

Irish Migration Studies in Latin America

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Migration Memories in Times of Change



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Laura P. Z. Izarra and Gabriela McEvoy
Guest Editors

Irish Migration Studies in Latin America
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Laura P. Z. Izarra and Gabriela McEvoy, Guest Editors

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Second image (top right): Madeira-Mamoré Railway

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Introduction

Laura P. Z. Izarra and Gabriela McEvoy¹

Irish immigration in Latin America and its connections with the world can be analyzed from multiple perspectives. From a historical standpoint, the Great Famine (1849-1853) was the main cause of Irish mass migration, during which Irish emigrants were predominantly seeking survival. However, for the receiving countries, it signified a redefinition and reimagination of their cultural borders. In the economic realm, Irish brought different levels of knowledge and experience to countries eager for progress and development.

This tenth issue of *IMSLA Journal* comes from two conferences: “Commemoration, Memory, and Dialogue with the Past” which was hosted by the Universidad del Pacífico, in the city of Lima, Perú in 2021 – though virtually due to COVID – and “Reimaginings and Reconstructions. Ireland, Latin America, Spain and the Caribbean in Times of Change and Uncertainty” which was held at the National University of Ireland, Galway, in 2023. Both conferences look towards the past Irish Revolutions through memory and the centenaries in order to project creatively the future untrodden paths of Irish Studies in the relations between Ireland and Latin America. Thus, the journal is divided in five sections: The Caribbean, South America, History and Literary Narratives, Translations, and Fictional Narrative. Within these sections, readers will find diverse topics, including history, literary narratives, poetry, and work in translation.

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Gabriela McEvoy was born in Lima, Perú. She is the Chair of the Languages Department and Professor of Spanish at Lebanon Valley College. She teaches all levels of Spanish language, literature, and culture. Her area of research is Irish Immigrants in Peru.

Irish immigrants played a crucial role in the period of modernization of Latin American countries. They were agents in the social, religious, economic, and political life of the adopted land bringing their few belongings and cultural traditions. The Irish abroad played different roles either in the military or civil administration – as travelers, adventurers, or settlers; as soldiers in the wars of independence or as mercenary soldiers to fulfill the expansionist plans of new republics; in the control of lands and grazing herds or in the development of the Atlantic trade. Wherever they settled, they built schools, hospitals, orphanages, and churches to maintain the Irish ethos. Whether in the cities or in the countryside the patterns of Irish settlements in non-English speaking countries vary according to personal and community factors to face the tensions of cultural encounters. Though successful narratives of assimilation, integration and contribution triggered counternarratives of oppression and silenced histories, the Irish became undoubtedly the workforce that contributed to the construction of major infrastructure projects such as railways, roads, and canals. Railroads were the symbol of economic prosperity of those times and many Irish, American and indigenous workers looked for employment in those companies; such as in Peru, the *bracero* contributed to the construction of railways both in the Coast and the Andean regions; the Madeira-Mamoré Railway (1907-1912), known as the “Devil’s Railroad”, also attracted workers when Dom Pedro II of Brazil signed a treaty with Bolivia allowing free use of frontier rivers by both nations to link the Pacific to the Atlantic. We can also point out Irish contribution to the Panama railroad (1850-1855) 60 years before the inauguration of the Panama Canal in 1914, as Peter Pyne explains in his opening article. Railroads were spread in the vast territory of Latin America, being British (Irish were also identified as such) and U.S. engineers responsible for their construction across swamps and jungles, mountains and rivers facing great engineering challenges. Many workers’ lives were lost, killed by malaria, and buried beneath the track. Their dreams, ideals and courage shall never be forgotten.

South America has been the focus of the largest Irish migratory waves to non-English speaking countries in the nineteenth century, mainly to Argentina which configures a typical chain migration. A cartography of the Irish is being constructed with the research of many scholars and Laura Izarra’s essay “The presence of the Irish in Brazil within the Latin American Context” is an invitation to complete this map, focusing here on a country that has no history of continuous Irish

settlements since the end of the sixteenth century as in the United States or Argentina. Though in the middle of the century the riches of saltpeter, copper and coal attracted a greater number of Europeans who settled successfully in Chile, few were the Irish who chose the country in the colonial period as Ambrosio O'Higgins, a successful merchant in Cadiz and America who became governor of Concepción (1788-1796) and then viceroy of Peru (1796-1801). Later, his son Bernardo O'Higgins Riquelme, hero of the Independence wars in the first decades of 1800s, among others, contributed to the development of the country. Roberto Arancibia reveals the story of Patrick Egan and his son Frank in the connections between U.S., Ireland, and Chile in the period 1891-1916 looking towards the Irish revolution. In Argentina, many of the first immigrants sent news home about job opportunities in the great extension of fertile lands and the urbanization of the cities supported by the new government laws. After the Confederation, the 1853 Constitution divided the Executive, Legislative and Judicial powers and initiated the transformation of the country into a modern nation-state. In "The Courts and the Irish in Argentina: Victims and perpetrators (1853-1900)" Maria Eugenia Cruset discusses the relationship of the Argentine Judicial Court with the Hiberno-Argentines through the case study of three important historical figures of the Irish community: Camila and Miguel O 'Gorman, the Dillon family and Felisardo Kelly. Memory is the focus of Justin Harman's "The decade that keeps coming back" who reflects upon the times he was an Irish diplomat serving in Buenos Aires over the turbulent years of the 1970s. He argues that it left deep social and political fissures which do not allow the country to reach a national consensus to support essential structural change even after the return of democracy in 1983.

Learning Spanish has been the priority of the Irish community to be able to integrate in the new society. Though at the beginning it was an endogenous community, the Irish communicate in Hiberno-English incorporating native vocabulary of their everyday activities. An example of this blending of languages was the writings of William Bulfin published in the community's newspapers, *The Irish Argentine* and *The Southern Cross* and in his collection of short stories *Tales of the Pampas* (1900). Studies done by Susan Wilkinson (1997) and Juan José Delaney (2017) proved how their speech unconsciously intermingled with Irishisms and Hispanicisms while keeping Spanish words which have no equivalent in English. Following this line in "Anglophony in the Argentine context from the Río de la Plata: intercultural configurations during

the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries”, Mónica Cuello, Andrea Fuanna, and Pamela Vietri analyze the first Anglo-Argentine intercultural manifestations in Cunningham Graham’s: “La pulpería” (1900) and Hudson’s *Idle Days in Patagonia* (1893) to compare and contrast them with the aim at showing anglophony and the role translation plays in this process when compared with twenty-first century electronic publications.

The section “History and Literary Narratives” is subdivided into three distinct articles. In the first article, “Resignificaciones de la brujería irlandesa desde la Baja Edad Media hasta inicios de la centuria”, Paula Gimena Brain utilizes sources from the archives of the Assizes courts and popular anecdotes to present a concise narrative of the history of witchcraft in Ireland. Brain’s goal is to elucidate the reasons behind the absence of policies promoting the widespread of hunting processes in Europe and the American colonies, and to redefine the concept of *brujerías*. The following two articles focus contemporary writers Emma Donaghue and the representations of World War I and 1916 Easter Rising, and Colm Tóibín and Garrett Carr introducing the reader to the contemporary issue of the Irish Border. Thus, Griselda Gugliara’s “*The Pull of Stars: Female Voices Claiming for Justice*” explores how a gendered narrative of independence is created by Irish writer in the darkness and intensity of a tiny ward in which three women change each other’s lives in unexpected ways. As Gugliara has pointed out, this novel set in Dublin in 1918, can be viewed as articulating a feminist critique of the patriarchal system, particularly in the context of the third wave of feminism which is intersectional, multivocal and inclusive. In “A Poetics of the Irish Border in *Bad Blood: A walk along the Irish Border* (1987) and *The Rule of the Land: Walking Ireland’s Border* (2017)” Silvana Fernández gives us an insight into the ambiguous texture of both works and the images which weave the relationship between the history of the Border and the world the writers’ creations bring forth.

The next section deals with the process of translation and how the de-codification of a different language brings cultural aspects of another literary tradition into the target language. Translating is a relevant strategy of cultural diaspora and a way of constructing transnational bridges of knowledges. Camille Vilela-Jones focuses on the usage of proper nouns in three Brazilian translations of *Ulysses* and on their Brazilian cultural references considering Venuti’s concepts of domesticating and foreignizing translations. On the other hand, Pedro Luís Sala Vieira

reveals the encounter of three cultures when studying intertextuality in the Brazilian Portuguese translations of James Joyce's masterpiece *Ulysses*. He focuses on "Telemachus" and "Proteus" to analyze how three Brazilian translators dealt with the different layers of Shakespearean references present in those episodes.

Finally, the last section of this journal includes for the first time a fictional narrative. Grounded in actual events and characters, the short story "Catalina" provides a glimpse into the family life of Irish immigrant Patrick Dowling. Having arrived in Peru around 1848, he established a family in different parts of Peru. Dowling's story symbolizes the challenges and successes of an emerging immigrant class that prioritized the education of both sons and daughters.

We are grateful to the authors of the essays in this issue who contributed to a variety of topics related to Ireland, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

Enjoy your reading!

The Editors

**Ireland and Panama: The Building of the Panama Railroad,
1850-1855**

Peter Pyne¹

Abstract: Little is known about Irish migration to Central America in the nineteenth century. This paper sheds light on a forgotten episode of Ireland's history which has hitherto been overlooked by students of the country's nineteenth-century diaspora. It has two main objectives. Firstly, to show that there was substantial Irish involvement in building the world's first interoceanic railroad across Panama in the 1850s. My research, using primary and secondary sources, has brought to light the participation of approximately 3,700 Irish labourers in this pioneering project. Most were immigrants in the United States, but a minority was recruited directly in Cork. Secondly, by using a methodology adapted from the French attempt to build a canal across Panama in the 1880s, I challenge the myth that virtually all of the Irish workers who went to Panama died there.

Keywords: Panama, railroad, Irish, emigrants, mortality, New Granada, Cork.

The word "Panama" brings to mind the Panama Canal, one of the world's great infrastructural achievements. Sixty years before the Canal's opening in 1914 however, work on another pioneering transportation scheme was drawing to a close – the Panama railroad. Conceived by a New York shipping millionaire, William Aspinwall, the building of a railroad across almost fifty miles of Panama's swamps and jungle was one of the great engineering accomplishments of the nineteenth century. This rail link, started in 1850 and completed in 1855, was the world's first interoceanic railroad, the first to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It was the first railway to be built in Central America and in terms of cost per mile was the most expensive to be built anywhere in the world at the time.² The story of how it was built and of the thousands of men, one fifth of whom were Irish, who battled climate, disease, and geography to construct it, deserves to be more widely known.

¹Peter Pyne was born in Dublin. He lectured in the Institute of Continuing Education of Ulster University at Magee University College, Derry until his retirement. He has written on Irish and Latin American history and politics.

² Wolmar, *Blood, Iron and Gold*, 126.

In 1847, the completion of the transcontinental railroad in the United States was still a distant dream and Aspinwall realised that a railroad crossing the Isthmus of Panama would act as a vital land bridge between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.³ This rail link would transport passengers and freight between America's east and west coasts, and stimulate trade with Pacific and Asian nations, avoiding the long and dangerous sea route around Cape Horn. After securing a concession from New Granada's government, Aspinwall established the Panama Railroad Company in New York in 1849.⁴ His timing was perfect. From early 1849, news of the discovery of gold in California set off a tidal wave of migration to America's new Pacific territories. In the following decades, thousands of prospectors and settlers would swarm across Panama, as it was the fastest route to the new goldfields.⁵



Map of Central America and the U.S.

³ The Transamerica rail route was not completed until 1869.

⁴ Panama was then a province of New Granada, known as Colombia from 1886.

⁵ Between 1848 and 1860, more migrants used the Panama route than the overland trail across the United States. McGuinness, *Path of Empire*, 7, table 1.

What role did Irishmen play in building this rail link in Panama, a part of the world with few obvious Irish connections?⁶ This project employed about 17,500 men from over a dozen countries scattered across several continents.⁷ In addition to men from Ireland, there were workers from the United States and several European countries, as well as an estimated 7,000 Central and South Americans, 3,000 West Indians, 1,000 Chinese, and several hundred from the Indian sub-continent and the Malay Peninsula. These men formed what was probably the first multinational labour force to be employed by an American corporation outside the United States.

About 6,000 of the railroad's employees were white, nearly all of whom were hired in the United States. Despite a widespread assumption that these men were Americans, my research suggests that approximately 60 per cent of the total were Irish-born emigrants who had settled in the United States. Because of their skin colouring, their general appearance, and the fact that they were largely English speaking, these workers were frequently referred to as "Americans" in newspaper accounts and sometimes in the company's documents. However, my investigations suggest that around 3,300 of these recruits were actually Irishmen. Most were recruited in the immigrant ghettos of New York City, Boston, and New Orleans, and in the regions surrounding these urban centres. Similarly, my research has uncovered the previously unknown fact that the railroad company also recruited 360 Irishmen directly in Cork and shipped them to Panama.

The Irish and Irish-American component of the workforce, amounting to an estimated 3,700 men, constituted about 21 per cent of the total labour force.⁸ Irish newspapers were aware of the participation of workers from the home country in this project but in at least one case overestimated the numbers involved. "Tens of thousands of Irishmen, unable to obtain employment here, have within the last few years been induced to emigrate from the United States to the Isthmus of Panama, to build the railroad there, upon which none but natives and blacks ought to have been employed."⁹

⁶ Brehony, "Irish Railroad Workers in Cuba" has shown that there was earlier Irish involvement in railroad construction in the Caribbean area in the 1830s.

⁷ Pyne, *Panama Railroad*, 110-111.

⁸ Pyne, *Panama Railroad*, 210-212.

⁹ *Leinster Express*, 7 February 1857, quoting from *The European* (New York), n.d.

Evidence for Irish involvement on this scale is of two kinds. Firstly, indications of an Irish presence are scattered throughout a variety of sources, including the railroad company's documents, reports in newspapers in Panama, the United States and Ireland, travel accounts, and memoirs. Legal proceedings in New York brought by labourers against a railroad contractor provide additional insights into Irish participation. Unfortunately, most reports of Irish involvement fail to quantify the numbers involved.

There is also evidence based on geographical and occupational factors. My hypothesis is that 60 per cent of the "American" employees were Irish because the recruitment of labourers in the United States focussed largely on the cities of New York, Boston and, to a lesser extent, New Orleans. As confirmed by census data of the 1850s, these cities and their surrounding areas were home to large Irish immigrant populations, and Irish manual workers constituted the bulk of their unskilled labour force. Irishmen predominated in building the expanding American rail network, and were strongly represented in construction, canal excavation and public works. During the 1850s, "In New York [City] nine out of ten labourers were Irishmen."¹⁰ Approximately one in every four Bostonians had been born in Ireland in this decade, and 82 per cent of the city's unskilled male labour force was Irish.¹¹ Irishmen, cheap and expendable, were also disproportionately represented among New Orleans' labouring class and were frequently used as substitutes for more expensive slaves.¹² Transportation links and logistical considerations reinforce the argument for a considerable Irish presence among the railroad's manual workers. The railroad company's headquarters were in New York and that city and New Orleans were key embarkation points for men heading for Panama, as they were the only ports on America's Atlantic coast with scheduled steamship services to the Isthmus.

The first reference to hiring Irish workers occurred on May 30, 1850, when the company's executive and finance committee approved a proposal from a New Orleans labour contractor to provide one hundred Irishmen from that city and allocated \$20,000 to cover the cost.¹³ The railroad was then clearing a route through the mangrove swamps that extended inland from the Caribbean

¹⁰ Dolan, *Irish Americans*, 86-87.

¹¹ Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants*, 52, 60, 250-251, 253.

¹² Brennan, "Getting Out of Crescent City", 191; Niehaus, *Irish in New Orleans*, 44, 47.

¹³ Panama Railroad Company (PRC). Minutes of the Executive and Finance Committee, 30 May 1850.

coast for several miles. An Irish paper announced that a large force of labourers had left New Orleans on August 1 to labour on the Panama railroad.¹⁴ According to the *New York Evening Post* the following month, “there is a large number of Irish labourers employed on the Panama railroad”.¹⁵ George Totten, the chief engineer, noted the reaction of the new arrivals after they had been deployed in the swamplands. “The Irishmen are not pleased at being placed to work in the water ... Five or six of them have already deserted”.¹⁶



Mangrove Swamps, Panama

By mid-October, between three and four hundred men were at work, “most of them Irish from New Orleans”.¹⁷ A reference to possible Irish racial antagonism dates from this period. While awaiting the arrival of Jamaican labourers in September 1850, Totten wrote that they would have to be “put on a different part of the work from the other labourers ... if placed among the Irishmen, I should fear an occasional row.”¹⁸ As the Irishmen referred to were from New Orleans, it is likely

¹⁴ *Dundalk Democrat*, 24 August 1850.

¹⁵ 21 September 1850.

¹⁶ PRC. Letters from G.M. Totten (hereafter cited as Totten to recipient). Totten to Stephens, 9 September 1850.

¹⁷ Kemble, *Panama Route*, 191.

¹⁸ Totten to Stephens, 21 September 1850.

that they had been exposed to the racist attitudes prevailing in the American South. Totten made no further reference to this matter, and no reports of Irish racial antagonism appeared in company documents and newspapers during the remaining years of construction.¹⁹

Physically exhausting labour, together with daily soakings from the torrential downpours of the rainy season (April to December) took a toll on all employees and not just labourers. What was possibly the first confirmed Irish casualty occurred on December 10, 1850, when D. Knox Maunsell, a civil engineer, the eldest son of the rector of Castleisland, County Kerry, died. “His illness was of five days duration, produced by exposure to the climate, and being obliged to work in swamps up to his waist.”²⁰ According to an American worker, the best excavators were Irish and Germans with construction experience. “With such men this road can be built and with no others.”²¹ In February 1851, Totten sent a supervisor to the United States with instructions “to bring young, hearty Irishmen, from works where he has been engaged and is well known ... Let the graders be Irish or Germans, from New England or New York”. The chief engineer warned against hiring his own compatriots for manual labour. “Americans are not fit for that work”.²²

In early 1851, an Irish Catholic priest, the Reverend Richard Waters arrived in Panama. The priest celebrated Mass at locations where workmen were stationed which suggests that much of the labour force at this point was probably Irish. Totten was pleased with the clergyman’s ministrations. “The Irish Catholic missionary, Revd. Walters [sic] has officiated at our different stations on the river a number of times, and his preaching has a happy effect upon a large portion of our labourers, quieting them and reconciling them to their duties.”²³ In a letter to a local newspaper, Waters commented on his fellow countrymen’s health. “As to the Irish labourers there has not one been sick since the commencement”.²⁴ The priest remained in Panama, apparently acting as an unofficial chaplain to the railroad’s Catholic employees, until his death in October 1851.

¹⁹ Allegations by Schott of Irish hostility to Chinese workers in 1854 lack documentary proof, as does much of his account of the railroad’s construction. *Rails*, 178-179; Pyne, *Panama Railroad*, 5, 212-216.

²⁰ *New York Weekly Herald*, 11 January 1851; *Kerry Evening Post*, 1 February 1851.

²¹ George Bartholomew, letter to *New York Tribune*, 22 January 1851.

²² Totten to Stephens, 24 February 1851. Graders prepared the ground for track laying.

²³ Totten to Stephens, 24 February 1851.

²⁴ *Panama Star*, 14 January 1851. The priest was probably referring to the most recent contingent of Irish workers only, and not to earlier arrivals.

Irish involvement in building the railroad continued. In June 1851, the steamer *Falcon* landed 180 Irish labourers from New York. “Some difficulty occurred upon their landing, by the desertion of a number of them, who were subsequently secured and placed in irons.”²⁵ The deserters were probably hoping to get to California where the gold rush was in full swing. Robert Fuller, a former railroad labourer and a native of Killarney, maintained later that about five hundred Irishmen were employed during the early stages of construction.²⁶

Again, references to the Irish involvement in the building of the railroad abound, and from a variety of sources. Referring to the 1852-1853 period, Otis, the railroad’s first historian, wrote: “At times there was a force of several hundred men employed; but they were mostly Irish”.²⁷ Anthony Trollope, the eminent Victorian novelist who had visited the Isthmus, concurred. “The high rate of wages enticed many Irishmen here.”²⁸ Newspapers occasionally reported the deaths of railroad employees who were identified as Irish or who had Irish-sounding names. In April 1851, “The body of a man supposed to be an Irishman who had been employed on the railroad, was found floating in the Chagres River, a few days ago, since which we learn that two men have been arrested and charged with the murder.”²⁹ In another incident, “An Irishman, by the name of James Casey, a labourer on the Panama railroad was found dead yesterday morning ... This is the effect of continued drunkenness”.³⁰ These and similar reports were unsympathetic: they failed to mention that men toiling long hours in the punishing heat of isolated jungle encampments with no recreational facilities were tempted to drink their troubles away.

²⁵ *Panama Herald*, 16 June 1851. The company had secured the cooperation of the Panamanian authorities in punishing deserters with imprisonment.

²⁶ *New York Times*, 3, 4 February 1857. Fuller also claimed that most were dead at the end of six months.

²⁷ Otis, *Illustrated History*, 34.

²⁸ Trollope, *West Indies*, 246.

²⁹ *Panama Herald*, 21 April 1851.

³⁰ *Panama Star*, 14 December 1853, citing *Aspinwall Courier*, 9 December 1853.



THE TERMINUS OF THE PANAMA RAILWAY AT COLON (ASPENWALL)

Running the Lines, Panama

Allegations of criminal behaviour by Irish railroad employees were made in a few cases. Several Irishmen were charged in February 1853 with breaking into a company storehouse and were imprisoned in Panama City while awaiting trial. They appealed unsuccessfully to both the British and American consuls for release.³¹ A more serious incident occurred in March when an Irish carpenter, John McHugo [McHugh], was punished for refusing to carry out instructions. McHugo swore vengeance on his supervisor but mistook his victim and stabbed to death an innocent man. He faced almost certain execution but died in prison before sentence was passed.³² References to Irishmen continued to appear in a variety of sources.³³ The Protestant bishop of California noted an Irish presence while crossing the Isthmus on his way to California. “Occasionally, too, we saw groups of the Irish, who were employed as workmen on the railroad. They looked pale and miserable ... It is almost certain death to them to be employed here ... and yet they are coming out by hundreds to complete it.”³⁴

Sickness, climatic conditions, and the physical obstacles posed by the terrain slowed the pace of construction from the start. The chief engineer, beset by health problems, conscious of his failure

³¹ *Panama Herald*, 18 February 1853.

³² *Panama Star*, 5, 6, 13 April 1853; *Panama Herald*, 5, 12 April 1853.

³³ See, for example, letter to *Cork Examiner*, 21 July 1854.

³⁴ Kip, *Early Days*, 26-27. The bishop repeated the myth that a labourer had died for every foot of the railroad which, if true, would have given a death toll of at least 132,000 by early 1854.

to meet construction targets, and mindful of the daunting challenges that lay ahead, advised the board of directors to transfer the project to an outside contractor. His suggestion was accepted and in June 1852, the company handed over construction to a prominent American railroad builder called Minor Story.

Story, with no experience of working in the tropics, underestimated the difficulties involved, as well as the number of workers required. He also experienced more than his fair share of bad luck. The 1852 wet season was unusually heavy and prolonged. An outbreak of cholera reduced the size of his workforce and debilitated its survivors. A Dublin newspaper reported that labourers had deserted by the hundred and “the mortality among those from America and Ireland had been most severe.”³⁵ The following year an outbreak of yellow fever hit the Isthmus. Story would have regarded Irishmen, particularly those with experience in construction and railroad work as ideal recruits for his labour-hungry project. The contractor attempted to remedy his shortage of workers by advertising for three thousand labourers in the *Boston Herald* and the *New York Herald* throughout the first half of 1853.

However, these attempts did not go unchallenged. The advertisements prompted the publication of a letter to the *Irish American* (the newspaper with the largest circulation among the expatriate Irish community), ominously headed “Irish Graves in Panama”, which was written “to prevent the fearful sacrifice of life which must ensue by using Irish labour on the Isthmus.”³⁶ The paper’s editor added an admonitory postscript. “We recommend it to the careful consideration of Irish labourers”, confirming that the advertisements in question were aimed mainly at Irish immigrants in Boston and New York.

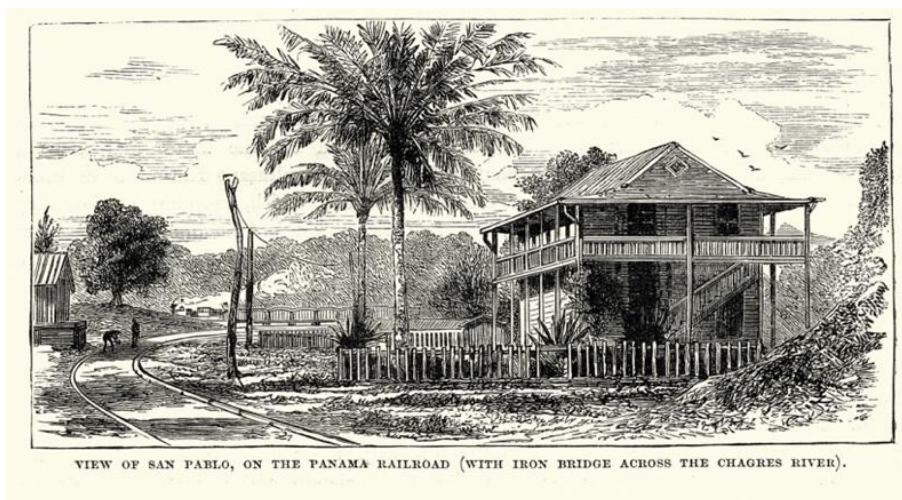
Story’s shoddy treatment of workers resulted in employees taking legal proceedings against him in New York’s courts. The surnames of some of those mentioned e.g. Monaghan, Murphy, Lyons, Harris, Cosgrove, Fagan, Shaw, Dalton, suggest they were Irish-born, though this was not explicitly stated.³⁷ The fact that some of these aggrieved labourers chose Michael Doheny to act

³⁵ *Freeman’s Journal*, 19 November 1852.

³⁶ Letter from Thomas Antisell M.D., 30 April 1853.

³⁷ *New York Times*, 30 July 1853, 6 February 1854; *New York Tribune*, 20 August 1853; *Irish American*, 20, 27 August 1853; *New York Freeman’s Journal*, 20 August 1853.

as their legal representative strengthens the likelihood that they were Irish. Doheny, a former Young Ireland leader who had fled to the United States after the failed 1848 rebellion against British rule, was a founder member of the Irish republican Fenian movement.³⁸ The courts awarded damages and costs to the plaintiffs in a number of these cases.



View of San Pablo on the Panama Railroad

Following Story's failure to complete construction by August 1853, the railroad resumed control under George Totten, its chief engineer. Valuable time had been lost. After three years, the line reached just over halfway across the Isthmus. A rival route to the Pacific promoted by Cornelius Vanderbilt, the multi-millionaire shipping tycoon, through nearby Nicaragua now posed a threat to the railroad's viability. The company's directors decided to pour in thousands of additional labourers and conquer the remaining miles to Panama City by sheer force of numbers. Because the railroad's image as an employer had been damaged by Story's poor employment practices, the company was now finding it more difficult to recruit the increased number of men it required in the United States. According to an Irish-American newspaper, reluctance to volunteer for work in Panama had spread to the Irish immigrant community. "Since our warnings of the fatality of foreign labourers there [Panama], Irishmen cannot be found to go from the United States."³⁹

³⁸ Doheny wrote an account of the 1848 Rising and its aftermath, *The Felon's Track* (New York: W H Holbrooke, 1849).

³⁹ *New York Freeman's Journal*, 7 August 1853, reprinted in the *Waterford News*, 11 November 1853.

The need for more labourers, together with a slowdown in American recruitment, caused the railroad to look further afield, particularly in countries that it assumed were unaware of conditions in Panama. In July, the directors discussed importing two thousand men from Ireland, before reducing that number by half.⁴⁰ A decision was also taken to recruit a similar number of workers in mainland China.⁴¹ The chief engineer's opinion of workers from Ireland was revealing. "Irish labourers are not so efficient on the Isthmus as in cooler and healthier climates, yet, for a period from four to six months, which is the term of their engagement, they perform a fair amount of work."⁴²

The company's vice-president, Colonel Alexander Center, arrived in Cork in October 1853 to recruit additional labour. The railroad had already contacted Irish workhouses that might be interested in disposing of some of their male inmates.⁴³ These institutions remained crowded with thousands of poverty-stricken survivors of the Great Famine of 1845-1851. However, the Cork Union was the only one to respond to the railroad's overtures. When it seemed unlikely that he could get all the men he needed from this source, Center advertised in Cork newspapers seeking 1,000 labourers, masons, and quarrymen for a six-month period for wages of \$1 per day (4 shillings). This was a substantial amount by contemporary Irish standards, and additional inducements included free board, lodging and medical attention, and a steamer ticket to the United States at the end of the contract.⁴⁴ Center chartered a sailing ship in Liverpool, the *Ben Nevis*, to take the Irish recruits to Panama.

These advertisements sparked off a vigorous debate in the local Cork press. Unfavourable reports from Irishmen who had previously worked on the railroad had filtered back to Ireland and appeared in Cork's newspapers. Letters warned readers of the risks of labouring in a tropical climate and predicted a high mortality rate.⁴⁵ Unfavourable press coverage was largely responsible for Story's failure to recruit the expected number of volunteers, and when the *Ben Nevis*, left Queenstown

⁴⁰ PRC, Minutes, Board of Directors, 1 July 1853; Minutes, Executive and Finance Committee, 16 September 1853; *Estrella de Panama*, 24 August 1853; *Panama Star*, 25 August 1853, 4 October 1853.

⁴¹ Two shiploads of Chinese indentured labourers, just over 1,000 men, arrived in Panama in 1854.

⁴² *Panama Herald*, 27 December 1853, quoting from Totten's report to the railroad's president and board.

⁴³ *Daily Express*, 1 November 1853.

⁴⁴ *Cork Examiner*, 14, 17, 19, 21, 24, 26 1853; *Cork Constitution*, 15, 18, 20, 22 1853; *Cork Southern Reporter*, 15, 18, 22 October 1853.

⁴⁵ *Cork Examiner*, 21, 24, 31 October, 2 November 1853; *Cork Constitution*, 20, 22, 27 October 1853.

(Cobh) on a foggy morning in December 1853, it had only 360 men aboard, 133 of whom were workhouse emigrants. My analysis of the Cork Union records revealed the likely names and some details of those inmates who had volunteered for Panama.⁴⁶



Ben Nevis Sailing Ship. Illustrated London News, September 4, 1852

Courtesy of the British Library Board

What fate befell the thousands of Irishmen who ended up in Panama? Many suffered from malaria or other fevers and were admitted to the company's hospitals. A traveller remarked that their windows "showed many fever-worn and saddened faces, among which I fancied I saw a few unmistakably Irish features and lineaments."⁴⁷ A visitor to the railroad's main hospital encountered a brawny Irish labourer, probably suffering from malaria, "with glaring eyes, a face glowing red like a furnace ... and his great chest heaving".⁴⁸ Numerous allegations were made of a catastrophic number of Irish deaths. The press in Ireland accepted the veracity of mortality figures emanating from Irish correspondents in the United States, or taken from American newspapers. However, in

⁴⁶ Pyne, *Panama Railroad*, Appendix 3, 292-296.

⁴⁷ "A pleasure Excursion on the Panama Railway", *United Services Magazine*, n.d., reprinted in *Cork Constitution*, 14 January 1854.

⁴⁸ Tomes, *Panama in 1855*, 207.

my view, based on an assessment of the evidence, these claims were invariably exaggerated and lacked proof.

The *Waterford News*, for example, published a letter from a woman in San Francisco alleging that only five out of every hundred Irishmen in Panama survived. “The railway that has been commenced across the Isthmus of Panama is literally paved with their bones ... the line of the railway was marked with small white crosses, the graves of Irishmen”⁴⁹ A correspondent of the *Freeman’s Journal* wrote in a similar vein: “We see lots of men working on the railway, every rail of which will be an iron monument over the grave of some unfortunate white man ... Here is the white man’s grave.”⁵⁰ The same paper later stated: “It is said that six thousand [Irishmen, aside from other labourers, perished in the construction of the Panama railroad.”⁵¹ Other provincial newspapers reprinted this unsubstantiated allegation.

The *Nation* went further, repeating a claim that the lives of 10,000 Irish had been sacrificed in building the railroad.⁵² The *Cork Examiner* warned readers: “Our countrymen should ponder over the vast sacrifice of the lives of Irishmen in New Grenada [sic], on the Panama railway ...”⁵³ This paper criticized the use of Ireland as a reservoir of labour by foreign railroads. “Far cheaper than slaves, a cargo of Irishmen costs nothing more than the freight of a ship and certain magnificent promises ...” It drew attention to “the fates of the poor wretches who perished for the sake of forming the Panama railroad.”⁵⁴ The *Carlow Morning Post* published a letter from an Irish immigrant, which claimed that a labourer’s life was lost for every two feet of the railroad, and that many of the dead were Irish.⁵⁵ If true, the death toll would have amounted to an incredible 125,000. This allegation echoed the frequently repeated myth that a labourer, or an Irishman, or a Chinese, died for every sleeper laid over the 47½ miles of track. “Shiploads of labourers for the railway died as fast as they came – or, as the saying was ‘An Irishman for every tie’”.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ 6 August 1852.

⁵⁰ 7 June 1851.

⁵¹ 22 November 1855.

⁵² *Nation*, 28 May 1859, citing *Harper’s New York Magazine*, October 1854.

⁵³ 19 December 1859.

⁵⁴ 23 January 1860.

⁵⁵ 3 March 1855

⁵⁶ Tripler, *Tripler, Some Notes*, 106. “Tie” is the American term for a railroad sleeper.

Unfortunately, no reliable mortality figures for the railroad workers have survived. Labouring in the swamps and rainforest of the Isthmus was a physical test that few could withstand for any length of time. Toiling twelve hours a day, six days a week, under a tropical sun and in debilitating humidity, was bound to take a toll on men accustomed to working in more temperate climates. Furthermore, Panama was a fever-infested land. Malaria was endemic, while cholera and yellow fever made unwelcome appearances while the railroad was under construction.

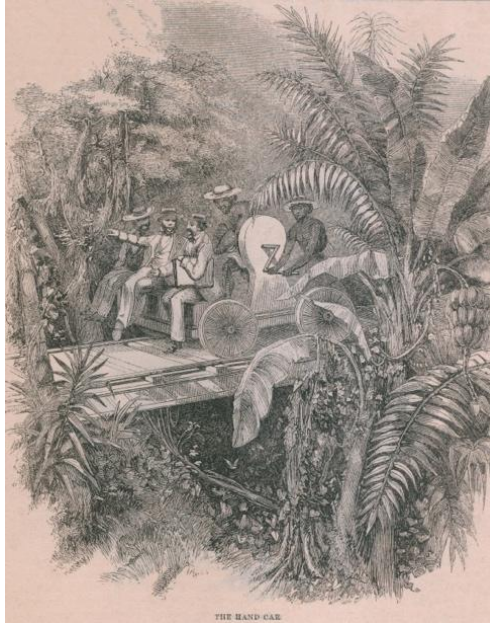
Incomplete statistical data from an unsuccessful attempt to build the Panama Canal under French auspices in the 1880s suggest that somewhere between a fifth and a third of white workers died.⁵⁷ My supposition is that the railroad employees, working in the same terrain and facing the same geoclimatic and disease environments, suffered a mortality rate in the region of 24 per cent.⁵⁸ The death rate would have varied over time and among the various ethnic groups, being lower in workers coming from tropical regions. White employees, including the Irish, who arrived in Panama with unprepared immune systems, suffered from a higher mortality rate, probably in the region of 28 per cent, rising to 33 per cent for those that arrived on the *Ben Nevis*.⁵⁹ If these tentative estimates are close to the truth, just over 1,000 Irish workers died in Panama or shortly after leaving it between 1850 and 1855.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Gorgas, *Sanitation in Panama*, 149, 157, 283.

⁵⁸ Pyne, *Panama Railroad*, 187-196.

⁵⁹ John Brien, a *Ben Nevis* emigrant who returned to Cork, claimed that most of his companions had died, though this was clearly an exaggeration. *Freeman's Journal*, 16 September 1854.

⁶⁰ See Pyne, *Panama Railroad*, Appendix 4, 297-300, for the methodology used to arrive at these figures.



Railroad through the Panama Jungle

The Panama Railroad, now known as the Panama Canal Railroad, was completed in 1855, and its total construction cost amounted to \$8 million. As I have demonstrated, there was significant Irish involvement in building the world's first interoceanic railroad. Irish participation in this pioneering project in the Central American tropics has until now been overlooked and forgotten. It deserves mention in the growing literature on the Irish diaspora in Latin America. The railroad still runs from coast to coast almost one hundred and seventy years after its inauguration and its continued operation is a testament to the blood, toil and sweat of almost 18,000 workers and the loss of approximately 4,000 lives.

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The Presence of the Irish in Brazil within the Latin American Context

Laura P.Z. Izarra¹

Abstract

Though the main destination of the Irish diaspora has been the English-speaking countries, mainly Britain and the United States, Latin America received various waves of Irish immigrants from the mid-1500s onwards. This essay is focused on the Irish presence in Brazil within that context. The aim is to present a systematized information to create a map (still incomplete) to motivate young researchers from different disciplines to follow the trail, discover new vestiges and write a full history of the Irish immigrants and their descendants scattered around the country. It is also important to cover the gap in Irish cultural diaspora – circulation of Irish news, books and art when reaching Brazilian shores because there is no consolidated Irish community yet, as in the border country Argentina.

Keywords: Irish diaspora in Brazil; Rio de Janeiro mutiny; The Fenian Club; Roger Casement and the Amazon; Irish women; Irish pioneers and twentieth-century travelers.

When we think of “globalising Irish Studies” in recent years, one of the most challenging efforts is to move beyond the nation state as the primary unit of analysis and to think transnationally about a range of subjects, topics, and disciplines. In the Irish case this is especially relevant given both the scale and chronological breadth of the diaspora, and the effect it has on wider developments in

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Ireland itself and on Irish people living outside the country. But the transnational approach is not simply about migrations and the movement of people as is often assumed. It also extends beyond the idea of a nation: the history of ideas, political cultures, commerce & consumerism, material and visual culture, gender and virtually every aspect of the human condition – it is a community of purpose on multiple relations.

