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# Irish Migration Studies in Latin America



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Isabel McNally (*seated, right*) and other pupils with their schoolmistress in San Pedro, ca. 1900  
(*Centro Argentino Irlandés de San Pedro*)

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## Irish Schools and Education in Latin America

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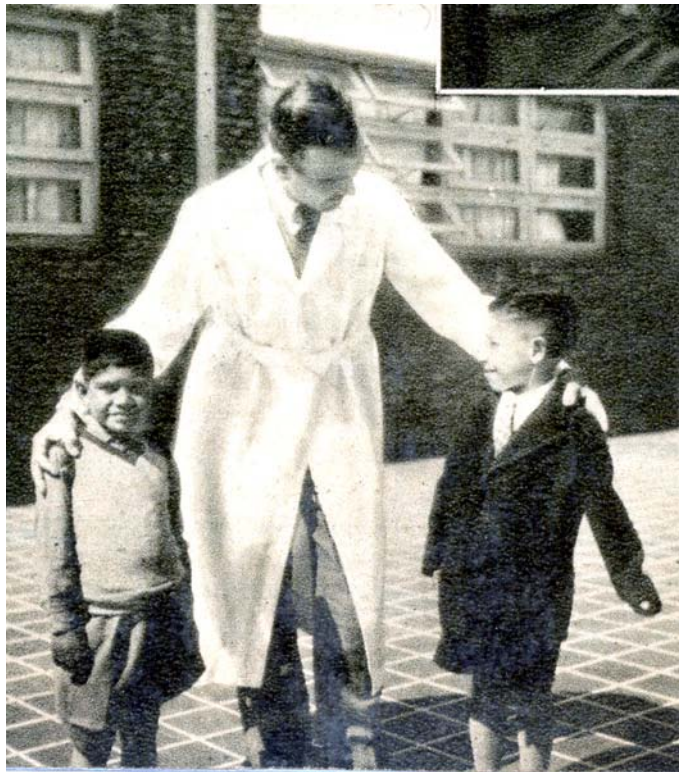
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## **Ireland, Latin America and Education: An Introduction**

By María José Roger  
Guest Editor



Juancito Young, schoolmaster of Colegio de Artesanos,  
La Chacra, San Pedro, 1953  
(*Centro Argentino Irlandés de San Pedro*)

That the ancient Irish scholars were ardent seekers and bearers of knowledge is a well-known phenomenon. That modern Ireland boasts a unique and interesting culture is another. However, the impact of this scholarly tradition and unique culture, or rather the imprint left by the Irish immigrants and their descendants, on Latin American culture remains relatively unknown. For decades, those Irishmen who fought in this troubled region with the sword were prone to greater fame than the men and women who struggled to develop the faculties of children and young people through teaching and schooling.

In this special issue of *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, different contributors deal with the link between Latin America and various aspects of Irish schools and education. They propose a fascinating journey that takes us not only to the Argentinean Pampas, but also to Peru and back to Ireland itself. The means through which Irish culture and values were

transmitted were varied: schools, university courses and books. Irishmen and women were also enriched by their contact with the Latin American peoples.

Carla Battezzati analyses the evolution of two traditional Irish-Argentine schools to prove that education, as understood by religious and lay Irish, goes beyond teaching (and learning) knowledge and skills, it also encompasses moral development. Learning English as a first (and later second) language was (and is) of great importance, but a sound formation in values is also essential. This message has been understood by those parents who have sent their children to Saint Ciarán's or Saint Bridget's for the last 80 to 100 years.

The Sisters of Mercy, responsible for running Saint Bridget's, were not the only religious order that stamped their mark in Argentina. The Passionists, who included many Irish and Irish-Argentine Sisters, accepted the challenge of

establishing the Michael Ham Memorial School in 1926. Damasia Becu, a former pupil, draws our attention to the fact that a large number of alumni were in turn, heads and founders of schools throughout Argentina.

Desmond Kelleher takes us away from the Río de la Plata and secondary schools, placing us in the midst of rural Peru. His sensitive personal account of a national art contest organised by NGOs speaks volumes of the *campesinos'* ability to take their indigenous and their European heritage, and create a new cultural manifestation. This experience had a strong impact on the author - a former Irish missionary - and will have a similar effect on our readers.

