds.), *Irish Foreign Policy 1919-66: From Independence to Internationalism* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000).
- Hand, Paul, "'This is not a place for delicate or nervous or impatient diplomats': the Irish Legation in Perón's Argentina (1948-55)" in *Irish Studies in International Affairs* (Dublin), 16 (2005), pp. 175-192.

³ Personal communication with the author (20 July 2019).

Not surprisingly in a conventional history work, Dermot Keogh's new work is structured chronologically with emphasis on some important actors of Irish independence in Ireland and in Argentina. An introductory chapter outlines nineteenth-century Irish immigration in Argentina (Irish Protestant immigration and how the Irish traveled back to Ireland or out of Argentina to other places are not explored, however). Then the narrative focuses on William Bulfin (1863-1910) and his quest for unity among the Irish in Argentina.

In two chapters, Bulfin's roles as the *Southern Cross* editor and publisher, and identity-builder of the "Irish-Argentine Catholic community" (93) are accounted for in exhaustive detail. There is abundant information about the Irish nationalist networks in Ireland, Argentina, the United States and other places, including connections with the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), and the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB). Unpublished sources are used by the author, including the interesting Bulfin correspondence included in his family collection. Some of these letters illustrate Bulfin's sense of humor. In 1894, writing to his wife Annie, who was in Ireland, he mentioned that "since you left I lost six kilos. But don't worry. There will be some left when you are back" (my translation).

The next four chapters are dedicated mostly to William Bulfin's son Eamonn Bulfin (1862-1968), and represent an interesting and fairly complete biography of an important player of Irish Independence. Until now, Eamonn Bulfin was known by a reduced number of scholars, and almost exclusively for having flown the tricolor on Monday, 24 April, 1916 on the General Post Office building during the Easter Rising. However, this patriotic act overshadowed other aspects of Eamonn Bulfin's life that are meticulously researched by the author. Among them are his attendance to Patrick Pearse's school St. Enda's in Dublin, his connections with some of the key players of Irish independence in the first decades of the twentieth century and with Irish nationalists in Argentina, the adventurous episodes of his life after the Easter Rising (saved thanks to his Argentine citizenship), and his diplomatic representation of Ireland in South America (including the efforts to obtain official recognition to the new republic and to counteract pro-British propaganda).

The closing chapter is dedicated to Laurence Ginnell (1852-1923), a senior figure of Irish politics in Ireland and the United States. In 1921-1923, Ginnell was sent to Argentina by the Dáil Éireann as an special envoy before the South American governments. High expectations, both political and economic, were put on his mission. But internal feuds among leaders of the Irish Argentine community and the confrontations between pro- and anti-Treaty in Ireland represented serious problems for Ginnell's goals. After the epilogue (including interesting information about the Bulfin family and Patrick MacManus of Mountcharles, Donegal), an appendix reproduces two articles by William Bulfin under his pen name Che Buono, published in the *Southern Cross*, 11 and 25 November 1892: "Apuntes porteños: El conventillo" (in translation) and "Contrasts – The Old and the New" (original text in English).

"La independencia de Irlanda" is a proof of passionate research and dedication to the study of Irish-Argentine relations in this area. No loose ends are left in Professor Keogh's narrative. Everything is well-documented and referenced, including minor details. His quest for accuracy is noteworthy. In an acknowledgement stated in a footnote, he includes his wife's name during a visit

to St Paul's Monastery in the intent to record the integrity of the information (94, n. 39). This and many other examples only witness to the intellectual honesty of the author.

Further, an amazing archival work has been undertaken by the author, covering untapped primary sources: newspapers (*The Standard*, *The Southern Cross*, *The Freeman's Journal*, *The Skibbereen Eagle*, *The Cork Examiner*, *The Wexford People*, *The Irish Examiner*, *The Nation*, *The Irish Times*, *The Western People*, *The Fermanagh Herald*, *La Nación*, *La Prensa* and others in Ireland and in Argentina); documents; photos; unpublished correspondence, first editions. Keogh's field work involves a number of collections in Ireland and Argentina. Among them are the National Library of Ireland (Bulfin papers, MacManus papers), Pontificio Colegio Irlandés (Roman Archive), British National Archives Kew, National Library (Buenos Aires), Pallotine's archives, OMI archives, Bulfin family papers, Irish Military Archives, Westmeath County Library and the Argentine Foreign Affairs Archive. Interviews are also an important source for this book. Some of the informants, such as Jeanne Winder-Bulfin (Eamonn Bulfin's daughter), reveal important aspects of the Bulfin family.

The sixty-four photos and documents included in this book are also a key addition (even if the quality of some of them doesn't allow us to fully appreciate their value). They cover family photographs of William and Eamonn Bulfin, book and article manuscripts, correspondence (including letters by Patrick Pearse and diplomatic changes between Argentine and British representatives), newspaper articles, images of the Irish nationalist fighters imprisoned after the Easter Rising, and documents such as Eamonn ("Eduardo") Bulfin's Argentine passport and the Irish Fund bonds. I liked in particular the group photo of "Eamonn Bulfin and members of the Irish-Argentine community during a barbecue, c. 1920-21", with the traditional show-off of the landowning class's wealth and power epitomized by the many carcasses slowly cooking on the fire (272). Metonyms of husbandry and masculine prowess can be read in this photo.

Few negative aspects can be highlighted, and they are more on the editor's and publisher's tables. The bibliographical reference system is somehow cumbersome to follow, especially for those sources that are most frequently cited. Notes are always a difficult decision for the editor. Personally, I prefer the system that leaves the notes only for comments and embeds in the text parenthetical information (author, year, page as in the Harvard system). Indeed, the absence of a bibliography and an alphabetical index are to be regretted.

This is not literature for beginners. Historians of Irish Diaspora and Irish Independence, experts in migrations and graduate students in different disciplines will appreciate the extensive research and the massive detail provided by the author. The general public, including those in search of genealogical a context, may find the pace a bit slow. On the other hand, the focused account on Irish-Argentine diplomatic relations allows the author to go in depth in the study of this field.

La independencia de Irlanda is a welcome addition to the literature on Irish-Latin American relations. This book is the result of a pioneering research on diplomatic relations between Ireland and Argentina. Dr Keogh is to be congratulated for his job and we hope that the second part will be published in the near future.

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