Migration is understood as a metaphor for change; but migration is also both a product and a cause of change that varies according to the place of origin and the host country. Ireland and the countries of Latin America share a history of European colonialism, subsequent emigrations, revolutions, and wars of independence. There is much to learn by comparing common experiences of colonization in the past and decolonization in our time; the positions of Latin American countries in relation to processes of globalization; and the processes of intersectionality of ethnicities, cultures, and languages because of colonial and postcolonial histories. Despite its not being an English-speaking territory, Latin America received various waves of Irish immigrants from the mid-1500s onwards. This essay is focused on the Irish presence in Brazil within that context. The aim is to present a systematized information to create a map that would motivate young researchers from different disciplines to follow the trail, discover new vestiges and write a full history of the Irish immigrants, their descendants scattered around the country and Irish cultural diaspora because there is no consolidated Irish community yet, as in the history of Irish-Argentina.²

In “Life-Writing and Diaspora I: The Autobiographical Writings of the Irish in USA and Latin America” (2018), James Silas Rogers and I wrote in relation to early and nineteenth-century Irish diaspora:

In Latin America, which presents a more recent experience of colonialism than the United States, cultural assimilation and upward social mobility have also occurred, but here the volume of Irish immigration was smaller, settlement patterns more sporadic and the levels of re-emigration to other destinations higher. Irish settlement in Latin America has also been more geographically confined than in the United States, Argentina and a handful of

² This survey is based on a FAPESP postdoctoral research (2004) published in my book *Narrativas de la diáspora irlandesa bajo la Cruz del Sur* (Buenos Aires: Corregidor, 2010; 2011), and in chapters and articles published in peer reviewed journals.

Caribbean islands being the chief sites where Irish communities took root and endured, even as the visible signs of ethnic difference faded. (p.316).

However, even in the process of assimilation, language has been an emotional and pragmatic marker as, in the beginning, the immigrants' speech denounces the intermingling of Irishisms and Hispanicisms and anglophone words whenever they could not find a better expression to represent their everyday experience, neither in their own nor in the adopted language.

A long history of Irish emigration has resulted in up to 70 million people worldwide claiming Irish ancestry (DFA Global Irish 2017).³ The number of Irish who decided on Latin America as their temporary or permanent home is still a matter of debate among scholars. Argentina and Uruguay alone received approximately 50,000 Irish-born immigrants. Thousands more were scattered in the Caribbean, Brazil, Venezuela, and Mexico because of military operations, trade, and colonization schemes. The rate of re-emigration within the Americas and to Australia, Britain or back to Ireland was high, yet like that of other immigrant communities. Moreover, the Irish had paradoxical experiences when settling in non-English speaking countries, especially when English and American companies were establishing in Latin American countries in their period of modernization. The Irish were frequently viewed as English due to the language they spoke, and they profited from this identification by getting better jobs than the natives.

There have been various periods of famine in Ireland; however, what is known as the Great Famine lasted from 1845 to 1850, with the worst year being 1847, which, in conjunction with factors connected with the existing political, social and economic system, caused a demographic catastrophe in the country (a reduction of almost 25% in the population) which is to this day a matter for debate in the academic community. The consequences in Ireland, under British rule, were tragic, causing death and emigration to English-speaking countries, mainly the United States and Canada. In *Irish Times. Temporalities of Modernity*, David Lloyd argues that the catastrophe was the consequence of a "colonial matrix" of political and economic forces regulated by a racial discourse about the Irish; the potato blight was "sent by God to scour the land of redundant people"

³<https://www.dfa.ie/news-and-media/speeches/speeches-archive/2014/october/global-forum-on-diaspora-and-development/>).

(2008: 31-31).⁴ This is a statement that confronts:

the historical circumstance that most famines have generally occurred among the poor because of agricultural problems such as drought, crop failure, or pestilence . . . [it] has conditioned people used to naturalize the causes and social consequences assuming the collective attitude that the cause is “an act of God”. This naturalization hinders criticism of the real situation and prevents people from noticing the economic and political causes underlying the social drama. (Izarra 2009, p.67).

The early Irish presence in Latin America has related to traditional links between the Irish in Britain, Spain, and Portugal. It was initially an extension of the Iberian dimension of the Irish diaspora. Many of the earliest Irish settlers in countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, and Mexico were members of Catholic families displaced by colonial warfare at home. The first recorded Irish arrivals in South America there were those of Juan and Tomás Farrell, who accompanied Pedro de Mendoza to found Buenos Aires in the Río de la Plata region in 1536, and in Brazil, the first Irish was Thomas Field, a Jesuit priest who was followed by travelers and adventurers even before the Great Famine.

The pioneers: priests, adventurers, and travelers

In 1577, Limerick-born Thomas Field (Fehily) (1549-1625), from the Society of Jesus – founded in 1534 by Ignatius de Loyola and recognized by Rome in 1540 – arrived in Brazil with his friend Yates. They disembarked in Bahia where they lived three years until they were ordained priests. Fr. John Vincent (*vere* Yates)⁵ stayed in the region while Field went to São Vicente, near São Paulo, where he spent three more years working in the region between Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo with the famous Spanish Jesuit Padre José de Anchieta who was one of the founders of the

⁴ LLOYD, David. *Irish Times. Temporalities of Modernity*, 2008. p. 30-31.

⁵ A letter from Fr John Vincent (*vere* Yates), a Missioner in Brazil, to Fr John Good, dated, St Anthony's Brazil, 02 January 1589 tells Fr. Field's travels and dangers arriving roaming into the port of Buenos Aires (British Museum Lansdown MSS). He calls him by the alias name of “Thomas Feile”. Irish Jesuit Archives, IE IJA J/1288.

city of São Paulo on the Piratininga plateau on 1554, there establishing the Jesuit College. He witnessed Anchieta's miracles, learnt *guaraní* language and decided to go south to attend the call of the Bishop of Tucumán city in Argentina. After his dramatic arrival in Buenos Aires in 1587 due to the attack of an English pirate ship when they entered the estuary of the River Plate, Field was sent to Paraguay with two other priests. It was a difficult travel to the north to reach Tucumán and then Paraguay, the border country, to settle in the city of Asunción and become responsible for the Christianisation of the indigenous people of the region. He became the first emblematic Irish figure that united symbolically the three countries under a common religious purpose.

The expansion of European commercial and colonial enterprises in the Amazon basin in early 1600s brought Irish adventurers to the region, along with English, French and Dutch pioneers. The Amazon Company started with plantations and enterprises on the north shores of the river between Cabo do Norte and the confluence with Maicuru river. The first Irish arrived as members of the Dutch West India Company, a trading company founded in 1621. There were also merchants that dedicated to smuggling tobacco, dyes, and hardwoods. Captain Sir Bernard O'Brien del Carpio narrates in his *Chronicles* his journey to the Amazon with Sir Henry Roe in 1620 and registers the years they lived with the indigenous. According to Joyce Lorimer (1989), the English and Irish lost their interest in continuing in the region around 1640:

Bernard O'Brien, a tobacco planter from County Clare who, along with Irish brothers Philip and James Purcell, established trading settlements on the lower Amazon in the 1620s. O'Brien's written record of his experiences, simply entitled "Bernard O'Brien's account of Irish activities in the Amazon 1621-1624", constitutes the first autobiographical testimony by an Irishman in Latin America, though it can hardly be said to have inaugurated anything so grand as a literary tradition. (Izarra & Rogers 324).⁶

Huge profits were made by the colonists in tobacco, dyes, and hardwoods. Other plantations existed in Guyana and the Caribbean islands, where owners, managers, foremen and in some cases indentured laborers also came from Ireland. In Jamaica, Puerto Rico, St Domingo, Montserrat, St

⁶ The chapter contains references to autobiographical and travel writings of the Irish in the USA and Latin America (*op.cit.*)

Croix, and other islands the Irish produced tobacco, sugar, coffee, cacao and cattle. In Cuba, Richard O’Farrill from Montserrat made a fortune in the slave trade, and his family became significant owners of tobacco and sugar plantations, cattle ranches, sugar mills and hundreds of slaves. From Veracruz in Mexico, where the Murphy family traded fruit, arms, and slaves, to the wool-exporters in southernmost Punta Arenas, Irish businesspeople of all trades and ranks were present in the major ports and cities of Latin America. I would also like to highlight a former Jesuit student, William Lamport of Wexford, who was an early proposer of Mexican independence. Known locally as Guillén Lombardo, Lamport was jailed in October 1642 and died in prison in 1659.

Before later travelers write about Brazilian commercial and civic life – such as Cork-born naval officer James Tuckey or Waterford-born Anglican clergyman and historian Robert Walsh – Richard Flecknoe, a Catholic priest, poet, and playwright who may have been Irish born, wrote the pioneering travel narrative *A Relation of Ten Years Travels in Europe, Asia, Affrique and America* (c.1656). He describes his voyage from Lisbon to Pernambuco and onwards to Rio de Janeiro, “where he spent most of 1649, chronicling his impressions of the climate, vegetation, animals, commodities, and ‘savage’ natives” (*op. cit.* p.324).

Nineteenth-century Brazil and the Irish Mutiny in Rio de Janeiro

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, British-Irish arrived in the River Plate in unsuccessful military expeditions, such as the English invasions in 1763 to Colonia del Sacramento in Uruguay and in 1806 and 1807 to Buenos Aires. An unknown number of Irishmen deserted from the army and settled in Argentina and neighbour countries; some joined the armies of the two great liberators of Spanish South America, José de San Martín, and Simón Bolívar. While some were historically recognized by their deeds in the adopted land, in Brazil, a small group settled in Rio Grande do Sul in 1809 though it did not constitute an agricultural colony. The first official attempt of Irish colonization was in 1643 when a group of Catholics from Ireland were denied authorization to settle in Pará.

In 1826, the Emperor Dom Pedro I sent Colonel William Cotter to his native Ireland to recruit mercenary soldiers, resident in Cork and Waterford, who came to Brazil with their families to join the Brazilian Imperial Army and fight in the ongoing war against the newly born Argentine Republic over the Uruguayan lands. The unsuccessful Cisplatine war and the government refusal in giving them the promised land grants, as they were brought within the program of “agricultural colonization”, provoked them to join the revolt of German mercenaries in a mutiny of three days in the military barracks of Sant’Ana in Rio de Janeiro when they murdered their commander because he inflicted a violent punishment upon one of the German mercenaries. The historian Robert Walsh, who was appointed chaplain to the British embassy in Rio de Janeiro in 1828, describes in *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829* (1830) what happened to the 3,000 Munster men and their families. Most of the Irish survivors were sent back home and 101 families were given the possibility of settling in a colony named Santa Januaria, in Taperoá (Bahia), as referred by Fernando Basto in *Ex-combatentes irlandeses em Taperoá* (1971): ‘Some men from Waterford and Lismore worked in a quarry ... and they carved granite blocks for construction; (...) Another family, the Cooks, from County Tipperary, was recommended to Mr. Marsh and Mr. Watson, who established it on a ranch in the Serra dos Órgãos, where I [Walsh] visited them with the latter’ (*apud* Basto, Walsh 1828, p.132). There were also fertile lands, and they were given a daily subsistence until they could earn their own living. However, as Brigadeiro José Egidio Gordilho de Barbuda wrote to the Emperador Pedro I, on 26 September 1829, the majority of the settlers ‘were men with no capacity to cultivate land, old people, drunks, sick people in general, unable to carry on colonization, thus rendering useless the expenses incurred by them’ (Basto 1971: 34). So, in 1830, only twenty settlers were willing to continue in the place and the government suspended the subsidy of the rest who spread around the country and the few ones left decided to return to their country of origin or re-emigrate. This tragic story stopped Irish emigration to Brazil until the second half of the century. In the end of the century, an alike situation occurred later in Argentina, when around 1.700 immigrants, being most of them Irish, arrived in Buenos Aires on board of the SS. *Dresden* in 1889, were sent south to settle in barren lands without any support from the government; many fell ill and died, and some returned to Buenos Aires on foot.

Brazil has always been the safe port on the southern sea route. After remaining isolated for almost three centuries by the Portuguese, Brazilian ports were opened to friendly nations in 1808 and

travelers visited the country freely from then on. Despite the tragic experience mentioned above, Brazil has been a geographical space that attracted the attention due to its unexplored territory. ‘Giant by nature’ and by the character of its people – generous and hospitable – the image of its natural riches, unity and security have fed for centuries the imagination of foreigners coming from the most different places in the world to realize their utopias in these tropical lands.⁷ Thus, in the mid-nineteenth century, the target of Brazilian agents promoting emigration to Brazil were not the poor farmers in Ireland but the displaced Irish who were living in the margins of the English and American societies, ready to emigrate again to renew their hope for better opportunities somewhere else – a diaspora of a diaspora.

William Scully (1821-1885), an Irishman from Tipperary and editor of *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* (1865-84), a weekly newspaper in Rio de Janeiro, was the propagandist abroad of the opportunities that immigrants would find in these tropical lands⁸. He also played a predominant role promoting new laws of immigration together with other journalists, intellectuals, politicians, and members of the International Immigration Society founded in 1866. Deputy and founder of the society, Aurélio Cândido Tavares Bastos, and the journalist and politician Quintino Bocaiúva stimulated migration from the United States (the first encouraging the ex-confederates and the second concerned nothing more than reaching the quotas of emigrants from New York). On the other hand, Scully was concerned about the arrival of labor for the plantations, trying to attract Germans and British (a term that at the time also included the Irish) since, in his opinion, they came to make a home and stay unlike the Portuguese and French who sought to make money and return to their homeland. The ex-Confederates looked with reluctance on the New York Irish recruited by Bocaiúva but, despite this rivalry, upon arriving in Rio de Janeiro they were distributed without differentiation in the different colonies of the states. The majority went to Porto Alegre in Rio Grande do Sul in 1840s and 1850s, where they dispersed through the German agricultural settlements near Nova Petrópolis and Caseros. Some of the New York Irish were sent to Cananéia and south of Santos,

⁷ See my article “Reinventando o Brasil. Releituras e renovação nas narrativas de viajantes irlandeses”. L. Izarra (org.) *Literaturas Estrangeiras e o Brasil: Diálogos*. (São Paulo, 2004), pp. 159-176. It was translated and published in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*. (July 2006), Vol. 4, No. 3, “Reinventing Brazil: New Readings and Renewal in the Narratives of Irish Travellers”. It deconstructs the founding myths of Brazil and present in its symbols and national anthem. <http://www.irlandeses.org>

⁸ Other newspapers of the Irish community that circulated in Latin America, U.S., Ireland and Australia are *The Southern Cross* (1875 - today), *The Standard* (1861-1959), *Fianna* (1910-1912), *The Irish Argentine* (1888-1889).

but the states of São Paulo, Paraná and Colonia Príncipe Dom Pedro in Santa Catarina received most of the Irish in the 1860s and 1870s, though always in smaller numbers than in Argentina.⁹ (Izarra 2010, pp. 64-70).

Scully also promoted the image of the Brazilian Emperor Pedro II as a benevolent monarch, favorable to modernization, scientific development, and social well-being. (Marshall 2005: 23). In his newspaper, from its foundation in 1865 until its closure in 1884, documents, news and literary texts written by important Brazilian authors, such as José de Alencar, Machado de Assis y Salvador de Mendonça, were published to show the state of the art and level of education of the natives. In his Letter to the Clergy of Ireland published in *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* (9 October 1866), he highlighted the main benefits for the immigrants in Brazil compared to United States: the climate is an eternal spring; there is religious tolerance; laws protect the individuals and their property; the immigrant may get their citizenship after 2 years of residence in contrast to 5 years in the United States; there is absence of discrimination and racism; good job opportunities among other advantages. He reaffirms the image of greatness of Brazil – “lush paradise” – and the promising future immigrants have, thus configuring the founding myths of a nation. Brazil was indeed the country of the future!

EMIGRATION TO THE BRAZILS

The most PRODUCTIVE and PROMISING FIELD upon the GLOBE.
ASSISTED and FREE PASSAGES
From England to the Ports of Brazil.
BEDDING, COOKING, and all SHIPPING UTENSILS allowed free
GRANTS OF LAND and facilities afforded for Permanent Settlement.
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LABOUR IN DEMAND AND GOOD WAGES.

Apply to Le Chevalier J. de Almeida Portugal
COMMERCIAL AGENCY OF BRAZIL
Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street, London
(*The Brazil and River Plate Mail*. 2 November 1867)

⁹ See Oliver Marshall (2005) for a full history of the colonies founded by Confederates and Irish Americans on the right side of the Itajaí-Mirim River and of other Irish settlements in the south of Brazil (pp.63-87). See also Miguel Alexandre de Araujo Neto (2003) about the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (MA dissertation, 1997).

Scully wrote *Cities and Provinces of Brazil* (1865) where he described the Brazilian agricultural regions and the best lands to raise cattle in order to attract Irish immigrants to accelerate the end of slavery in the plantations. However, the historian Miguel Alexandre de Araujo Neto (2003) affirmed that Scully was a British agent after the end of the bilateral relations between England and Brazil in 1863. According to Araujo Neto, Scully's activities seemed to be subsidized by the British government which was in favour of the liberation of the Brazilian immigration policy (Neto 2003).

Irish farmers from Wednesbury, the most miserable English industrial region in 1850s, were organized under the leadership of Father George Montgomery – an Anglican priest converted into Catholicism – to emigrate to Brazil, a catholic country where they could prosper spiritually and have new opportunities supported by laws of immigration advertised by the government. The first group left in 1868 on the *Florence Chipman* and Father Montgomery created the association Pioneers of Our Lady of Help whose objective was to establish Irish Catholics in self-sufficient communities in different uninhabited places, in Brazil and in neighbouring countries, thus creating a network of “New Irelands”, as it was announced in the *Universal News* (15 Feb 1868). But the first Irish communities in Brazil had to face various difficulties and many of them returned to their place of origin or remigrated to other countries. The colonies where they were established lacked infrastructure and the immigrants who came had no experience in agriculture, which accelerated the decline of the settlements.¹⁰ Father Montgomery fell ill and could not travel to Brazil and exercise the same role as Father Fahy did in Buenos Aires. He also silenced the terrible failure of the colony in Santa Catarina. In Buenos Aires, *The Southern Cross* (16 May 1892) published an article from the weekly *Herald of Cork* (6105/189: 2) – ‘Emigrants to Brazil: the hardships of Irish and Scotch people. Extraordinary story of outrage and privation’ denouncing the Irish and Scottish immigrants’ sufferings.¹¹

¹⁰ In 1875 Great Britain prohibited the emigration to Brazil following the same measures adopted by other European countries in 1859. (Marshall 2005)

¹¹ The story of the 140 men, women and children from Bradford who arrived in Rio de Janeiro and after ten days badly accommodated and without food were sent to the south to construct roads and afterwards sent to a colony. Payment was not enough, many fell ill and without any support from the British consul, they returned to Rio de Janeiro on foot and some embarked to Pernambuco. (Izarra, p.66).

Among other important Irish that can be mentioned to research their actions during their stay in Brazil are: Bartholomew Hayden (1792-1857) from the Brazilian Navy; Dr. Ricardo Daunt (1818-1839), a pioneer in Brazilian public health medicine; Robert Halpin, responsible for laying the Atlantic cable from Portugal to Recife, Brazil; and, Hamilton Lindsay-Bucknall who arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1873.¹² In *A Search for Fortune. The Autobiography of a Younger Son, a Narrative of Travel and Adventure* (1876/ 1978), Lindsay-Bucknall wrote his adventures since he was sixteen when he joined a militia regiment on account of the Indian mutiny. As it came to an end while he was being trained, he volunteered for active service in New Zealand; then he went to Sidney and back to London till his father's death. His cousins said, "go and search for fortune". He was offered a job in Argentina where he worked as horseman in Rosario and Buenos Aires and, after three years, he returned to old England and spent some time in Ireland.

He studied all about submarine telegraphy and general electricity to apply to a new Submarine Telegraph Company. He arrived in Rio de Janeiro as a member of the committee of telegraph operators and engineers of the Western Brazilian Telegraphic Company to inaugurate on 22 June 1874 the submarine cable laid by Halpin, the captain of CS *Seine*. His first impressions of the country – the beauty of nature, the people and the busy cities with tramways in the decade of 1870s, the first communication with Europe, the grand ball and supper given by the people of Rio de Janeiro in commemoration of 'the uniting of Brazil with Europe by means of the cable', a decree published in the *Official Gazette* approving his plans for the construction of the Rio de Janeiro-Niteroi Tubular Railway which was abandoned due to its complexity and no budget (pp. 434-436) – are registered in his autobiography. The publication has numerous illustrations by P. W. Barlow, Jun.

Irish Women in colonial and postcolonial Brazil

In the historiography of Irish emigration, men are the protagonists of the stories though many Irish women migrated alone to the United States where language and a long history of migration were

¹² Source: Peter O'Neill, Irish-born independent researcher living in Rio de Janeiro.
<https://catedrawbyeats.fflch.usp.br/links-between-brazil-and-ireland>

shared. But, even more fearsome, they migrated to South America having to face not only the same men's hardships when arrived with their husband, but also discrimination and social stereotypes for having landed as individual souls in a new non-English speaking land. Eliza Lynch arrived in Paraguay with her partner Francisco Solano López in 1855 and became the most powerful woman as the First Lady of Paraguay who modernized the society, influenced Paraguayan music and architecture and supported Solano López and the soldiers during the Paraguayan War or War of the Triple Alliance (1864-1870). In 1858 Marion McMurrough Mulhall arrived in Buenos Aires with her husband Michael Mulhall who set up with his brother Edward *The Standard and River Plate News* (the title was shortened to *The Standard* in 1882), the first English-language newspaper in South America. Cecilia Grierson (born in Argentina of Irish mother Jane Duffy) is Argentina's first female physician and founder of the first school of nursing in 1891.

In Brazil, the first records bring us to Narcisa Emília O'Leary, born in Cork, who in 1790, got married with José Bonifácio Andrada e Silva in Portugal. They had two daughters and her husband's child when they moved to Santos. They lived in the city port some years till they moved to Rio de Janeiro. He was appointed Minister and articulated the Independence process, being known as the Patriarch of the Brazilian Independence. He was imprisoned for political reasons and exiled to Bordeaux, France where they lived on loans. After six years they returned to Brazil but, two days before arriving in Rio, Narcisa died suddenly. She was buried in the Convento do Carmo, on 27 August 1829.

The Mulhall brothers played an important role in the flow of Irish immigration to South America as they published a *Handbook of the River Plate* (1869) and *Handbook of Brazil* (1877), in which they mapped the most fertile regions and their economy. Michael documented his travels to the border countries such as Paraguay.¹³ He was accompanied by his Irish-born wife Marion, who wrote *From Europe to Paraguay and Matto Grosso* (1877). She portrayed herself as a courageous "English woman" facing the wilderness of the unknown country. Marion later published *Between the Amazon and Andes, or Ten years of a Lady's travels in the Pampas, Gran Chaco, Paraguay*

¹³ *The Cotton Fields of Paraguay and Corrientes* (1864) – and Brazil; *Rio Grande do Sul and its German Colonies* (1873); *The English in South America* (1875); *Journey to Matto Grosso, September 1876* (1879). The Mulhalls were Unionists in opposition to the Irish Nationalist movement. The Mulhall's newspaper *The Standard* represented the pro-British Irish community.

and *Matto Grosso* (1881), which includes observations on Irish settlers and the indigenous. Marion's narratives about her adventures between the Amazon and the Andes were written and illustrated with her own drawings and some others by C. Maurand with the hope of calling the attention of the more educated travelers to explore these new exotic lands despite dangers that could be faced (Mulhall 1881, p. 192). She also wrote *Explorers of the New World Before and After Columbus and The Story of the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay* (1909) and *Beginnings or Glimpses of Vanished Civilizations* (1911) about Ireland having been part of the Atlantis.

Among twentieth-century women travelers, Cynthia Longfield (1896-1991) was an entomologist and world traveler who came to Latin America in two expeditions.¹⁴ Born in London to Anglo-Irish parents from Cloyne, Co. Cork, she traveled to many countries, and became a leading authority on dragonflies and damselflies, being named 'Madam Dragonfly'. She was inspired by reading about Charles Darwin's theory of evolution and his *Beagle* voyage of 1831-6. In 1924, she participated in the *St George* scientific expedition, an 18-month-long re-enactment of Darwin's *Beagle* voyage. During the expedition, Longfield collected moths, beetles, and butterflies for the Natural History Museum in London. In 1927, she participated in a six-month-long scientific expedition in the Mato Grosso, Brazil, where she collected 38 species of dragonfly, three of which were new species. In 1937, she published the sell-out *The Dragonflies of the British Isles*, which became the standard handbook on the topic. She retired from London's Natural History Museum in 1956 and returned to Cloyne, but never stopped travelling or studying entomology. Two dragonfly species were named in her honour: *Corphaeschna longfieldae* (Brazil) and *Agrionopter insignis cynthiae* (Tanimbar Islands). Her personal archive and library were donated to the Royal Irish Academy in 1979, and her Irish specimen collection to the Natural History Museum in Dublin.¹⁵

Travel writings, letters, autobiographies of diasporic people living in exotic countries and narratives of the Irish revolutions triggered the imaginary of women and men at home and abroad.

¹⁴ See Angela Byrne 'Constructing the Global Irish Woman Traveller: Cynthia Longfield's Scientific Researches in South America, 1921-27'. *ABEI Journal* 21(2): 27-36. Byrne, an Irish historian-in-residence at the Irish Emigration Museum (EPIC), curated the exhibition 'Blazing a Trail. Lives and Legacies of Irish Diaspora Women' shown at the EPIC and at USP (2019).

¹⁵ Sources: Jane Hayter-Hames, *Madam Dragonfly: The Life and Times of Cynthia Longfield* (Pentland Press, 1991); *Dictionary of Irish Biography* online edition; Royal Irish Academy Longfield Collection.

Irish nineteenth-century women's writings, though very few, inspired twentieth-century women to narrate their own adventures in the new country – in Argentina, Bárbara Peart's memories, *Tia Barbarita* (1932), and Kathleen Nevin's *You'll Never Go Back* (1949) – or to write about the experience of their women ancestors, such as Argentine writer and singer María Elena Walsh's *Novios de Antaño* (1990), or biographers and writers who focus on a historical woman figure, such as Eliza Lynch ('the queen of Paraguay') – the Irish novel by Anne Enright, *The Pleasure of Eliza Lynch* (2002).

Early twentieth-century: the imaginary

Brazilian Republicans were inspired by Ireland and its Fenian legendary warriors¹⁶ in their struggle against slavery and caste. The Fenian Club, a Brazilian carnival society (a samba school), based in the city of Rio de Janeiro, was founded in 1869, having been one of the three largest societies of Rio Carnival for decades. They adopted the colors red (war) and white (for the shamrock) as their distinctive colors. They also created the club's shield, which to this day, although modified, contains the Phrygian cap, the sun and the harp, symbolizing freedom, light, and harmony. Artist Fiuza Guimarães organized their parades on the 7th and 19th March 1916 (Correio da Manhã, 7th March 1916)¹⁷ and there are also registers of the 1928 parade (Centro da Memória do Carnaval, <http://liesa.globo.com>)¹⁸ with 7 allegorical cars and 3 cars of political critique. The main car was a grandiose allegory called "Peace to the World". The car measured 30 meters carrying a Pegasus at the front mounted by the genius of Peace. On the second stage the emissary of the Fenians stood in front of the Earth globe surrounded by the figures of Humanity, Labour, Commerce, and Industry. On the third backstage, the sun of peace; the car ends with the figures of Poetry, Painting, Sculpture and Architecture. As a standard car it had an honor guard, the "Peace Guard". This imaginary represented by the Pegasus assembling two temporalities and cultural spaces provokes an estrangement that summons the public to achieve world Peace through hope and Fine Arts rather than violence.

¹⁶ Fenian: a member of secret nineteenth-century Irish and Irish-American organization to overthrow British rule in Ireland.

¹⁷ I thank Mariana Bolfarine for sharing this information.

¹⁸ Source: Peter O'Neill (*op. cit.*)

Moreover, the legendary myth of *Hy Brazil* feeds the imagination of many travelers and immigrants. Roger Casement's address written during his time as a British consul in Belem do Pará (1907/8) also refers to that imagery.¹⁹ Though its poetic narratives recall Paradise, Casement's experience in Brazil was the opposite – either when he was consul in Santos (1906), or transferred to Belem do Pará (1907) where he undertook a voyage to the Madeira-Mamoré railway; and finally as consul general in Rio de Janeiro (1909) when he was appointed to be part of the Commission of Inquiry and to undertake in 1910 the voyage to the upper Amazon to investigate the atrocities committed against subjects of the Crown (the Barbadians working for the Peruvian Amazon Company) and the indigenous people of the Putumayo, a disputed frontier region between Peru, Colombia and Brazil. Casement witnessed the atrocities, wrote down the testimonies not only from the Barbadian overseers but also from the indigenous who bore on their bodies the Arana's marks caused by the whipping and flogging because they haven't carried enough rubber. 'His daily observations, thoughts, concerns and actions were dutifully recorded in an extensive journal' – *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement* (Mitchell 2010, p.37). He also wrote Diplomatic and Consular Reports on the Trade of Santos (1905-1906), *The Blue Book* which contains the reports and testimonies on the treatment of British colonial subjects and native Indians employed in the rubber boom period in the Putumayo District. After going back to London, he went to Africa and on his return, he resigned from the British Foreign Office, became one of the principal figures of the Easter Rising negotiating guns in Germany and advocating the German guarantee of Irish independence if they won the war. He recruited an Irish Brigade from captured Irish prisoners of war. He was caught in a German submarine, tried for treason, and sentenced to death by hanging.

Another traveler who spent some time in Brazil is the Irish writer Liam O'Flaherty (1896-1984). In his non-fictional book *Two Years* (1930) he narrates his desire to go to sea as he was tired of being a clerk and he got a job on board of a tramp steamer thinking that he was going to Boston, Massachusetts, but he found out that instead, the ship was sailing to Rio de Janeiro. He found it was more romantic going to South America and he was delighted when he disembarked in Rio. He wrote all his adventures realizing that people are not equal and described the brutality of the

¹⁹ Roger Casement argued that the origins of the name Brazil derived from the mythical island *Hy-Brasil*, located west of Ireland and described as a 'Promised Land', the Island of the Blessed – called *Tír na nÓg* by Irish monks or *Braaz* by the Phoenicians. It appears in the maps of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

natives. He summed up his experience in the tropics saying that it ended ‘in disillusion and without any credit to myself; unless I could count among my gains the renewal of my faith in the superiority of European man’ (p.160). He left Brazil with the intention of seeing the revolution in Ireland though he lost all interest on his arrival in England and took a ship to Greece, then to Canada, Boston, New York and back home on an English ship that was bound first for Rio de Janeiro and then after having called along the coast to Buenos Aires, it would steer back to Europe.

The ever-efficient Irish representatives in Latin America have been religious missionaries. Most knowledge of Latin America in Ireland is derived from missionary news circulated through churches. Many Irish religious orders have been present in Brazil: the Redemptorists, the Kiltigans and the Holy Ghosts, Dominicans, Sisters of Mercy, among others. Some devoted their lives to the indigenous in the Amazon’s rainforests while others to the poorer citizens living in the periphery of large cities, diminishing violence through education. Examples of the latter are: Father John Cribbin (1936) from Limerick who arrived in Brazil in 1962, moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1966 and became its honorary citizen in 2004²⁰; Father James Crowe (1945-2023) from County Clare, who founded the Forum in Defense of Life and Overcoming Violence, the Community Police and the Society of Holy Martyrs in Jardim Ângela, São Paulo; Father Patrick Clarke (1937), born in Dublin arrived in Brazil in 1977 and worked with the marginalized population of Vila Prudente, São Paulo. In 2019 he received the Presidential Distinguished Service Award for the Irish Abroad. They represent the ability of exercising ‘soft power’ to integrate the people who were excluded from the society. They have used culture, political values, and foreign policies to enact change without being coercive. They involved the people of the *favelas* and peripheries shaping their preferences and making visible their potentiality.

Irish literature is the cultural matrix of Irish Studies in Brazil since 1980.²¹ In the last decades of the twentieth century and in the twenty-first century, Irish writers have visited Brazil and recorded the gaze of the contemporary traveler, describing their compatriots in interaction with the society

²⁰ Source: Peter O’Neill (*op. Cit.*)

²¹ See the academic production and history of academic exchange at <https://catedrawbyeats.fflch.usp.br/>; The Brazilian Association of Irish Studies <http://www.abei.org.br/> and its Journal <https://www.revistas.usp.br/abei/>

of the adopted country. The poet Paul Durcan (1944 -) published *Greeting to Our Friends in Brazil* (1999) and he registers his impressions in his poems as if it were a travel diary; Mary O'Donnell also wrote a poem about the city of São Paulo. The most important international Brazilian Paraty Literary Festival has received Cólín Tóibín, Anne Enright, Edna O'Brien, Colum McCann, John Banville/ Benjamin Black, and Sinéad Gleeson to promote the translation of their books. Among other authors, historians (David Harkness, Joe Lee, Terence Brown), scholars, artists (Brian Maguire and Rita Duffy) and actors (Denis Rafter, Stephen Rea), there are playwrights (Declan Hughes, Billy Roche), film directors (Alan Gilson, Thadeus O'Sullivan, John T. Davis), poets (Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin, Macdara Woods, Moya Cannon, Mary O'Donnell) novelists and short story writers (Hugo Hamilton, Mary O'Donnell, Claire Keegan), cultural critics (Fintan O'Toole) – just to mention some.

Looking to the future

The symbolic meanings created by the publications of the nineteenth century influenced the Irish emigrant's imagination propelling a chain migration. Their analysis reveals strategies that imply the role of memory, space, and identities in relation to the new habitat, the need to preserve the community far from homeland, and the construction of a new home far from the “home” of origin. The propaganda of agents in England and the United States who sought labor for the agricultural colonies in Brazil subliminally fuels the desire for the real existence of Hy Brazil, the myth of Fortune Island, that until now it has existed only in the imagination of the Irish.

Contemporary Irish travellers and people in residence are still to be mapped to see the way the displaced community, or a group of individuals, is configuring a new collective identity in Brazil and how they interact with their culture of origin and host culture in times of transnational networks and high technology. Culture is a strategy of survival (Bhabha 1995) that keeps the migrants in a constant process of transformation while they still share a common history of cultural displacement. This transnational dimension rooted in specific social and cultural practices ‘turns the cultural translation into a complex process of signification’ (Bhabha, p. 49). Paul Durcan, in his poem ‘The Daring Middle-Aged Man on the Flying Trapeze’ looks with the “eye of the other”

at such cultural complexity:

(...)

However, when I heard that on June 16

In Finnegans Pub in São Paulo

A Japanese actor would be declaiming in Portuguese

Extracts from *Ulysses*

my wife persuaded me to fly with her to Dublin.

I remonstrated with her: “Fly?”

She insisted: ‘Dublin is a gás,

Dirty, ordinary, transcendental city – just like São Paulo!’”

(...) (Durcan, p.30)

Contemporary Irish cultural diasporas to Brazil are still timidly explored. It can be traced back to 1988 when Haroldo de Campos and Munira Mutran started celebrating Bloomsday at Finnegans’ pub, in São Paulo, with a group called Amigos de Joyce [Joyce’s Friends]. Readings of Irish writers translated excerpts from the works by Joyce and Beckett, one-act performances, and music were part of the programme of bebemoration [a word joining drinking + commemoration] with an audience of young artists, scholars, and the general public. This cultural commemoration has spread to many important Brazilian cities congregating Joycean scholars and fans.²² However, a study about this celebration, and more recently of St. Patrick’s and St. Brigid’s Days would open new fields of research if compared with Brazilian celebrations. Arts, music, cinema, architecture, sports, and science should be studied in dialogue with the host culture. It is also time to explore the Brazilian presence in Ireland, a new path to be trodden.

Transnational and translational practices within the process of cultural encounters are a way of sharing the history of ideas, of constructing a multidirectional knowledge of the global Irish. As alterity is part of Brazilian identity, the material and visual cultures allow an open dialogue that leads to mutual understanding of Otherness and of the arbitrariness of the cultural signs. Moreover, they awaken the ethical right to signify every aspect of the human condition. I hope that young

²² See the annual online publication of Peter O’Neill with the Bloomsday programmes in different Brazilian cities.

scholars of Irish Studies living in a globalizing age do not fear to tread inspiringly a double way 'less travelled by' to say to themselves in the end: '... and that has made all the difference.'²³

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²³ 'The Road Not Taken' by Robert Frost, 1915.

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Los irlandeses en Chile: Hacia la revolución irlandesa (1891-1916)

Roberto Arancibia Clavel¹

Abstract: This study addresses the presence of Irish individuals and their descendants in Chile, who from 1891 until the Easter Rising in Ireland in 1916 fought for the independence of their home country from English rule. Through the perspective of key figures, this study examines the background leading to the uprising and how Chileans were informed about the events through contemporary press.

Resumen: Este estudio aborda la presencia de irlandeses y sus descendientes en Chile, quienes desde 1891 hasta el Alzamiento de Pascua en Irlanda en 1916, lucharon por la independencia de su país de origen bajo dominio inglés. A través de la perspectiva de los protagonistas, se examinan los antecedentes que condujeron al alzamiento y cómo los chilenos fueron informados sobre los hechos a través de la prensa contemporánea.

Keywords: Chile, Irlanda, inmigrantes, independencia.

A diferencia de otros países de la región, a Chile no llegó una gran cantidad de inmigrantes, a pesar de los esfuerzos de los gobiernos por atraer extranjeros para colonizar la tierra, como fue el caso de Argentina y Brasil. Un primer grupo de inmigrantes lo hizo sucesivamente como resultado de la colonización española entre 1540 y 1810. Entre estos inmigrantes se encontraban irlandeses, así como españoles e ingleses que formaban parte de las tripulaciones de los buques. Durante la mitad del siglo XIX, un grupo importante de alemanes ingresó a Chile bajo atractivas condiciones. A finales del siglo, las riquezas del salitre, el cobre y el carbón atrajeron a un mayor número de europeos, quienes establecieron diversos tipos de negocios y tuvieron un éxito considerable.

Aunque el número de inmigrantes irlandeses fue limitado, muchos de ellos alcanzaron un gran prestigio en el país. Entre ellos se encontraban aquellos que contribuyeron a construir la nación

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desde los tiempos coloniales, como Ambrosio O'Higgins, quien fue gobernador del Reino y, posteriormente, durante la Independencia, su hijo Bernardo, que fue Director Supremo. Junto a ellos destacaba el general Juan Mackenna, un planificador y gran luchador por la causa. A estos nombres se sumaron figuras como el coronel Carlos María O' Carrol, el médico William Cunningham Blest, y su hermano Andrew, quien fundó la primera cervecería en Valparaíso. Además, el almirante Patricio Lynch tuvo un papel relevante durante la Guerra del Pacífico contra Perú y Bolivia (1879-1883). Otros descendientes de irlandeses tuvieron un impacto importante en la política y en el ejército chileno durante el siglo XX, tales como el general Pedro Dartnell, Inspector General del Ejército ; el coronel Marmaduke Grove Vallejos, Ministro de Defensa; y el presidente de la República en dos ocasiones, Carlos Ibáñez del Campo.²

A principios del siglo XX de los 134,254 extranjeros residentes en Chile, 27,140 eran peruanos; 21,968 bolivianos; 18,755 españoles; 13,023 italianos; 10,724 alemanes, 9,845 ingleses; 9,800 franceses; 6,956 argelinos; 3,813 austriacos; 2,080 suizos; 1,920 chinos; 1,729 turcos; 1,055 estadounidenses y el resto de otras nacionalidades. Los irlandeses llegaban como parte de los ciudadanos del Reino Unido.³ Estas cifras se reducirían más tarde, en especial en cuanto a los europeos, ya que muchos de los residentes regresaron a Europa para luchar por sus países durante la Primera Guerra Mundial, como se evidencia en el censo de 1920 en Chile.