Edmundo Murray's interview of Hilda Sabato, a well-known professor of history at the University of Buenos Aires, provides us with insight into current educational issues. The historian, who revived the study of Irish immigration in Argentina, also explains that the many stories about her father's Irish side of the family, along with her parents' intellectual commitment, paved the way for her own career.

David Barnwell, drawing from his experience at the Spanish Department of NUI Maynooth in Ireland and various sources, proves that cultural exchange is mutual. Thousands of Irish students choose to take Spanish as a second language at school and many others do the same at university or in language institutes. Although the focus is placed on Spain and its culture, rather than Latin America, the region is increasingly represented in different courses. However, we are left with the impression that both Irish and Latin American institutions and individuals would do well to foster new ties. Another university professor, Laura Izarra, has inspired the work of a team of scholars working at the University of La Pampa. Eliggi, Adamoli and Basabe describe the early stages of their programme, which seeks to recover, translate and analyse Irish literary sources. They prove that it is not necessary to have Irish roots to appreciate the richness of Irish culture.

Clearly, the educational traditions of the 'Island of Saints and Scholars' have left deep impressions in distant Latin America, and they are still growing strong.

María José Roger

## Education in Values The Experience of Two Irish-Argentine Schools

By Carla Battezzati

*Throughout the years, Irish-Argentine communities have developed important activities that contributed to the growth of the country that adopted the Irish immigrants in the nineteenth century. In addition, these communities have always struggled to improve the quality of life of their members and to provide a good future for their descendants. For this reason, it is worthwhile to emphasise their active role in education. This article deals with the subject of education in values in Irish-Argentine schools.*

*The aim is to show the way in which Irish educators, from the beginning to the present time, not only strove to give to their community a formal education, but also understood that this had to be based on values that would allow the students to be developed as whole human beings.*

*After dealing with the meaning and significance of values, the author briefly describes the development of Irish-Argentine communities, and chooses two Irish-Argentine schools that will serve as representative examples. These are Saint Bridget's (Colegio Santa Brígida) and Saint Ciarán's (Colegio San Cirano), both located in the city of Buenos Aires, where they continue to flourish after many decades. Their educational projects will exemplify their constant dedication to education in values.*

### **Introduction**

This article will analyse the values inherent in Irish schools in Argentina. After establishing that values are the central pillars of a complete education, we will take a look at the Irish-Argentine community and the educational vision of religious and lay Irishmen who founded schools in Argentina. This will allow us to appreciate the magnitude of the educational work that Irish-Argentines have developed over more than one hundred years. We will refer to two emblematic schools located in the city of Buenos Aires: the traditional Saint Bridget's School founded by the Sisters of Mercy, and the prestigious Saint Ciarán's School founded by Seán Healy, a lay Irishman.

### **Values**

At first glance, values might be considered as 'all that is worthy' (Komar 1996: 150), (1) but it is necessary to go deeper to discover the true meaning of the term and the connection between values, the world and its people. Values can be considered aspects and relations of reality that appeal to us because they satisfy some necessity or because they stimulate us to achieve perfection.

The idea of a link between values and education was strengthened by the publication of Max

Scheler's *Formalism in Ethics and Non-Formal Ethics of Values*. Nowadays, without that conjunction, it is impossible to speak about education. Values are very necessary to sustain - at an institutional and personal level - cultural and educational projects, as they help to design detailed programmes that seek to educate a person, not only in a professional capacity, but in a fundamentally human aspect. The educator is the artist who helps mould those who are educated; his or her final goal is to help students grow and become active members of society.

Taking this into account, the purpose of a worthy educational project is to help the person to develop as a complete human being, developing in the culture and the society to which he or she belongs: 'We have here two natural dynamisms: one that, being imperfect, small, immature, wants to grow and become an adult, and one that, possessing certain perfection, helps us to grow' (Komar 1996: 159). (2)

### **The Irish Community in Argentina**

The Irish-Argentine community is made up of the Irish immigrants and their descendants who settled in Argentina during the nineteenth century. Although many settled in the city of Buenos Aires, Irish immigrants were important colonisers of the rural areas in many Argentine

provinces, mainly Buenos Aires. It was a spontaneous colonisation in which they populated the land, and tended sheep and other cattle. Thus, the growing number of cattle ranches in the province of Buenos Aires soon expanded towards Santa Fe, Entre Ríos and Córdoba.

Once settled in Argentina, many Irish immigrants tried to stay close to their fellow countrymen. They invited priests and nuns who founded social institutions, schools for the education of their children, and hospitals for the attention of their sick, old and destitute. Many of these institutions still exist today.