La causa de la independencia de Irlanda siempre estuvo presente en el corazón de los irlandeses; en este caso, desde esta lejana tierra trataron de cooperar dentro de sus posibilidades para lograrla.

En la actualidad se estima que hay entre 250 y 300 irlandeses en el país, mientras que serían alrededor de 120.000 los chilenos de descendencia irlandesa. El grupo oficial “The Irish Community in Chile: The Wild Geese” es el encargado de reunir a la comunidad celta en Chile principalmente para llevar a cabo celebraciones y eventos para continuar con sus tradiciones.⁴

² Fabián G. Bustamante Olguín, “Irish Immigrants and their Arrival in Chile: The Case of Dr William Blest Maybern” en *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*. Vol. 6, n°3 (November 2008)

³ CENSO General de la República de Chile levantado el 28.11.1907. Memoria presentada al Supremo Gobierno por la Comisión Central del Censo Imprenta Universo. Santiago, 1908. p. XIX.

⁴ Instituto Nacional de estadística de Chile, 2020 e información de la Embajada de Irlanda en Chile.

Un nacionalista irlandés, Patrick Egan (13 de agosto de 1841 - 30 de septiembre de 1919) líder político irlandés y estadounidense que dejó huellas en Chile

Los antecedentes de Patrick Egan son muy interesantes ya que permiten situar a un distinguido irlandés a fines del siglo XIX en Chile, un nacionalista que heredó su pasión en sus hijos. Su vida y su descendencia permiten conocer de cerca lo que ocurría en el país antes y durante el Alzamiento de Pascua de 1916.

Egan nació en Ballymahon, Condado de Longford, Irlanda. Su familia se trasladó posteriormente a Dublín, y a los catorce años, ingresó en la oficina de una empresa de granos y molinos, la North City Milling Company. Antes de cumplir los veinte años, fue ascendido al cargo de jefe de contabilidad y hombre de confianza. Más tarde, fue elegido director gerente de la empresa, que se convirtió en una sociedad anónima y fue la más grande de Irlanda. Al mismo tiempo, fue socio principal de la panadería más grande del condado. Antes de entrar en el negocio, había sido un estudiante aplicado y tomaba clases nocturnas con varios instructores.⁵

Egan se involucró tempranamente con la Hermandad Republicana Irlandesa poco después de su establecimiento. En 1873, fue su tesorero y participó en la fundación de la Liga del Gobierno Local junto con otros miembros del Consejo Supremo de la Hermandad (IRB), como John O'Connor Power, Joseph Biggar y John Barry. En 1877, él y otros, renunciaron a la Hermandad debido a la condena de sus líderes sobre el uso de la política dentro de una organización revolucionaria.

En 1879, Egan fue elegido tesorero de la Liga de la Tierra Irlandesa. Fue un cercano colaborador de Michael Davitt y Charles Stewart Parnell.⁶ A finales de 1880, él y otros doce, incluyendo a

⁵ Todos los datos biográficos que se agregan fueron consultados en McGee, Owen. "Egan, Patrick". *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. Royal Irish Academy. Retrieved 27 December 2020

⁶ Charles Stewart Parnell (en irlandés: Cathal Stiúbhard Pharnell) (27 de junio de 1846 - 6 de octubre de 1891) fue un terrateniente protestante irlandés, líder político nacionalista irlandés, miembro de Parlamento del Reino Unido de Gran Bretaña e Irlanda, fundador y miembro del Irlandés. Fue una de las figuras más importantes en la Irlanda y el Reino Unido del siglo XIX. William Gladstone lo consideraba la persona más notable que había conocido. El que habría de ser primer ministro liberal, Herbert Henry Asquith, lo describió como uno de los tres o cuatro hombres más importantes del siglo XIX, mientras que Lord Haldane dijo de él que era el hombre más fuerte que la Cámara de los Comunes británica había visto en 150 años. En Parnell, Charles Stewart (1846–1891), politician and landowner, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press (2004–5)

Parnell, Dillon, Bigger, Sexton, Sullivan, Sheridan y Matt Harris, fueron señalados por el gobierno para ser procesados por supuesta conspiración. Después de un costoso juicio de dieciséis días, el jurado declaró culpables a dos y absolvió a diez. El gobierno no se atrevió a procesarlos nuevamente, pero presentó un proyecto de ley para suspender la Ley de Habeas Corpus y permitir el arresto de cualquier persona molesta para el gobierno, con la intención de proscribir a todos los miembros de la Liga.

Después de la detención de Parnell, Egan firmó el Manifiesto del No Pago de Alquileres el 18 de octubre de 1881, en su función de tesorero de la Liga del Gobierno Local. Esto llevó a la prohibición de la Liga por parte del gobierno británico. Egan huyó a París con los fondos de la organización para evitar su confiscación por las autoridades. Permaneció allí desde febrero de 1881 hasta finales de 1882. Entre 1880 y 1882, Egan fue nominado varias veces para ser elegido al parlamento, en dos ocasiones por unanimidad, para los condados de Queen y Meath. Sin embargo, declinó debido a que no quería prestar el juramento de fidelidad a la Corona que requería el gobierno. Al enterarse de que el gobierno estaba conspirando para arrestarlo a él y a sus colegas, y hacerlo víctima de un juicio espectáculo, huyó discretamente a los Países Bajos y luego a los Estados Unidos. Después de un corto tiempo en Nueva York, se estableció en Lincoln, Nebraska, donde se enriqueció mediante negocios de granos, fábricas de lana y especialmente bienes raíces.

En los Estados Unidos fue un cercano colaborador de Patrick Ford y Alexander Sullivan (1847-1913), y en agosto de 1884, reemplazó a este último como presidente de la Liga Nacional Irlandesa de América, cargo que ocupó durante dos años. También se unió al Clan na Gael,⁷ aunque nunca fue un miembro destacado, pero durante muchos años se involucró en amargas disputas personales y luchas internas con John Devoy. A través de la influencia de Sullivan, también se convirtió en un miembro muy activo del Partido Republicano de Estados Unidos y fue recompensado por sus servicios a principios de 1889 cuando fue nombrado ministro estadounidense en Chile por la nueva administración republicana. Justo antes de partir a Chile, desempeñó un papel importante al ayudar

⁷ A finales de la década de 1880, las organizaciones irlandesas-estadounidenses se habían dividido en su mayoría en dos grupos, el mencionado Clan na Gael y la Ancient Order of Hibernians. Clan na Gael era la organización hermana con sede en Estados Unidos de la Hermandad Republicana Irlandesa (IRB, por sus siglas en inglés) y desempeñó un papel crucial en la planificación y ejecución del Levantamiento de 1916. En <https://irishstudies.sunygeneseoenglish.org/> consultada el 23 de agosto de 2023

a Michael Davitt⁸ a identificar a Pigott como el falsificador de las cartas utilizadas contra Parnell durante la comisión especial. En 1881, fue elegido presidente del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional de la Liga Nacional Irlandesa de América, en su convención en Boston.

Egan fue fundamental para exponer las falsificaciones de Piggott.⁹ En octubre de 1888, concedió una entrevista al periódico *The New York Times*, en la que predijo que el caso contra Parnell que se estaba llevando a cabo en *The Times* de Londres sería demolido:

No ha surgido nada nuevo de qué hablar. Lo que se ha dicho hasta ahora es simplemente una repetición de acusaciones sin pruebas que se han hecho durante los últimos cinco años. Pero esperen hasta que se presente la evidencia en favor de Parnell. Todo el caso del Times será desacreditado y se presentarán pruebas indiscutibles que demostrarán la inocencia de Parnell y el verdadero carácter de las acusaciones en su contra. Pueden esperar testimonios sensacionales... No tengo ninguna duda de la completa vindicación de Parnell y de todos sus asociados, lo que perjudicará gravemente al gobierno.¹⁰

Posteriormente, Egan se involucró en la política estadounidense y tuvo cierta influencia en el Partido Republicano, hasta que se convirtió en seguidor de William Jennings Bryan y del Partido Demócrata en 1896. Más tarde, Patrick Egan fue nombrado Embajador de los Estados Unidos en Chile desde 1889 hasta 1893, representándolo durante la revolución en contra del presidente José Manuel Balmaceda. Durante su tiempo como embajador, provocó la crisis del “Baltimore” y trató de impulsar a los Estados Unidos para que iniciaran una guerra de colonización contra Chile. Lo que sucedió fue que en octubre de 1891, cuando un par de marineros estadounidenses fueron muertos en una riña al término de la guerra civil chilena, Egan amenazó con la intervención militar estadounidense. Esto lo convirtió en una figura muy impopular entre los insurgentes victoriosos y

⁸ Michael Davitt (1846- 1906) irlandés, político nacionalista, fundador de la Irish Land League

⁹ Una Comisión de Investigación solicitada por Parnell, reveló en febrero de 1889 que las cartas habían sido obra de Richard Piggot, un periodista anti-Parnell de dudosa reputación. Piggot se hundió cuando se descubrió que la carta era falsa por sus rasgos característicos, tras lo que huyó a Madrid donde se suicidó. Parnell fue rehabilitado públicamente, para disgusto de los Conservadores y del primer ministro Salisbury. Paul Bew, 'Parnell, Charles Stewart (1846–1891), politician and landowner', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press (2004–5)

¹⁰ NYT, 25 October 1888. See *That Irishman: The Life and Times of John O'Connor Power*, Jane Stanford, Part Four, Taking a Stand, May 2011

provocó críticas por parte del partido Demócrata en el Congreso. Sin embargo, los historiadores estadounidenses generalmente han considerado que su ministerio desempeñó un papel importante en el desarrollo de una política exterior estadounidense más vigorosa en América del Sur. Su actitud fue objeto de críticas y fue descrito por un funcionario chileno como una persona *"completamente carente de todos los elementos de cultura y cortesía, y siempre dispuesto a caer al nivel de la invectiva y la calumnia"*.¹¹ Fácil es entender que su figura pese a su condición de irlandés no fue bienvenida en Chile que solicitó su remoción, lo que no aceptó en principio el gobierno norteamericano.

Debido a que sus negocios en Nebraska sufrieron gravemente durante su ausencia, en 1893, Egan se trasladó a Nueva York, donde siguió activo en la política republicana e irlandesa-estadounidense, identificándose con la Alianza Nacional Irlandesa, un nuevo grupo de presión irlandés-estadounidense que efectivamente reemplazó a la Federación Nacional Irlandesa de Estados Unidos. Aunque era amigo de Theodore Roosevelt, a principios de 1900 dejó de participar activamente en la política estadounidense, en parte debido a dificultades financieras surgidas por inversiones inmobiliarias fallidas en Nueva York.

Durante 1901-1902, junto con J.F. Finerty, desempeñó un papel significativo en reunir a algunas secciones del Clan na Gael en apoyo de la propuesta Liga Irlandesa Unida de América, de la cual se convirtió en vicepresidente cuando fue formalmente establecida en octubre de 1902. Después de eso, aunque a menudo se identificaba como republicano irlandés, alentaba a los irlandeses-estadounidenses a apoyar al partido irlandés como la única alternativa política creíble para los nacionalistas irlandeses, lo que causaba malestar a su antiguo enemigo, Devoy. Retirado efectivamente para 1910, después de una breve visita a Irlanda en 1914, expresó su apoyo a la decisión de John Redmond de enviar a los Voluntarios Nacionales a la Primera Guerra Mundial y más tarde condenó el Alzamiento de Pascua de 1916, culpando completamente a Devoy por el evento y declarando que él merecía ser fusilado. Patrick Egan murió en la ciudad de Nueva York

¹¹ "Chile and the United States, 1880-1962, The Emergence of Chile's Social Crisis and the Challenge to United States Diplomacy", Frederik B. Pike, University of Notre Dame Press, 1963, page 81. La caricatura acusa a Patrick Egan, el ministro de los EEUU para Chile, poniéndolo como un chico travieso que ha abierto una caja de sorpresas amenazante, con una espada que dice "Susto de la Guerra con Chile"

el 30 de septiembre de 1919 y fue sobrevivido por varios de sus hijos. Tras las ejecuciones de los líderes del Alzamiento de Pascua de 1916, declaró que el 98% de los irlandeses no estaban de acuerdo con el levantamiento y que Inglaterra no tenía nada que ganar disparando a las personas después de que hubiera terminado. Egan fue padre de catorce hijos, nueve de los cuales sobrevivieron a la infancia. Su residencia en Lincoln se encontraba en 1447 Q. Street.¹²

Frank W. Egan siguiendo el espíritu de su padre en Chile

Ya desde fines del siglo XIX, otro irlandés vivía en Chile, se trataba de Frank William Egan, hijo de Patrick Egan ya conocido por nosotros. Casado con una chilena, Amelia Rojas Pradel, vivía en Valparaíso, en la calle Condell del barrio del Almendral, una zona moderna y a la moda, conocido como el sector británico. Había tenido tres hijos: Juan (1894) que muere al poco de nacer, Adelaida Alicia (1895), Dolores Ramona del Rosario (1897) y Francisco George (1899). Para 1897 ya estaba viviendo en Santiago. En las partidas de nacimiento figuraba como norteamericano o irlandés probablemente nacido en 1867 y de profesión minero, no como trabajador en las minas sino como propietario. El testigo del nacimiento de Francisco George fue su hermano, Brian (sic.) Egan (hijo de Patricio y Alicia María Mc Gee, irlandés), vivieron juntos en Catedral 1311.¹³ Este último, se casó en primeras nupcias con Elvira Mendeville Alessandri en 1900 y, al quedar viudo, con la hermana de su difunta esposa Amelia Mendeville Alessandri, pertenecientes a la élite santiaguina.

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La señora de Frank Egan era una de las herederas de uno de los magnates del carbón en Chile Jorge Rojas Miranda, dueño de los yacimientos de la localidad de Puchoco en Coronel, al sur del

¹² McGee, Owen. "Egan, Patrick". *Dictionary of Irish Biography. Royal Irish Academy*. Retrieved 27 December 2020

¹³ Palacio Rojas Pradel (Catedral 111) Las riquezas del carbón permitieron a Jorge Puchoco Rojas la construcción de este suntuoso palacete, inaugurado en 1874 con pompa tras el matrimonio de su hija Zulema con el Marqués de Laureate Di Monte Cossano, siendo padrino el Infante de Borbón, quien se encontraba de paso en Chile. La Guerra Civil de 1891 obligó a la familia a abandonar la residencia. Fue adquirida entonces por Carlos Sánchez Fontecilla cuyos descendientes la habitaron hasta 1950. El edificio fue demolido para dar paso a un sitio eriazo que servía como estacionamientos para automóviles. En Fernando Imas Brüggmann, Mario Rojas Torrejón y Eugenia Velasco Villafaña. *La Ruta de los Palacios y las Grandes Casas de Santiago. Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y de las Artes, Santiago de Chile*. 2015, p.23

¹⁴ María Eugenia Cruset. Soldados, políticos, mineros y diplomáticos. La inmigración irlandesa a Chile en clave transnacional pp.169-184 Érica Sarmiento e Karoline Carula et alii en *Imigração, trabalho e gênero (1870-1930) / organização Érica Sarmiento, Karoline Carula*. - 1. ed. - Rio de Janeiro : Mauad X : Faperj, 2023.

país, cerca de la ciudad de Concepción. Sabemos por la prensa del sector que en 1896 formó la Sociedad Comercial Francesa en Chile con sus cuñados Jorge y Tulio, a los que se agregó el marqués Laureatti de Monteconaro. Los boletines jurídicos informaban que en las transacciones comerciales representaba a su esposa Amelia Rojas Pradel.¹⁵

El nombre de Frank Egan no era extraño en la prensa de la época, el diario *El Sur* de Concepción publicaba sobre su persona. Se le acusaba que era gerente de otra compañía, diferente a la ya mencionada, la North and South American Construction Company. Esta era fuertemente calificada como una compañía nacida espurea y fallida que no había tenido jamás existencia legal. Además que había utilizado presión a través de la Legación Americana sobre el gobierno para conseguir ciertos pagos de trabajos efectuados. Aprovechaba el artículo a criticar la labor de su padre como Jefe de la Legación Americana que solo había provocado dificultades en la relación de los dos países.¹⁶ Efectivamente hubo una controversia con el gobierno chileno que finalmente fue resuelta para lo que el gobierno chileno dictó una ley. Se trataba de la construcción de ferrocarriles, los que no se terminaron.¹⁷

El compromiso nacionalista al parecer fue influenciado fuertemente por su padre Patrick. En el diario *Chilean Times*, del 23 de enero de 1892, se demuestra lo anterior ya que se publica una hábil refutación por su parte de las calumnias maliciosas que se habían publicado sobre su padre (Representante de EEUU en Chile), publicadas en el diario *El Heraldo* de Valparaíso. Las acusaciones refutadas se referían a aquellas que dieron origen a la Comisión London Times-Parnell, que involucraban a Patrick Egan y otros destacados nacionalistas irlandeses. Gracias a la perspicacia comercial de Patrick Egan y, principalmente, la conservación de ciertas cartas recibidas mientras estaba en su país de origen, llevaron a una completa desestimación del caso del

¹⁵ Diario *El Sur*, Concepción, Martes 14 de Enero de 1896

¹⁶ Diario *El Sur*, Concepción, martes 19 de enero de 1892

¹⁷ La “North and South American Construction Company” conviene en que el reclamo que presentó ante la comisión de reclamos chileno-americana que funcionó en Washington, proveniente del contrato ajustado el 17 de Octubre de 1888 entre el Gobierno de Chile y la expresada Compañía, para la construcción de ciertos ferrocarriles en aquella República, sea definitivamente arreglado por el Departamento de Estado en Washington, i la referida Compañía renuncia a todos i a cada uno de los derechos que tiene o pudiera tener derivados del contrato de 17 de Octubre de 1888, contra el Gobierno de Chile. En Lei núm. 325.-Santiago, a 30 de Diciembre de 1895.(Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional)

London Times ante la comisión. La exposición de la conspiración de falsificación tramada en las oficinas del *Thunderer* (apodo del *London Times*) fue total.

Frank afirmaba en las columnas del periódico de Valparaíso: "Las únicas acusaciones de naturaleza criminal hechas alguna vez contra mi padre se basaron en una serie de cartas falsificadas por un tal Richard Pigott, que fueron compradas...".¹⁸ Agrega que las únicas acusaciones que se han hecho contra su padre y que no había negado eran que él era uno de los principales líderes y trabajadores activos por la independencia de Irlanda. Aunque estas acusaciones se consideraban muy graves en Inglaterra, Frank Egan sugería que en los Estados Unidos y en Chile podrían considerarse de manera diferente. El artículo también mencionaba que el hijo del ministro, en respuesta a los ataques injustificados contra su padre en *El Heraldo* de Valparaíso, había presentado una carta de defensa meses antes y que los editores de ese periódico podrían publicarla si lo deseaban. Además, mencionaba que mientras refutaba las mentiras en *El Heraldo*, los periódicos en América, influenciados por el gobierno británico, buscaban argumentos para destituir a Patrick Egan de su servicio diplomático.¹⁹

Aumento de la Influencia de Estados Unidos y novedades en América Latina en el cambio de siglo

En América Latina el panorama en lo político y social estaba convulsionado. En la mayoría de los países se producían crisis de carácter interno, las que generaron gobiernos autoritarios en algunos casos y en otros la supremacía de gobiernos conservadores o liberales. En lo social, hubo una importante migración europea a países como Argentina y Brasil y bastante inquietud, particularmente por las nuevas ideas provenientes de los movimientos sociales tanto en América

¹⁸ Hacía referencia a los acontecimientos relacionados con el *London Times*-Parnell Commission de 1888 y 1889. El proceso, que le costó al periódico *London Times* la suma de doscientas mil libras esterlinas, se basó en las cartas falsificadas por Richard Pigott y que formaron la base de la investigación de la comisión. El resultado de la comisión fue la absolución de la Irish National Party de todas las acusaciones de naturaleza criminal o grave, aunque el *London Times* perdió gran parte de su prestigio y la mitad de su circulación. Richard Pigott, el falsificador, se suicidó en Madrid, su asistente, Maguire, murió poco después de enterarse del suicidio de su jefe, y Macdonald, el principal propietario del *London Times* que compró y publicó las cartas falsificadas, también murió a los pocos meses a causa de la preocupación y la ansiedad.

¹⁹ Diario *Chilean Times*, Valparaíso, 23 de enero de 1892

del Norte como en Europa. Por su parte, Estados Unidos comenzó un periodo de clara hegemonía en el continente y aplicó los conceptos de “América para los americanos” y del “big stick”, instaurado por el presidente Theodore Roosevelt.²⁰ Chile sintió en carne propia el poder norteamericano a través de las acciones de su embajador irlandés Patrick Egan durante el caso “Baltimore”.²¹

La nueva realidad, que llegaba a través de diferentes medios al público chileno, va a ir entregando ideas para enfrentar los desafíos que vivía el país. Este entendió lo relevante de la guerra imperial que se extendía en el mundo entero. Se observaba, la rebelión de los jóvenes turcos y la de los bóxer en China y se recibía con preocupación las señales de inquietud social las que llegaban al país a través de la Iglesia, de la prensa socialista y de los escritos revolucionarios.

Se observaba lo que sucedía en los países del continente y cómo se iba transformando el contorno geopolítico hacia el nuevo siglo. Mientras tanto, aumentaba la tensión entre Chile y Argentina por disputas de límites, mientras la situación de conflicto en América se agravaba.²²

Con la primera década del siglo XX, llegaban a Chile las noticias de una serie de hechos que acercaban al mundo a la Primera Guerra Mundial. Un escenario importante era África del Sur, con la segunda guerra de los Bóers (1899- 1902) entre los ingleses y los colonos neerlandeses asentados

²⁰ Smithsonian. *Timelines of history*, Penguin Random House, Great Britain, 2011, p. 327.

²¹ En 1889, con la Primera Conferencia Panamericana de Washington, se inició un proceso de unión del continente que aún perdura, cuyo título original fue “Unión Internacional de las Repúblicas Americanas para la pronta compilación de datos sobre el comercio”. En tanto, se proclamó además la nueva República de Brasil, lo que produjo la abdicación de Pedro II y la separación de la Iglesia del Estado. En México, mientras tanto, se empezaron a producir grandes inversiones norteamericanas, y en el sector de Monterrey se duplicó la producción de plata. Porfirio Díaz se mantuvo en el poder, y países del sector buscaron imitar su gobierno. Más al sur, Argentina enfrentó una fuerte crisis económica, llegando millones de migrantes –dos millones hasta 1910– y una demostración del desarrollo de su clase media fue la organización del Partido Radical. Brasil vivió el mismo fenómeno y a Sao Paulo, solamente, llegó cerca de un millón de migrantes. En Centro América, entre 1892-1893, después de la crítica situación de la construcción del Canal de Panamá, los franceses abandonaron el intento del canal. A partir de 1895, se reiniciaron los intentos independentistas de Farabundo Martí contra el dominio español en la isla de Cuba, quien fue capturado y murió en manos de los españoles. En Chevalier, Francois. *América Latina. De la Independencia a nuestros días*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1999.

²² En Ecuador, después de sangrientos enfrentamientos, asumió el poder un gobierno liberal liderado por Eloy Alfaro (1895-1901), que generó varios gobiernos laicos. En general, en los países de la región se alternaban los gobiernos conservadores y liberales. La crisis de Cuba se hizo mayor con la explosión del acorazado “Maine”, en La Habana, y la consecuente declaración de guerra de EE.UU. a España y su apoyo a los insurgentes cubanos. El Tratado de París dejó finalmente a Cuba bajo la tutela de EE.UU. la que fue ocupada en 1902. Luego se establecería la Enmienda Platt, que garantizaría la independencia cubana contra terceros. EE.UU. ocupó Puerto Rico, el que pasó a ser un semi protectorado. En Chevalier, Francois. *América Latina. De la Independencia a nuestros días*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1999.

por mucho tiempo en la zona. Otra expresión de las luchas imperiales, donde Inglaterra pretendía marcar su hegemonía. Fue una guerra sangrienta y larga, que obligó a los ingleses a desplegar más de 400.000 hombres para someter a cerca de 40.000 granjeros bóeres. Algunos de ellos llegaron a Chile en 1903, y desde Pitrufrquén fundaron Gorbea, “la nueva Transvaal”. Por su parte, en 1908 Bélgica seguía la carrera imperial y se anexionaba el Estado Libre del Congo. Más al sur se creaba la Unión Sudafricana, con las antiguas colonias de Natal, El Cabo, Transvaal y Orange.²³

Conclusión: Grandes inquietudes sociales en Chile

Pese a la escasa presencia de irlandeses en Chile, en el cambio de siglo como se ha podido apreciar, lo que sucedía en la lejana Irlanda no era ajeno a los chilenos que estaban inmersos en sus propios problemas. Las actividades de los Egan no pasaron desapercibidas y cumplieron un importante rol de información en Chile, el que se ampliaría más adelante especialmente de la mano de Frank.

La atención del país con cerca de cien años de vida independiente, en general, se centraba en las delicadas relaciones con los países vecinos y las instituciones continuaban con su desarrollo, los movimientos sociales se intensificaban, debido a las aspiraciones insatisfechas de los trabajadores por mejorar sus condiciones de vida y trabajo. Pese al periodo de prosperidad económica, que se prolongó hasta la década de 1920, no fue posible mitigar la situación de pobreza que afectaba a parte importante de la población. Las primeras manifestaciones del descontento social surgieron en los centros mineros, puertos y ciudades, siendo los artesanos y obreros sus protagonistas, y las mutuales sus organizaciones. Luego, estas se transformaron en mancomunales o sociedades de resistencia y surgieron los partidos políticos obreros, con la aparición de importantes líderes sindicales. Poco a poco, estos movimientos se ideologizaron y en 1910 ya existían más de 400 organizaciones mutualistas y un número creciente de sindicatos de trabajadores de la metalurgia, de empleados ferroviarios y tipógrafos, entre otros.

²³ Larrea, D. Q. “La colonia ‘nueva Transvaal’ de Gorbea: colonización extranjera en la Araucanía”, 1, 1984, pp. 25-39.

Entre 1902 y 1908, hubo alrededor de doscientas huelgas y la no satisfacción de sus demandas provocó una escalada de movilizaciones sociales, con una alta participación de obreros y artesanos, como también de mujeres e hijos. Entre las más relevantes se recuerda la huelga portuaria de Valparaíso, en 1903; la huelga de la carne en Santiago, en 1905; y la tragedia de Santa María, en 1907, cuyas graves consecuencias frenaron esta ola de manifestaciones. Frente a esta escalada de protestas de trabajadores de diversos ámbitos productivos, las fuerzas policiales no fueron suficientes para instaurar el orden, por lo que las autoridades resolvieron el empleo intensivo de las Fuerzas Armadas para lograrlo. En 1909, se fundaba la Federación Obrera de Chile (FOCH), que luego daría origen al Partido Obrero Socialista. En la primera década del siglo , el *norte salitrero* mostraba señales de inquietud, considerando la existencia de múltiples oficinas salitreras, agrupadas en cantones, desperdigadas en las extensas pampas de Tarapacá y Antofagasta, en las que miles de trabajadores realizaban sus faenas en condiciones extremas, tanto por el clima como por el ambiente laboral propio de la época, que ya daba muestras de ebullición social y política.²⁴ Este agitado ambiente era en el que vivían los pocos irlandeses avecindados en el país.

Más tarde, con motivo de la Primera Guerra Mundial, del Alzamiento de Pascua en 1916 y de los sucesos que llevaron a la Independencia de Irlanda de 1922, los chilenos siguieron las vicisitudes de los irlandeses que, con grandes sacrificios, alcanzaron la ansiada libertad.

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²⁴ El movimiento popular en el siglo XX en Chile, en www.memoriachilena.cl, consultado el 1 de marzo 2021

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Tribunales e irlandeses en Argentina: Víctimas y victimarios (1853-1900)

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Resumen:

Los procesos migratorios implican siempre un re-imaginarse y un re-construirse. Los sujetos diáspóricos son una mezcla de lo que eran- o fueron sus ancestros-, con lo que son – o son los demás habitantes del nuevo país-. Esto es particularmente cierto para aquellos irlandeses e irlandesas que cruzaron el Atlántico para asentarse en el sur de América a mediados del siglo XIX. Ellos llegaron a la Confederación Argentina, un país complejo y dividido, que se convertirá en un Estado-nación moderno a partir de la constitución de 1853. Esta carta magna, que es republicana y federal, establece la división de tres poderes: Ejecutivo, Legislativo y Judicial. La relación de este último poder y los Hiberno-argentinos es lo que trabajaremos en esta ponencia. A través de Camila y Miguel O’Gorman, la familia Dillon y Felisardo Kelly – entre otros – (todos de algún modo relacionados con el partido de San Miguel del Monte y la frontera con el indio que era el río Salado), los veremos como víctimas, victimarios e instrumentos de este poder judicial de la nación.

Palabras clave: Tribunales-Víctimas. Criminales.

Abstract: Migratory processes always involve re-imagining and re-constructing oneself. Diasporic subjects are a mixture of what they were – or their ancestors - with what they are - or are the other inhabitants of the new country. This is particularly true for those Irish men and women

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who crossed the Atlantic to settle in the American South in the mid-nineteenth century. They arrived in the Argentine Confederation, a complex and divided country, which was to become a modern nation-state with the constitution of 1853. This Magna Carta, which is republican and federal, establishes the division of three powers: Executive, Legislative and Judicial. The relationship between this last power and the Hiberno-Argentines is the subject of this paper. Through Camila and Miguel O'Gorman, the Dillon family and Felisardo Kelly (all somehow related to the party of San Miguel del Monte and the border with the Indian that was the Salado river), we will see them as victims, victimizers and instruments of this judicial power of the nation.

Keywords: Courts-Victims-Criminal

Introducción

Argentina logra su independencia de España en 1816 comenzando a llamarse Provincias Unidas del Río de La Plata. Pero, aunque era un Estado soberano, su estabilidad interna estaba mucho de ser la de un país moderno. Como ocurría en la región –salvo Brasil, donde el proceso de independencia de Portugal fue distinto– todos los países que formaron parte del dominio español sufrieron duros avatares hasta poder estabilizarse.

La Confederación Argentina, como se llamó desde la llegada de Juan Manuel de Rosas a la Gobernación de la provincia de Buenos Aires en 1831, aún sufría de disputas entre Unitarios y Federales, más las avanzadas de los pueblos indios en el área rural del sur de la provincia. Por eso a esta región, cuyo límite era el río Salado, se la conocía como frontera y en ella, el poder del Estado era aún más difuso.

Los aparatos burocráticos y la capacidad de ejercer justicia son dos atributos fundamentales de la soberanía de los países. Esto era difícil en esta área gris de la frontera donde Jueces de Paz, con atribuciones de justicia pero también ejecutivas, debían competir con los comandantes militares de los fuertes y fortines que defendían del indio. Además, el gobernador Rosas en sí mismo

encarnaba la “Suma del Poder Público”, es decir, todos los poderes del Estado, ejerciendo de forma arbitraria la justicia².

La inmigración irlandesa tendió a asentarse en los partidos de la zona noroeste de la provincia de Buenos Aires, por no ser una zona de frontera y, por lo tanto, más segura. Sin embargo, hubo un grupo que se animó y se asentó en el sur, cerca del Salado, los peligros a los que estos pioneros debieron enfrentarse se refieren a la cercanía del indio –con sus incursiones “malones” que servían para llevarse ganado e incluso cautivos a sus territorios – y a la poca presencia del Estado en áreas como la seguridad pública o función de policía.

Aunque hubo distintas estrategias para mantener alejados a los indios de las zonas que se pretendía incorporar al sistema productivo, estas tuvieron relativo éxito hasta la campaña final de 1878-79 dirigida por el General Julio Argentino Roca. El sistema de Juan Manuel de Rosas, que mezcló alianzas con los pueblos nativos con avances militares, llegó a su clímax en 1833 con la avanzada hacia el sur hasta el Río Colorado. (Halperin Donghi 1968; Garavaglia 1989).

Estas realidades de frontera, con sus dinámicas propias, perfilan las situaciones económicas, sociales y políticas en los partidos colindantes con el Salado.

En este trabajo me propongo analizar el tema de la justicia, quien la ejerce, quien es víctima, quien la trasgrede. Para esto usaré mayormente el cuerpo documental sobre justicia – Fondo Juzgado del crimen – que se encuentra en el Archivo Histórico de la provincia de Buenos Aires y me centraré, mayormente, en la zona de frontera³ y lo relativo a los inmigrantes irlandeses. Muchos de los testimonios de los acusados, nos permiten darles voz a personajes secundarios en la historia, de los que poco o nada sabemos porque nunca antes han sido escuchados. Soldados de rango medio, peones de campo, medianos propietarios rurales, etc.

Este archivo provincial, “Dr. Ricardo Levene”, llamado así por el destacado historiador argentino, fue fundado en 1925 y es el segundo más importante del país. Dentro de sus fondos documentales,

² Hasta la redacción, por parte del jurista Dalmacio Vélez Sarsfield, de los códigos de comercio y civil, en la década de 1860, la aplicación de la ley era bastante confusa y discrecional.

³Particularmente los Partidos de San Miguel del Monte y Saladillo.

el que he trabajado, Fondo Juzgado del crimen, abarca desde 1723 a 1927, Consta de expedientes de causas criminales con exclusividad. Hay que aclarar, que la documentación consultada, se realizó durante las restricciones impuestas a partir de la pandemia de COVID-19 y, por lo tanto, representan una primera aproximación al tema que, sin dudas, deberá ser ampliado y analizado oportunamente.

El trabajo se divide entre aquellos irlandeses – o descendientes – que han sido víctimas. Particularmente a través de la figura de Camila O ‘Gorman. Luego aquellos que infligieron la ley, para terminar con aquellos que se dedicaron a hacer justicia desde la policía o como jueces.

Víctimas, victimarios y agentes de la ley en un contexto complejo

El siglo XIX fue muy convulso y complejo para Argentina. Desde la independencia de España en 1816 el país se sumió en una guerra civil donde dos bandos luchaban por el modelo organizativo que debía tener el nuevo Estado (Federal o Unitario/centralista) y quién debía controlar los ingresos económicos de la Aduana de Buenos Aires. Sin estos ingresos ningún estado era viable, por eso su administración era central para cualquiera de los dos proyectos.

Durante el gobierno del Gobernador de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, Don Juan Manuel de Rosas (1828-1832 y 1835-1852) quien tenía su centro de poder económico, político e incluso su milicia personal llamada “Los Colorados del Monte” en el partido de San Miguel del Monte, se ejerció un virtual gobierno centralista aunque disfrazado con un discurso de federalismo. Su título “Restaurador de las Leyes” marca su tinte conservador y autoritario.

En ese contexto es que transita una de las historias de amor prohibido más conocidas y románticas de la historiografía del país: la de Camila O ‘Gorman⁴:

⁴ Su vida y tragedia personal son conocidas, en gran parte, por la película *Camila* (1984), de María Luisa Bemberg. De hecho, a muchas niñas nacidas en los años cercanos al estreno del film se les puso el nombre de Camila. Y continúa siendo un nombre popular. Al ser mostrada al público solo un año después del regreso de la Democracia y el fin de la dictadura, su temática apelando a valores como la libertad, a amar sin restricciones, en contra del autoritarismo, fue lo que la hizo tan apreciada por la sociedad argentina.

Los O 'Gorman formaban parte del patriciado porteño – lo que no solo significaba una muy buena posición económica sino también una alcurnia social. Habían llegado a las orillas del Río de la Plata, cuando aún era colonia española, a fines del siglo XVIII con cierto capital que les permitió esa buena posición. Esto solía ocurrir con aquellos irlandeses que llegaban desde España. En este caso particular, pasando primero por Francia. (Cruset 2019).

Thomas, abuelo de Camila, había nacido en 1770 en el county Clare, Irlanda. Desde allí emigró a la isla Mauricio donde se casó con Ana Perichon. Su vida en la colonia estuvo rodeada de escándalos. Se cree que se dedicaba al contrabando, obviamente una actividad ilícita pero bastante común en esa época. En lo personal, su esposa llevaba una relación amorosa poco disimulada con el virrey Liniers, también francés como ella. Del matrimonio va a nacer Adolfo quien es el padre de Camila.⁵

Cuando Camila era una adolescente llegó a Buenos Aires, desde Tucumán, Ladislao Gutiérrez. El joven era sobrino del gobernador de la provincia y compañero en el seminario de la Compañía de Jesús del hermano de Camila, Eduardo. El compartir el seminario le permitió al joven Gutiérrez, una vez ordenado, convertirse en el confesor de la familia O 'Gorman. De esta relación social pronto surgió el amor Camila y Ladislao. El problema más grave surgió cuando la pareja decidió huir hacia Brasil, él abandonando los hábitos y ella su familia. En Goya, provincia de Corrientes, vivieron un tiempo como si fueran un matrimonio, dirigiendo una escuela y esperando a tener dinero para poder continuar su viaje. Allí fueron descubiertos por el sacerdote irlandés Michael Gannon, quien los denunció. La pareja fue puesta presa y derivada a Buenos Aires, donde fueron puestos prisioneros en el cuartel de Rosas en Santos Lugares.

Precisamente, Rosas tenían desde 1840 su campamento militar en Santos Lugares, donde existía un convento anteriormente. Allí también había erigido una cárcel y es donde en 1848 fue puesta presa y luego fusilada Camila. Sin juicio previo, sin tener claro la historiografía si estaba

⁵ Para conocer más de Thomas O 'Gorman ver Maxin Hanon (2005).

embarazada y con la fuerte presión que desde el exterior hacían los exiliados unitarios quienes aprovecharon la ocasión para denostar la moral del régimen gobernante.

En el Fondo del Juzgado del crimen que está en el Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires se encuentra un expediente de 1853 – posterior al 3 de febrero de 1852 cuando Rosas fue vencido en la Batalla de Caseros y debió exiliarse en Inglaterra. Este documento es el juicio que se llevó a cabo a Antonio Renzi y donde figura la confesión que este realiza ante el Juez. Renzi tendría un puesto de mando en ese lugar. En su confesión él dice:

Se le reconviene y hace cargo por haber dado cumplimiento a la orden que determinaba el fusilamiento de Doña Camila O 'Gorman cuando el confesante por su misma declaración, sabía que estaba embarazada, y que el inocente que llevaba en su seno no era responsable de los hechos que se atribuían a la madre; que la obediencia está reprobada por las leyes, cuando los actos que se mandan efectuar son contrarios a la Religión, y ofensivos a la moral digo que por más sensible y repugnante que fue ese hecho, hubo que disponer el cumplimiento, que el declarante no se tomó la libertad de observarlo y temió por su vida , porque el poder de la persona que mandaba, era de tal naturaleza que no admitía (¿?) a su determinación la menor contravención que si el confesante tenía responsabilidad por haber ordenado el cumplimiento de un mandato inhumano, esa responsabilidad es extensiva a todos los que llevaron a cabo la determinación ...creyeron cumplir la resolución del Gobernador de la Provincia. (AHPBA, Juzgado del crimen, cuerpo 41, Leg.155, Exp. 10).

Copiamos textualmente toda la declaración testimonial del acusado porque entendemos el valor que este tiene. Él reconoce ser el que ordenó el pelotón de fusilamiento, a sabiendas de que Camila estaba embarazada y – seguramente ya se le notaría u tal vez estaría pronta a dar a luz, porque hace referencia a la criatura en su vientre, que obviamente era inocente. También asegura que lo hizo obedeciendo ordenes aunque estas eran contrarias a la religión, a la moral e incluso contrarias a las leyes. Y usa como atenuante el temor que sentía por la autoridad Rosas e, incluso, el miedo a perder su vida.

Criminales: Asesinos y ladrones

Hay que decir, que de este mismo fondo documental, también se desprenden casos donde son irlandeses los que quiebran la ley. Ya no víctimas como Camila sino victimarios, o criminales – tal vez presuntos – que comenten asesinatos y robos.

Es el caso de Juan Ogan⁶ (sic) quien, en 1855, hirió mortalmente con un martillo a Antonio Díaz (sereno) “Estaba sin sus facultades intelectuales y conducido al Hospital General de Hombres” (AHPBA; Juzgado del crimen Leg. 165, Exp. 19).

Estos casos de demencia u otras afecciones de este tipo, muchas veces estaban relacionadas con el alcohol. No son pocos los registros, donde en las partidas de defunción, se menciona el problema del alcohol como causal de la muerte.

En 1856, va a ser Guillermo Kelli (sic)⁷ el enjuiciado por haber comprado un caballo ensillado que era robado. En realidad por el expediente no podemos tener claro si su compra fue sabiendo que era el bien robado. Hay que tener en cuenta que un caballo era una posesión valiosa y, además, con todos los elementos para montarlo, eso hacía que fuera una suma importante la que estaba en juego. (AHPBA; Juzgado del crimen Leg. 170, Exp. 10).

Aunque en otro partido, Luján, no muy lejos del Salado y de la frontera, se lo acusa y se le abre un proceso criminal a Miguel Cunningham por la muerte de Juan Kelly en la Estancia de Lorenzo Casey en 1877. En este caso, irlandeses fueron tanto la víctima como el agresor. (AHPBA; Juzgado del crimen cuerpo 40, Leg. 337, Exp. 29).

Sin embargo, uno de los casos más interesantes es el asesinato cometido el 3 de abril de 1856 del joven Andrés Aguilar en el pueblo del Carmen de Cañuelas por Patricio Dillon y Bernardo Dillon. “unos ingleses” El partido de Cañuelas nace en 1822 cuando el Gobernador Martín Rodríguez y

⁶ El apellido correcto es Hogan. Como la letra h en español es muda, es muy común que los apellidos irlandeses que la llevan se modifiquen y no la usen. Es el caso de Mahon y este de Hogan. Esta familia es muy conocida en San Miguel del Monte y, aún hoy en día se los conoce como “Ogan”.

⁷ Como con el caso de otros apellidos la grafía se adaptó.

su ministro Bernardino Rivadavia suprimen los cabildos como organización territorial administrativa que era una herencia del sistema colonial español donde este tipo de institución colegiada e integrada por los vecinos – solo aquellos que tenían propiedades muebles – se ocupaban de todo aquello relacionado con los intereses municipales. Estos cabildos fueron reemplazados por los jueces de Paz. Cañuelas recibe uno y es esa fecha tiene una autoridad propia.

Patricio y Bernardo eran puesteros en la estancia de David Dillon. La estancia estaba mayormente ubicada en el Partido vecino de San Miguel del Monte. Entre Cañuelas y Monte hay una distancia de 45 kilómetros, esto también nos ayuda a entender la extensión de la estancia a la que hacemos referencia. Es muy probable que este David Dillon fuera el que llegó al país en 1843 en el buque *Fanny* y se registró en el consulado británico. Para 1863 figura como estanciero en Guardia de Monte. Según Coghlan, nació en Limerick y se casó con Alice con quien tuvo varios hijos. Murió en Monte el 17 de octubre de 1889 (Hanon, 2005).

Por eso no extraña que sea él mismo el que se hiciera cargo de su defensa y expusiera su versión sobre lo ocurrido. Allí cuenta que los dos hombres se encontraban durmiendo tranquilamente en su rancho, cuando: “un hombre entró en el rancho dando rebencazos⁸ a Bernardo hirió al hombre...! Y en autodefensa terminó asesinando al joven. (AHPBA; Juzgado del crimen Leg. 167, Exp. 7).

No sabemos si fueron condenados o no, pero es muy probable que la versión dado por una persona tan importante haya sido tomada en cuenta sin discutirla.

Jueces y policías

Por una de esas ironías de la historia, el hermano de Camila, Enrique O ‘Gorman, fue un destacado funcionario que a fines del siglo XIX se ocupó de organizar la policía y el Servicio Penitenciario. Había nacido el 11 de noviembre de 1822 – tres años antes que Camila – y falleció el 22 de

⁸ El rebenque es un látigo corto utilizado por los gauchos para el arreo de ganado o para azuzar a los caballos al cabalgar.

noviembre de 1904. Aparece en el censo nacional de 1895 residiendo en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, viudo, que ha tenido 10 hijos y jubilado en esa época.

En 1867 fue elegido jefe de policía de la provincia de Buenos Aires. Hizo más humano el trato a los reos quitando el uso del cepo en las comisarías. En 1870 creó el cuerpo de bomberos. En 1878 se hizo cargo de la penitenciaria. (AHPBA; Juzgado del crimen cuerpo 40, anaquel 1, Leg. 344, Exp.344)).

Supo tener una activa y conspicua actividad política sin perder la ecuanimidad que su función le pedía. Actualmente la escuela de Suboficiales y Agentes de la policía lleva su nombre. Esto se realizó a través de la disposición ministerial del Ministerio de Seguridad Resolución 167/2011 cuyos fundamentos dicen:

Que Don ENRIQUE O’GORMAN, quien desempeñó la Jefatura de la POLICIA FEDERAL ARGENTINA durante el período comprendido entre los años 1867 y 1874, contribuyó en la reorganización de dicha fuerza policial y dispuso la remisión inmediata de la aplicación de barras y cepos a los detenidos en comisarías, por considerarlos instrumentos de tortura.

Que entre su accionar se destaca la elaboración del Reglamento General del Departamento de Policía el cual fue el primer cuerpo legal con el que contó dicha institución policial desde su creación y que permitió mejorar el servicio policial; la creación del Cuerpo de Vigilantes; el aumento de la cantidad de comisarías y del personal de cuerpo que contribuyó a la unificación de la fuerza permitiendo cubrir ininterrumpidamente la vigilancia, el orden y la seguridad de la ciudad; que además tuvo una dedicada intervención en la epidemia de fiebre amarilla que azotó a la Ciudad de Buenos Aires en el año 1871, poniendo a disposición todos los recursos para brindar tareas de vigilancia, socorro e higiene, en las

que fallecieron 52 hombres de policías y bomberos de todas las jerarquías.⁹

Por otra parte es interesante destacar la persona de Felisardo Kelly, quien tuvo una actuación destacada en San Miguel del Monte. Por el acta de matrimonio de su segundo casamiento (Parroquia San Miguel Arcángel, matrimonios 1886, n°124) sabemos que nació en el país en 1840 y era hijo de Juan Kelly natural de Norteamérica. Que era estanciero y vivía en el cuartel 1°, es decir en el pueblo.

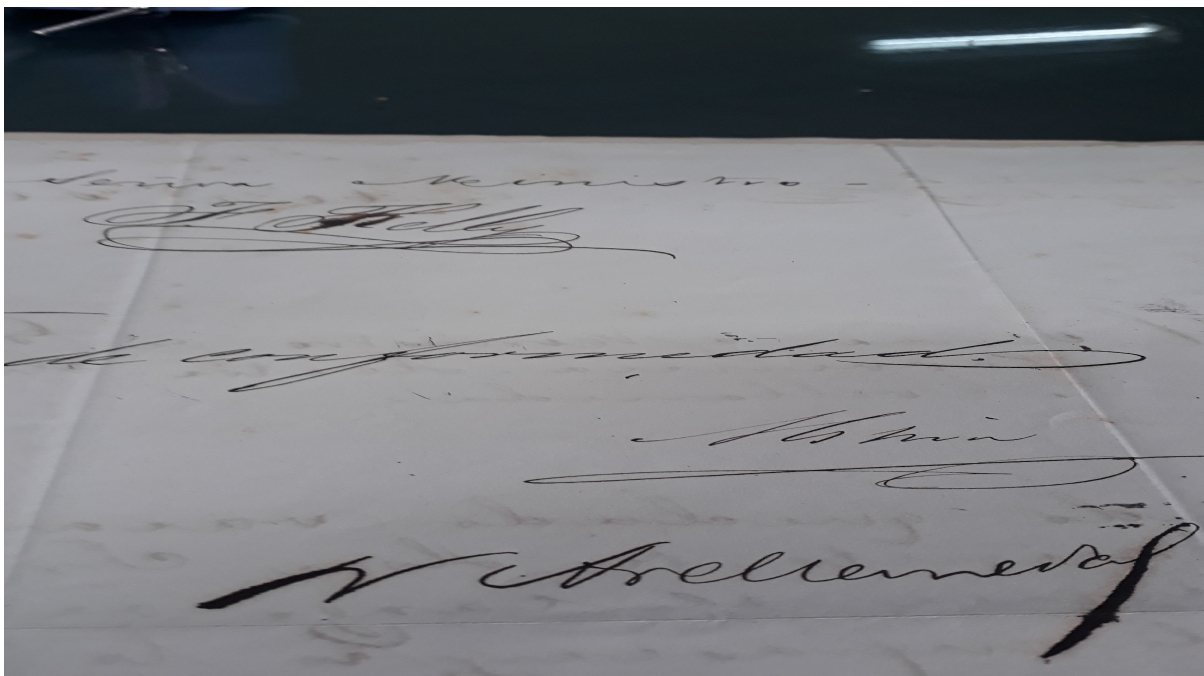
Aunque no sabemos cuándo llegó al partido de Monte, sí que en 1867 compró en el lugar 168 hectáreas – esta extensión que podría ser grande para otros lugares no lo es para la provincia de Buenos Aires y podría ser considerado un mediano propietario. También sabemos que ese mismo año fue elegido Juez de Paz – y que esto se repitió por tres periodos. También fue Presidente de la Casa Comunal, durante: 1867. 1873 y 1884: Y ostentó el cargo de Intendente de 1890 a 1892.

Las atribuciones de los jueces de paz eran muy amplias, tanto que el juez se convirtió en el nexo entre las autoridades locales y los poderes provinciales, a la vez que se vinculaban con los pares de cada partido. Reunían en su persona las funciones legislativas, ejecutivas y judiciales. (Banzato, 2000 p.29)

La imagen que agregamos, representa la designación de Kelly, con su firma y refrendada por Nicolás Avellaneda. En este documento su función era la de Ministro de Justicia e Instrucción Pública, cargo que ejerció entre 1868 y 1874 durante la presidencia de Domingo Sarmiento. En esa labor le correspondía designar funcionarios y de ahí su rúbrica. De 1874 a 1880 fue presidente de la República. Al ver la firma de un hijo de inmigrante irlandés-norteamericano en el mismo expediente que el presidente de la República, se puede entender el grado de integración y ascenso social que tuvieron los hiberno argentinos.¹⁰

⁹ Ministerio de Seguridad, Resolución 167/2011.

¹⁰ Nombre con que se reconocían los descendientes de inmigrantes irlandeses al país en razón de ser Hibernia, Irlanda para los romanos.



AHPB, Legajo 5, Exp. 403. 1866. “El ciudadano Kelli (sic.) acepta el cargo de juez de Paz”.

Monte, junio de 1865.

Conclusión

Los irlandeses que llegaron como inmigrantes a la Argentina, se encontraron con un país joven, que luchaba por estabilizarse y convertirse en una nación moderna. Esto les significó dificultades, pero también les dio la oportunidad de asentarse, comprar tierras y ganado, y terminar prosperando. Para aquellos que se instalaron en la zona sur de la provincia de Buenos Aires, en las áreas cercanas al Río Salado, la realidad de frontera les significó un catalizador donde lo bueno y lo malo, las posibilidades y las dificultades se potenciaban y agrandaban.

Es en este contexto que los podemos ver integrados a la nueva sociedad que los ha recibido con gusto. Y, los vemos tan parte que sufren condenas injustas y desproporcionadas, rompen la ley y son parte del sistema de justicia de igual manera que el resto de los argentinos de su época.

En este trabajo nos propusimos ingresar a la vida cotidiana y darle voz a aquellos que hasta ahora han sido invisibles. También nos hemos acercado a las justificaciones – siempre incomprensibles – de aquellos que han quebrado la ley, incluso cumpliéndola como es el caso del verdugo de Camila.

Falta aún examinar mucha documentación, el Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, guarda gran cantidad de historia que debe ser revisada. Sin embargo, en estas páginas hemos podido dar algo de luz a momentos y circunstancias del pasado nacional y del aporte de los inmigrantes irlandeses a él.

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“The decade that keeps coming back”

Argentina in the 1970s: Reflections of an Irish diplomat in Buenos Aires

Justin Harman¹

Abstract: The 1970s was a critical decade for Argentina which experienced a deep political, social, and economic crisis, an escalating armed conflict involving guerilla movements and reprisals by right-wing groups, and a *coup d’etat* which in the words of the official Commission set up after the return of democracy in 1983 was “the most savage tragedy of Argentine history”. The decade left profound fissures which are reflected in contemporary political debate and which impact on the country's capacity to create the consensus needed to support essential structural change. The legacy of that decade was evident again in the 2023 Presidential election triggered by statements by Vice President Victoria Villaruel seen by some as excusing the excesses of the military dictatorship. Nonetheless, the 1970s was also the decade that led to the consolidation of democracy and acceptance of the inviolability of fundamental rights, the absence of which had permitted the level of State repression and violent atrocities that took place. This essay reflects the perspective of an Irish diplomat who worked in Buenos Aires over those turbulent years.

Keywords: 1970s Argentina, Perón, terrorism, Montoneros, military dictatorship, human rights, democracy.

¹Justin Harman was an Irish diplomat in Argentina in the 1970s and returned as Ambassador in 2014. He had previously served as Ambassador in Madrid, Moscow, Strasbourg, and Vienna. He lives between Ireland and Argentina and is currently Vice-President of the Asociación de Estudios Irlandeses del Sur (AEIS) and lectures at the Universidad Del Salvador in Buenos Aires.

Worldwide the 1960s was a decade of febrile social and political protest when marginalised and discriminated groups, many inspired by the civil rights movement in the US, found a voice to demand change. In Northern Ireland this was reflected in the civil rights movement to challenge anti-Catholic discrimination in employment and housing and to end the plural voting system which disenfranchised large sections of the population. Argentina, with its history of oppressive military and civilian-military regimes and prevailing patriarchal conservative culture, was impacted more than other countries, notably by the Cuban revolution and the uprisings in France in 1968. Influenced by international developments, including also the outcome of the 1968 Medellin Conference of Bishops, opposition to the Argentine military regime quickly crystallised. As pressure for change mounted, the toppling of the civilian administration of President Illia in 1966 by an oppressive regime led by Gen Onganía proved an important contributor to the calamitous decade that followed.

I arrived in Buenos Aires in 1975 which proved a critical year, when the inefficacy and powerlessness of the Peronist government became glaringly evident, with guerilla attacks by Montoneros and other leftist groups, and corresponding actions from the military and police and reprisals by right-wing extra-official groups, closely linked to the security services. These groups were acting under the control of the shadowy figure of Lopez Rega, who held the confidence of Isabela Martínez de Perón who had succeeded her husband as President in July 1974.

I had joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in late 1974 and, following involvement in Ireland's opening Presidency of the EC Council of Ministers in the first half of 1975, was posted to the small Irish Embassy in Argentina, then Ireland's only diplomatic mission in Latin America. A 22-year-old diplomatic neophyte, I arrived to join the Ambassador who had been operating on his own for the previous 18 months. He returned to Dublin and remained there owing to illness until July the following year; I would therefore remain as the sole diplomat, including during the *coup d'état*.

The early 1970s were years of change in Ireland dominated by the 1973 oil crisis, accession to the EC which ushered in economic and social transformation (the scale of which was not appreciated at the time), and by the deepening conflict in Northern Ireland. Opinion throughout the island had been inflamed by the shootings on Bloody Sunday in Derry in December 1972, which led to the

burning of the British Embassy in Dublin, an incident I witnessed. In 1974, bombings in Dublin and Monaghan led to the deaths of 33 people with over 250 wounded.

Despite upheaval in Ireland, I was unprepared for the scale of turmoil faced by Argentina. Convulsed by rampant inflation, daily currency devaluations, labour unrest, the growing guerrilla campaign by left-wing groups was met by vicious counterattacks from the right. The Government led by the widow of General Perón was visibly enfeebled. Isabelita Perón appeared to me a waxen and frightened figure, surrounded by a host of dubious characters, when I greeted her at the end-of-year protocolary ceremony by the diplomatic corps in the *Casa Rosada*. When the *coup d'état* eventually took place 3 months later 24 March 1976 (the 7th such intervention since 1930), there was no sense it would ultimately constitute, in the words of the Sabato Commission set up by Raul Alfonsín after the return of democracy in 1983, “the most savage tragedy of Argentine history”. Bizarrely, that savagery of state violence was accompanied by claims that the regime’s actions were necessary to defend western Christian civilisation.

If as Philip Graham notes “news is the first draft of history”, this must surely also be valid for diplomatic reporting which seeks not only to inform but to contextualise and forecast. Providing Dublin with the detail of the bewildering sequence of day-to-day incidents over that broiling austral summer made little sense, they could only be understood against the historical background, at least from the military intervention in 1930 through to the upheavals of the 1960s. The key political development was of course the birth of Peronism in the 1940s. And it was evident that much of what was occurring reflected the virtual civil war between opposing left and rightwing factions within the broad Peronist movement. I recall the caustic assessment of V.S. Naipaul which reached a wide audience in the English-speaking world². While there was no doubting the movement’s remarkable endurance and capacity to reinvent itself, the problem was one of definition; the categories used in most countries appeared inadequate. An Argentine sociologist recently noted that though Peronism “is clearly populism (the archetype according to some), it is not exactly fascism but exhibits many of its key characteristics, it is not socialism but relies on a class warfare rhetoric and advocates income and wealth redistribution. Extremists from the right

² V.S. Naipaul *The Return of Eva Peron*: “The first Peronist revolution was based on the myth of wealth, of a land waiting to be plundered. Now the wealth has gone. And Peronism is like part of the poverty. It is protest, despair, faith, machismo, magic, espiritismo, revenge. It is everything and nothing”.

and the left claim to be Perón's true heirs and still cohabit, not without conflict, in the political party he (Perón) created.”³

Through the efforts of Juan José Delaney, an intriguing exploration of Peronism by Rodolfo Walsh, the Irish Argentine journalist, writer and later radical leftwing political activist, has recently come to light.⁴ Writing in 1957, two years after the overthrow of Perón, Walsh provided a remarkably dispassionate assessment (given his later political radicalism and assassination during the dictatorship in the 1970s). He wrote: “Perón es un político. Mejor: un demagogo. Habilísimo. No ha habido en toda la historia sudamericana, que tiene grandes caudillos, quien como él supiera hipnotizar a las multitudes. Conquista el poder porque interpreta los tres o cuatro aspiraciones básicas de las masas - mejor nivel de vida, un status social más respetable, cierta intervención en el manejo de la cosa política -, porque interpreta también los resentimientos de las masas -, xenofobia, odio a los ricos u “oligarcas”-, y sobre todo porque astutamente les habla de igual a igual... El extraordinario poder que conquista Perón está edificado básicamente sobre la palabra. Él ha dado a la palabra una nueva dimensión, casi física y sensible, que nada tiene que ver con el contenido conceptual”.

Walsh says Perón governed in some respects admirably, in others like an idiot. He praises his economic policies but says: “En lo político, Perón oprime a los partidos opositores, los molesta, los persigue sin necesidad, ahoga progresivamente la libertad de prensa ...utiliza liberalmente las torturas y los encarcelamientos arbitrarios. Los dirigentes peronistas son en general mediocres, ambiciosos y obsecuentes. La maquinaria de propaganda estatal se hace asfixiante e invade las escuelas primarias. La justicia está corrompida. El saldo es desastroso.”

A key question was how and why social activism in Argentina had transformed over a few years in the late 1960s into large-scale guerilla revolutionary movements. Where did this revolutionary fervour appear from? In Argentina, guerilla groups, while not unknown, had had relatively little impact. However, economic, political, and social tensions grew in the last years of the 1960s, notably after the explosion of social and labour discontent in Cordoba, which united workers and

³ “What Kind of Populism is Peronism?” Emilio Ocampo, Universidad del CEMA, Buenos Aires, June 2020

⁴ Letter No 29 “Rodolfo Walsh - Cartas a Donald A Yates 1954-1964”, edited by Juan José Delaney, Ediciones De La Flor, Buenos Aires, 2021

students. The *Cordobazo*, somewhat akin to Paris in May 1968, triggered growing political and social unrest. By 1970 Argentina had definitively entered the era of the “armed struggle” which developed quite unique features, notably its roots in nationalism, Catholic progressive action and anti-imperialism. Several Peronist revolutionary groups were active, including the *Montoneros*. Formed in the late 1960s, the historian Richard Gillespie noted the *Montoneros* “drew together radical Catholicism, nationalism, and Peronism into a populist expression of socialism a whole wealth of historical legitimacy into something that attracted civilians of diverse political denominations: Catholic militants, popular nationalists, authoritarian but populist nationalists, recruits from the traditional Left, combative Peronists ... They combined the social objectives of the Left with the strong nationalism and anti-imperialism of Peronism, a combination which explains their double orientation, which lay somewhere between legality and clandestinity”.⁵

Mostly urban-based students and young middle class professionals, the Montoneros identified with the populist and nationalist ideals of Peronism, and were notably influenced by the writings of William Cooke, an Irish-Argentine, who sought to model Peronism as the Argentine version of Castro's national liberation movement in Cuba.

Unlike the Montoneros, the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP), whose recruits were mostly from cities and universities in the interior, had a broader vision of revolution which “... was not a limited national and nationalist movement, but rather part of a pan-American struggle against imperialism. In this vein they aspired less to refurbish the nation-state than to transcend it”. To some degree, the defining difference between the groups was their attitude towards Peronism. The ERP reflected the Argentine's Left's distrust of Perón dating from his anticommunism in the 1940s, whereas the Montoneros embraced Perón as the person who created a unique bond with the masses. However, the Montoneros and ERP were by 1970 united in aiming to overthrow the military government.

Perón, in exile in Madrid, retained his popularity, although it appeared to be in decline; there was even talk of “*Peronismo sin Peron*”. Partly to counter this, he embraced the left-wing youth movements including the Montoneros whom he came to refer to as his “special formations”. At

⁵ Richard Gillespie “Soldados de Perón” as quoted in ‘The Argentina Reader’ (Duke University Press, 2002)

the same time, Perón widened his appeal to opposing groups and interests, and cemented his relationship with the bureaucracy of the trade unions. By 1972 when the military Government legalised Peronism, Perón had become all things to all men. Lanusse, President *de facto*, believed Peronism needed to be allowed to participate in elections in order to counter the pressure from the revolutionary Left.

However, the fissures inherent within a broad Peronist coalition quickly became evident after Perón, now 78 years old and with his health failing, took office as President for the third time in October 1973. Within months, he made plain his distrust of the Montoneros, particularly the ongoing campaign of guerilla attacks and kidnaps; he closed ranks with the main union movement (CGT), his traditional power base, dominated by loyal Peronist figures. It became evident Perón had used the Left and particularly the Montoneros as an instrument to return to power but had from the outset no intention of pursuing their political agenda.

Ingenuous in the faith they had placed in Perón, the Montoneros had been duped. On 1 May 1974 the split came into public view with a strong attack by Perón on the Montoneros, who famously withdrew their followers en masse from the *Plaza de Mayo*. Two months later Peron died of heart failure and was succeeded by his inexperienced and uniquely unqualified widow Isabelita, chosen as Vice-President in large part to maintain equilibrium among opposing factions within the Peronist coalition. Her administration was stymied from the start by a renewed economic crisis, in part the result of the oil crisis of 1973, a ban on Argentine meat exports by the EEC, an inflationary spiral, a depreciating currency and a growing payments deficit. At the same time, the festering civil war within the Peronist movement between Montoneros and forces loyal to the trade union leadership deepened with growing activism by groups attached to the AAA (Argentine Anticommunist Alliance) a shadowy grouping loyal to the Minister for Social Welfare Lopez Rega with strong links to the Federal Police service; by end-1974 the AAA was responsible for most assassinations and disappearances of leftist activists.

1975 opened with a sense of deepening crisis. In addition to the defection of the Left from the coalition, divisions opened on the Right between Lopez Rega and the trade union movement. Lopez Rega manoeuvred to nominate a new Economy Minister who in May announced a dramatic

austerity programme (the *Rodrigazo*) which provoked a general strike, the first under a Peronist Government; reluctantly, Isabelita in July forced Lopez Rega into exile, after which she absented herself for recuperation. The vacuum of power became glaringly evident; as the year progressed the government's only support came from the trade union bureaucracy, although rank and file support was haemorrhaging from the impact of the deepening economic crisis.

The unfolding tragedy deepened in October, the month before my arrival, with a startling attack by the Montoneros on a military base in the northern province of Formosa. I recall being struck by the role played by a young Montonero, Roberto Mayol, a conscript who opened the barracks doors to allow the guerillas to enter. The attack ended with the death of ten young local conscripts, ten Montoneros and various others. Mayol, immediately shot by the conscripts, was a Jesuit-educated son of a prominent family in Santa Fé; his evolution from progressive Catholic action (he was a strong admirer of Camilo Torres, the Colombian priest turned revolutionary) to Montoneros combatant exemplified the radicalisation of sections of the young middle class.

The Formosa attack was interpreted as an overt declaration of war by the Montoneros and as the single most important incident which triggered the decision by the military to take power. Nonetheless, questions remain as to why that decision was taken given that in the wake of the attack, they had received virtual *carte blanche* to use any means to defeat subversion. Signed by the interim Peronist President Luder, and supported by the cabinet and approved by Congress, the decrees "ordered military and security operations to *annihilate* the actions of subversive terrorism throughout the national territory". Videla later argued these decrees expressly created a 'licence to kill'; he maintained the term 'annihilate' had a specific meaning within the military code and had been inserted deliberately to allow the armed forces to 'disappear' opponents; this interpretation was later contested by the Peronists who were in government at the time, and the latter interpretation was confirmed by the courts during the 1985 trials of the Junta. Those trials are the subject of the 2022 award-winning film '*Argentina 1985*' directed by Santiago Mitre.

In any event, the military now had the powers that they had been seeking.⁶ In an interview shortly before his death Videla claimed the decision to intervene had been taken when Isabelita refused to stand aside; when the interim Peronist President Luder (who apparently might have been acceptable to the military) refused to take her place; and in response to pressures building up among junior ranks within the military.



Justin Harman (right) on 3 March 1976 with the Chiefs of the Armed Forces (Videla, Massera, and Agosti), the Minister of Defence and the military Mayor of Buenos Aires, at a commemoration of Admiral William Brown, founder of the Argentine Navy. Attendance at the ceremony by the heads of each of the armed forces was portrayed as a deliberate demonstration of unity. It later emerged that the decision to topple the civilian Government of Isabela Perón on 24 March, three weeks later, had already been taken.

I would add the hubris that existed within the armed forces that they were uniquely qualified, despite the absence of a mandate or obvious qualifications, to manage the affairs of the country. I was taken aback at the arrogant assumption that simply by virtue of being in uniform they could

⁶ The US Ambassador Robert Hill reported on 10 October that the decrees “gave the military the authority to take on the anti-subversive battle and to take the necessary measures to annihilate the subversives.... The armed forces have now the authority that have been seeking for some time to take on the fight against the terrorists, which up until now has been handled (or not handled) by the Federal Police”.

manage complex issues across the public administration, over the heads of professionally trained civilians. The debacle left behind in 1983 demonstrated their abject failure.

Over that southern summer the question asked was not whether there would be military intervention, but when? Few whom I met believed that there was an alternative, including within the Irish Argentine community. I expressed surprise since it was less than three years since the military had returned to barracks; Perón had been elected in 1973 with a majority of over 60%. I was repeatedly told no civilian government had the capacity or credibility to restore order. There appeared a resigned civil consensus on the inevitability of military intervention. Weeks before the coup, I participated in an elaborate naval ceremony on the anniversary of the death of its founder Admiral William Brown. Unusually, it was attended by the Chiefs of the Army, Navy and Air Force and depicted as a deliberate demonstration of unity. What was not known was that the decision to topple Isabelita Perón had already been taken, with a plan that included systemic repression of human rights targeted not only at subversives but at wide sections of the political opposition and civilian population.



Justin Harman (left) at an event in Government House (Casa Rosada) attended by all diplomatic missions in Buenos Aires shortly following the military intervention on 24 March 1976. Right to left: Brig Orlando Ramón Agosti, head of the Air Force; Adm Emilio Massera, head of the Navy; Gen Jorge Rafael Videla, head of the Army and de facto President.

Given the level of public anticipation, the coup on 24 March was initially anti-climactic. There was a determined effort to maintain an appearance of 'normality', although this semblance of ordinary life lasted only a few short weeks. The days and weeks after the coup provided few clues as to what was happening. An eerie silence prevailed, broken by word-of-mouth reports of insidious incidents where victims "disappeared" without trace. Families and friends seeking information were stonewalled. Embassies were surrounded to prevent political refugees from seeking protection or asylum and families from seeking consular assistance.

What became clear was that the self-styled "Process of National Reorganisation" was not only an intervention to defeat subversive groups after which there would be a return to barracks; it would involve an authoritarian attempt to change society by force, from the top down; Videla referred to "the final closing of one historical cycle and the beginning of another".

Word began to filter through of disappearances, and the first signs emerged of systemic state repression. Within days of the intervention, I reported to Dublin that an 'efficient, well planned and, as far as was known, bloodless coup' had been carried out in an atmosphere of complete calm among the general population'; 'meticulous' organisation had, within a few hours of having assumed power, ensured that care-taker ministers had been appointed, the military governors for the provinces had been named, the Union and Employer organisations had been taken over and their funds frozen, the majority of the most prominent supporters of Mrs Perón's administration had been arrested and the Embassies in Buenos Aires had been approached as to recognition of the Junta.'

The actions by the Irish and other Embassies have been extensively analysed by the late Prof Dermot Keogh⁷, based on diplomatic archives. I reported to Dublin that "on available evidence, the new Junta had behaved in marked contrast to the actions of previous dictatorships by stating that it would not take action against 'specific social groups' (ie Peronism)". While I cautioned that

⁷ Dermot Keogh: "Ireland and Argentina in the Twentieth Century: Diaspora, diplomacy, dictatorship, catholic mission and the Falklands crisis", Cork University Press, 2022. The Spanish edition "Irlanda y la Argentina del siglo XX: Diplomacia, diáspora, Iglesia Católica, derechos humanos y la guerra de Malvinas" was published in November 2021 by USAL Press in Buenos Aires.

it would be necessary to wait to see whether this was in fact the policy, I reflected a shared perception among diplomatic and other contacts in those early days that the Junta was (as I reported) “within the school of thought of ex-President Lanusse, who led the way back to constitutional rule in 1973, and who was convinced of the necessity for the Armed Forces to remain outside the political arena.” While it did not initially appear ‘a Pinochet-type regime,’ I warned there would however remain “disquiet, until the names of all those arrested had been made public’ and the military were ‘seen to act as effectively against the right-wing terrorist groups which have operated in the country over the past 15 months as against those of the left.’” I warned that, irrespective of what had happened following the previous six military interventions in Argentine politics, historical parallels were not necessarily a reliable guide to what would transpire.

The late Prof Keogh quoted others who shared that interpretation. The U.S. Ambassador, Robert Hill, told Washington on 29 March that the coup was ‘the best executed and most civilised coup in Argentine history. ... Argentina’s best interests, and ours, lie in the success of the moderate govt. now led by General [Jorge Rafaél] Videla.’ Jorge Luís Borges (whom I frequently saw walking with Maria Kodama to their apartment building situated close to the offices of the Embassy) had lunch with Videla after the *coup d’etat* and thanked him ‘for what he had done for the *patria*, having saved it from chaos, from the abject state we were in, and, above all, from idiocy.’ He said Argentina had ‘a government of soldiers, of gentlemen, of decent people.’ Later, Borges, as did many other Argentines and foreign observers, changed his view of the civilian military government. The editor of *The Buenos Aires Herald*, Bob Cox, later arrested and imprisoned, and forced into exile, was initially positive in his reaction, believing the civilian military government would bring stability. Prof Keogh quotes the Provincial of the Irish Argentine Pallottine congregation, Alfredo Leaden that “on the whole it has been a pacific changeover. Let’s hope it keeps that way.”⁸

⁸ This turned out to be tragically mistaken. On 4 July 1976 the same Provincial and four other members of the Pallottine congregation (some of whom I knew) were assassinated in St Patrick’s Church in Buenos Aires; it later became known that, despite denials, the attack had been carried out by a group working with or for the security forces. I recall the numb horror when news of the attack reached me as I was visiting the farm of an Irish Argentine family in the Province of Buenos Aires. I returned immediately and visited the Church, and later attended the funerals. Without doubt, this was the most shocking individual incident during my posting; it had a lasting impact and continues to haunt the Irish Argentine community.

How should those initial assessments, including my own, be interpreted today? Firstly, they need to be seen against the background of the scale of violence, economic disorder, political powerlessness, and sense of incipient civil war that had prevailed prior to the coup. A widely held assumption was that this coup would follow the lines of previous interventions which, by and large, had not been accompanied by systematic repression, although violence did erupt not least in the coup in 1955 which toppled Peron. Most whom I met however did not believe (or chose not to believe) the military capable of such widespread and methodic violation of human rights. Indeed, even when there was incontrovertible evidence of the disappearances, it was not uncommon to be met with the response “por algo será” or “algo habrán hecho” (i.e. it would not have happened without a reason).

A significant factor was Videla himself, viewed by many as reluctant to intervene and a moderate force within the military. I noted to Dublin that he had committed to a return to democratic government within three years and that while he appeared “personally opposed to the use of such methods [state terror], he is apparently powerless to stop them” because ‘hard-liners’ were determined to take ‘a tougher stance’ against “subversives and various left-wing political activists.’ I reported that while ‘dissatisfaction with his moderate approach clearly does exist, ...there is as yet no firm indication his position is in danger’ and that ‘individual military participation’ was suspected in the activities of such groups as the AAA, noting there had been public surprise that its activities had not stopped after the coup. That was explained perhaps because it did not exist ‘as a fully-fledged organisation with headquarters, etc., but rather is composed of individual groups who take “private action” against “leftists”, and then simply ascribe it to the organisation’. I concluded at that point that the armed forces were responsible for the disappearances and the killings. I told Dublin that “... the most frightening aspects of the current situation are the indications that active members of the Armed Forces are participating in these right-wing terrorist groups”.



Justin Harman (third right) with members of the Irish Argentine community in 1976 including John Scanlan, former editor of The Southern Cross and founder of St Brendan's College in Buenos Aires; Willy Ford, President of the Federation of Irish Argentine Societies; and Fr Alfredo Leaden, an Irish Pallottine who was assassinated with four other members of the congregation on 4 July 1976 by members of the military.

The late Prof Keogh noted that US Ambassador Hill reported his conviction that Videla was 'strong enough to keep the hardliners in check and impose a moderate approach.' Prior to the coup, he had reported that there had been a fear that 'hard-line commanders in the field might exceed their orders and arbitrarily shoot or arrest any labour leaders, Peronist, or leftist they did not like: 'This did not happen,' he reported, adding: 'Thus, for now, Videla's moderate policies seem safe.'

How had this impression of Videla as a moderate emerged, and what impact did it have in diluting western criticism of the military regime and its human rights violations? Was there evidence to support the suggestion that he risked being toppled by hard(er)-line elements? Certainly, Videla

came across as an austere and ascetic figure, a regular attendant at Mass, and without apparent personal political ambitions or trace of fanaticism. He appeared to many a welcome contrast to some of the dubious cast of characters around him, not least Massera, the head of the Navy. His alleged 'moderate' stance, and the belief that western criticism of the regime should be toned down lest it contribute to his being toppled and replaced by a hard-liner, was a staple element of diplomatic interpretation.



Seán O'hEadeáin, Irish Ambassador, speaking at a St Patrick's Day event at the Hurling Club in Buenos Aires in 1978

Did this constitute effective news management by the regime? One interpretation is that the military understood there would be less tolerance towards the regime after the November 1976 election of Jimmy Carter and that it was decided to present Videla as a moderate and a bulwark against more extremist forces. One analyst has suggested diplomats in Buenos Aires were

deliberately misled.⁹ Certainly, any suggestion of his being a moderate on human rights was not borne out by Videla himself, who, shortly before his death, provided a coldblooded defence of the Junta. He maintained the military had taken power with one basic consensus: “A large group of persons had to be eliminated ... and they could not be either processed judicially or shot. The dilemma was how to do this without society becoming aware. There was no other solution: we were in agreement this was the price that had to be paid to win the war against subversion”.