Anthony Fahy, a Dominican priest, was responsible for some of the key contributions. From his arrival, in 1844, he persistently urged Irish people, then residing in the city, to move out to the rural areas, where paid jobs were easily obtained. Fahy gave extraordinary backing to sheep-farming with his sensible advice. As a result, during his lifetime and for a long time afterwards, some of his countrymen were among the most extensive and prosperous sheep-farmers in the country (Ussher 1954).

Despite his numerous responsibilities, Fahy never failed to show his concern for the material and spiritual needs of his fellow Irishmen. When the situation in Ireland deteriorated, the number of immigrants also rose. Some immigrants arrived in Argentina suffering from illnesses. For their recovery, Fahy rented and prepared a house on Cangallo Street in the city of Buenos Aires. It was inaugurated in 1848 and was known as the 'Irish Immigrant Infirmary'. At first it was intended as a shelter and a nursing home, but it gradually became a permanent hospital for all those who needed medical treatment.

Fahy's work also included education. He promoted the foundation of educational institutions and was the creator of the first school for girls of the Irish community, 'the Irish College', with five classrooms and accommodation for twenty pupils. There was also a school for poor girls. In 1856, the Sisters of Mercy, summoned by Fahy, arrived in Argentina. After arduous legal proceedings, they settled in the country.

The Sisters of Mercy, an Irish congregation founded in Dublin by Catherine McAuley in 1831, added to the traditional vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, a fourth one of service, to take care of the poor, the ignorant and the sick. These Sisters combined their efforts with Fahy's. They afforded significant help during the epidemics that struck Buenos Aires during the second half of the nineteenth century (Fahy died in 1871, during an outbreak of yellow fever) and carried out spectacular educational works.

### **Concerns about the Education of Irish-Argentine children**

One of the major concerns of many Irish immigrants was the education of their children. As we explained above, many of them settled in rural areas. This factor made it difficult for their children to receive a formal education, partly because rural schools were scarce and far apart, and also because parents often needed the assistance of their children in the rural tasks. There was also a cultural prejudice: they feared young people would lose their origin language and their culture if they attended common schools and mixed with the 'natives' (Roger 2003).

Therefore many families decided to educate their children with itinerant school masters. According to authors like Thomas Murray (1919), these were men with little or no education, some of them deserters from English or American ships, others globetrotters that did not remain too long in the same place. They were hired by the families to teach their children within the home. These teachers taught reading, writing and basic arithmetic. They received the pay of a rural labourer. Although they settled with the family, the majority of them remained only for a short time.

Religious formation was a problem because these teachers were mainly Protestant or agnostic, while the majority of the Irish families were Catholic. Although the parents had received a religious education, they had little time to teach their children about their faith. Soon the Irish communities understood that something had to be done if they wanted their children to receive a suitable Catholic education

founded on the values and traditions that many cherished as a key aspect of their identity.

Fahy opened a school for Irish girls on Riobamba Street in the city of Buenos Aires in 1857. This school was administered by the Sisters of Mercy. In 1865 this congregation established Saint Peter and Paul's School in Chascomús in the province of Buenos Aires. This second school was closed in 1872 due to an epidemic and the exodus of the Irish to other areas. Shortly afterwards, they opened Saint Joseph's School in the same province.

In 1880 the Sisters of Mercy left the country due to the closure of the Irish Hospital six years previously and the advent of anticlericalism to the political sphere. The Sisters of the Sacred Heart took control of the school and the convent. More schools were created and in 1883 the Irish Catholic Association was founded to administer the school on Riobamba Street.

### **Saint Bridget's School**

The Sisters of Mercy returned to Argentina in 1890. By that time the building was inadequate. Therefore the Irish Catholic Association sold it to another religious congregation who established there the La Salle School. The construction of a new building for the school was undertaken in the district of Flores, on the outskirts of the city. In 1899 the opening of Saint Bridget's School, an imposing building in the Neo-Gothic style, was blessed by the Archbishop of Buenos Aires, Monsignor Castellanos, in the presence of ninety students and hundreds of members of the Irish communities.

Initially the school was directed by the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart, but in 1902 the school was given to the care of the Sisters of Mercy, who remained there until 1979. This institution could house two hundred and fifty boarders, daughters of Irish families, who, in many cases, had limited resources.