With the benefit of information now available, no disagreement existed within the armed forces on the price to be paid to win the war against subversion. Any suggestion that Videla was a moderate on human rights was therefore mistaken. On the other hand, rival factions clearly did exist. One authoritative historian argues there were three groups who were divided on the longer-term political future. The faction led by Massera of the Navy echoed the nationalist military populism of the past, favouring a new ‘Peronism without Perón’ “that would supersede Peronism but use similar populist measures, and pose a barrier to the revival of the Left”. A second faction (led by Generals Suarez Masón and Menéndez) were heirs to the extreme anti-Peronist groups (“gorilas”) of the late-1950s and supported indefinite military dictatorship and an unrelenting war on Peronism. The third faction, led by Videla and Gen Roberto Viola who succeeded him as Army Chief of Staff in 1978, believed economic recovery would allow for eventual political liberalisation.¹⁰

The disappearance and torture of Pat Rice was a defining event in this period. That episode is comprehensively recounted by Prof Keogh in his volume on Ireland and Argentina in the XXth Century. News of his abduction in October 1976 in the company of a young catechist, Fatima Cabrera was deeply alarming to us in the Embassy. Our urgent appeals for information fell on deaf ears. Fortunately, after I provided an alert to a wire agency contact in Buenos Aires, a news item published in the Times in London provoked an admission that he was being held in official

⁹ The US Ambassador reported to Washington in June 1976, quoting Israeli sources in Buenos Aires, that the military had taken the decision to eliminate subversion and terrorism and to silence and terrorise any potential opposition long before the coup. The only question remaining was how to do this with least exposure to the external criticism which had isolated the Pinochet regime in Chile. The government gave the green light to the security forces to face the internal security threats with whatever response considered appropriate, but always leaving the government in a position of ‘possible deniability’ of responsibility.

¹⁰ David Rock “Argentina 1516-1987 From Spanish colonisation to Alfonsín” University of California Press, 1987

custody. When we finally met him, roughshod attempts to improve his appearance could not disguise the ruthless psychological and physical ill treatment that he had suffered. He was severely disoriented but, at the same time, conveyed a calm dignity. Until his release my very frequent visits formed the basis of a friendship that lasted for the rest of his life.



*Justin Harman (4th right) with the Irish Ambassador at the Embassy
St Patrick's Day reception with members of the Irish team which attended the
World Hockey Championships in Buenos Aires in March 1978*

Following his recovery and eventual return to Argentina, Pat Rice engaged in the fight for human rights, notably the rights of the disappeared. He had an acute understanding of the importance of effective international action. Never one to say, “task completed”, he saw human rights as a mosaic that involves much more than governments signing treaties or issuing declarations. While always vigilant, he was proud of the priority given to human rights by the democratic Governments of Argentina, and the continuation of the trials of those who committed human rights violations.

I am a personal witness to the enduring effort by Argentina to bring the people guilty of those crimes to justice. In 2019, 43 years after the event, I gave evidence in a trial (which led to convictions) of various individuals involved in the torture of both Pat Rice and Fatima Cabrera.

It was in those fraught conditions that I also met Monsignor Kevin Mullen who arrived in 1976 to the Apostolic Nunciature (succeeding another Irishman, Mgr Patrick Coveney). Over those turbulent years, Kevin Mullen forcefully and skilfully used his position to defend the rights of the growing number of persons who “disappeared”. He understood the special influence that the Nunciature could bring to bear and provided a vital contact for many of the families of the disappeared, relentlessly pursuing the authorities for information and release from the hundreds of clandestine detention centres set up throughout the country.

Despite a threat to his life, Kevin Mullen did not fear for himself and despite the deteriorating situation did not refrain from speaking out against the human rights violations, as he showed in a courageous homily which he delivered in Buenos Aires on St Patrick's Day 1977. Bob Cox, former editor of the Buenos Aires Herald, rightly remarked in a message to Pope Francis that he was an outstanding example of bravery and decency who saved lives by pressing the authorities to account for those forcibly abducted. I have cooperated with Jerome Mullen, for whom the loss of his brother has been the source of much pain, in investigating the circumstances of his untimely death in Havana in 1983 and in the preparation of a book on his life.¹¹

The decade of the 1970s definitively ended with the election of Raul Alfonsín, leader of the Radical party, in the wake of economic collapse and abject defeat in the 1982 war in the Malvinas/Falklands and the return of the discredited military to barracks. Alfonsín's victory in a fully free election was a landmark event given that the country had experienced what had been at most a conditional democracy for much of the preceding decades. Even the administrations of civilian Presidents lacked legitimacy given the proscription of Peronism and *de facto* military tutelage. Inevitably, the return of free elections, on the back of a mobilisation of society which was united on the principle of democracy but without practice in its functioning and the required give-and-take in decision making and allocation of resources, would not be without difficulties.

¹¹ Jerome Mullen “The pain of a brother's loss: the life and death of a Vatican diplomat Monsignor Kevin Mullen 1939-1983”.

The scale of public debt inherited from the inept economic management of the military regime proved a significant obstacle. These factors ultimately led to the failure of Alfonsín's administration, premature elections and his early departure from office in 1989. After the euphoria of the return of democracy subsided, Alfonsín had fought a losing battle to forge agreement with populist-oriented unions and an authoritarian military on the terms of a liberal democracy. Although not much remarked upon, his victory in 1983 nonetheless showed for the first time that in a free election it was possible for a non-Peronist candidate to win, thereby refuting the much-touted assessment that Peronism was Argentina's only viable Government. The Argentine historian Luis Alberto Romero concludes that a "combination of championing the idea of civil society along with a naive idea of the ease with which desires could be translated into reality was the result of a certain facile mentality, a 'greenhorn democracy'".¹² [Note: I returned to the Embassy briefly in mid-1989 and was present at the transfer of power to the incoming President Carlos Menem who went on to abandon orthodox Peronist policy in favour of a fiscally conservative market-oriented economic programme which, while defeating hyper-inflation, was accompanied by significant levels of corruption. Menem was heavily criticised for pardoning many of those involved in human rights abuses during the military dictatorship. These pardons were overturned following the victory in 2003 of another Peronist President, Nestor Kirchner.]

The 1970s has been described as the decade that "keeps coming back". One writer has asked why those years evoke such interest among Argentines, what are the attractions of a period which "aroused passionate confrontations which gave rise to collective dreams, and which even today provoke admiration and enthusiasm but which nonetheless ended being consumed in blood, failure and frustration? While that period is history, it is history that is alive as both reflection and apparent origin of divisions that permeate contemporary Argentine politics".¹³

The 1970s left profound fissures which are reflected in contemporary political debate. This was evident during the 2023 Presidential election triggered by statements by Victoria Villaruel, elected

¹² A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century, by Luis Alberto Romero, Pennsylvania State University 2002.

¹³ Ceferino Reato "Los 70, la década que siempre vuelve" Sudamericana Buenos Aires, 2020

as Vice President with Javier Milei, in which she was interpreted as seeking to excuse excesses committed during the military dictatorship.¹⁴

Continued social and economic decline, with an estimated 40% of the population now living in poverty, has led some to question the practical achievements of democracy. It is asked whether the current fractured and partisan political culture, itself in part a legacy of the 1970s – although some argue that the divisions date from the 19th century¹⁵ – is capable of creating a national consensus to support essential structural change. It is difficult to formulate a clear answer. One point is however evident. The Argentina of 2024 has been transformed from the country to which I arrived in the 1970s. There is an acceptance of the inviolability of individual fundamental rights which was absent in the 1970s and which permitted the violent atrocities of that decade. Any possibility of a recourse to military intervention –so frequently resorted to in the last century albeit on many occasions with significant civilian input and encouragement–has been banished. Democracy has been consolidated. The experience of Argentina in the 1970s is surely proof of the essential truth of Churchill's aphorism that “democracy is the worst form of government, except for all the others”.

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¹⁴ Villaruel, a political activist since the early 2000s, has challenged "the official history" of contemporary Argentina which she maintains focuses on state terrorism during the dictatorship but ignores the actions and victims of guerilla groups between 1973 and 1976 when the country had a democratic government. She has sought to highlight the civilian victims of terrorist groups in this period. During a TV debate prior to the 2023 election, she denied the existence of 30,000 missing persons and appeared to defend a former military officer convicted of crimes against humanity. Her statements were criticised by human rights groups and politicians from across the political divide.

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Anglophony in the Argentine Context from the Río de la Plata: Intercultural Configurations during the XIX and XXI Centuries

Mónica Cuello - Andrea Fuanna - Pamela Vietri¹

Abstract

This paper is part of the research project “Anglophony in the Río de la Plata: intercultural spaces and expressions within the society”. It works with the concepts of intercultural philosophy, cultural configuration and considers the role of Anglophony and translation in the context of the province of Buenos Aires. Among the texts in its corpus are Cunninghame Graham’s: “La pulpería” (1900) and Hudson’s *Idle Days in Patagonia* (1893). These texts according to Graham-Yooll in *The Forgotten Colony* (1999), are the first manifestations of Anglo-Argentine or “Southamericana” literature (1999:205). They will be studied together with more recent expressions: the electronic publications, namely, *Buenos Aires Review* and *Tenso Diagonal*. We aim at comparing and contrasting the above-mentioned intercultural manifestations, analysing how they show

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anglophony, what role the translation process plays, and based on such analysis, defining the intercultural configuration wherein said manifestations originate.

Keywords: Anglophony, translation, intercultural configuration, literature.

Introduction

Anglophony has shaped the lives of the inhabitants of the Río de la Plata since the early nineteenth century. Immigrants or travellers from English-speaking countries, especially Ireland and Britain, journeyed to this place bringing their language and culture, and in many cases using their mother tongue as a means of expression, but incorporating aspects and themes typical of Argentina into their discourse.

This work is part of the research project “Anglophony in the Río de la Plata: Intercultural Spaces and Expressions in the Urban Fabric.” It will establish a comparison and contrast between a corpus of texts produced in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries considering the concepts of cultural configuration, intercultural philosophy, anglophony, and translation.

The corpus to be analysed consists of works from the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries. They are the short story “La Pulpería” (1900) by Robert Cunninghame Graham and *Idle Days in Patagonia* (1893) by William Henry Hudson. These texts will be contrasted with more recent expressions in electronic publications, such as “*The Buenos Aires Review*,” a bilingual digital magazine, and “*Tenso Diagonal*,” a trilingual digital magazine on theory, criticism, and creation about literatures, cultures, and border communities. Our purpose is to delve into the realm of cultural configurations shaped by the urban context in which we live and analyse the role these literary texts characterized by anglophony and anglicisms play, as well as the role of translation.

Theoretical framework

To approach the study of the aforementioned works, we will use the following theoretical methodologies: cultural configuration, intercultural philosophy, and translation. Before delving into these concepts, it is important to define the concept of anglophony. The RAE (Royal Spanish Academy) defines the adjective “anglophone” as referring to a person or country in which English is the native language, while anglicisms are defined as the use of English words or phrases present in different languages, in our case, Rioplatense Spanish. This defines the variety of Spanish spoken in the Rio de la Plata area in South America.

Cultural configuration

Alejandro Grimson defines the concept of cultural configuration in *Los Límites de la Cultura* (2015). According to Grimson, a cultural configuration can be defined as a space composed of the articulation of fields of possibility, a logic of interrelation among parts, and shared symbolic frameworks (verbal, auditory, and visual languages), power inequalities, and historicity (2015:172). Through this concept, the author aims to emphasize the heterogeneity and situational nature that result in a particular and unique reflection. In a cultural configuration, conflicts unfold in a language "capable" of being recognized by different actors.

Among the components of these configurations, we can mention fields of possibility, the first constitutive element, which includes possible, impossible, and hegemonic representations, practices, and institutions. The second constitutive element is the logic of interrelation among parts; according to Grimson (2015:173), this constitutive heterogeneity expresses pluralities. The third element is a shared symbolic framework: auditory, verbal, and visual languages that compete for mutual understanding or confrontation. In it, the principles of (di)vision of the world imply the existence of heterogeneity that enables or disables subject positions and enunciation places. The fourth and final constitutive element of cultural configurations relates to the space and shared frameworks that enable this interaction.

Intercultural philosophy

This philosophy, proposed by Raul Fornet Betancourt in “Teoría y praxis de la filosofía intercultural” (2010) and “Tareas y propuestas de la Filosofía intercultural” (2009), advocates for the reconstruction of a temporally pluralistic universality, built upon intercultural dialogue as a mechanism to enrich the world. Its working methodology is characterized by diversity both in terms of methodological perspectives and theoretical approaches, as well as in the forms of practical articulation with respective contextual realities (2009:7).

Built upon intercultural dialogue, it enables the expansion of the world, and as contextualized philosophizing, it allows for the discovery of the universal within a horizon of co-dignification that can affirm the normative conviction of intercultural dialogic encounter (2010:13). Theory and praxis are mutually reinforcing correlates, aiming to promote fruitful dialogue to contribute to philosophy's enhancement as knowledge that aids the improvement of realities (2010:20). This intercultural philosophy recognizes contexts as places that provide a space for the world, as they are cultural places with life practices that establish ways of arranging and nurturing the world (2010:22), enabling a map of the world. These world places appear as "centres of world documentation" where world accomplishments are tested, justified, accredited, and identified (2010:22). By considering contextual diversity and the possibility of cultural plurality, one could contemplate communication about possible universals shared within and from differences (2010), fostering the search for universality that grows from the curiosity to know what is shared with others or strangers, to recognize the common ground that identifies us as humans beyond the contextual community that documents us as such (2010:23).

Translation

Translation is a term that carries significant conceptual complexity, making it challenging to define. Its definition revolves around a constant dichotomy: process vs. product. Moreover, translation holds ethical-political importance tied to the construction, transformation, or disruption

(discontinuity, rupture) of relationships, involving moral obligations from both the sender and the receiver. The representation of translation yields sociocultural effects and serves as a tool through which individuals envision their connection with a specific national and international community. While initially regarded as a rhetorical and definitive means of conveying messages between cultures, today it is recognized as a discursive practice unveiling multiple signs of the versatility with which these cultures are constructed.

Edwin Gentzler, in his book *Translation and Identity in the Americas: New Directions in Translation Theory* (2008), notes that postcolonial and deconstructionist theories applied to the Americas are crucial tools for opening discussions not only about the history of national language policies but also about emerging concepts of identity that are undeniably intertwined with languages. According to Gentzler, the history of translation is the history of identity formation, deeply rooted in the psyche of millions (1). By analysing this new paradigm of thought in the realm of translation, one can grasp its significance for individuals in multilingual societies. Translation is not a secondary or marginal activity; instead, it is a liberating endeavour that stimulates innovation and integration as it aligns with diverse cultural narratives and linguistic independence.

Literary corpus

The academic-literary corpus is primarily comprised of texts identified by Graham-Yooll in "The Forgotten Colony" (1999) as part of the "Southamericana" literary movement. This author defines the movement as the texts produced by Anglo-Argentine writers, those who have a "no single culture, they are part of at least two, may be more." (1999:205) The texts to be analysed are Robert Cunningham Graham's "La Pulpería" and William Henry Hudson's *Idle Days in Patagonia*.

Robert Bontine Cunningham Graham - "La Pulpería" (in *Thirteen Stories*, 1900)

Robert Bontine Cunningham Graham (1852-1936) was a Scottish politician, writer, journalist, and adventurer. He first visited Argentina at the age of 17, working on a ranch in the southern

province of Buenos Aires dedicated to cattle farming. He excelled as a rider, took an interest in the gaucho figure, fought against indigenous peoples, and was even forced to participate in a revolution. He used terms from the Rio de la Plata dialect variety that were challenging for Spanish-speaking audiences to comprehend. He never wrote novels, preferring instead to craft brief and descriptive narratives about the world around him, which can be seen as reflections of his travel experiences, according to Laurence Davies in his article "Cunninghame Graham's South American Sketches" (2018).

For this project, we focus on the tale "La Pulpería," part of the collection of texts included in the book "Thirteen Stories," published by Heinemann in 1900. This anthology comprises sketches, scenes from the countries he visited, and accounts of his travel memories. The Spanish publisher Renacimiento released a translation of the mentioned story collection in 2006 by Flores Espinoza. In their review of the work and the author, Robert Cunninghame Graham is described as a fascinating mystery, and his adventure tales are presented as possessing the "true Cervantine touch of a man who has seen what he narrates."

William Henry Hudson - *Idle Days in Patagonia* (1893)

William Henry Hudson (1841-1922), Argentina's most original naturalist, is one of the most notable English-language writers in our country. He was born on August 4, 1841, the fourth child of Daniel Hudson and Carolina Augusta Kimble, who arrived in the Rio de la Plata from the United States in 1833. At that time, they settled in the Quilmes district, which is now the Guillermo Enrique Hudson Provincial Historical Museum.

At the age of thirty-two, Hudson established himself in Great Britain and began his career as a writer. Hudson's most cherished works are the stories inspired by his American period: "Allá lejos y tiempo atrás" (Acantilado, 2004), and his novels "La tierra purpúrea" (Acantilado, 2004) and "Mansiones verdes" (Acantilado, 2006). As a naturalist and ornithologist, he left behind a substantial bibliography. Although he was Argentine, Hudson wrote twenty-four works in English that were translated into various languages such as Japanese, Spanish, and French.

From his early childhood years spent in the Argentine pampas, Hudson forged a special relationship with nature, especially with birds. When he had the opportunity to visit Patagonia in 1871, it appeared to him as a sublime space, which is reflected in the text at hand. Hudson writes “At last Patagonia! How often had I pictured in imagination, wishing with an intense longing to visit this solitary wilderness” (1893: 4). As Eva Lencina points out in her article “Ocio en un país imaginario. Identidad, alteridad y cuestiones genéricas en *Idle Days in Patagonia* (1893)” (2021), Hudson published this text based on notes and youthful memories from a journey he had undertaken in the late 1870s through territories adjacent to the Río Negro. The book consists of fourteen chapters and was illustrated by Alfred Hartley, published by Chapman & Hall in London in 1893. Decades later, it was translated into Spanish and reissued by various publishers.

These two texts from the nineteenth will be compared and contrasted with two digital publications from the twenty-first century presented below.

The Buenos Aires Review

It is a bilingual (English and Spanish) digital publication that showcases the finest and latest works from both emerging and established writers across the Americas. Among its offerings, one can discover texts of poetry, fiction, essays, cultural criticism, visual arts, and interviews. The cosmopolitan editorial team, which includes Heather Cleary, Jennifer Croft, Pola Oloixarac, Maxine Swann, Martín Felipe Castagnet, among others, is deeply interested in linguistic skills, dedicating a section titled “Translator’s Notes” to translation projects.

Among the texts one can find there, we mention, by way of example, a fragment from the novel “Cardenio” by Carlos Gamerro, poems by Martín Gambarotta translated into English by Alexis Almeida, an interview with Junot Díaz conducted by Karen Cresci, with the intriguing title “We exist in a constant state of translation. We just don’t like it.” This is merely a glimpse of the content this publication offers.

Tenso Diagonal

This magazine is a trilingual electronic publication (Spanish, English, Portuguese) with an annual frequency. Its themes cover a wide spectrum of topics: theory, criticism, and creation about literatures, cultures, and border communities. It defines itself as a space that aims to contribute to the construction of social, humanistic, and artistic knowledge through the publication of works that pursue academic rigor and originality, aiming at reflection and pluralistic debate. Likewise, the magazine includes sections dedicated to opinion, document recovery, interviews, creative works related to literature and visual arts, and bibliographic reviews. It has a policy of open access to all the articles it contains.

The magazine contains the following sections: Manifesto (editorial/opinion), Usurped Territories (dossier), Zone of Cleavage (miscellaneous section), Centrifugal Dialogues (interviews and conversations), Exhumations (documentary recovery), Liminal Entropies (personal creations), and Transversal Notes (review and criticism). Both its editorial team and academic committee are composed of prestigious Latin American scholars.

Analysis

In this analysis, we aim to characterize the cultural configurations and the role that translation plays in the contexts in which the previously presented texts and publications are situated.

Publications from the 19th and 20th centuries

The first work to address is that of Cunningham Graham. The writer begins his narrative "La Pulpería" as follows:

“It may have been the Flor de Mayo, Rosa del Sur, or Tres de Junio, or again but have been known as the Pulperia upon the Huesos, or the

Esquina on the Napostá. But let its name have been what chance or the imagination of some Neapolitan or Basque had given it, I see it, and seeing it, dismounting, fastening my “redomon” to the palenque, enter, loosen my facón, feel if my pistol is in its place, and calling out “Carlón,” receive my measure of strong, heady red Spanish wine in a tin cup.” (p. 165).

The inclusion of Spanish terms and phrases, starting with the very title, imparts a distinct character to the narrative. The names bring us closer to this “pulpería” (a shop in which groceries, drinks and diverse articles can be bought, usually located in suburban rural areas) and to others as well. Terms like “facón” (a type of personal knife used for many kinds of rural activities) are included without translation, and there's also a cultural reference to a thick and strong red wine called “Carlón.”

The author provides a perfect depiction of the pulpería, as can be seen in the following quote:

“Outside, the tracks led through the biscacheras, all converging after the fashion of the rails at a junction; at the palenque before the door stood horses tied by strong raw-hide cabrestos, hanging their heads in the fierce sun, shifting from leg to leg, whilst their companions, hobbled, plunged about, rearing themselves on their hind-legs to jump like kangaroos.” (p. 167).

Hudson and Cunninghame Graham are closely connected not only through their works, but also through their mutual admiration. *Idle Days in Patagonia* was published in 1893, when Hudson was already residing in Great Britain. Through its symbolic narrative, the book portrays Patagonia as a place of mystery and enchantment for an English-speaking audience. Narrated in the first person, the text invites the reader to accompany the narrator on that adventurous journey:

“The wind had blown a gale all night, and I had been hourly expecting, that the tumbling, storm-vexed old steamer in which I had taken passage to the Rio Negro would turn over once for all and settle down beneath

that tremendous tumult of waters.” (p. 1).

The story about an iconic place in Argentina stands as the representation of a plausible space; however, the symbolic plots are only shared by the English-speaking world in which Hudson resides at that moment.

This text becomes known to Spanish-speaking audiences much later than the publication of the original English version. The text appears in a Spanish translation (which does not list the translator's name) only in the year 2006, published in digital format by the Virtual Universal Library. Subsequently, in 2007, it was translated by J. Hubert for Ediciones Continente, and there have been more recent versions like the one from Carminalucis publishing house in Buenos Aires, in 2022.

"La Pulpería," and *Idle Days in Patagonia* are works originally written and published in English, with their translations emerging many years after their release. This leads us to think that they were created for an English-speaking or bilingual audience. The cultural configuration proposed by these texts can be said to present a practical and possible representation of the Patagonian and Pampas territories, in the case of Cunningham Graham's narrative. If we analyse the logic of interrelation among the parts, the heterogeneity is clear: Argentine author's, Hudson, and the foreigner, Cunningham Graham's writing about the same territory, Patagonia and the Pampas. While Hudson writes, in his native language, English, Cunningham Graham uses code switching. It's worth noting that despite being born in Argentina, Hudson was residing in Great Britain when he wrote this narrative. The symbolic plot shared by these narratives is facilitated by a language recognized by different authors, English, and by the visual language that illustrates two of the texts. However, the inclusion of Spanish words and expressions allows the work of Cunningham Graham to also visualize Argentina through the use of language. This frequent code-switching in the narratives shows features of an Argentine identity that materializes in language. In Cunningham Graham's particular case, he not only describes the customs of a 19th-century pulpería but also includes elements that allow the reader to understand the historical context and the political conflict between the supporters of Rosas and Urquiza. Throughout his narrative, this author acknowledges the accomplishments of the world, conveys cultural experiences, marking

not only differences but seeking the intertwined aspects shared with the other, the stranger. Beyond the contextual community to which one belongs, intercultural dialogue is promoted, which generates ways of knowing and recognizing our world while enabling communication about possible shared universals. Lastly, the space in which these texts emerge is initially Great Britain, which, as already mentioned, would later be translated, and read in other parts of the world, in addition to the place that inspired them.

21st Century publications

In the selected 21st-century publications, it can be observed that cultural configurations and the role of translation have changed compared to what was analysed with works from the 19th and 20th centuries. In these new publications, the aim is to reach a broader audience and thereby make the works even more visible and accessible. Consequently, translations are carried out simultaneously or shortly after the original publication. We deduce, then, that translation plays a fundamental role in achieving this purpose.

For example, when accessing *The Buenos Aires Review* website, one can choose to access the Spanish or English version. In this digital publication, when a translated text is presented, the translator's name is mentioned, and there's a special section called "Translator's Notes" that gives special attention to the art of translation.

In the case of the trilingual publication *Tenso Diagonal*, one can opt to navigate the website in any of the three languages (Spanish, English, or Portuguese). However, the language of the texts cannot be chosen; only the abstracts are published in all three languages. Most of the contents are in Spanish or Portuguese. English appears in abstracts of academic works, for instance, "El discurso fantástico como instrumento subversivo en dos cuentos de Francisco Tario: 'El mico' y 'Entre tus dedos helados'" by Mariana Moreira, or in the poems of Sami Miranda translated by Virginia Frade (Volume twelve of the publication).

We wonder what kind of cultural configuration these digital publications present. In the case of *The Buenos Aires Review*, it'- is a platform that shows various possible texts from contemporary

authors. They express themselves with a logic of heterogeneous interaction that provides access to different audiences: English-speaking, Spanish-speaking, or bilingual. The symbolic plot is evident in the two languages that constitute the publication. It can be concluded that this facilitates a smooth interaction through shared spaces and plots, and it's open to users with competencies in both languages. It can be noted that this publication is entirely intercultural, not only in its content but also in its expression, and it's built on intercultural dialogue, allowing for the enrichment of the world, as interculturality considers that different places in the world become centres of world documentation.

Regarding *Tenso Diagonal* this publication displays a field of possibilities that shows diverse potential texts from contemporary academics. This writing includes a section named "Entropías Liminares" for works of fiction. It expresses an interaction logic that is not entirely heterogeneous. It is a trilingual publication, in Spanish, English, and Portuguese. However, access to general information about the publication and some of its contents is available only in one of these languages. Translations of their articles or fiction narratives are not found; only abstracts of some are available in two languages.

Conclusions

Formulating a definition of cultural configuration that encompasses the texts presented in the corpus is not an easy task. On one hand, those published in the 19th century, "La Pulpería" and *Idle Days in Patagonia*, present a similar cultural configuration in terms of the heterogeneity of elements in the field of possibility and the logic of interaction. However, there are differences concerning the symbolic plot. Hudson, for instance, uses the English language throughout his narrative, with the obvious inclusion of place names and locations in Spanish. On the other hand, Cunningham Graham imparts a more authentic touch to his discourse by including proper names, words, phrases, and idioms from the gaucho culture in their original language. While this code-switching adds difficulty for the English-speaking reader, for whom the text is intended, it also makes it more genuine. This approach manifests an identity that enriches not only the narrative but also its representation of the Argentine territory.

The 21st-century digital publications represent a different type of cultural configuration. In the case of *The Buenos Aires Review*, it can be described as an intercultural configuration. Its field of possibility comprises various possible texts from contemporary authors, and they express themselves with a logic of heterogeneous interaction that enables access to different audiences: English-speaking, Spanish-speaking, or bilingual. The entire symbolic plot is evident in the two languages that constitute the publication. Therefore, it can be said that this digital publication facilitates a seamless interaction through shared spaces and plots and is open to users proficient in both languages.

The similar yet heterogeneous contexts presented by Hudson and Cunningham Graham reflect their unique way of situating themselves in the world. Together with the contribution of *The Buenos Aires Review*, they show that the task of intercultural philosophy is to reconstruct dialogue from a pluralistic universality that allows for the enlargement of the world. The consideration of contextual diversity enables us to open to the possibility of discovering shared universals from differences, marking the path of philosophy from a pluralistic orientation that allows for a more universal and fruitful worldview and experience.

On the other hand, there is also a difference in terms of the role of translation. In the 19th century, it seems that translation of the type of works analysed was not a considered variable, so they were only published in their original language, limiting the reach of the work to a specific audience. This is the case for the works of Cunningham Graham and Hudson, which were translated and published in other languages many years after their original publication. It is only in the 20th century, particularly in the second half, that translation becomes a kind of bridge, a link between cultures, which allows many audiences to access those works. This is clearly reflected in the 21st-century digital publication, *The Buenos Aires Review*, which simultaneously publishes works in their original language and their translation into Spanish or English (as appropriate) to reach the widest possible readership.

In conclusion, there is much more to explore regarding the roles that languages and translation play in these intercultural contexts. The 19th century, illustrated here by Hudson's text, depicts

translation as an essential tool for accessing it. Cunninghame Graham's text, on the other hand, with its distinct characteristics, unveils the Argentine reality it depicts using code-switching and, of course, requires translation to reach a Spanish-speaking audience. Contrary to our expectations, we notice that one of the selected 21st-century digital publications does not fully employ translation to facilitate the reading of their diverse corpus of texts.

Hence, we uphold the significance of adopting the new paradigm of thought in the field of translation, especially in multilingual societies, which views translation as a liberating activity that stimulates innovation and integration. It is in these intercultural configurations that construct maps of the world where realizations of the world are tested, justified, accredited, and identified, making a new way of thinking about translation indispensable.

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Resignificaciones de la brujería irlandesa desde la Baja Edad Media hasta inicios de la vigésima centuria

Paula Gimena Brain¹

Resumen

Las investigaciones sobre los procesos por brujería llevados a cabo en Europa continental, Inglaterra, Escocia y el continente americano durante la Edad Moderna son verdaderamente profusas. Sin embargo, poco se ha escrito acerca de las prácticas y acusaciones de hechicería en Irlanda: las curanderas y nigromantes de la verde Erín no han comparecido a las indagaciones de los/as historiadores/as sino a los registros de los/as folkloristas.

Partiendo de un abordaje cultural – y valiéndonos de fuentes tales como los archivos de los tribunales de *Assizes* y el anecdotario popular –, nos proponemos en este artículo narrar sucintamente la historia de la brujería en la isla; dilucidar las razones de la ausencia de políticas impulsoras de aquellos procesos generalizados de caza que conmovieron al resto de Europa y a las colonias americanas; comprender y reconocer la centralidad de las brujas doctoras decimonónicas en sus aldeas y construir un concepto dinámico de brujerías – en plural –, retoño multifacético de contextos históricos específicos.

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Palabras clave: brujería irlandesa, cultura popular, brujas doctoras, colonialismo inglés, imperialismo británico, resistencia

A modo de introducción

Las investigaciones sobre los procesos por brujería llevados a cabo en Europa continental, Inglaterra, Escocia y el continente americano durante la Edad Moderna son verdaderamente profusas. Sin embargo, poco se ha escrito acerca de las prácticas y acusaciones de hechicería en Irlanda: las curanderas y nigromantes de la verde Erin² no han comparecido a las indagaciones de los/as historiadores/as sino a los registros de los/as folkloristas. La idiosincrasia del caso irlandés – diferente, debido al estatus colonial de la isla, de los países continentales e insulares del Viejo Continente – no debe hacernos perder de vista el hecho de que en su territorio se celebró el primer proceso europeo contra una presunta secta brujo-demoníaca. El juicio contra Lady Alice Kyteler, llevado a cabo en los tribunales del condado de Kilkenny, Irlanda, durante la Baja Edad Media, constituyó el preámbulo de la moderna cacería de brujas. Fue en Irlanda donde se empleó por primera vez el método inquisitorial para obtener la confesión de una mujer acusada de hechicería. Fue también allí donde se dio inicio a la práctica de arrojar a las réprobas vivas a la hoguera. En tanto obertura de la brujomanía europea, la brujería irlandesa debe ser contemplada como parte fundamental – e instigadora – de una historia mucho más amplia.

No obstante, y pese a su condición de precursora, la gran caza de brujas no prosperó en Hibernia. La aprensión de la administración inglesa por las supuestas prácticas diabólicas de los/as nativos/as decayó tras el sumario del Kilkenny. La antesala de las persecuciones no se vio, pues, conmovida por ellas – el recrudecimiento de las praxis de ocupación y dominación durante la decimoséptima centuria explica esta situación–. Irlanda se distinguió del resto del continente también en la Edad Contemporánea, momento en que las prácticas hechiceras autóctonas traspasaron los umbrales de la clandestinidad y las *brujas doctoras* comenzaron a desplegar inusitadas competencias. Hacia el

² Erin, Hibernia e Isla Esmeralda constituyen otras denominaciones de Irlanda.

siglo XIX, las representaciones populares de la brujería y la demonología se saturaron de un innegable carácter de clase.

Partiendo de un abordaje cultural – y valiéndonos de fuentes tales como los archivos de los tribunales de *Assizes* y el anecdotario popular –, dilucidaremos las razones de las singularidades del caso irlandés a fin de echar luz sobre la historia de la brujería en la isla.

Juicio a Lady Alice Kyteler: inauguración irlandesa de inquisiciones europeas

Durante el primer cuarto del siglo XIV se celebró en Irlanda el primer proceso inquisitorial por brujería de toda Europa. El juicio de Kilkenny - pequeño condado en donde ocurrieron los hechos - es considerado por el historiador británico Norman Cohn³ como la antesala de la gran caza de brujas que se llevaría a cabo en los continentes europeo y americano durante los siglos XVI y XVII.

En el marco de un juicio conducido según el procedimiento inquisitorial durante los años 1324 y 1325, Lady Alice Kyteler y sus asociados/as, en cuanto miembros de una facción secreta organizada, fueron acusados/as y sentenciados/as a diferentes penas por el cargo de herejía. Lady Kyteler procedía de una familia anglonormanda radicada generaciones atrás en el condado de Kilkenny y enriquecida a raíz de su participación en el comercio con Flandes. Hacia fines del siglo XIII contrajo nupcias con William Utlagh u Outlaw, acaudalado banquero y prestamista de la localidad, suceso que incrementó aún más la riqueza de la familia de la novia. Tras la muerte de su primer marido, la dama Kyteler se casó otras tres veces: con Adam Le Blund, Richard de Valle y Sir John Le Poer. De todos enviudó prontamente. A la mala reputación adquirida por los decesos de sus cuatro esposos se sumó la actividad usurera de su primogénito William, que se desempeñaba como banquero y prestamista⁴ y del que dependían muchos nobles locales, quienes habían

³ COHN Norman: *Los demonios familiares de Europa*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1980.

⁴ El objetivo del oficio de mercaderes, banqueros y prestamistas- es decir, la obtención de ganancia, la búsqueda de riquezas- entraba en conflicto con la moral cristiana de la época. Sus prácticas entrañaban la comisión de un pecado capital: la *avaritia*- la codicia-. Asimismo, la Iglesia definía- y condenaba- la usura como todo trato que comportara el pago de un interés, de ahí que banqueros y prestamistas fueran percibidos como usureros. Sus actividades no solo

contraído gravosas deudas con él. Las acusaciones de usura contra William y los rumores acerca de la avaricia y promiscuidad de Alice les granjearon el odio de sus vecinos/as.

Sus hijastros e hijastras, a su vez, estaban convencidos/as de que ella había asesinado a sus padres por medio de hechicerías para quedarse con sus riquezas, despojando de esa manera a los/as auténticos/as herederos/as. Siendo Kilkenny la ciudad episcopal de la diócesis de Osorio, el caso llegó de inmediato a oídos del obispo Richard de Ledrede, que rápidamente dio inicio a una investigación formal en la que quedaron comprometidos/as tanto nobles como plebeyos/as. Doce fueron los/as acusados/as: Lady Alice, su hijo William Outlaw y una decena de hombres y mujeres pertenecientes, la mayor parte de ellos/as, a la clase dominante de origen anglonormando de la ciudad. La imputación de familias acomodadas y la insistencia del prelado en la conveniencia del recurso al método inquisitorial- que contemplaba la confiscación de los bienes de los/as procesados/as- obedecieron, según el escritor y anticuario Thomas Crofton Croker, a motivaciones exclusivamente económicas. El objeto de la persecución eclesiástica no fue otro, en palabras del folklorista irlandés, que “*extorsionar a los adinerados para cubrir el techo de la iglesia de San Marcos, en Kilkenny*” (<http://www.libraryireland.com/articles/WitchcraftKilkennyDPJ1-43/index.php>). Sin embargo, la situación histórica de Irlanda en general y de Kilkenny en particular era en verdad mucho más compleja. Las relaciones entre colonos y nativos y la dominación inglesa condicionaron la apertura y derroteros de la causa tanto o más que las urgencias materiales del obispo y de su diócesis.

El supuesto grupo de herejes organizados/as fue denunciado por adoración demoníaca y realización de maleficios:

El grupo fue acusado de preparar polvos, píldoras y ungüentos empleando hierbas, intestinos de gallos, gusanos horribles, uñas obtenidas de cadáveres y los pañales sucios de bebés que habían muerto sin ser bautizados (...) para producir enfermedades o muerte

contravenían los valores dominantes sino que menospreciaban la concepción cristiana del tiempo. Aquellos que ejercitaban el interés vendían el tiempo, y este no podía ser propiedad individual de ningún ser humano porque le pertenecía únicamente a Dios. Requeridos y despreciados, los banqueros y prestamistas medievales se convirtieron en momentos de grandes calamidades o en aquellas ocasiones en que deudores poderosos no podían o no deseaban saldar sus deudas en chivos expiatorios de sus comunidades.

a los cristianos creyentes, o bien para incitar al amor o al odio. Se decía, además, que en las reuniones nocturnas realizaban actos que solo el clero estaba autorizado a hacer: decretaban unas excomuniones fulminantes contra distintos individuos, maldiciendo cada porción de sus cuerpos, desde la planta de los pies hasta la cabeza. Las mujeres, en especial, anatematizaban a sus propios esposos. (Cohn, 1980: 254).

A Lady Kyteler se le imputaron, asimismo, actos de fornicación con su demonio privado, a cambio de lo cual el íncubo le había proporcionado incontables riquezas. Así, pues, “todas sus considerables propiedades habían sido adquiridas con su ayuda” (Cohn, 1980: 255). Cohn sostiene que tal sumatoria de cargos tuvo un único propósito: demostrar que la acusada no tenía derecho a sus posesiones, pues estas habían sido sustraídas a los/as herederos/as legítimos/as mediante prácticas diabólicas. En este punto el pensamiento del historiador se aproxima a la postura de Crofton Croker: la condena de Kyteler y compañía redundó en beneficio de los hijos e hijas de los esposos fallecidos y de la propia Iglesia, en cuyas arcas fue depositada una significativa fracción de lo expropiado a la viuda y a sus seguidores.

Richard de Ledrede debió recurrir al Consejo del Reino para hacer comparecer a los/as acusados/as, arrestarlos/as, enjuiciarlos/as y dictar sentencia, pues los funcionarios locales- laicos y eclesiásticos- requeridos para intervenir en el caso se negaron a proceder contra la mujer y su hijo. Con la venia del Parlamento de Dublín y del mencionado consejo logró la aprehensión de los/as presuntos/as herejes, que fueron hallados/as culpables y penalizados/as. Entre ellos/as solo una, Petronilla de Meath- criada de los Kyteler-, fue quemada viva. El resto fue azotado por las calles de la ciudad, o expulsado y excomulgado o sentenciado a llevar una cruz cosida en sus vestiduras. William Outlaw pasó un breve tiempo en prisión y luego se reconcilió con la Iglesia, a la que destinó una parte de su riqueza. La contribución del prestamista permitió la construcción de la bóveda de plomo de la catedral del condado. En cuanto a Lady Alice, principal acusada, logró evadir su castigo huyendo, mediante un salvoconducto propiciado por sus poderosos familiares, a Inglaterra.

Lady Kyteler fue la primera mujer, en la historia del continente, denunciada por haber adquirido poderes sobrenaturales a través de relaciones sexuales con un demonio. Su criada, por su parte, es

tristemente célebre por haber antecedido a todas aquellas que morirían en la hoguera tres siglos después. Probablemente el origen plebeyo de la sirvienta haya sellado su suerte. De su confesión surgieron los cargos de *maleficia* y fornicación contra su ama. Luego de ser azotada, Petronilla admitió haber actuado como mediadora entre la dama y el íncubo y reveló el nombre de este: *Robin Artisson*- la elección del apelativo, veremos en breve, no fue inocente-. Las alusiones a Robin no figuran en las declaraciones de los/as herederos/as sino únicamente en las de la muchacha; fueron obtenidas por los hombres del obispo tras la aplicación de tormentos.

Las circunstancias del caso, lo hemos dicho, excedieron las aristas económicas. La situación financiera de madre e hijo, los reclamos de hijastros e hijastras y las ambiciones personales de Ledrede no explican la exagerada animosidad del preboste ni la reticencia de la comunidad local a colaborar con él pese a la antipatía que Alice y William habían despertado entre sus miembros. Para develar los verdaderos motivos que impulsaron el sumario resulta imperioso, pues, indagar el proceso histórico en el que se dio curso a este. El primer paso será entonces “realizar el análisis de esas realidades” (Geertz, 2003: 40), y dichas realidades remiten a la invasión, dominación y colonización de Irlanda.

Invasión por los anglonormandos en el siglo XII, Irlanda se convirtió en la primera colonia inglesa de la historia. Tras una centuria caracterizada por la implantación continua de colonos foráneos-escoceses, galeses y fundamentalmente ingleses-, los representantes de Su Majestad en la isla comenzaron a observar, con cierto espanto, que sus compatriotas allí afincados habían incorporado costumbres, giros idiomáticos y nombres propios de los celtas. Los matrimonios mixtos, a su vez, no constituían casos aislados.

El juicio a Lady Alice y sus heréticos/as socios/as debe ser pensado en este contexto. Richard de Ledrede, franciscano nacido en Inglaterra, estaba convencido de que Irlanda era guarida de herejes adoradores/as del diablo ansiosos/as por corromper a los anglonormandos arribados a la isla. Su activa participación en los episodios de 1324 y 1325 y su obsesión por desenmascarar a heresiarcas y sus protectores/as, simpatizantes o cómplices denotan un gran esfuerzo de persuasión: los ingleses debían ser precavidos del contagio que suponía el contacto con las supersticiones vernáculas. De ahí que, tras la emisión de las sentencias, solo los/as nativos/as- que a su vez

pertenecían a los estratos inferiores de la sociedad- fueran expuestos/as a los castigos más severos. En comparación con el malhadado final de Petronilla de Meath, amarrada viva a la pira, los sectores dominantes implicados- todos ellos anglosajones- no fueron en verdad penalizados sino más bien aleccionados, reprendidos, adoctrinados. La querella contra la supuesta secta demoníaca encabezada por la viuda ocurrió en un momento histórico signado por los avances esporádicos y desordenados del colonialismo inglés y por la construcción de una otredad negativa a la que había que subyugar o eliminar: el/la irlandés/a⁵. Igualmente, deben ser tomados en consideración las relaciones entre la Iglesia y el reino feudal de Inglaterra y el delicado equilibrio de poder entre ambos, que jugaron sus cartas más importantes al otro lado del Mar de Irlanda.

En 1325 la jerarquía eclesiástica y la administración inglesa actuaron en pos de la conservación y/o profundización de una brecha entre anglos y celtas. Se esperaba que los primeros ratificaran su lealtad a la corona y reafirmaran su convicción en la superioridad de las propias instituciones gubernamentales y religiosas. Los segundos, a su vez, debían ser sometidos, confinados o expulsados. La convivencia y simpatías entre colonos y nativos amenazaban con entorpecer el trabajo de adoctrinamiento de la Iglesia y dificultaban la implementación de medidas coactivas en la isla. Más aún, “tras un lapso de pocas generaciones y en ausencia de vínculos continuos con la región de origen, los descendientes de los inmigrantes podían llegar a ser tan nativos como los descendientes de los propios nativos” (Bartlett, 2003: 86). Esto, creemos, sucedió con Lady Alice. La dama amistó escandalosamente con los/as irlandeses/as: se desposó con uno de ellos- William Utlagh, oriundo de Kilkenny-, confabuló con criadas y lugareñas- de las que aprendió el arte de las pócimas y encantamientos- y, según el testimonio de Petronilla, se amancebó con un demonio cuyo nombre aludía a un espíritu feérico del panteón pagano del lugar.

⁵ Los prejuicios de la sociedad inglesa contra el pueblo irlandés son antiquísimos. El primer registro escrito de tal aprensión data del siglo XII. Nos referimos a la *Historia y topografía de Irlanda* de Gerardo de Gales, que describe a los pobladores de la Isla Esmeralda de esta manera:

Ellos solo viven de las bestias, y viven como bestias. No han progresado en absoluto en sus hábitos de vida pastoral. Es un pueblo inmundo que se revuelca en el vicio. De todos los pueblos es el menos instruido en los rudimentos de la fe. No pagan diezmos, ni primeros frutos ni contratos matrimoniales. Ni evitan el incesto (New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education, 1996: 53).

Clifford Geertz ha afirmado que “las acciones sociales son comentarios sobre algo más que ellas mismas” (Geertz, 2003: 35), pues “pequeños hechos hablan de grandes cuestiones” (Ídem). En sintonía con estas aserciones, los eventos de Kilkenny exceden las rencillas por deudas y apetencias. Insinúan, en cambio, estrategias de dominación y colonización implementadas por autoridades seculares y eclesiásticas en la sociedad irlandesa medieval. El caso aquí analizado traduce grandes realidades materiales y políticas a ámbitos reducidos como el de la pequeña ciudad episcopal, el vecindario e incluso el entorno doméstico. Emplearemos, a los fines de argumentación de nuestra hipótesis, el método geertziano de la *descripción densa*, definida por el autor de *La interpretación de las culturas* como la interpretación y establecimiento de la significación que determinadas acciones sociales tienen para sus actores. Esta nos permitirá abordar “una multiplicidad de estructuras conceptuales complejas, muchas de las cuales están superpuestas o enlazadas entre sí, estructuras que son al mismo tiempo extrañas, irregulares, no explícitas, y a las cuales el etnógrafo debe ingeniarse de alguna manera, para captarlas primero y para explicarlas después.” (Íbidem: 24). El antropólogo estadounidense destaca la utilidad de la *descripción densa* para desentrañar gestos, guiños, guiños fingidos, parodias, ensayos de parodias y aquellos comportamientos que puedan resultar ilegibles para el/la estudioso/a o el/la foráneo/a. Su pertinencia, estimamos, va más allá de conductas y ademanes: vocablos, giros idiomáticos y dialectos pueden configurar estructuras conceptuales complejas e implícitas pasibles de ser descifradas. Nos interesa en particular el apodo del primer ícubo asentado en un registro inquisitorial europeo: *Robin Artisson*, que se erigió además en evidencia definitiva del pleito contra los Kyteler. El nombre *Robin* aludía a un elfo de mucha reputación entre los hijos e hijas de Irlanda, siendo conocido, asimismo, por los/as ingleses/as.⁶ El apellido hacía referencia al sacrificio que debía ofrecérsele cada noche al espíritu: *Artisson* significaba en Hibernia carne de pollo o carne de ave joven. No representaba, como ha sugerido Norman Cohn, al Hijo del Arte- el hijo del arte mágica-. *Robin Artisson* designaba a un ser maravilloso del folklore celta- y a las prácticas rituales en torno a él-, no a un demonio de poca monta del averno, como ha aducido el autor de *Los demonios familiares de Europa*. El listado de malignos mencionados en el Antiguo y Nuevo Testamento, concilios y grimorios medievales era muy extenso. Sin embargo, ninguno de

⁶ En sus *Cartas sobre demonología y brujería*, Sir Walter Scott arguye que el apelativo Robin utilizado en Irlanda para referirse al popular elfo deriva, “por alguna inversión y alteración de la pronunciación” (<http://www.libraryireland.com/articles/WitchcraftKilkennyDPJ1-43/index.php>), de la palabra *goblin*, denominación inglesa de duende.

los demonios conocidos por los hombres de la Iglesia- entre los que se contaba, claro está, Ledrede- hizo su aparición en Kilkenny. La conexión con las creencias vernáculas, consideradas herejía y superstición por la cúpula eclesiástica y la administración inglesa, resulta innegable. El proceso contra Lady Alice fue en verdad una reprimenda a los/as anglonormandos/as que se empeñaban en gaelizarse. Las sospechosas muertes de los cuatro esposos de la viuda y las inexplicables exclusiones de sus hijastros e hijastras de los testamentos de sus padres no fastidiaron tanto a la corona y a la Iglesia como su coqueteo con los/as nativos/as. Los encantamientos denunciados y confesados constituían prácticas bien conocidas en la campiña irlandesa. *Robin Artisson*, por su parte, no provenía del infierno judeo-cristiano sino que habitaba trasmundos paganos. Quienes abogaron por la condena de Kyteler y compañía pretendían restringir contactos y avenencias entre colonizadores y colonizados. La cultura popular irlandesa, influyente y disruptiva, debía ser proscrita entre los súbditos de Su Majestad.

Una modernidad al margen de la brujomanía

Desde la culminación del proceso contra Lady Alice y sus asociados en el siglo XIV, las brujas irlandesas no volvieron a azuzar los temores eclesiásticos a complots demoníacos ni se convirtieron en objeto de persecución estatal. Durante la Edad Moderna, la administración británica en la isla no emitió leyes ni ejecutó políticas para prevenir y/o combatir la brujería, que no generaba preocupación entre las autoridades locales ni en las metropolitanas. Dos fueron las razones que preservaron al pueblo irlandés de inquisidores y gobernantes brujo-fóbicos. Debe tenerse en cuenta, en primer lugar, la expulsión de la jerarquía católica que siguió, en 1534, a la ruptura entre Enrique VIII y el papado y a la fundación de la Iglesia Anglicana. Buena parte del clero fue expatriada, los papistas segregados y sus lugares de culto clausurados. Los obispos no podían pensar en la instauración de procesos inquisitoriales similares a los del continente cuando ellos mismos estaban siendo acosados por la juridicidad y el militarismo inglés. En segundo lugar, la situación histórica de Irlanda había cambiado considerablemente desde el episodio de Kilkenny: durante el siglo XVI muchos colonos- especialmente los pequeños y medianos propietarios- vendieron sus posesiones y regresaron a Inglaterra. Los grandes latifundistas anglosajones, a su vez, eran absentistas; jamás abandonaron la madre patria para atender sus asuntos en la colonia.

Mientras antiguos residentes emprendían el camino de regreso a la isla grande, nuevas generaciones de ingleses, galeses y escoceses los sustituían en la pequeña Esmeralda. Puesto que los recién arribados se afincaron en las tierras expropiadas a los nativos, no hubo posibilidades de concordancia entre unos y otros. A esto debe añadirse la generalización de los conflictos entre protestantes- ingleses mayormente- y católicos- irlandeses- surgidos a raíz de las violentas políticas de imposición del culto anglicano impulsadas por la metrópoli en tierra irlandesa. Celtas y colonos provenientes de otras costas del Mar del Irlanda se hallaban, pues, enfrentados. Así las cosas, el recurso al pleito por brujería para prevenir, desactivar y/o sancionar solidaridades entre ellos se volvió innecesario. En lugar de procesar a brujas e infieles- y a los fines del acorralamiento y erradicación de la población autóctona- los funcionarios y regimientos de Su Majestad expulsaron a los irlandeses católicos de las ciudades, implementaron degollinas y deportaciones masivas, arrasaron pueblos, destruyeron cosechas y graneros, asesinaron a miles de civiles y dieron inicio a un tortuoso éxodo al interior de la isla, que confinó a las familias y comunidades de cada extremo de la misma en una sola provincia, Connaught.

Pese a la violencia endémica descargada contra el pueblo de Erín, “la muerte y la deportación no caminaban con bastante celeridad” (Regnault, 1841: 40). Los gobernantes propugnaban estrategias contundentes y masivas. El sumario inquisitorial llevaba tiempo y requería testigos, evidencia y extensos interrogatorios. No preveía, asimismo, la aniquilación colectiva. Dado que el gobierno inglés no pretendía adoctrinar a los/as irlandeses/as, el castigo ejemplar característico del método inquisitorial no encontraba aquí ningún asidero. Por ello, en lugar de cazar y quemar a algunas decenas o centenas de brujas, quienes llevaban las riendas del poder optaron por sustraer de sus hogares a miles de jóvenes y venderlas como esclavas a las plantaciones del Caribe: “De un solo golpe fueron arrebatadas mil jóvenes a sus madres y transportadas a la Jamaica, donde fueron vendidas como esclavas. Así se deportó a 100.000 personas”. (Regnault, 1841: 39-40). En Irlanda no se llevó a cabo la caza de brujas porque esta era incongruente con las intencionalidades de los dominadores, que ambicionaban directa y abiertamente la reducción de los/as indígenas.

La modernidad irlandesa se caracterizó entonces por el escasísimo número de juicios por brujería. Erín fue sede de dos sumarios excepcionales⁷: uno contra Florence Newton en el siglo XVII y otro contra las hechiceras de Isla Magee a inicios de la decimoctava centuria.

En 1661 Florence Newton, conocida como la bruja de Youghal⁸-Irlanda-, fue detenida y enjuiciada bajo los cargos de hechicería y homicidio. La primera acusación fue proferida por Mary Longdon, que presentó una denuncia formal en la corte de *Assizes*⁹ celebrada en Cork en septiembre de ese año. Según la declaración de Longdon, todo comenzó en vísperas de navidad, cuando Newton se presentó en la casa de John Pyne, de quien la denunciante era sirvienta, solicitando un trozo de carne. La negativa de Mary a donar las sobras del banquete de su amo enfureció a Florence, que se marchó del lugar refunfuñando, lanzando maldiciones y pronunciando una suerte de versos rimados e incomprensibles¹⁰. Este episodio dio inicio a las afecciones de la doméstica, que cayó enferma y comenzó a padecer convulsiones y trances en los que vomitaba agujas, paja, pernos y lana.

La segunda incriminación provino de Elenor Jones, viuda del centinela David Jones. Florence fue acusada de asesinar al carcelero mediante embrujos cuando este se encontraba de guardia en la prisión de Cork. He aquí sus palabras según el testimonio de Elenor: “Yo y Frank Beseley hicimos guardia y vigilamos a la bruja toda la noche. Esposa, dudo que vaya a estar bien, porque ella besó mi mano y ahora tengo un gran dolor en el brazo, y realmente creo que me ha embrujado” (Seymour, 1913: 124). Al cabo de siete días Jones murió. El fallecimiento del custodio agregó un nuevo cargo al haber de la acusada: la imputación por homicidio. Puesto que los registros del veredicto se han extraviado, desconocemos si la conjuradora fue declarada culpable o no. El sumario contra la bruja de Youghal denota un atisbo de aquello que se tornaría ostensible en el

⁷ Ambos sumarios resultaron excepcionales no solo porque se llevaron a cabo en un contexto ajeno a la brujomanía sino porque las presiones para su concreción provinieron fundamentalmente desde abajo.

⁸ Youghal: pueblo costero del condado de Cork en donde sucedieron los hechos.

⁹ Las cortes de *Assizes* fueron audiencias consagradas exclusivamente a procesos penales. Se celebraban periódicamente- cuatro veces al año- y sus jueces recorrían el territorio del Reino Unido como delegados de los Tribunales del Rey.

¹⁰ Parafraseando a William Perkins, Alan Macfarlane apuntó: “*Las brujas practican sus actos malvados a partir de la maldición y de los insultos*” (Macfarlane, 1991: 169). Los maleficios normalmente contemplaban “*desde una inusual maldición rimada o un ritual celebrado de rodillas, hasta murmuraciones de descontento apenas audibles, las que eran interpretadas como malintencionadas por la futura víctima*” (Macfarlane, 1991: 169). Las imprecaciones del/la maldiciente excitaban, pues, las sugerencias de los/as maldecidos/as.

siglo XIX: el resentimiento de clase y la disrupción de lazos- sociales, comunitarios, grupales, vecinales- entre los/as desposeídos/as. O bien Newton buscó realmente infringir un daño en Longdon y Jones o viceversa. En el juicio de Youghal confrontaron miembros de los estratos bajos entre sí. Newton, Longdon y Jones tenían la misma procedencia social, quedando únicamente Florence en situación de calle y mendicidad, al menos en el momento en que ocurrieron los hechos. Entre sus pares resultó ser la más desafortunada- o la que se mostró más reticente a las imposiciones del trabajo moderno-. En su tesis sobre la brujería inglesa, Alan Macfarlane observó que muchas acusaciones guardaban estrecha relación con las tensiones y roces surgidos entre vecinos/as de una misma aldea o barrio:

Las acusaciones de brujería se realizaban entre personas que se conocían entre sí íntimamente. Muy pocas acusaciones eran dirigidas contra individuos que vivían lejos (...). Aquellos involucrados en acusaciones no solo vivían en la misma aldea sino que residían en la misma parte del pueblo (Macfarlane, 1991: 168).

Silvia Federici, por su parte, interpretó los crímenes diabólicos de las brujas como una expresión de “la lucha de clases desarrollada al nivel de la aldea: el ‘mal de ojo’, la maldición del mendigo a quien se le ha negado limosna, la demora en el pago de la renta, la petición de asistencia pública.” (Federici, 2010: 235). El debilitamiento de la solidaridad y sociabilidad aldeanas producido por el avance del mundo moderno no solo exacerbó las desigualdades económicas inter e intraclases sino que engendró “un entramado de odios y resentimientos” (Federici, 2010: 107) del que los sucesos de Youghal dan cuenta.

El segundo litigio excepcional celebrado en Hibernia- el pleito contra las brujas de Isla Magee- cobró fama por el inusitado grado de enañamiento de la población local contra las supuestas encantadoras. Constituyó además el último proceso por brujería oficiado en el territorio. El 31 de marzo de 1711 siete mujeres fueron llevadas a juicio y condenadas por el cargo de brujería en la corte de Carrickfergus, poblado del condado de Antrim -Irlanda-. Su presunto delito fue atormentar a la pequeña Mary Dunbar, de nueve años de edad. Según el testimonio de la niña, todo comenzó en la residencia de la familia Hatridge en Isla Magee, en donde trabajaba como criada:

Mary sintió un violento dolor en el muslo, y luego cayó en ataques y desvaríos. Al recuperarse, dijo que estaba siendo atormentada por varias mujeres, cuyo vestido y apariencia personal describió minuciosamente. Se registró como evidencia que durante algunos de sus ataques tres hombres fuertes apenas podían sostenerla en la cama; que a veces vomitaba plumas, hilos de algodón, alfileres y botones; y que en una ocasión se deslizó de la cama y fue depositada en el suelo, como si hubiera sido atraída por un poder invisible. (<http://www.libraryireland.com/articles/CarrickfergusDPJ1-47/index.php>).

En base a los datos aportados por Mary, las acusadas fueron rastreadas, identificadas y conducidas al tribunal desde diferentes partes de la isla. El sumario fue presidido por dos magistrados, Upton y Macartney. Luego de entrevistar a la damnificada, testigos e inculpadas, el primer juez emitió su veredicto, para el cual tomó en consideración el alegato de defensa de las acusadas: “Parecía que en su mayoría eran personas sobrias e industriosas que asistían al culto público y podían repetir el padrenuestro, conociéndose que rezaban en público como en privado. Algunas entre ellas habían recibido últimamente la comunión.” (<http://www.libraryireland.com/articles/CarrickfergusDPJ1-47/index.php>).

El argumento de la asistencia regular de las reas a la liturgia pública fue esgrimido por Upton para desestimar la imputación por brujería. En su opinión, las fantasías de una niña trastornada no podían constituir, de ninguna manera, evidencia conclusiva para culpabilizar a las siete mujeres. Para el juez Macartney, contrariamente, las declaraciones de Mary y sus testigos bastaban para condenarlas. Los miembros del jurado suscribieron a las prescripciones del segundo magistrado, por lo que el proceso culminó con la determinación de los escarmientos: las prisioneras fueron condenadas a doce meses de reclusión y a permanecer cuatro veces en la picota de Carrickfergus. El pueblo de Antrim sentía profunda animadversión por estas mujeres. Cada exposición pública en la columna exasperaba a los/as vecinos/as, que se congregaban en derredor para descargar su furia contra ellas: “les arrojaban tallos de col hervidos y cosas por el estilo. Así fue como una de ellas perdió un ojo”. (<http://www.libraryireland.com/articles/CarrickfergusDPJ1-47/index.php>).

No existió correspondencia entre la intransigencia de los/as vecinos/as, partidarios/as en este caso de la pena capital, y la laxitud de la sentencia. Tampoco la hubo entre la acritud de Macartney y la sobriedad de Upton, inglés que “exhibía plena claridad a la hora apartar los espíritus malignos de los asuntos mundanos” (<http://www.libraryireland.com/articles/CarrickfergusDPJ1-47/index.php>). El encono de Macartney- hibernés de nacimiento- y de los/as habitantes de Carrickfergus contra las supuestas brujas de la Isla Magee ha sido interpretado como un signo más de irracionalidad irlandesa. Tanto los contemporáneos que examinaron el caso desde otras costas como quienes lo analizaron a posteriori infirieron que las *creencias supersticiosas* de los/as irlandeses/as influyeron en las decisiones del tribunal y en los comportamientos de aquellos/as que visitaban el sitio destinado a la humillación pública de las reclusas. Creemos, sin embargo, que “debemos preocuparnos de manera creciente por descubrir la ‘racionalidad’ de la sinrazón social” (Thompson: 2000: 12). El argumento de la superstición no explica más que la insuficiente profundización de los analistas. Las confesiones de las cautivas y los testimonios de testigos, defensores y carceleros arrojaron un dato que no debe ser pasado por alto: todas ellas eran presbiterianas. No es nuestra intención, con la mención de este antecedente, aducir que lo sucedido en el pueblo fue una manifestación del conflicto inter-confesional. Es necesario atender aquí a aquellas conductas y gestos públicamente compartidos y aparentemente irreflexivos que forzaron la condena de las siete mujeres. Y resulta de vital importancia escudriñar el proceso histórico local para elucidarlos.

Carrickfergus se erigió durante la Edad Moderna en la puerta de acceso de colonos escoceses protestantes a la isla. Constituyó además una de las bases de los regimientos de Su Majestad: a través del Carrick los ingleses y escoceses invadieron y ocuparon el norte, aplastaron sublevaciones y sometieron a hierro, fuego y hambre a la población celta. Los presbiterianos escoceses fueron los encargados de restaurar el orden y de perpetuar los estragos en el Ulster:

En Philipphaugh cien prisioneros irlandeses fueron fusilados por los escoceses. La guarnición de Carrickfergus, compuesta de estos, invade de noche un distrito pobre (Isla Magee), cuyos habitantes no tenían ninguna parte en la rebelión, y asesinan despiadadamente a toda la población. Tres mil personas, hombres, mujeres y niños, perecieron en aquella carnicería. (Regnault, 1841: 36).

Isla Magee fue entonces escenario de dos hechos singulares en la historia de Carrickfergus: la gran matanza de irlandeses- católicos- en manos de escoceses- presbiterianos- y el proceso contra las supuestas atormentadoras de Mary Dunbar. Hacia 1711, año en que se llevó a cabo el juicio de Antrim, la masacre de Isla Magee persistía en la memoria de sus habitantes. A causa de las atrocidades cometidas por las milicias escocesas, los carrickfergusianos aborrecían a los escoceses más que a los ingleses y execraban a los presbiterianos tanto o más que a los anglicanos. El pasado inmediato del Carrick explica la animosidad de sus pobladores contra las supuestas encantadoras. No fue la superstición de los/as irlandeses/as sino el afán de revancha contra los invasores lo que precipitó a las presbiterianas al calabozo y la picota.¹¹ La selectiva brujomanía local se erigió, pues, en una hija vindicativa de la violenta dominación extranjera. Como afirma E. P. Thompson, *“cada significado es un significado-en-contexto”* (Thompson, 2000: 12).

Las brujas médicas: adalides olvidados de la resistencia irlandesa

Hacia el siglo XIX, la agresiva arremetida del imperialismo británico y la introducción del capitalismo agrario en Irlanda llevaron al paroxismo las políticas represivas y confiscatorias instrumentadas por la administración inglesa. Las evicciones de campesinos nativos, puestas en práctica desde inicios de la colonización en el siglo XII, se volvieron endémicas hacia mediados de la decimonovena centuria.

En un contexto histórico tal, signado por la feroz competencia por la tierra, el elevado precio de los arrendamientos- que en ocasiones llegó a cuadruplicar los valores vigentes en Inglaterra-, la indefensión de los arrendatarios frente a los privilegios y arbitrariedad de los terratenientes y sus intermediarios y la opresión ejercida por los funcionarios administrativos, judiciales y militares ingleses, la cohesión social del campesinado comenzó a revelar signos evidentes de

¹¹ Las consabidas imposiciones patriarcales de la Iglesia y los sermones centenarios postulantes de la debilidad moral de las féminas contribuyeron a hacer de las mujeres descendientes de los invasores escoceses los blancos más comunes del resentimiento vernáculo. Era más factible para los/as irlandeses/as subyugados/as llevar a la corte a una presbiteriana de los suburbios que a su par masculino. Las situaciones de inferioridad genérica y social dentro del propio grupo de los dominadores posibilitaron las acciones de contrataque de los dominados.

descomposición. La acusación de brujería entre vecinos/as que rivalizaban por recursos que se desvanecían fue uno de ellos.

Las anécdotas acerca de mujeres que agriaban manteca y leche, dañaban el ganado o estropeaban las cosechas de labradores/as a los/as que envidiaban abundaban en la isla. Sin embargo, las acusaciones y penalizaciones del mal de ojos y demás hechizos entre connacionales jamás transgredieron los límites de la aldea. Práctica, denuncia y penalidad de la brujería se resolvían puertas adentro. Los/as campesinos/as irlandeses/as se ocuparon directa y colectivamente de sus brujas malvadas, manteniendo sus asuntos a resguardo de la mirada inquisitiva de jueces y prelados foráneos.

En contraste con estas hechiceras, las brujas doctoras -también denominadas damas mágicas o mujeres sabias- gozaban de gran estima entre el campesinado, del cual formaban parte. Como su nombre lo indica, se desempeñaban como comadronas, curanderas y boticarias, oficiando además de mediadoras con el mundo feérico y el más allá. Es una de ellas quien, en la narración *Cáscaras de huevo*, socorre a una madre cuyo hijo ha sido secuestrado por los duendes:

A quién iba a encontrarse un día Mrs. Sullivan si no a Ellen Leah, una mujer muy conocida en la comarca porque tenía el don de decir dónde estaban los muertos y qué era lo conveniente para que sus almas descansaran. Además, con encantamientos podía curar las verrugas y los quistes y hacer muchas otras cosas maravillosas (Fondebrider y Gambolini, 2000: 164).

Los/as labriegos/as irlandeses/as se rehusaban a concurrir a los hospitales y a ser asistidos por sus profesionales, confiando su salud y la de los suyos, en cambio, a estas damas. Existía una creencia generalizada en la impericia de los galenos para aliviar los males del cuerpo.

Nuevamente, puesto que “*las acciones sociales son comentarios sobre algo más que ellas mismas*” (Geertz, 2003: 35) y dado que “*pequeños hechos hablan de grandes cuestiones*” (Ídem), creemos que la interpretación vernácula del rechazo a la medicina clínica- el argumento popular relativo a la incompetencia de los médicos diplomados- debe ser sometida, a su vez, a

“interpretaciones de segundo o tercer orden” (Ibídem: 28)- las llevadas a cabo por los/as investigadores/as-. No es menester de los/as nativos/as captar la objetividad de sus creencias y prácticas. Es el/la estudioso/a quien debe objetivarlas, quien debe acceder al sentido último de esos comportamientos. El sistema de salud implantado por la corona a inicios del siglo XIX en simultáneo con las *workhouses* y los orfanatos constituyó un elemento clave de la avanzada institucional que acompañó y apuntaló la acometida imperialista en la isla. Nosocomios y asilos configuraron herramientas de dominación apenas disimuladas tras las máscaras de la medicina científica y la beneficencia. Ergo, la sojuzgada población de Erin acudió a las sanadoras para eludir la nueva red sanitaria asentada junto a las casas de trabajo y consagrada, como ellas, al control y a la segregación de los pobres. Convencido de la incapacidad de los médicos para alentar cualquier mejora en la deteriorada salud de su esposa, un anciano habitante de Kinvara -Irlanda- acudió a Biddy Early, la bruja de Clare:

Ella me dio una botella para mi esposa, pero cuando llegué a la *workhouse*, en cuyo hospital había tenido que dejarla, no me dejaron atravesar la puerta porque habían oído en donde había estado. Entonces tuve que esconder la botella durante la noche junto al muro, en el césped, y enviar a mi cuñada a que la hallara y se la alcanzara a la *workhouse* en la mañana. (<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/vbwi/vbwi03.htm>).

Funcionarios de la potencia invasora, facultativos y presbíteros estaban al tanto del recurso obstinado del campesinado irlandés a las curanderas y sus panaceas mágicas y naturales y lo condenaban con severidad. El incidente en la entrada de la *workhouse* evidencia que los que detentaban el poder- y quienes trabajaban a su servicio- percibían esta praxis como el acto de resistencia que verdaderamente era. La vigilancia en las puertas de acceso a los dispensarios, los oídos atentos a los rumores circulantes y las recurrentes alocuciones contra las brujas médicas vociferadas por gobernantes y clérigos configuraron estrategias de contraofensiva para replicar y desgastar esta manifestación de indocilidad.

Las damas mágicas generaron gran cohesión en torno a sus personas y actividades. Pusieron a disposición de su pueblo una medicina verdaderamente autóctona y popular que le permitió rechazar de plano el sistema de salud foráneo. El recurso obstinado a estas mujeres y el

menosprecio hacia los médicos titulados deben ser interpretados entonces como una forma de resistencia contra el régimen invasor.

Los habitantes de los distintos condados no solo acudían a ellas cuando la salud de algún familiar o animal flaqueaba sino también a la hora de dirimir conflictos familiares o comunales, descubrir a los responsables de aquellos hechos delictivos que trastornaban la actividad productiva de los/as vecinos/as- dictaminando en cada caso la represalia pertinente-, fraguar ardides de ocultamiento y/o huida de irlandeses rebeldes o proscritos, bendecir a recién nacidos, casas y plantíos y asegurar el descanso eterno de los muertos. Las sanadoras volvieron prescindibles, a los ojos del pueblo, a jueces, jurisconsultos, policías e incluso a los sacerdotes. Cada invocación a estas mujeres entrañó una negación de los funcionarios del gobierno y de la Iglesia. Cada invocación constituyó, en consecuencia, un desafío al sistema.

Las hechiceras de Irlanda descollaron, asimismo, en el ejercicio de la redistribución social. La generosidad de Biddy, repetían los/as aldeanos/as, era proverbial. En su morada había comida y bebida para todos/as, por lo que la gente no solo acudía a ella en busca de curas, consejos o augurios, sino también para saciar el hambre: *“Ella era tan buena con los pobres como con los ricos. A cualquier persona desamparada que pasara por el camino le ofrecía una taza de té o un vaso de whiskey, y pan y lo que quisiera”* (<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/vbwi/vbwi03.htm>). Todo aquel o aquella que requería sus servicios sabía que la bruja de Clare no aceptaba pagos en moneda por los mismos. Conocía, además, la costumbre de la anciana de retornar parte del alimento o bebida que le fuera otorgado a modo de retribución. Esto fue, precisamente, lo que le sucedió al señor Fahy durante su visita a la adivina: *“Una botella de whiskey le llevé, y lo primero que hizo fue abrirla y servirme un vaso- porque- dijo ella- tal vez lo necesites mi pobre hombre”* (<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/vbwi/vbwi03.htm>). Veinte o treinta personas la visitaban a diario aportando, cada una, su modesta colaboración, que era colocada en sus anaqueles para repartir entre pacientes, vecinos/as, pobres y vagabundos/as. Aquello que los humildes le llevaban a Biddy regresaba a ellos.

Los habitáculos de las damas mágicas fueron también espacios de discusión y de alineamiento político. De un herrero entrevistado por la dramaturga y folklorista Lady Isabella Augusta Gregory

en el pueblo de Tulla, condado de Clare, proviene el recuerdo de esta sugestiva reprimenda de Biddy a sus connacionales: *“si algunos de ellos peleaban, o iniciaban una disputa o recurrían a los tribunales, les decía:- sean uno, y gobernarán el mundo”* (<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/vbwi/vbwi03.htm>). La brujería irlandesa contemporánea se erigió, pues, en un recurso defensivo, cohesivo y normativo de los hiberneses adolescentes de poder.

Colofón

Los motivos y destinatarios de las acusaciones de brujería en Irlanda atravesaron importantes transformaciones desde la Baja Edad Media hasta inicios del siglo XX, constituyéndose en todos los casos en síntomas de los contextos socio-históricos de los que emergieron y que los explican. Prácticas e incriminaciones por hechicería tradujeron las grandes realidades políticas de su tiempo, reescribiéndolas con minúscula y confiriéndoles una forma sencilla y doméstica (Geertz: 2003: 33). El pleito contra Lady Alice Kyteler y sus asociados/as estuvo inscripto en una serie de disposiciones políticas, legislativas y judiciales implementadas por la corona a fin de evitar el afianzamiento de solidaridades entre anglonormandos y celtas. Se trató fundamentalmente de un correctivo aplicado al interior del propio grupo, que comenzaba a dar indicios de gaelización, entorpeciendo de ese modo la ejecución de medidas coercitivas contra la población nativa. En el juicio de Carrickfergus, a su vez, afloró con ímpetu el resentimiento vernáculo contra los invasores. Las presbiterianas imputadas se convirtieron en chivos expiatorios de los/as habitantes del Carrick, deseosos/as de vengar de alguna manera- tal vez la única que su estado de subyugación les permitía- a sus vecinos/as y correligionarios/as masacrados/as en Isla Magee por las milicias escocesas.

Con respecto a las brujas doctoras decimonónicas, el escritor alemán Johann Georg Kohl, doblemente sorprendido por el elevado número de mujeres sabias que poblaban el territorio de Erín y por el ascendiente que estas tenían sobre las masas, registró varios testimonios como este: *“Verá, señor, esta Norisheen¹² es un legislador, podríamos consultarla acerca de cómo mejorar*

¹² *Norisheen*: mujer sabia y clarividente. Denominación vernácula de las brujas médicas.

la situación de nuestro país. Ella sabe aún más que un legislador, ella conoce el futuro” (Kohl, 1844: 90-91).

No obstante, y pese a su influjo, las sanadoras aquí estudiadas han sido sistemáticamente relegadas por historiadores/as y cientistas sociales. Paladines de sus comunidades, se convirtieron tras el Alzamiento de Pascua en adalides olvidados de la resistencia irlandesa. La pluma académica, obnubilada con las figuras heroicas del proceso de independencia, desatendió tanto las praxis defensivas y resistentes del campesinado como a sus abanderadas. En definitiva, no fue la historia sino la cultura popular la que preservó las actuaciones de las damas mágicas de extravíos.

Las imputaciones por brujería difirieron en Europa continental e insular. Incluso las Islas Británicas acusaron grandes disimilitudes al interior: la caza de brujas, vigorosa en Escocia e Inglaterra, no se propagó en Irlanda. El tratamiento de la hechicería no solo mutó en el espacio sino también a lo largo del tiempo. Más aún, la intencionalidad política de las denuncias emitidas desde arriba contrastaba con aquella insinuada en las incriminaciones articuladas desde abajo. La multiplicidad de motivos de reprobación y sanción de la brujería como la diversidad de circunstancias en que su ejercicio fue defendido y exaltado dificultan, pues, los intentos de universalización del concepto. Cualquier tentativa de generalización al respecto carecerá de contenido a menos que este sea concebido como síntoma de contextos históricos específicos. La brujería y la brujomanía, en síntesis, no pueden ser explicadas si se prescinde de la situación política y de las condiciones materiales que les dieron razón de ser.

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The Pull of the Stars: Female Voices Claiming for Justice

Griselda Gugliara¹

Abstract

Emma Donoghue's *The Pull of the Stars* (2020) definitely exceeds real life and assigns new meanings to human experience. The compelling narrative voice in the novel is given to a nurse, a woman necessarily involved in the defining moments of strangers' lives. Julia works at the maternity fever ward of an Irish city hospital, which is desperately short-staffed because of war and contagion, caring for pregnant women with severe flu, working beyond her training because there is no one else available. Patients stay long enough for Julia and the reader to learn to read their bodies and speech as more than symptoms, to recognize that class privilege is no protection from grief, that poverty and overcrowding and malnutrition tell their final tales in hospital beds. The purpose of this paper is to explore how a gendered narrative of independence is created by the writer in the darkness and intensity of a tiny ward in which three women --Julia, Doctor Kathleen Lynn, a rumoured rebel on the run from the police, and a young volunteer helper, Bridie Sweeney, change each other's lives in unexpected ways.

Keywords: Gendered narrative, pregnancy experience, sanitary symptoms, fever.

The meaning of the word "influenza," which is where "flu" comes from, comes from an Italian superstition that the stars were having an influence on health; that they were directly causing the

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flu. To blame it on the stars is like saying, “It's random,” but it's more poetic because it suggests there's meaning to it. (Donoghue, 2020²)

Sometimes fiction exceeds real life and assigns new meanings to human experience. Emma Donoghue's novel, *The Pull of the Stars*, definitely inspires that reflection at grimly foreshadowing present-day circumstances. She began writing the story in 2018, inspired by the centenary of the Spanish Flu pandemic³ setting it in a maternity ward in 1918 in Dublin, a city hollowed out by the flu, World War I and the 1916 Irish Uprising. Donoghue delivered the final draft to her publishers in March 2020, just as a stunned world was taking in the chaos of the COVID-19 crisis. The strong and compelling narrative voice in the novel is given to a nurse, a woman necessarily involved in the defining moments of strangers' lives. Charged with expertise and kindness, professionalism and femininity, 30-year-old Julia Power portrays an unsettling combination for her era. She works at the maternity fever ward of an Irish city hospital, which is desperately short-staffed because of war and contagion, caring for pregnant women with severe flu, working beyond her training because there is no one else available. Patients stay long enough for Julia and the reader to learn to read their bodies and speech as more than symptoms, to recognize that class privilege is no protection from grief, that poverty, overcrowding and malnutrition tell their final tales in hospital beds.