When the students finished their primary studies, they could carry on learning English, typewriting and shorthand. This allowed them to become executive secretaries and to find jobs in important multinational companies. In 1948 the organisation of the secondary school began, and

it was recognised by the Argentinean government in 1957. We are able to learn about the pupils' experiences at school thanks to the collection of testimonies compiled by Patsy Farrell, former student and present professor of the Institution, in her book *Nuestros años en Santa Brígida. 100 años de anécdotas y recuerdos* (Our Years at Saint Bridget's: 100 Years of Anecdotes and Memories).

Students woke up between 6:00 and 6:30am, went to mass (when it was mandatory to do so), they had breakfast, cleaned the school according to 'charges' ordered by the Director and had Spanish lessons until noon. They had two breaks. During one of them they ate fresh bread, and those that had money could buy chocolates. The second break was after lunch. After lunch, they took sewing or embroidery classes and then English until teatime at 3:30pm. After another break they had time to study, and then they prayed and had dinner. The girls had to be in bed by 8pm (with time, this was changed to 10pm). Visitors were received during the weekend if the students demonstrated good behaviour, and during the week if their relatives came from rural areas. Sometimes, the Sisters allowed the girls to use the radio and dance. Most of the outings were related to religious events.

The study of the English language was organised on the basis of the programmes of the Asociación Argentina de Cultura Inglesa (Argentine Association of English Culture). The students sat their final exams at the end of their third year of studies. Reading all these testimonies about the daily life of the students and all their beautiful memories it is possible to understand the love and respect that the students and former students felt for the school, the Sisters and their classmates. Patsy Farrell recalls:

*I will always feel grateful, first to my parents who sent me to Saint Bridget's School as a boarder (...). I want to thank my dear Sisters of Mercy who formed us, not only intellectually, but who taught us to be good people. They have been our mothers and aunts. Thank you! Thank you very much! You are the living testimony of Christ, an example to follow. I will continue fighting for the unity of all the former students, to keep us together, because while we are*

*together, you and your lessons will be alive. You are and will be the fundamental pillar of our dear Saint Bridget's School (Farrell 1999: 64). (3)*

As of 1979 and until 1999 the Congregation of Saint Martha was established at the school and took care of the spiritual needs of its educational community. The direction of the school was then transferred to a highly qualified team of lay educators. At present Saint Bridget's is a Catholic, bilingual school, co-educational since 1989. And just as on the first day, it promotes a solid education, nestled in Christian values. Those who run the school have always had the vision that education is meant to aid students to find their purpose in life, to better understand themselves and to adapt to a changing world. This institution considers that, in order to develop human potential in the intellectual, social, moral, affective and spiritual spheres, education has to be sustained in the values that reflect the evangelical message.

On Saint Bridget's website we read:

*Our school instructs children and young people in the fundamental truths of the Doctrine of the Church. The languages are conceived as a tool of communication with other linguistic communities and a key to understanding other cultures. (...) We consider that an international education and formation based on our national identity complement each other. (4)*

Thanks to those values it is possible to say that Saint Bridget's is an institution committed to the aims of the Irish Catholic Association. On the school's website we further read:

*We set out to train young Christian people to become managers of the culture of peace, justice and honesty, within a framework of academic excellence and promotion of each human being. We rely on God's help, more than a century of educational experience, the qualifications and human qualities of all the actors who form this educational community. (5)*

We can state that the purpose of this school has always been to obtain a solid and complete education of the individual, based on Christian values. This has allowed them to search for peace, understanding and respect between all peoples. Their desire, as educators, has been for

the students to develop self-discipline and responsibility that allow them to develop intellectual autonomy, solidarity and cooperative work.

On the basis of what is mentioned above, another pillar of fundamental importance in its present educational project is the promotion and maintenance of the Irish traditions through the use of English as a second language and the teaching of the history, culture and traditions of Ireland using different tools, for example: traditional poems, songs, typical dances, dramatisations, videos and multimedia presentations.

### **Saint Ciarán's School**

Saint Ciarán's was founded in 1933 by Seán Healy (1896-1982) and his wife Winifred Kelly (1900-1990), both born in Ireland. Seán Healy was a pharmacist and a teacher of the Irish language. He migrated to Brazil and after becoming ill with malaria, he moved to Buenos Aires, in search of a more benign climate. Once settled, he worked at the Buenos Aires English High School and soon he was Director of Saint Lucy's. After that experience he decided to create an environment in which he could educate his pupils with humanist ideals (Roger 2003).

The founders named the school in honour of the Irish saint, founder of Ireland's most important monastery and forerunner of the universities that were created there some centuries later. The slogan of the school, *veritas praevalerebit* (the truth will prevail) summarises the philosophy of the school. The school was initially located a few blocks away from Saint Bridget's and in 1935 it was moved to its present building located in Rivadavia Avenue in the district of Caballito, in the city of Buenos Aires.

Saint Ciarán's was originally a school for boys (boarders, day pupils and half-boarders). As time went by, the school opened its doors to girls, who at the beginning did not share lessons with the boys. For the first few decades, English lessons were in the charge of Irish teachers, but gradually they were replaced by Argentine teachers. Although it was a bilingual school, and Spanish was not the children's first language,

Healy doubled the number of subjects and added new ones, such as singing and drawing lessons and gym, because he thought that they could help develop the students' discipline, perception and concentration. Other new features were the Kindergarten, the sports field and the buses that serviced the families within the city of Buenos Aires. The founders retired in 1960, after handing over the administration of the school to their children.

Through the years, the institution fortified its humanist profile. In the intellectual scope, Saint Ciarán's has always worked with the aim of developing all of the students' capacities, giving them a very solid base in languages and human values. Concerning spiritual, moral and social aspects, the educational project seeks to help the students realise their potential and use their talents to help others. They strive to develop the students' virtues and turn them into responsible citizens. They promote respect towards their elders and loyalty towards their equals, as a fundamental necessity for coexistence.

It is necessary to emphasise that, although it is a lay school, it includes a chapel and Religious Studies is an optional subject that, according to their website, provides 'a space for formation and growth in the faith, the aim of which is to promote a personal encounter with Christ'. (6) The students also have the option of being prepared to receive the sacraments. There are liturgical celebrations and catechists offer spiritual support. At present, Saint Ciarán's has an honourable reputation within Argentine education and like Saint Bridget's, has opened its

doors to those who want to be part of their project, regardless of their ethnic origins.

### **Conclusions**

We can see that bilingualism allowed these Irish-Argentine schools to provide their students with an enhanced formal education. This feature allowed Irish-Argentines to integrate into the country where they had been born, while keeping their ancestors' language and ways. The key role given to the Catholic religion was another remarkable factor, evident even in the case of the schools founded by lay Irishmen, such as Saint Ciarán's School.

For Irish educators, education in values has always been closely bound up with religious education. Seán Healy considered that through education one has to obtain much more than academic abilities. He affirmed that the good teacher is one who helps the student to develop his character, instils moral values, and virtues like truth, loyalty and honesty, which are the basis for a successful life. To disregard this could be disastrous for young people.

For the Irish educators who developed such an extraordinary task, education without values was impossible. These came hand-in-hand with their religious beliefs and their traditions, which survive up until the present time. Since the very beginning, they knew that the goal of education is to foster values in the individual and in society, because only through values is human realisation really possible.

Carla Battezzati

### **Notes**

- (1) Todo aquello que vale.
- (2) Aquí se encuentran dos dinamismos naturales: de quien siendo imperfecto, pequeño, inmaduro quiere crecer y hacerse adulto, y de quien poseyendo cierta perfección, lo ayuda a crecer.
- (3) Siempre estaré agradecida, primero a mis padres por haberme enviado al Santa Brígida y pupila (...) después quiero agradecer a mis queridas Sisters of Mercy (...) por habernos enseñado no sólo lo intelectual sino a ser buenas personas. (...) Han sido nuestras madres y tías. ¡Gracias! ¡Muchas gracias! Son el testimonio vivo de Cristo para imitar. Seguiré luchando para que todas las ex alumnas estemos unidas y juntas porque mientras estemos juntas, ustedes y sus enseñanzas estarán vivas. Son y serán el pilar fundamental de nuestro querido Santa Brígida.
- (4) Nuestro colegio forma niños y jóvenes en las verdades fundamentales de la doctrina de la Iglesia. Los idiomas son concebidos tanto como herramienta de comunicación con otras comunidades

lingüísticas y como llave para comprender otras culturas. (...) Consideramos que la educación internacional complementa la formación en las raíces del ser nacional.