The novel is divided in four parts called ‘Red,’ ‘Blue,’ ‘Brown’ and ‘Black’ to stand for the progression of color on the face of patients who are cyanotic –starved for oxygen– and fully describe both the flu and difficult childbirths. It is a challenging fight for the medical profession against an enemy they cannot see, armed with little more than rudimentary supplies –carbolic soap, mustard poultices, whiskey and ipecac syrup. Though no one is safe and many die within a few days of influenza infection, pregnant women are at particular risk, as there are their unborn children. Donoghue is quite explicit in both the effects of influenza and the harsh experience of laboring mothers, which has the potential to shock.

² <https://www.shondaland.com/inspire/books/a33371238/emma-donoghues-the-pull-of-the-stars/> (interview with Emma Donoghue explaining the meaning of the title)

³ <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-1918-flu-pandemic-a-cautionary-tale/>

Some placed their trust in treacle to ward off this flu, others in, as if there had to be one household substance that could save us all. I'd even met fools who credited their safety to the wearing of red ('Red,' p. 57).

Despite the narrowness of the physical setting, and the single narrative perspective, *The Pull of the Stars* explores a number of issues. Most notably those related to women's physical and emotional experience of pregnancy, motherhood, marriage, and institutional abuse, particularly among the poorest of women. Donoghue also touches on the political climate of Ireland during the period including the fallout of The Great War and The Easter Rising conflict, and the reaction of the government and populace to the pandemic. Private and public experiences, poverty, religious and political issues are intertwined in this gendered narrative of independence.

The Pull of the Stars can be seen as articulating a feminist critique of the long-established patriarchal system of public as well as private institutions, especially in the wake of the third wave of feminism⁴. The character-narrator resists traditional gender roles and attempts to criticize the conflicting demands made on them by female dual roles as healthcare workers and women skilled in domestic affairs. Breaking with the precedent that medical narratives are highly gender coded (Moosavi, Ghandeharion & Sabbagh, 2019), Donoghue presents her story through the power of her female protagonists' perspectives. This is discernible through a close look at the narrative discourse of *The Pull of the Stars*, noticeable in her textual representation of one heroine's access to the hospital institution (i.e., a maternity fever ward) and one heroine's mastery of the political affairs (a member of Sinn Fein released from jail after the Easter Rising). Here, Julia Power and Dr. Kathleen Lynn negotiate their professional training and daily working experience, and trust each other to provide immediate medical care to women in urgent need. The female aid triad is made complete when Bridie Sweeney, a young volunteer helper, enters the space to reinforce the

⁴ Third-wave feminism makes three important tactical moves that respond to a series of theoretical problems within the second wave. First, in response to the collapse of the category of "women," the third wave foregrounds personal narratives that illustrate an intersectional and multiperspectival version of feminism. Second, as a consequence of the rise of postmodernism, third-wavers embrace multivocality over synthesis and action over theoretical justification. Finally, in response to the divisiveness of the sex wars, third-wave feminism emphasizes an inclusive and nonjudgmental approach that refuses to police the boundaries of the feminist political (Snyder, 2008).

sisterhood of women helping other women along the perilous journey of bringing life into the world, especially under such extreme circumstances.

Poster warnings affixed to streetlamps with phrases like “If In Doubt, Don’t Stir Out,” (‘Blue,’ p. 139) overwhelmed hospital staff bedding patients on the floor, and stores running out of disinfectant portray chunks of the hectic fictional panorama. Yet the pandemic is simply a backdrop for Donoghue’s intense portrait of women’s lives scarred by poverty and too many pregnancies in a society that proclaims, “She doesn’t love him unless she gives him twelve” (‘Red,’ p. 26) The Catholic Church is called to judgment, as well, for its brutal treatment of unmarried mothers and their offspring. Readers are introduced into gripping action sequences, mortal menaces and triumphs through the accounts of Nurse Julia Power striving to save the lives of pregnant women at even greater risk than usual during labor and delivery because they have the flu. She has to care for them in a converted supply room barely big enough for three cots. Equipment and personnel are both scarce, due to the pandemic and the world war that has taken many doctors to the front.

When Julia arrives at work on Oct. 31, 1918, she is saddened but unsurprised to learn that one of her patients died overnight. Flu-induced pneumonia is the immediate cause, but if she had been completing the paperwork, Julia thinks bitterly,

I’d have been tempted to put: *Worn down to the bone*. Mother of five by the age of twenty-four, an underfed daughter of underfed generations, [...] Always on their feet, these Dublin mothers ... living off the scraps left on plates and gallons of weak black tea. The slums in which they somehow managed to stay alive were as pertinent as pulse or respiratory rate, it seemed to me, but only medical observations were permitted on a chart. So instead of *poverty*, I’d write *malnourishment* or *debility*. As code for *too many pregnancies*, I might put *anaemia*, ... *low spirits*, ... *torn cervix*, or *uterine prolapsed* (‘Red,’ p. 25).

Julia disagrees with the pious resignation of night nurse Sister Luke, though she is grateful when the nun reluctantly sends her an urgently needed aid. Bridie Sweeney is unqualified and

uneducated but quick to learn, and Julia warms to her as they deal with three traumatic deliveries. Fatal results in two cases awaken Julia's angry rejoinder to an orderly who argues that women should not be allowed to vote because they "don't pay the blood tax" that soldiers do. "Look around you," she snarls, indicating one patient in hard labor and another who has borne a dead baby. "This is where the nation — every nation — draws its first breath. Women have been paying the blood tax since time began.('Blue', p. 146)."

Nurse Power and Bridie Sweeney share confidences on the hospital roof, getting some air after two exhausting days have made them friends. Bridie is one of the abused "boarders" at Sister Luke's convent, unwanted or illegitimate children left to be beaten, starved and used as enslaved labor in the same repressive, patriarchal system that consigns married women to endless childbearing. This system oppresses men and boys, as well, Donoghue acknowledges. Julia's brother Tim returned from war shellshocked and mute; the infant boy whose unwed mother died during delivery is judged by Sister Luke as "unlikely to thrive . . . his kind generally have more than one hereditary weakness" ('Blue,' p. 186) But the novel's focus is on the hard-won strength of its female characters, especially Julia's fierce dedication to her patients and Bridie's cheery enjoyment of each simple pleasure denied to her at the "Motherhouse." Some other significant basic knowledge has been denied to Bridie there who is so ignorant that she is astonished to feel a baby moving inside its mother's body: "I thought it only came to life once it was out" ('Red,' p. 55), she admits.

Reality and fiction blend in the storyline when Dr. Kathleen Lynn, an actual historical figure is introduced in Donoghue's fiction. In real life, Dr Kathleen Lynn was a suffragette, nationalist and activist for social justice who fought in the Easter Rising and was arrested and imprisoned. In Donoghue's account, Dr. Lynn is tired but glamorous, especially in the eyes of Julia, whose sense of agency is limited to her home life caring for a brother with shellshock and her work on the ward. Dr Lynn comes into fiction so as to defy Julia's subjectivity and to foster her agency under extreme health conditions: "Oh, no criticism implied, she muttered without glancing up. I never like to spell out to a patient that she's had a close call, but frankly, she'd have been a goner if you hadn't stopped that haemorrhage" ('Blue,' p. 83). Julia, whose own background is not very different from her patients,' is sadly accustomed to social injustice, but Dr. Lynn, never forgets to

be angry. ‘Babies born in the slums, she says, have less chance of surviving a year than men in the trenches. Such hypocrisy, the way the authorities preach hygiene to people forced to subsist like rats in a sack’ (‘Blue,’p. 169)).

Centuries have passed, relevant scientific discoveries have taken place to improve people’s lifestyles but governmental policies and discourse are made to maintain power in the hands of a few, keeping common people ignorant even regarding basic needs such as healthcare; sometimes blaming the poorest on social calamities as it Julia and Bridie discuss the falsity of public discourse looking at the latest poster placed on the hospital wall:

THE GOVERNMENT HAS THE SITUATION
WELL IN HAND
AND THE EPIDEMIC IS ACTUALLY IN DECLINE.
THERE IS NO REAL RISK
EXCEPT TO THE RECKLESS
WHO TRY TO FIGHT THE FLU ON THEIR FEET.
IF YOU FEEL YOURSELF SUCCUMBING,
REPORT YOURSELF
AND LIE DOWN FOR A FORTNIGHT.
WOULD THEY BE DEAD
IF THEY’D STAYED IN BED? (‘Black,’p. 189)

‘Propaganda, Bridie, government lies.’

It is Dr. Lynn as well who explains that the word “influenza” comes from: ‘That’s what *influenza* means, she said. *Influenza delle stelle*—the influence of the stars. Medieval Italians thought the illness proved that the heavens were governing their fates, that people were quite literally starcrossed’ (‘Brown,’ p. 122). Superstition in the twentieth century to explain the inexplicable: lack of information, prevention, material and human resources to battle against the spectre that has a dozen names according to Julia:

the great flu, khaki flu, blue flu, black flu, the grippe, or the grip...(That word always made me think of a heavy hand landing on one’s shoulder and gripping it hard.) *The malady*, some called it euphemistically. Or *the war sickness*, on the assumption that it

must somehow be a side effect of four years of slaughter, a poison brewed in the trenches or spread by all this hurly-burly and milling about across the globe ('Red,' p. 12).

Donoghue cleverly gives shape to the fictional stage in which readers encounter women nurses, women doctors, women helpers, women mothers, women struggling with the flu and the system, women losing their children, friends and patients, and women supporting women in distress as Dr. Lynn highlights:

All rather humbling, she added ruefully. Here we are in the golden age of medicine—making such great strides against rabies, typhoid fever, diphtheria—and a common or garden influenza is beating us hollow. No, you're the ones who matter right now. Attentive nurses, I mean—*tender loving care*, that seems to be all that's saving lives ('Brown,'p. 121).

'Red,' 'Brown,' 'Blue,' 'Black' may be read not just as *in-crescendo* degrees of the flu but also as different stages in Julia's perception of womanhood in her self and social environment. Throughout the four sections of the storyline, she foregrounds her personal narrative that illustrates an intersectional and multi-perspectival version of feminism when giving detailed account of hers and her coworkers and patients' life experiences. She moves from silent personal reflection to an active critical stance at instructing Bridie not only into professional techniques but also into life female matters:

I took *Jellett's Midwifery* down from the shelf and lifted the delicate onionskin to show Bridie Sweeney the frontispiece captioned *The full-term uterus*.

Her eyes widened. Janey mac!

It took me a second or two to deduce that she thought this was a drawing of a woman who'd been sliced in half. No, no, it's a cutaway—sketched as if we can see right through her. You notice how the baby's all curled up?

And upside down! ('Red,' p. 51).

Moreover, Julia faces the patriarchal *status quo* when discussing about medical, political, religious issues with male Dr. Prendergast and the orderlies that come into the minute ward to unwillingly cope with the hospital tasks, especially when demanded by women. She is also the one who exposes social discrimination in the speech of a Church representative at discussing with Father Xavier when she wanted to adopt Honor White's newly-born baby, Barnabas, after his mother died:

He spelled it out: The mother was unfortunate, to say the least. What if it turns out, upon further inquiry, that the father was a brute, or degenerate—bad stock, don't you know? The little fellow can't wait while we investigate his pedigree!
Father Xavier nodded. But do bear in mind, he's certainly not of your class.
I don't believe an infant has a class. ('Black,' p. 230)

It is also nurse Julia Power who emphasizes an inclusive and nonjudgmental approach to gender stereotyping at observing that not only women but also men are victims of a system which recruits bodies to accomplish national tasks: fight wars and deliver potential fighters. The *Pull of the Stars* plainly manifests the hidden spectre: men dying in the battlefield, women and babies dying in hospital cots and nothing, nobody assuming responsibility for those casualties.

She grumbled: So many autopsies being industriously performed all over the world, and just about all we've learnt about this strain of flu is that it takes around two days to incubate.
Aren't they any closer to a vaccine, then?
She shook her head and her loose braid leapt. No one's even managed to isolate the bacterium on a slide yet. Perhaps the little bugger's too small for us to see and we'll have to wait for the instrument makers to come up with a stronger microscope, or possibly it's some new form of microbe altogether. ('Brown,' p. 121)

Donoghue's narrative is undoubtedly a story about women awakening women, women empowering women into citizenship, women inspiring women into feminism of the Third Wave, women emulating Rebecca Walker's definition of what being a feminist means:

To be a feminist is to integrate an ideology of equality and female empowerment into the very fiber of my life; it is to search for personal clarity in the midst of systemic destruction, to join in sisterhood with women when often we are divided, to understand power structures with the intention of challenging them (Walker, 1992).

And that is definitely what Donoghue does at creating her three main female characters; different ages, divergent life experiences, diverse political stances but united by womanhood, helping one another discover and develop the inner power of being a woman.

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A Poetics of the Irish Border in *Bad Blood: A Walk along the Irish Border* (1987) by Colm Tóibín and *The Rule of the Land: Walking Ireland's Border* by Garrett Carr (2017)

*Silvana N. Fernández*¹

Abstract

In the face of the unrest and uncertainty which the post-Brexit situation has brought about for the Irish Border, we intend to delve into the manner in which *Bad Blood: A Walk along the Irish Border* (1987) by Colm Tóibín and *The Rule of the Land: Walking Ireland's Border* by Garrett Carr (2017) reconfigure the modalities of the possible, the real, and the necessary (Rancière, 2020). The date Tóibín earmarks for the beginning of his real and fictional journey is 1987, at the height of the Troubles; Carr sets out on his journey almost thirty years later, in the wake of the fateful referendum that would signal the withdrawal of the UK from the EU.

It is our purpose to give an insight into the ambiguous texture of both works and the images which weave the relationship between the history of the Border and the world the writers' creations bring forth. In brief, we will engage in a manner of reading that traces both Tóibín and Carr's fictional/memorial traverses in their construction of whole topographies of conflict and encounters as well as their creation of singular topographies of fiction, poetics of the Irish Border.

Keywords: Irish Border- Poetics- Conflict- Encounters- Colm Tóibín- Garrett Carr.

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Resumen

Ante la amenaza de caos y pavor que la coyuntura política post-Brexit traería aparejada para la paz alcanzada en el denominado Border irlandés, entiéndase el retorno de una frontera dura entre las dos Irlandas, mayores y más férreos controles, etc., nos proponemos indagar las maneras en que *Bad Blood: A Walk along the Irish Border* (1987) de Colm Tóibín y *The Rule of the Land: Walking Ireland's Border* de Garrett Carr (2017) reconfiguran las modalidades de lo posible, de lo real, y de lo necesario (Rancière, 2020). La fecha que marca para Tóibín el inicio de ese viaje real y ficcional es 1987, el punto más álgido de los Troubles; para Carr el viaje comienza tras el referendo que en 2016 signaría la salida del Reino Unido de la Unión Europea.

En este trabajo nos proponemos explorar el estatus ambiguo de ambos textos y de las imágenes que tejen la relación entre la historia de la naturaleza y el mundo que los escritores han producido. En síntesis, es nuestro objetivo ensayar una modalidad de lectura capaz de seguir ambos viajes ficcionales/memorales en su elaboración de topografías enteras de combates y encuentros y construcción de topografías de la ficción, poéticas del Border irlandés.

Palabras clave: Border irlandés- poética-conflicto – encuentros, Colm Tóibín-Garrett Carr

Introduction

When one examines the question of borders and nations in South America, the theory advanced by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983) imposes itself. According to Anderson, the importance of the principle of *uti possidetis* on the determination of boundaries in the newly born South American nations cannot be overlooked. In this connection he holds that “‘one of the basic principles of the American revolution’ was that of ‘*uti possidetis*’ by which each nation was to preserve the territorial *status quo* of 1810’” (Anderson 2006: 153). The nature of the demarcation of the border of what had been former administrative units from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century was somehow “arbitrary and fortuitous” since it depended on the spatial limits of military conquest. However,

this fact didn't cancel out the development and growth the new nations experienced under the influence of geographic, political, and economic factors.

Even if the history of Ireland's Border is different from that of South American countries, in the sense that the principle of *uti possidetis jure* does not apply, both Ireland and South America, however, partake in the one fact that their borders were, in South America, to a certain extent colonially determined and, in Ireland, incontrovertibly so.

In this connection it is interesting to bring into the argument Walter Mignolo's stance with reference to the status of Ireland and the colonial matrix of power. To him, Ireland is *on a par* with other spaces "beyond Europe (or beyond the heart of Europe, as it was the colonization of Ireland)" (Mignolo 2007: 455), places which had to suffer the colonization of the racialised classes led by the European bourgeoisie.

In the face of the unrest and uncertainty which the post-Brexit situation has brought about for the Irish Border and bearing in mind the colonial matrix of power which originated it, I intend to delve into the manner in which *Bad Blood* by Tóibín and *The Rule of the Land* by Carr (2017) reconfigure the modalities of the possible, the real, and the necessary (Rancière, 2020: 8). The date Tóibín earmarks for the beginning of his real and fictional journey is 1987, at the height of the Troubles; Carr sets out on his journey almost thirty years later, in the wake of the fateful referendum that would signal the withdrawal of the UK from the EU.

At a time when the Border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland comes to be again in the spotlight, I also want to set out on a voyage, or rather a distinct manner of moving about and reading the textual space in, namely, *Bad Blood: A Walk along the Irish Border* (1987) by Colm Tóibín and *The Rule of the Land: Walking Ireland's Border* by Garrett Carr (2017). Following Jacques Rancière in *Short Voyages to the Land of the People* (1990), I pose that the engagement with the Border which both writers generate is very much in the mode of the foreigner, or the naïf who is not yet informed. In Rancière's own terms the foreigner is someone who:

persists in the curiosity of his gaze, displaces his angle of vision, reworks the first way of putting together words and images, undoes the certainties of place, and thereby reawakens the power present in each of us to become a foreigner on the map of places and paths generally known as reality (Rancière 2003: 3).

It is my purpose then to give an insight into, respectively, the ambiguous and powerful texture of both *Bad Blood: A Walk along the Irish Border* and *The Rule of the Land: Walking Ireland's Border* and the images which weave the relationship between the history of the Border and the world the writers' creations bring forth. In brief, I will engage in a manner of reading that traces both Tóibín and Carr's fictional/memorial traverses in their construction of whole topographies of conflict and encounters as well as their creation of singular topographies of fiction, a poetics of the Irish Border.

When entering Tóibín and Carr's works the questions that one cannot avoid asking conflate by force the aesthetic, and the political, the abstract space on the map and the lived experience of the people. How can writing make the Irish Border visible? How to make it visible in a way which is distinct from the historicised version of Norman castles, barbed wire, military outposts, attacks, and hatred? How, in the summer after the signing of the Anglo-Irish agreement, to make visible a place inhabited by all of that but also by real people? How to make this place visible at a time when Britain's imminent departure from the European Union was already a certainty?

In this respect, both Tóibín and Carr's texts work towards rendering visible the fact that, alongside their territorial, social, historical, and economic dimension, borders also have an aesthetic dimension. They are significant thanks to perception, and they can be made visible by means of its artistic, aesthetic configuration. Also, the changing perceptions of the Border are related to aesthetic practices by which the people relate themselves to these real and conceptual border areas in which they live and struggle, work and move, love, and die.

The journey in Tóibín's case, on foot, sought out the dark, divided towns and villages along the Border at the height of the Troubles, in a world where the thought of a truce, let alone peace, seemed, at best, ludicrous.

From the very beginning we are allowed to share in the curiosity of Tóibín's gaze, the displacement which his angle of vision effects, the refashioning of words and images to undo the sanctioned distribution of voices, places and "truths" on the map generally known as reality.

In an ostensibly toned-down key Tóibín relates how on his way to Clady, a small town right on the Border with the Republic of Ireland, he chances upon a man called Billy Flanagan, who had lost his pub The Smugglers' Inn in a recent bombing and who would soon lose his other shops to the determination of an army bent on setting up a new army checkpoint as close as possible to the bridge. That man, in his forties but already full of gloom and worries, a man for whom "[t]he compensation would never make up for what was lost" (Tóibín 1994: 22) is the one who, on being asked for directions to Castlederg, gives a response of complete disbelief. Asking that question about finding your way in the land, Tóibín reports, was as sterile as the expectation that compensation would ever make up for his losses:

He gave me directions to get to Castlederg over the mountains, warning me that I would go into the South, into the North, into the South again and back into the North. 'How will I know whether I'm in the North or the South?' I said to him. 'You won't know,' he replied, managing a gruff sort of smile' (Tóibín 1994: 22).

This displaced gaze, which cannot find its bearings on the purportedly secure demarcation of the map, is once and again being reworked and refashioned by the movement along the Border and the movement which gives shape to the writing. Checking the map to know whether he was in the South, or the North had very often proved useless and, when on the way from Lifford to Castlederg, not even the look of the landscape would be of much help. Once he asked a man standing at the door of his cottage whether it was possible, he had been going into the South and into the North again and back into the South with no landmarks whatsoever, be they signposts, checkpoints, the landscape, or the state the road was in. The answer he got was far from reassuring, "He laughed. It was possible, yes, sure, it was possible as if I had walked two miles ahead, I'd be back in the North again, but this time I would meet a checkpoint." (Tóibín 1994: 23).

Tóibín recounts that when going west from Enniskillen to Belleek along the river Erne and since he and the people who accompanied him on the boat “weren’t sure whether we were in North or the South”, they “set out to investigate which State we were in”. The task resulted in a wasted attempt to get their bearings, “[i]t seemed we were in the North when we were having our dinner, but on our way to Belleek we wandered momentarily into the South, and as we passed into the town itself, we were back in the North.” (Tóibín 1994: 47).

Where the maps are useless to pin down his whereabouts, the sight and sound of army helicopters come as inescapable proof they are in the North. This is a presence which can’t be missed either in Crossmaglen (Tóibín 1994:183), where the planes flew over a football field on their way to the base, or in Lough Derg. Tóibín adopts various subject positions when he alludes to, respectively, the players reaction, “Play on, don’t even look at it,” (182), and what the pilots might have thought when seeing from above the scuffle which broke out between two players, “The army must have wondered what the natives were doing now.” (Tóibín 1994:182). In an “almost deserted” Lough Derg (Tóibín 1994: 48) the ubiquity of air surveillance is made a point of, with “a few other pleasure boats and the odd fishing boat”, where an army helicopter “approached the boat until it was right over our heads, before moving off in search of some other prey” (Tóibín 1994: 48).

In the search for signposts to know what side of the Border the walker/writer is moving or what religion sets up boundaries between people, maps are of no or little avail. On his way to Garrison on Lough Melvin the cue that tells him he is close to the Border was the destruction on the land, “the road I was walking on began to deteriorate; the surface was in bad repair” (Tóibín 1994: 63), not the Michelin map “which did not include most of the small roads I came to.” (Tóibín 1994: 63). Likewise, on his way to Kinawley, the ravages on the land, “there was no sign that there had been a road” (87), attest to the futility of maps, “[m]y map was useless; I swore I would replace it with a detailed Ordnance Survey map as soon as I could” (Tóibín 1994: 88).

Among glances of concern and fear from people from behind windows or children mistaking Tóibín for a foot patrol, the walker/writer comes across a soldier who solves his plight with maps. Plodding on the way to a Border which always seems receding, he chances upon this Welshman

stationed in Northern Ireland who, secretively, has drawn up his own chart. The young man, formerly serving his term in Malvinas, has developed a liking for a land which, to him, strongly resemble our islands in the South Atlantic. It must have been this infatuation which drove the soldier to sketch out in surprising precision and accuracy the space he is in:

He showed me his map, making sure that none of his comrades could see what he was doing. The map was incredibly detailed, every house, every field, every road, carefully denoted and described. It would be impossible to go wrong with such a map. Different colours made everything clear. He laughed when I explained my plight with maps. I showed him my Michelin and my Ordnance Survey, and he shook his head in wonder at how out-of-date they were. His was the map I should have, he said. (Tóibín 1994: 151).

Perhaps Tóibín's writing of the Border is the kind of map one should have. Not merely a map where the inscriptions of the Hiring Fairs are still painfully alive (Tóibín 1994: 12-20), not just a map where someone in this day and age provokingly dares offer "soup"² to a Catholic (Tóibín 1994: 106, 107) but also a map where the people remember that, for example, a certain Protestant family had not come during a Plantation or Confiscation but that they had bought their land back in 1732 (Tóibín 1994: 114), a map where the only arguments a Protestant and a Catholic could have before the Kingmills Massacre in 1976 was about horses and football (189). That kind of map is the one Tóibín is charting in his writing. As he aptly puts it after a walk to Beltany Stone Circle in the Republic of Ireland:

We walked down the hill, leaving the stones to their magic, away from the reminder that there was once a time in this place when there were no Catholics or Protestants; the dim past standing there on the crown of the hill, for once a history which could do us no harm, could not teach us, inspire us, remind us, beckon us, embitter us: history locked up in stone (Tóibín 1994: 15).

² During the Famine the members of the Reformed Churches offered "soup" to Catholics in return for conversion. (Tóibín 1994: 106)

Since the end of the Troubles at the end of the 20th century, more specifically in the late 1990s, the Border, one might have mused, would have faded into insignificance. Territorially significant, but geographically irrelevant, the story of the two Irelands, North and South, seemed to have moved on from any dispute about the dividing line between them. Britain's decision to leave the EU, however, following the referendum on 23rd June 2016, put an end to that wishful thinking. After weeks and months of debate about sovereignty and immigration and regulation, 56 per cent of Northern Ireland voted to remain while 44 per cent voted to leave. Conspicuous by its absence, however, was any real discussion of the status of the Border post-Brexit. What Brexit meant for the Border, and for the communities North and South which live along it, in it, was the day and months after the ballot anyone's guess. The debate and discussion, which ought to have been due before that drastic decision was made, is now untimely raging.

Garrett Carr came into this scenario to trace what would become the only land frontier between the United Kingdom and the EU, to envision how in the aftermaths of the Good Friday Agreement (1998) and Brexit a new geopolitical notion of islandness was enabled.

To Carr, map-maker and writer, it is principally through the intimacy realised in the vivid portrayals of the people he meets and their voices that the pages in *The Rule of the Land. Walking Ireland's Border* come alive. Like the most accomplished travel writers, Carr makes good use of his five senses to apprehend the spirit of the place. But Carr also employs his non-fiction skills to convey the borderlands in an attempt to show that "[t]he line on the map offers no space to meet ... here on the ground". He will attempt to prove that the borderline "was not just a symbol, it was also a patch of earth, a living place where things happened," He wants to "capture the drama of two countries striking against each other", he wants "to see the line up close", "how the land and its people have reacted to the border and the ways in which the line is made manifest." (Carr 2017: ch. "The Border Interpretative Centre").

He claims that he "will see the border in a peaceful yet fragile moment"; he wants to see the line, which had previously demarked counties, and later countries, on the eve of its new birth: the place "where the United Kingdom and the European Union touch" (Carr 2017: ch. "The Border Interpretative Centre").

Carr draws inspiration from the move initiated by artist John Byrne when, back in 2000, he opened the Border Interpretative Centre. Byrne's aim was to turn the Border into something more than a line on the map with no place to meet; he wanted "to make room here on the ground", "proving it was not just a symbol, it was also a patch of earth, a living place where things happened." (Carr 2017: ch. The Border Interpretative Centre). The postcards Byrne sent didn't feature the usual ruins of Norman or Elizabethan castles with "their bloody aspects now safely historicised" but images of the military watchtowers built by the British army, images which conveyed the troubled, contested place which the "twisty line that divides the island on the map" has been for all its existence (Carr 2017: ch. The Border Interpretative Centre). The people who came to visit the Border were very much aware of how weird what they were doing was. Carr says, "rather than driving over the line they had stopped to look at it, to take it in" (Carr 2017: ch. The Border Interpretative Centre). In the manner of Rancière's foreigner, Carr also wants to become a pioneer of sorts and visit the Border. Very much like Byrne had done before him, Carr wants "to poke at the border, get under it or look at it from original angles" (Carr 2017: ch. The Border Interpretative Centre); he wants, I hold, in a Rancierian manner to "reawaken[s] the power present in each of us to become a foreigner on the map of places and paths generally known as reality" (Rancière, 2003: 3).

Picking the Border from the sea and starting his journey by canoe, Carr is allured by "the border's first monument", Haulbowline Lighthouse. According to Carr, Haulbowline Lighthouse, built by Robert Stevenson, the writer's grandfather and founder of a lighthouse-building dynasty, stands offshore and "guards a different border than the one on the map, it holds the line between order and chaos." (Carr 2017: ch. "Lighthouses, Vikings"). Moving west, Carr and his companion encounter two other lighthouses which are lined up ahead of them. Their presence allows the writer to bind space and time together in a complex composite of Viking raids, monastic history, Enlightenment optimism, commerce and sectarian violence. These two lighthouses, built by Allan Mac Donnell on Carlingford Lough in the 19th century to allow pilots to steer clear into the canal system, have turned from being "[p]rimarily sensible technology" (Carr 2017: ch. "Lighthouses,

Vikings”) to being functional to the IRA, who used them as a marker to blow a British convoy in 1979. Carr reflects thus on the issue at hand, “[t]his was a line of sight that Allan MacDonnell did not predict. Dare to erect a tall structure on this landscape and you never know what alignments it could get drawn into. (Carr 2017: ch. “Lighthouses, Vikings”).

Carr is on the lookout for what is not on the Ordnance Survey map: footbridges, planks, passes which are “too small, no roads lead to them.” (Carr 2017: ch. “A Pass, a Chair, a Fort”). These are the things he records on the map he is drawing, things which “[n]ot many people will ever see ..., just the natives and me,” (Carr 2017: ch. “A Pass, a Chair, a Fort”). On the map that is what he sketches, in the writing he conflates his own view of the Border and its people with the locals’ view of him, how they get the measure of him, someone who is attempting “to turn the border itself into a route ... not a role to which it is naturally suited” (Carr 2017: ch. “A Pass, a Chair, a Fort”). Along this route, like a detective searching for clues, he enquires about these passageways between North and South missing from Ordnance maps and he cannot help being “struck by how linked up they are, both sides of the border.” (Carr 2017: ch. “Home, Castle, Empire”). To Carr, walking the political line, adding what is absent or unseen and writing it in involves “passing through invisible networks of families ..., their love stories, marriages, children and grandchildren.” (Carr 2017: ch. “Home, Castle, Empire”). This is precisely the tight web of kin he finds when enquiring about footbridge number seventy-one:

This is Northern Ireland here and that’s Donegal over there,’ ‘That house over the bridge belongs to a son of ours, ... He married a girl from Donegal, and we built the bridge to join the houses.

It’s not finished yet mind you,’ We are going to have it that you can step out our back door and straight onto the bridge. (Carr 2017: ch. “Home, Castle, Empire”)

To Carr, the ambiguous and problematic nature of demarcation, the awkwardness and insecurity which the divide brings about is self-evident. To his judgement, “[d]rawing a line is one way to make a state where one can belong, but a sense of belonging is often lost to borders too.” (Carr 2017: ch. “Bars”). When, for example, considering the contrived name Derry/Londonderry and what it symbolises, Carr would readily get rid of the slash, which is suggestive of partition and the frontier, and adopt the dash: Derry~Londonderry. The dash, which the Peace Bridge and “the winding course of the Foyle travelling through the city” resemble, enables and enacts a “healthy dash of flexibility”, which “throws the boundary on its side, using it to link rather than divide”(Carr 2017: ch. “Bars”).

Physically grappling with the border and creatively configuring it is exactly the experience that Colm Tóibín and Garrett Carr put into the writing of *Bad Blood. A Walk Along the Irish Border* ((1987) and *The Rule of the Land Walking Ireland’s Border* (2017). In these two books they tell us what it means to simultaneously move about a place impeded by walls, barricades, and other obstacles, but also a place which for all its divisions and violence, offers shortcuts, alleys and back lanes in which the walker-writer transforms his walk into a work of art.

Tóibín and Carr, know about the Border and the two Irelands, one from Wexford, the other from Donegal. Both set out on journeys in which they not only enact a world of concepts and theories about space, politics, nations and living but also enable pathbreaking manners of looking, thinking and doing. The artistic possibilities which writing, *their* writing, affords turn the Border visible, albeit not in the manner of an ordinary map. They do not follow the line on the flat surface steadfastly because the map does not and, indeed cannot, exhaust the lived space of the Border, cannot render it to the full.

Tóibín and Carr have transformed the Irish Border into an artistic and human experience, thus making visible what the map cannot make visible. In so doing, they have offered us a poetics as well as a veritable phenomenology of the Border at two critical crossroads in time.

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South American Joyce: Proper Names and Brazilian Cultural References in Brazilian Translations of *Ulysses*

Camille Vilela-Jones¹

Abstract

Several translations of the novel *Ulysses* by James Joyce exist in a variety of languages. It was published in 1922 and thereupon translated to German, French, and even Polish and Czech. Three translations of the Irish novel currently exist in Brazilian Portuguese, with a fourth one planned to be published soon. Unfortunately, the circumstances and the translators behind these publications have scarcely been considered outside of Brazil. The analysis of the three Brazilian translations and their usage of proper nouns and Brazilian cultural references reveals important issues according to Lawrence Venuti's concepts of domesticating and foreignizing translations. It addresses current transnational concerns in the fields of modernism, postcolonial literature, and translation by revealing political implications through intertextuality. This analysis is specifically important to marginalized cultures in order to highlight their contributions to Western novels, furthering, thus, the necessity and importance of understanding other perceptions of literary movements.

Keywords: postcolonial literature, Brazilian literature, modernism, Latin American modernism.

Introduction

Several translations of the novel *Ulysses* by James Joyce exist in a variety of languages, even, recently, Chinese. The novel was published in English in 1922 and it was thereupon translated to German, French, and even Polish and Czech. The translation to Spanish, on the other hand, was

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published a little later, in 1945. However, one might be surprised to learn about the existence of three translations of the Irish novel in Brazilian Portuguese. Captivatingly, Brazilians have translated the novel before their colonizers and the same is true for the Spanish translations, done initially by the Argentinian José Salas Subirat instead of Spanish scholars as one might erroneously expect. Portugal currently only has two translations of the novel while Brazil has produced three, with a fourth one scheduled to be published in a near future. Before Antônio Houaiss took the challenge upon himself in 1966 to translate the text into Brazilian Portuguese for the first time, no translations of *Ulysses* were available in any variety of Portuguese whatsoever. Due to such importance, it is unfortunate that Houaiss and the other Brazilian translators of the novel have scarcely been discussed outside of Latin American and Joycean conferences in a few parts of Europe.

The analysis of proper nouns and Brazilian cultural references reveals the translations that offer instances of domestication or foreignization, terms the translation theorist Lawrence Venuti developed in order to indicate texts that might cause defamiliarization in the reader, and in some cases even propose moments of ‘resistancy’ (Venuti xv) to power dynamics and socio-economic hierarchies within languages and cultures. Such instances can serve as awareness of power structures and translation politics within the publishing industry.

The Translators

Antônio Houaiss first translated *Ulysses* in 1966. A son of Lebanese immigrants, Houaiss worked as a vice-consul of the Brazilian consulate in Geneva, collaborating with the UN in several instances and continents, including Africa. His dictionary of the Portuguese language is still currently considered of high quality and currently used in many schools throughout Brazil. Bernardina Pinheiro translated the novel a second time in 2005. A literature professor and a former tutor of literary critic Richard Ellman, she was an emeritus professor at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. Thirdly, Caetano Veloso translated the text in 2012 in addition to other Joycean novels. The university professor has also translated several other works of literature to Brazilian Portuguese from authors such as T. S. Eliot, J. D. Salinger, and David Foster Wallace.

Foreignizing vs. Domesticating Translations

Translation studies has changed throughout the years. According to Rebecca Beasley (2012) a turn from normative to descriptive approach has occurred. She notes that “the normative approach that dominated the early period of translation studies in the 1960s and 1970s aimed to prescribe rules for translation and for judging the quality of individual translations in comparison with the source text” (553). If a text’s quality is attributed due to its similarities to the source text, then the translator needs to be invisible, that is, unnoticeable in order to develop a good translation. Concerning a translator’s invisibility, Venuti (2018) argues that most publishers, reviewers, and readers favor such invisible translator and “the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities ... [since it gives] the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer’s personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text ... The more fluent the translation, the more invisible the translator.” (1)

However, Venuti advocates for the visibility of the translator, arguing that one should consider the target culture and language. Otherwise, such imperceptibility fosters the hierarchization of languages and cultures, since a significant number of translations are done from English into other languages but not the other way around (12). Thus, if translators are invisible, they pass on values and culture as literally as possible from the source text without considering the target language’s culture and context. Such practice promotes the culture of English-speaking countries – especially the United States and England – without consideration for the receiving language’s country or culture. Venuti argues that “domesticating translation maintains the status quo, reaffirming linguistic standards, literary canons and authoritative interpretations, fostering among readers who esteem such resources and ideologies a cultural narcissism that is sheer self-satisfaction.” (xiv)

Foreignizing translations, on the other hand, carve out a space for themselves within the translated text as they emphasize marginal aspects, a trait that does not occur in domesticating translations. They are also deeply connected with the visibility of a translator. When a translator makes themselves visible by focusing not on the source, but on the target culture, they are no longer

invisible but, instead, they have a voice of their own. Thus, the translator challenges structures of power, honoring the target culture by establishing intertextuality between the foreign and the target text and culture, promoting communication and dialogue. These connections dismantle hierarchization between countries and cultures, showing, instead, that the target culture can contribute with the reading and interpretation of the foreign text instead of depicting an uneven and dominant relationship between both. Within the category of proper names, one is likely to find occurrences of foreignization in translated works of literature (Venuti xv). Additionally, Brazilian cultural references are moments of foreignization in themselves since, at very least, they bring an awareness of both one's own culture and of the fact that readers are reading a translation.

Challenging traditional hierarchical orders is possible, however, it is not guaranteed. With the passing of time translators' choices that were once foreignizing could lose its status or vice versa due to the constant mutability of language. George Steiner (1998) states that "every language act has a temporal determinant" (24). Thus, political and linguistic reflection could also be temporal as could the foreignization and domesticating classification of a translator's work. Thus, control of the foreignizing aspects of a translation and their durability is non-existing. Consequently, instead of classifying a translation in terms of rigid categories of domesticating or foreignization, a spectrum seems more appropriate, since such classification can vary as time passes.

Minor Literature

Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari developed the term "minor literature." Through the examination of Franz Kafka's texts, the scholars discuss the concept of using a major language by a periphery population to produce their own literature. They argue that "a minor literature doesn't come from a minor language; it is rather that which a minority constructs within a major language" (16). This is precisely how Kafka used the German language. He was a Jewish man writing in German from Prague, choosing to write in the language of the empire. Additionally, the variety of German he selected was not the one used in Germany, but in Prague; thus, he was using the language of the colonizer to express literature from the periphery, resulting in a deterritorialization of the German language.