(5) Nos proponemos formar jóvenes cristianos gestores de la cultura de paz, justicia y honestidad, dentro de un marco de excelencia académica y promoción integral de la persona humana. Contamos con la ayuda de Dios, con la trayectoria de más de un siglo en educación, con el perfeccionamiento y calidad humana de todos los actores que integran esta comunidad educativa.

(6) Un espacio de formación y de maduración en la fe, cuyo fin es generar en el alumno un encuentro personal con Cristo.

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## **Passionist Nuns at Michael Ham: their legacy to Argentine education**

By Damasia Becu-Villalobos

When the Passionist sisters arrived in Argentina and founded Michael Ham Memorial School in 1926, little did they imagine the strong impact they would have on education in the country. They were not more than a dozen Catholic, spirited women with a strong conviction that their mission was to expand the faith and teach, with only the Bible and their own Saxon education as tools.

They lived and transmitted the Passionist motto: 'Devotion to the Passion, Death and Resurrection of Christ', and they also dedicated themselves wholeheartedly and with joy and passion to teaching. 'It was the Irish sisters who gave the school its informal, progressive and joyous spirit' (*Old Girls Bulletin*, 1979: 20). Mysteriously, the spirit of the Sisters silently grew among the students. And so, a school with no pedagogical subjects, where neither Teaching Skills, Accountancy, nor Psychology were taught, would, in time, become an incubator for hundreds of former pupils dedicated to teaching and education.

### **How and why did this happen?**

*Bloom where you are planted*

Even though the Passionist motto is not especially devoted to education, the sisters taught with body and soul. (1) They undertook their mission with seriousness and their own innovative originality. They taught History, Literature, Scripture, Politics (I especially remember the book 'Our Democracy' which Sister Cyprian used, it was really 'their democracy', while we had little democracy!), Cooking, and so on. They also organised operettas, encouraged sports and dancing, and believed that learning was fun. They taught us to be original, to build our own ideas, to look for answers not written in books, to look beyond ourselves, and to look at the person right next to us. They planted in us a spirit of searching, of questioning, a spirit of how to improve the world.

It came to be with time, that in some cases this spirit mingled with the famous proverb 'necessity is the mother of invention'. Many former pupils felt needs (their own, and those of society) and instinctively gave an answer: to get involved in education.

In the case of former pupils who had to emigrate to the provinces to follow their husbands, they found that there were no appropriate schools to educate their children. They wanted religious, bilingual schools, and they longed for a cultural education similar to the one they had received themselves. That was the origin of San Pablo Apóstol, in San Martín de los Andes (province of Neuquén), Santa María in Salta (province of Salta), Holy Trinity College in Mar del Plata (province of Buenos Aires), and San Antonio in Concordia (province of Entre Ríos). In some way the story repeated itself; in the early twentieth century most of the Irish immigrants who arrived in Argentina were well educated and wanted a religious, bilingual education for their children (Roger, 2003:1). At that time, the majority of the Irish-Argentine schools were linked to religious orders. In the late twentieth century many religious orders were dwindling in vocations, or had even disappeared. But their spirit had somehow flourished in their pupils. And so, Argentine women who had been educated by Irish and English nuns decided to found schools where they were 'planted'.

In other instances the need was related to the expression of a teaching vocation, or an economic need. When Michael Ham was originally founded, the girls 'were taught to sew and embroider, French, manners, piano and singing; in some cases, they also performed Irish dances' (Roger, 2003:1), while at other community schools, boys were better educated for jobs. That is why many girls were not always expected to follow university careers as they are today. If they wanted to work, or needed to work, they definitely knew how to teach, and how to organise. That is the origin of many of

the other schools founded by former 'Michael Hammers'.

Starting in the 1950s, former pupils founded schools and English Institutes all over Argentina, and especially in Buenos Aires; all these schools are emblazoned with the house colours 'red, blue and yellow'. After exhaustive research I have found that old Michael Hammers have participated in the foundation of 17 schools, from Salta Province to Neuquén. Most of these schools are more than twenty years old, and have already seen many classes graduate from their academic halls.