A second trait of minor literature is political immediacy. Deleuze and Guattari argue that “its cramped space forces each individual intrigue to connect immediately to politics” (17). By using German in his writing, Kafka challenges the status quo. As a Czech Jew he could have written in a different language, however by choosing German he made his writing political. A similar political implication is present in the three Brazilian translations of *Ulysses*. They are translating a novel to a language imposed through colonization; however, the translators use traits and lexicon of Brazilian Portuguese that allude to such a colonial past and sometimes stem from African languages. Thus, these translations also carry political importance.

Cultural References

References to the target culture are often foreignizing. In a translation, they can bring attention to the status of the text itself as a translation. Such awareness could even foster reflections of political, social, and even linguistic hierarchies which occur when the original text is in English, currently the world’s unofficial *lingua franca*. Thus, the analysis of cultural references could carry a political and socioeconomic reflection.

In the “Proteus” episode Stephen is talking to his uncle Richie, who asks him to sit down by saying “sit down or by the law Harry I’ll knock you down” (*U* 3.92). According to Don Gifford (1988), “‘Law’ dodges the curse by the Lord [and] ‘Old Harry’ is the Devil” (48). Therefore, the phrase “by the law Harry” is clearly a curse. In Pinheiro’s translation, she does not replace the name ‘Harry’ with a Portuguese equivalent. She translates it to “ou então pelo velho Harry,” which literally means “or by the old Harry” (67), losing the meaning of the name “Harry” as “the devil” which is not a common connection in Brazilian Portuguese nor Brazilian culture. In Houaiss’ translation, alternatively, he refers to Stephen as if his name was Harry, saying “sente-se ou, bofé, Harry, achato-o ao chão,” which can be translated as “sit down, or honestly, Harry I’ll squash you on the floor” (55). Thus, Houaiss may give the impression that uncle Richie is addressing Stephen as Harry. Alternatively, “Harry” could be understood in Houaiss’ translation as a synonym for an average person due to idiomatic expressions such as “every Tom, Dick and Harry.” Therefore,

Houaiss could possibly make Richie a corky character who calls his nephew by different names, or perhaps swaps his nephews names, or calls Stephen by an unusual nickname.

Finally, Galindo offers a different translation to the phrase, writing “pelo humor do Cujo,” which can be translated as “by the Evil One’s humor” (144), a way to curse while avoiding saying “the Devil.” Galindo’s phrase has a similar meaning to the original, however, the word “Cujo” is also the last name of a character in the Brazilian novel *The Devil to Pay in the Backlands* (*Grande Sertão: Veredas*) by João Guimarães Rosa. Gavião-Cujo is a *jagunço* who traveled far to carry the news of another character’s death. Historically, *jagunços* offer military protection to mill lords and farmers in the backlands of northeast of Brazil, an area known for its arid weather and dry spells in impoverished communities throughout different states. Concerning the etymology of the word, José Calasans (1970) states that *jagunço* comes from the Portuguese word “zarguncho,” whose origin is African, designating a war weapon used by different African people (32). Additionally, the novel is also a canonical piece of Brazilian literature, and similar to *Ulysses*, it challenges readers in a long modernist read known for its linguistic experimentation. Commonly studied in schools, Brazilian readers could remember this canonical novel and connect some of its modernist traits to *Ulysses*. Furthermore, the translator’s allusion to *jagunço* draws attention to the Portuguese colonization through the etymology of the word, connecting Brazil to the European country and to African cultures and languages.

The “Hades” episode also contains cultural references. Martin Cunningham tells the men in the carriage an anecdote: “Reuben J and the son were piking it down the quay...” (*U* 6.278). Gifford reminds the reader that “piking it” is “slang for to leave or depart” (Gifford 1988, 110). Houaiss translates the phrase to “desciam o cais” (124), a similar choice to Pinheiro’s “se mandando pelo cais” (127). While the former means “went down the quay” the latter contains the slang term “se mandando,” which carries the same meaning. On the other hand, Galindo translated it to “picando as suas mulinhas,” (217) an idiomatic expression. The phrase literally means “poking his little mules,” but it also means “to leave.” Galindo’s colloquial phrase, however, highlights an important part of Brazilian history, which was the use of mules for work and transportation. While European countries and the United States were known for riding horses, Luiz Borges mentions that several

Latin American countries used mules (208). When explaining the reasons behind this choice, he mentions:

this hybrid animal... was stable on rocky roads, weather and altitude resistant. In long journeys it was more resistant and faster than horses. The mule was bulkier and had a straighter spine than the horse. While the latter would not carry more than 115 kilos, the former could bear from 135 to 225 kilos. They required less food and presented better performance.² (2016, 210)

The historical painting “Independência ou Morte” (“Independence or Death”) by Pedro Américo hides an anecdote concerning the animal. Most Brazilians know the painting since it is frequently reproduced in school textbooks. In it, Dom Pedro I, emperor of Brazil, is depicted on a horse in front of a large military entourage proclaiming the words “Independence or Death.” He stands next to the Ipiranga river riding a horse and holding a sword up in the air. Maria Ligia Padro (2008) argues that the reality behind the painting was quite different. D. Pedro I’s entourage was smaller, the uniforms were less pompous, and they all rode mules. Additionally, the group only stopped by the Ipiranga river due to D. Pedro I’s “gastric issues” (26). Thus, from the emperor to average workers, the use of mules was extremely common in Brazil. By resorting to an idiomatic expression that alludes to this practice, Galindo connects Brazilian history to the Irish text, providing an intercultural and intertextual bond between two nations with a colonial background, especially when one considers that Ireland had a similar relationship with donkeys. Curiously, both the Irish and Brazilians would later use these animals’ names as derogatory words in their cultures.

The narrator in the “Cyclops” episode mentions that Bloom was “walking about with his book and pencil here’s my head and my heels are coming till Joe Cuffe gave him the order of the boot for giving lip to a grazier. Mister Knowall” (*U* 12.836-838). Gifford mentions that the expression “here’s my head and my heels are coming” “suggest[s] ill-coordinated haste or a person whose intentions are better than his performance” (Gifford 1988, 340). Galindo translated it to “com uma

² Original quote: “este híbrido ... era estável nas trilhas pedregosas, resistentes às variações climáticas e às alturas. Em longas distancias era mais resistente e mais rápido que os cavalos. Eram mais robustas e com costas mais planas que estes. Enquanto cavalos não carregavam mais que 115 quilos, as mulas podiam carregar de 135 a 225 quilos. Elas requeriam menos alimento e possuíam grande desempenho” (qtd. in Borges 209).

meia dúzia de pés esquerdos” (509), which literally means “with half a dozen left feet,” and Pinheiro chose “ele de cabeça melhor do que as pernas veio” (369) (“him headfirst better than the legs came,” literally). While Galindo’s translation is fluent, Pinheiro this time chose an unconventional path. By changing the sentence structure and placing the verb “vir” at the end of the sentence, Pinheiro breaks conventions of Brazilian Portuguese which usually follows the paradigm subject + verb + object. The awkward structure might cause a momentary reflection on the language and its rules.

Alternatively, Houaiss translates the phrase to “cabeça metedida e pés pra trás” (408). In English, Houaiss’ choice reads “busybody head backwards feet.” His mention of “backwards feet” alludes to a Brazilian folklore character called *Curupira*. Known by most Brazilian children, this folk character is believed to protect forests and is commonly depicted with red hair and backwards feet. Thus, allusion to it foreignizes Houaiss’s translation.

The episode “Oxen of the Sun” is notorious for incorporating parodies of different writing styles of English literature throughout the centuries. In the section that “smacks of the fourteenth century” (Blamires 1996, 148), the narrator states, “Punch Costello dinged with his fist upon the board and would sing a bawdy catch *Staboo Stabella* about a wench that was put in a pod of a jolly swashbuckler in Almany” (*U* 14.313-135). Pinheiro chose to translate it to “Punch Costello martelou com seu punho na mesa e quis cantar uma canção humoristicamente indecente *Staboo Stabella* sobre uma garota que ficou prenhe de um ferrabrás em Almany cujo refrão ele atacou imediatamente” (452). One foreignizing element in Pinheiro’s translation is the word she chose for “swashbuckler,” “ferrabrás,” which dates back to 1881 (Houaiss 2009, 878) and is currently not commonly used.

Galindo translates the sentence to “abasta que isso foi dito Ponche Costello surgiu a mão e pô-la com força sobre a mesa e quis cantar uma canção de folguedo *Farilu Farinela* sobre uma rapariga que foi embuchada por um aventureiro loução tedesco” (614). Galindo stated that in order to evoke a similar parody of different literary styles in his translation, he relied on several periods of Brazilian literature, starting with thirteenth century Portuguese poetry (Galindo 2007, 123). Galindo’s use of medieval Portuguese is evident in the aforementioned quote. “Abastar” and

“loução” and “rapariga” are words that date back to the thirteenth and fourteenth century (Houaiss 2009, 6; 1610; 1197). Galindo looks to Brazilian literary tradition – whose legacy dates back to Portuguese medieval poetry – in order to reproduce a similar effect that Joyce employed in the original text. Additionally, Galindo’s translation “foi embuchada” for the Elizabethan slang “put in a pod,” comes from the word “bucha,” from the fourteenth century (Houaiss 2009, 334), another case of historical Portuguese allusion. Furthermore, Galindo connected the passage to Brazilian culture by translating “bawdy catch” to “canção de folguedo” (“*folgado* song,” in English). Galindo chose to make the song “Staboo Stabella” (phonetically translated as “Farilu Farinella”) a *folgado* song, that is, a Brazilian folk song.

Houaiss, also evoked Portuguese Provençal poetry from the twelfth century. While in 1966 – when his translation was published – annotations of Joyce’s novel were not available, the translator was able to identify the episode’s references to different literary periods. He translated the aforementioned quote in the following manner: “entonces Punch Costello martelou a mesa com seu punho querendo cantar uma tenção de escárnio Staboo Stabella a respeito de uma rameira que levava pua de um gaio brigão da Alamanha” (507). The words “entonces” dates back to the fourteenth century (Houaiss 2009, 771), while “tenção,” “escárnio” and “gaio” are all from the thirteenth century (799; 1258). The definition of the word “tenção” is connected to Portuguese poetry: “in provençal poetry, it is song dialogued by two troubadours in which a love issue is discussed”³ (1827). Finally, Houaiss translated the slang “put in a pod” to “levava pua.” The word “pua” is from the fifteenth century and means “sharp edge of an object, beak, stick”⁴ (Houaiss 2009, 1574). Thus, Houaiss alludes to a stick by using language from the fifteenth century in order to evoke the imagery of the woman getting pregnant making his text foreignizing.

³ Original quote: “na poesia provençal, cantiga dialogada por um ou dois trovadores e na qual se discute uma questão de amor” (Houaiss 1827).

⁴ Original quote: “ponta aguda de objeto; bico, agulhão (Houaiss 1574).

Proper Names

A tongue twister is present in “Scylla and Charybdis” through a proper name: “Peter Piper” (*U* 9.269). When translating it, Galindo looked for a similar one in Brazilian Portuguese (“o peito do pé do Pedro é preto”) (346). Pinheiro wrote “Peter Piper patati patatá” (233). “Patati patatá” is an onomatopoetic phrase used to indicate unimportant chatter. Her choice for alliteration highlights a common trait of tongue twisters, which is the focus phonetics instead of meaning. Houaiss literally translated it but still found a way to add alliteration (“Peter Piper picou um pito”) (250). Even though literal translations are usually considered domesticating, in this case it becomes foreignizing since Houaiss used the language creatively and developed a tongue-twister still within the linguistic rules of Brazilian Portuguese, making it look authentic and appropriate to the text.

“Penelope” presents racial implications behind a proper name. As Molly reminisces about her days at Gibraltar, she remembers Hester Stanhope, a woman she befriended who would call Molly “Doggerina” and her husband, “Wogger” (*U* 18.616). Mrs. Stanhope’s nicknames for those around her are unique, and “wogger” is “uncomplimentary English slang for an Arab or dark-skinned person” (Gifford 1988, 617). While Molly explains her “Doggerina” nickname (“she [could] tak[e] off the dog barking”) (*U* 18.635), Joyce does not add any explanation to Mr. Stanhope’s. The politically incorrect nature of his pet name and the unconventional connection to Molly’s to a dog, contribute to Hester’s depiction as Molly’s rival and friend.

Additionally, Molly offers several hints of a possible romantic relationship between her and Hester’s husband. She remembers that “wogger would give anything to be back in Gib and hear [her] sing Waiting and in old Madrid” (18.616-617). Luca Crispi (2013) reminds the reader that “the song is linked to the very beginnings of the Bloom’s courtship. By connecting Mr. Stanhope to songs shared between Molly and Bloom, Joyce establishes a similar romantic motif between them. Crispi argues that “it must have been with pointed irony that [Joyce] decided to make [these songs] central to the earlier flirtatious relationship between Molly and Mr. Stanhope, especially when he presumably could have chosen other songs with different and probably unconnected thematic resonances” (105). In this episode Molly also reveals that Mrs. Stanhope may be aware of this romantic infatuation by stating: “of course they never came back and she didn’t put her

address right on it either she may have noticed her wogger” (U 18.666-668). This suspicion could justify the denigratory nickname to her husband and Molly as thinly veiled insults.

To this conundrum the Brazilian translators offered varied solutions. Pinheiro translated the slur to “escurinho,” an equally controversial word, which literally means “somewhat dark”, or “little dark (person).” The word usually reveals the speaker’s racism towards Brazilians of African descent. This euphemism is as a way not to literally say “black” but to attempt to underemphasize someone’s shade, as if being black (or a darker shade of black) would be insulting. Pinheiro’s solution is similar to “wogger” since the veiled racism is also implied. Houaiss and Galindo created their own terms, “iducho” and “brimo,” respectively. Neither word has any meaning in Portuguese, which makes them foreignizing. Pinheiro’s solution could also be seen as foreignizing since it highlights racial issues within Brazil and foregrounds hierarchical relations of ethnicities which still pertain in the country as a direct result of colonization.

Galindo referred to literature through a proper name in “Oxen of the Sun.” The presence of the name “Phyllis” is not only an allusion to Greek mythology but also to pastoral poetry, where Phyllis would be “a conventional name for a maiden” (Gifford 1988, 435). While Houaiss and Pinheiro kept the name untranslated, Galindo chose “Marília,” a common maiden name in Portuguese bucolic poetry. It also alludes to the book *Marília de Dirceu* (1792) by the Portuguese poet Tomás António Gonzaga (1744-1810), who lived in Brazil temporarily. A canonical book in Portuguese literature, it narrates a love story between Marília and Dirceu. By alluding to this novel, Galindo connects Brazilian literature to its Portuguese heritage and the power relations between the two countries.

Proper names as Adjectives

In the English language many proper names are used to form adjectives. Phrases like “chatty Cathy” or “average Joe” are colloquialisms in which the proper names are not real people but a part of adjectives. While Brazilian Portuguese has the same trait – with phrases like “Maria Gasolina” and “Zé Ninguém” (“Mary Gasoline” and “John Nobody,” respectively) – they are not

exactly equivalent to the English phrases, nor do they mean the same thing. This situation presents a conundrum in which the Brazilian translator faces a challenge.

In the episode “Hades,” as Bloom and others are in the carriage heading to a funeral, Bloom thinks: “blazing faze: redhot. Too much John Barleycorn. Cure for a red nose.” (*U* 6.307-208). This quote reveals that while Martin Cunningham believes that Paddy died from heart issues, Bloom is of the opinion that drinking too much may have been the cause since the name “John Barleycorn” is “slang for whiskey” (Gifford 1988, 110). Pinheiro decided not to translate the expression, which may result in a search for this new character, John Barleycorn, or the assumption that the translator made a mistake, which raises the awareness of the status of the text as translation. Galindo chose the phrase “água que passarinho não bebe” (218) literally “water that birds don’t drink,” a popular euphemism for alcohol in Brazil. Finally, Houaiss created the name “João Bebessobe” (126), in which “João” is a translation for “John” and “Bebessobe” is a fabricated word containing “bebe” and “sobe,” which in English means “drink” and “going up,” respectively. Houaiss’ creative and foreignizing solution adds humor to the excerpt.

Bloom in “Lestrygonians” reflects on the possibility that “an apparent rebel in the nationalist cause may be a paid spy of the government” (Blamires 1996, 67). Corny Kelleher cites similarities to a character in a play who was a disguised police officer and Bloom thinks: “Peeping Tom through the keyhole. Decoy duck. Hotblooded young student fooling round her fat arms ironing” (*U* 8.449-450). “Peeping Tom” is also an adjective for someone who is prying into someone else’s affairs, and when dealing with this phrase, Pinheiro chose not to translate it, while Houaiss wrote “Espionando Tom” (213) and Galindo, “enxerido” (307). Galindo’s translation literally means “nosy,” whereas Houaiss changed the meaning of the original phrase. His translation means “spying Tom,” in which “Tom” is the object of the verb. Therefore, in his phrase “Tom” is no longer the inquisitive person but now the target of someone else’s prying. By keeping the name “Tom” Houaiss and Pinheiro write foreignizing translations.

These examples of proper names as adjective phrases are all Bloom’s thoughts. They assist in his characterization as a creative person who turns to colloquial language to express himself. This laid-back aspect of his personality is mostly strongly transmitted by Houaiss, who adds a certain

sarcasm to Bloom's personality with examples such as "João Bebessobe." By making the constant choice of not translating several of these proper names, Pinheiro risks possibly causing a certain confusing concerning these names. This possible confusion is often foreignizing since it can remind the reader of the quality of the text as a translation.

Conclusion

Due to its high foreignizing character, Houaiss' translation can be considered minor literature, as it fosters awareness of socio-political hierarchies of power, in this case between Brazil and Portugal. While Galindo and Pinheiro also presents a similar focus, his and Pinheiro's texts are not as foreignizing as Houaiss'. His philological and linguistic knowledge allowed him to insert a lexicon that deeply generates reflections on Brazilian linguistic variant and the richness of those variants in connection to European Portuguese.

Pinheiro's translation in particular presents a lack of minority translation practice. This trait could be highly connected to her goal of facilitating the understanding of Joyce's novel to Brazilian readers, something that she believes was compromised in *Ulysses*'s first translation by Houaiss (Pinheiro 14). As the second translation, her most obvious trait is her reaction to Houaiss' work, a retranslation interested in making the novel more understandable to Brazilian readers. In order to reach this objective, Pinheiro chose to make the text fluent, resulting in an invisible translator in most of the narrative. Despite offering a fluent translation, she reached her goal and remained coherent throughout her work. Thus, her translation presents more traits of a domestication text than foreignization.

One of the main traits of Caetano Galindo's translation is its colloquialism. As the most recent of the three translations, he emphasizes contemporary slang and polysemic words, by adding colloquial phrases that are still quite commonly used in Brazilian society. Such an emphasis could make his translation attractive to younger readers and newer generations. Galindo is also visible through his work as his translation offers several creatively quirky solutions.

By observing foreignizing moments in the Brazilian translations we understand how translators can enrich a novel, contributing to different meanings and interpretations of the text that had not been considered before, in addition to taking a political stance concerning the hierarchization of cultures and languages through translation.

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“Elsinore’s tempting flood”: the Hamletian Presence in the Brazilian Translations of *Ulysses*

***Pedro Luís Sala Vieira*¹**

Abstract

In Brazil, James Joyce’s *Ulysses* was translated by Antônio Houaiss (1966), Bernardina da Silveira Pinheiro (2005) and Caetano Galindo (2012), and each stand for different perspectives about his work. Translating a literary text is not only about decoding different languages, but also bringing into another culture aspects of a certain literary tradition. Joyce’s masterpiece, for instance, contains a noteworthy presence of William Shakespeare’s work. The Shakespearean intertext in Joyce’s work contain several layers, which are reflected in the translations of the novel and must be taken into consideration in their study. In view of the foregoing, this paper introduces the starting considerations of an ongoing doctorate research that aims to examine how the Brazilian translators of *Ulysses* dealt with the Shakespearean references in Joyce’s novel. The focus will rely on examples from the episodes “Telemachus” and “Proteus”.

Keywords: Joyce; Shakespeare; *Ulysses*; Translations.

James Joyce and William Shakespeare are landmarks of our literature for several reasons. As a dramatist from the transition between Middle Ages and the Renaissance and living in the golden age of theatre in England, Shakespeare stood out in history as the most prominent writer of his time among several other playwrights, and, as Ben Jonson announces in the elegy in the *First Folio* – “He was not of an age but for all time!”. Joyce, by his turn, is mostly known by his work in prose, although he had also written poetry and drama. His last work – *Finnegans Wake* – has

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achieved such degree of experimentalism of the possibilities of language that is hardly to fit into some literary genre. Joyce's masterpiece, *Ulysses*, which celebrates the hundredth year of its publication, became "the novel to end all the novels" (Levin 1960: 171).

Ulysses unquestionably meant a rupture in the model of literary prose that predominated so far, mostly in virtue of the profound exploration of a technique called "interior monologue" – which has not been invented by Joyce, but certainly he was the one who employed it in its utmost. The "interior monologue" intends to reproduce the flow of consciousness of the character, breaking up with the focus on the narrator and going beyond the free indirect speech. It is an attempt to catch up with and convey the characters' thoughts at the moment they are being processed, breaking up the hierarchy between what is relevant and what is banal – one of Joyce's goals when he published his modern, parodical rewriting of the Homer's *Odyssey*.

Literary tradition relates to the construction of a cultural and collective memory in which the past is reinterpreted through the perspective of the present. As a rewriting of literary texts from the past, translation contributes to the expansion of some author's horizon through diverse cultures and into distinct historical times.

In view of the foregoing, this paper introduces the starting considerations of an ongoing doctorate research that aims to examine how the Brazilian translators of *Ulysses* dealt with the Shakespearean references in Joyce's novel. This study considers that they translate into a system that does not hold Shakespeare's work as part of its cultural and collective memory in the same level as in English-speaking language cultures in general. The focus is on the presence of *Hamlet* and its literary effects on the novel and how such effects are transposed into Brazilian Portuguese on the episodes "Telemachus" and "Proteus" as both are primarily focused on the character of Stephen Dedalus, developing a connection between the events of these chapters and *Hamlet*.

The discussion over intertextuality is related to cultural and collective memory because the access to some intertext demands a previous knowledge of literary tradition of a specific culture. In case of Shakespeare and Joyce, we are referring to the culture of literature in English language. Joyce's masterpiece – *Ulysses* – contains a noteworthy presence of William Shakespeare's work. Harold

Bloom (1994) calls *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* “Shakespeare-Soaked epics”. Laura Pelaschiar (2015) points out that the shakespearean intertext in Joyce’s work contain several layers, and this presence is “unearth to access because it is non-systematic and covert”, i.e., scattered all over the novel, unlike the allusions to *Odyssey* which are made visible through other resources like the title and the Homeric schemata.

According to several researchers who focused on this relationship, Joyce views Shakespeare as a kind of rival, a father or even a divine figure. Harry Levin (1960) contends that Joyce seeks a father in Shakespeare. Harold Bloom (1996) argues Shakespeare is the ideal writer that Joyce searches for himself: a writer that has no precursor or successor, he is not haunted by dead writers, nor will he be overcome by those who follow him – Shakespeare is a divine figure in that sense.

Hamlet contains several allusions and references throughout the novel, as well as echoes that are only heard through deep textual and literary analysis, as the correspondence between Mulligan’s rejection of Dedalus’ feelings towards the offence about his mother – “it’s a beastly thing and nothing else” – and Claudius’ criticism over Hamlet’s grief about his father’s death: “It shows a will most incorrect to heaven, / A heart unfortified, a mind impatient, / And understanding simple and unschooled” (I.ii.89-97)

The Shakespeare’s iconic tragedy thus plays a major role in the construction of meaning in the novel. Hugh Kenner argues that Hamlet works as one of the myths – along with Dedalus and Homer - that reinforce the Homeric situation:

The shift from the *Odyssey* into *Hamlet* is accompanied by a great increase in psychological intensity, and by a displacement of the centre from errant father to tortured son. *Hamlet* is in this sense simply the *Odyssey* narrated from the point of view of a tortured Telemachus (p. 101).

These different myths, therefore, shape an intertextual web which contributes to the form of the novel. David Weir (2015), for instance, states that Joyce reconciles three traditions to transform his work into a new, modernist form of expression: the medieval through a Dantesque design; the

classical through a Homeric narrative; and the Renaissance through a Shakespearian plot. Weir argues that the plot complications of *Ulysses* derive from Joyce's sense of Shakespeare.

Considering the relevance of this intertextuality, I pose the following research question: how have the Brazilian translations approached this intertextuality into Portuguese? As an example of a similar research, Fritz Senn, Jolanta Wawrzycka and Veronika Kovacs (2016) have examined how the Shakespearean allusions and references achieved the *Ulysses* translations in several languages: French, German, Spanish, Italian, Polish and Hungarian. They concluded that German translations proved to turn Shakespeare's quotations more visible in their respective target texts, while translations into Polish or Hungarian hid the Shakespearean presence mostly because there are no canonical translations in this culture just like it does in Germany.

Translations have their limits, they are limited by their sociocultural context, by the historical background of the receiving culture, so this research does not intend to say that this translation is better because the translator paid more attention to the Shakespearean reference than the other – the limits of the translations must be also object of research not to elucidate the translator's limit, but to make visible an aspect of the reception of *Ulysses* in Brazil through translation.

In Brazil, *Ulysses* received three different translations. The first translation in Portuguese in the world was published in Brazil in 1966, a very complex period in Brazil because of the military dictatorship that has took the power through two years earlier, and Antônio Houaiss, who worked as a diplomat and was fired because of his political opinions, was invited to translate the novel by Civilização Brasileira, a well-known publishing house at the time. He took one year long to translate the whole novel, and his translation had a good reception at first. At the same time, however, it ran down in history as a hermetic translation because of the formal character of his text that, according to criticism, didn't consider the differences of register in the novel. In addition to his background as a diplomat, Antônio Houaiss also stood out as a lexicographer and literary critic, and his Dictionary of Portuguese Language remains as a reference in our country these days.

The other two translations of *Ulysses* were published more recently. Nearly forty years later, in 2005, the second translation by Bernardina da Silveira Pinheiro was published by Objetiva. She

was a professor of English literature of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. The reception of Bernardina's translation was viewed as a version that wanted to turn Joyce's text into a more fluid text in Portuguese, as a reaction to Houaiss's translation. Her translation was well received because of her proposal in producing a more accessible version of this work, although it was criticized as well for the same reason because it would have changed the original text.

In 2012, Caetano Galindo's translation came up as the third version of *Ulysses* in Brazil by Companhia das Letras. Galindo is a professor of Historical Linguistics at the Federal University of Paraná. His translation is commonly considered as intermediary between the previous translations, as he concerned the fluency of the text to achieve the Brazilian common reader, not only the specialist, but without changing the formal aspects of the novel (Vargas 2018).

In the first episode of the novel – “Telemachus” – Stephen Dedalus's state of mind is strictly related to the Hamletian theme of paternity and usurpation – both important themes in Joyce's work. In the very beginning of the novel, Buck Mulligan is shaving at the top of Martello tower, one of the defensive forts which were built by British Empire during the 19th century and now expresses a specific moment of the historical connection between England and Ireland, another major theme in this chapter because of Haines, the ‘Oxford man’ whose presence in the tower bothers Stephen Dedalus.

Both setting and action of this chapter recall the early scenes of Hamlet, as evidenced in the way that Haines describes the Martello tower, this legacy of the British Empire. He characterizes it as similar to the tower and cliffs of Elsinore, the castle where the whole plot of the Shakespeare's play is set: “[...] this tower and these cliffs here remind me somehow of Elsinore. *That beetles o'er his base into the sea, isn't it?*” (15). The sentence in italics is a direct quote by Horace from Hamlet's first act of the play, referring to the castle when trying to persuade Hamlet not to follow his father's ghost, dreadful of the possibility that the apparition led him to drown in the sea:

HORATIO:

What if it tempt you toward the flood, my lord,

Or to the dreadful summit of the cliff

That beetles o'er his base into the sea,
And there assume other horrible form
Which might deprive your sovereignty of reason,
And draw you into madness? Think of it.
(I, iv, 69-74, italics added)

It is worth recalling that there are two versions of Horace's speech because of the different versions of the play. The play in the Folio excludes 222 lines – four of them from this Horace's speech from the Second quarto (Q2), which essentially changes the interpretation of his warning:

HORATIO:
What if it tempt you toward the flood, my lord,
Or to the dreadful summit of the cliff
That beetles o'er his base into the sea,
And there assume other horrible form
Which might deprive your sovereignty of reason,
And draw you into madness? Think of it.
*[The very place puts toys in desperation
Without more motive, into every brain
That looks so many fathoms to the sea
And hears it roar beneath]*
(I, iv, 69-74, italics added)

According to Phillip Edwards (2003), the continuation of the speech provides that idea that “the place, not the Ghost, puts the idea of suicide into people's minds. Hamlet doesn't need a cliff to put thoughts of suicide into his head” (13). Haines wanted to praise the tower and emphasize its presence just like the Elsinore castle symbolized a relevant presence in the Danish coast, as the center of all events of the play as well as it denotes the center of power for which there is a lot of struggle and bloodshed.

Houaiss translated this excerpt into the following way: “Que salta das suas bases sobre o mar” (1967: 21), which is shortly similar to Galindo’s version: “Lançando-as da base sobre o mar” (2012: 117). Both convey the idea of castle’s movement, giving it the status of an autonomous subject that comes up from the sea and stands by itself. Both concerned the Shakespearean iambic pentameter, translating into the decasyllabic verse to produce the same effect of Shakespearean speech. Bernardina, by her turn, translated the sentence more literally and in prose: “Que se projeta acima de sua base sobre o mar” (2007: 29). Her decision left aside the intensity and vigor that is attributed to the place in Horace’s utterance, which softens the exaltation of the tower intended by Haines, that by his turn evoked Horace’s anguish towards it.

In the third episode, “Proteus”, Stephen roams throughout the Sandymount strand in a deep, reflective monologue as he heads towards Dublin. The following reflection comes up to his mind when he approaches the sea and starts to stare at the Martello tower: “Take all, keep all. My soul walks with me, form of forms. So, in the moon midwatches I pace the path above the rocks, in sable silvered, hearing Elsinore’s tempting flood” (37). In *Hamlet*, ‘Sable silvered’ refers to the description given by Horace to Hamlet regarding the beard’s hue of the appearance he had seen in the early scenes of the play: “It was as I have seen it in his life, a sable silvered” (I.II.240-2) after Hamlet asked about this - “His beard was grizzled, no?” (I.II.238).

Houaiss translated this whole passage this way: “Assim aos meios-quartos da lua palmilho o trilho acima das rochas, em areia prateada, ouvindo a maré aliciante de Elsinore (1967: 50)”. He chooses “areia prateada” just like Bernardina: “Assim sob as meias-vigílias da lua eu ando a passos largos pelo caminho acima das rochas, de areia prateada, ouvindo a torrente tentadora de Elsinore (2007: 66)”. Otherwise, Galindo decided for “sable argentado”: Assim nos turnos da lua transponho a trilha sobre as pedras, em sable argentado, ouvindo a maré tentadora de Elsinore (2012: 151).

Houaiss’s and Bernardina’s choice connects with Stephen’s scenery in this episode, as he is walking through the sands: “areia prateada” is a literal translation of “silver sand”. This reference, however, may also imply that he considers himself a ghost wandering in a lonely pace, watching in the distance a tower inhabited by people that he despises – if we assume that he refers to the Shakespearean play. Galindo’s option keeps the ambiguity, as ‘sable’ – a “sable argentando”

would be a literal translation of “argented sable” - may refer to a kind of sand, which relates to Joyce’s scenery, and is also a tone of black, which in its turn regards to Horace’s description.

The “Elsinore’s tempting flood” mentioned by Stephen recalls the moment of the first act of the play in which Hamlet follows the ghost’s calling. Horace alarms him: “What if tempt you toward the flood my lord” (I.II.69). This passage was translated into “a maré aliciante de Elsinore” by Houaiss (50); “a torrente tentadora de Elsinore” (51) by Bernardina; and “a maré tentadora de Elsinore” by Galindo (151). Houaiss and Galindo softened the expression by using the word ‘maré’, which is literally “tide” in Portuguese and Bernardina drew attention to a certain power of the sea as the word “torrente” – the equivalent to ‘torrent’ in Portuguese - conveys the sense of violence and abundance, as if the flood could have the power of pulling. We can point a noteworthy distinction here: Stephen says that the flood is ‘tempting’, but Horace meant that the ghost could tempt Hamlet towards the flood, and not the flood itself. Not only Joyce brings up Shakespeare but also transforms the meanings of the play in his novel.

Hamlet plays a major relevance in the novel because it helps us to understand the state of mind of Stephen in different moments of the novel through the connection of Elsinore – the scenery of the play – with his feeling of usurpation from his own residence. Understanding Joyce then implies understanding the Shakespearean intertext that lies behind it. As we could see, the translators took different decisions in their approach to Shakespearean presence and thus produced different ways of viewing the English poet in their versions. Sometimes it connects to Shakespeare, sometimes it keeps some distance to the play, hiding the Shakespearean presence in the target text. This approach will be applied to the episodes that follow in order to find out how the hamletian theme arises in Joyce’s text in his translations – considering that studying Joyce’s translation in other culture which is built on another historical memory means to reveal new ways of interpreting his text.

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Catalina¹

Gabriela McEvoy²

Todos han partido de la casa, en realidad, pero todos se han quedado en verdad.

Y no en el recuerdo de ellos lo que queda, sino ellos mismos.

Y no es tampoco que ellos queden en la casa, sino que continúan por la casa.

No vive nadie ya en la casa

César Vallejo

A Catalina Dowling le gustaba desde niña la música, el teatro y la lectura. Su padre había sido su gran maestro. Le apasionaban las lecturas en las tertulias y veladas que se hacían en su casa. Otras veces, mientras tocaba las teclas blancas y negras de su piano con gran alboroto y entusiasmo, sus hermanos y hermanas hacían escenificaciones teatrales para la familia y los amigos. Durante el mes de diciembre, su piano producía dulces y agradables villancicos navideños que eran el deleite de cuanta persona visitaba la casa de los Dowling. Mientras cultivaba y desarrollaba su intelecto, Catalina se iba perfeccionando en las labores domésticas propias de la mujer de su época, de esta manera, combinaba sus lecturas y el gusto por la música con sus labores de tejido y bordado.

Cuando creció, su padre, Patrick Dowling, creyó conveniente enviarla a París para que se beneficiara de la educación francesa y cuando regresara al Perú, pudiera aportar sus conocimientos al país que la había visto nacer y crecer. Estando en París continuó con sus lecturas y se ensimismaba leyendo las novelas de Shakespeare, Cervantes, Víctor Hugo y Tolstoy y las alternaba con las lecturas de grandes filósofos franceses como Voltaire, Diderot y Rousseau. A su

¹ In *Palimpsesto. Relatos cortos de irlandeses en el Perú*. Madrid: Editorial Pliegos, 2020

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regreso de la *Ciudad Luz* y con sus estudios culminados, sus gustos se refinaron aún más. Según su padre, Catalina dominaba más el francés que su propia lengua castellana. Su aspecto sofisticado resaltaba su belleza y elegancia, características que la hacían ser el centro de atención en reuniones sociales. A pesar de ser consciente de su belleza, Catalina sabía que ésta se desgastaba con el tiempo y lo único que perduraría sería la belleza de las ideas. El conocimiento que había adquirido le permitía participar en conversaciones de temas tan variados como la política, la historia y la literatura. Catalina había alcanzado la estrella del éxito.

A su regreso de París, en diciembre de 1857, la vida parecía sonreírle. Aquel mes fue uno de los más felices que recordaría. Después de tiempo se produjo el encuentro familiar. Mientras que ella regresaba de París y estaba lista para emprender la carrera de educadora en el sur del Perú, su hermano Patricio regresaba de Valparaíso y su hermana Margarita venía procedente de Bolivia. Los Dowling se volverían a reunir con Phebe Ann, la hermana mayor, casada con Manuel Segundo Vargas, teniente coronel y segundo comandante de Caballería del Ejército de Vivanco, con quien tenía tres pequeños hijos: Benjamina Sofía de cuatro años, Manuel Francisco de tres años y María de siete semanas. El único gran ausente de los grandes momentos familiares sería el hermano menor, James Edward, quien no había regresado de los Estados Unidos desde que partió a la edad de siete años.

La felicidad no duró mucho tiempo. Meses después de su regreso al Perú, Catalina y su familia se enfrentaron ante la epidemia de la fiebre amarilla, la cual acabó con la vida de Phebe Ann. La debilidad post partum la postró en cama y al poco tiempo empezó a mostrar signos de esa fatal enfermedad. Poco fue lo que se pudo hacer y tras unos días de enfermedad, Phebe Ann murió el 26 de abril de 1868 dejando a un viudo desconsolado junto con sus tres pequeños huérfanos. La pena se apoderó de la casa de los Dowling. Se sumergieron en el duelo y en el dolor y pasaron días y noches llorando desconsoladamente por la pérdida de Phebe Ann, quien, para ellos, era un ángel caído del cielo.

Pasado un año, la casa de los Dowling empezó a mostrar vida interna nuevamente. La casa se abrió totalmente renovada y se llenó de alegría. Así, se empezó a superar la muerte de Phebe Ann y se dejó el luto cerrado que se había mantenido en dicha casa. Las mujeres dejaron de usar ropa negra. Se quitaron también los listones negros y se abrieron las ventanas y los balcones dejando ingresar la calidez de los rayos del sol de principios de otoño. Se empezaron a escuchar nuevamente los acordes del piano. Se instauraron las tertulias y veladas siendo Catalina la principal motivadora de las conversaciones.

Entonces, se pensó que Catalina iniciaría su labor de maestra. Todos reconocían la mente brillante de esa muchacha que había sido condecorada por el mismísimo Napoleón III durante su permanencia en Francia, pero, para ese momento, Catalina ya había tomado una decisión que dejó a muchos sorprendidos. Renunciaba a su carrera profesional, renunciaba al matrimonio y renunciaba a tener su propia familia. No recibió propuesta de matrimonio de su cuñado Manuel Segundo Vargas y tampoco la habría aceptado. No le importaba ser vista como una solterona. En cambio, se dedicaría por completo a la crianza y educación de sus tres pequeños sobrinos. Así, aprendió a vivir la vida en función a las necesidades de los niños. Había nacido en Catalina un anhelo desbordante de criar a sus sobrinos.

La sociedad peruana perdió la oportunidad de tener una brillante maestra, pero en cambio, los tres pequeños Vargas Dowling ganaron una madre abnegada, noble e inteligente que los encaminó por el mundo de las humanidades y les enseñó a apreciar el valor de la educación.