Old Girls have participated in the creation and organisation of three non-profit Educational Programmes, eight English Institutes and four Kindergartens (see inset 1). More than 50 former pupils have been, or still are, headmistresses in different schools (see inset 2). But if we dig further into society their presence in education goes well beyond this. Thousands of former pupils have taught at some stage of their lives (generally English). To give just one example, in my group of former pupils 70% have taught or are still teaching. As Victoria Zorraquín (a double founder) said 'The opportunity we as Michael Ham pupils had was unique, we were at the Mecca for any educator'. (2)

With regard to new schools (see inset 1) these Old Girls spread the spirit and spirituality of our school. They filled empty spaces with effort, and the heritage, sometimes unconsciously acquired, of what we had learnt at school, from our Irish (and a few English) sisters. María Moreno told me 'Our school was named Holy Cross for our Passionist Sisters, with the following motto in the badge "By thy cross You redeemed the world"'. Visiting the web pages of these schools we will also discover that social work is a central and distinctive aspect in the school's mission statements.

It is marvellous to see the three colours strewn all over the country as many schools, like Holy Trinity, San Pablo Apóstol, and Saint Mary of the Hills, chose those house colours. Other founders, like Tolo Zorraquín, decided to leave the 'Blues' out (in her time blues always won the

cups, and she was yellow), so she has reds and yellows, and Ana Fitte in agreement with the staff decided on reds, blues and greens (even though she was also yellow). I have been to some sports and seen pupils march to the very same tunes we did (Bridge Over the River Kwai).

It was also very moving to read the numerous accounts of the school founders, which I could sum up as 'In many ways we are a "mini" Michael with the changes of our times'. (3) And I dare to add, not so mini, as most of these schools have over 600 pupils nowadays.

The importance of the work of the Passionist nuns, the far-reaching and multiplying effect of their simple but well-prepared classes (with no computers or Powerpoint presentations, no self-improvement courses, no gas heating, but open to creativity, novelty and mind development) is undoubtedly their great legacy to our country. Today they are dedicated mostly to charity work, in accordance with their mission. (4) But the unthought-of creative objective of their work arises like an unexpected gift, alive, prolific and in constant growth. (5) Sister Gerardus used to say 'The eye of God is upon us!' and Susana Soler adds 'and the Spirit of the School is inside us'. And it has undoubtedly bloomed.

As a conclusion, I quote Sister Patricia Carney's words: (6) 'I became convinced that educating in Michael Ham was a very important apostolate: we were multiplying the number of people who could go out and reach people we could never reach. That's what all these past pupils are doing - literally going out to the frontiers and giving an excellent education to children who would not get one, or at least not as good a one. You are our hands carrying on our mission in the places we can't get to, sharing the education you have received.'

Damasia Becu-Villalobos

## **Notes**

- (1) Elizabeth Prout, Mother Mary Joseph, the founder of the Passionist nuns, started her apostolic activity in Manchester, teaching girls of the working class, in hostels and schools. Her idea was that access to education would be the key for their progress in life.
- (2) Personal correspondence.
- (3) Magdalena Ortiz, personal mail.
- (4) Hermanas Pasionistas, website (<http://www.hermanaspasionistas.org.ar/historia1/07.htm>). 'In that process the nuns have deposited in lay people the work of the school, always helping in the fundamentals: the living and deepening of the Mission of the Order. In this way the School will not lose the "stamp" left by the nuns in 73 years of active presence in the classrooms.'
- (5) Becu, D., *La comunidad pasionista*, website (<http://www.irlandeses.org/education.htm>)
- (6) Michael Ham Memorial College - 75th Anniversary (Buenos Aires, 2001), p. 21.
- (7) 'They mingled with us [...], spoke our language, celebrated our triumphs, cried with us [...] while we were captivated and transformed by them. Our deep and joyous religiosity is their gift. Our love for parties, the organisation of events, the songs ... our love of freedom, of truth, were sown by them. Happy mixture of cultures! They took our spontaneity, our sensitivity, and they left us all their joy, spirituality and discipline!'

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Instituto Steps: Gladys Kenny, 1961.  
Instituto Bradford, San Isidro: Beatriz Bradford.  
Instituto Choices, San Isidro: Cecilia Feeney. 1989.  
Instituto William Blake, Buenos Aires: Clemencia Baraldi,  
Shamrock Field School, Florida: Christine Cormack.  
Instituto Parroquial Santa Teresa del Niño Jesús, Martínez: Margarín Moreno.  
Holy Mary English School, Tandil: Victoria Zorraquín, 1991.

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The Clover, San Isidro: Marta Lannardone.  
Mother Goose, San Isidro: Eloisa Zavalía.  
Boomerang, Ciudad de Buenos Aires: Laura Campomar.  
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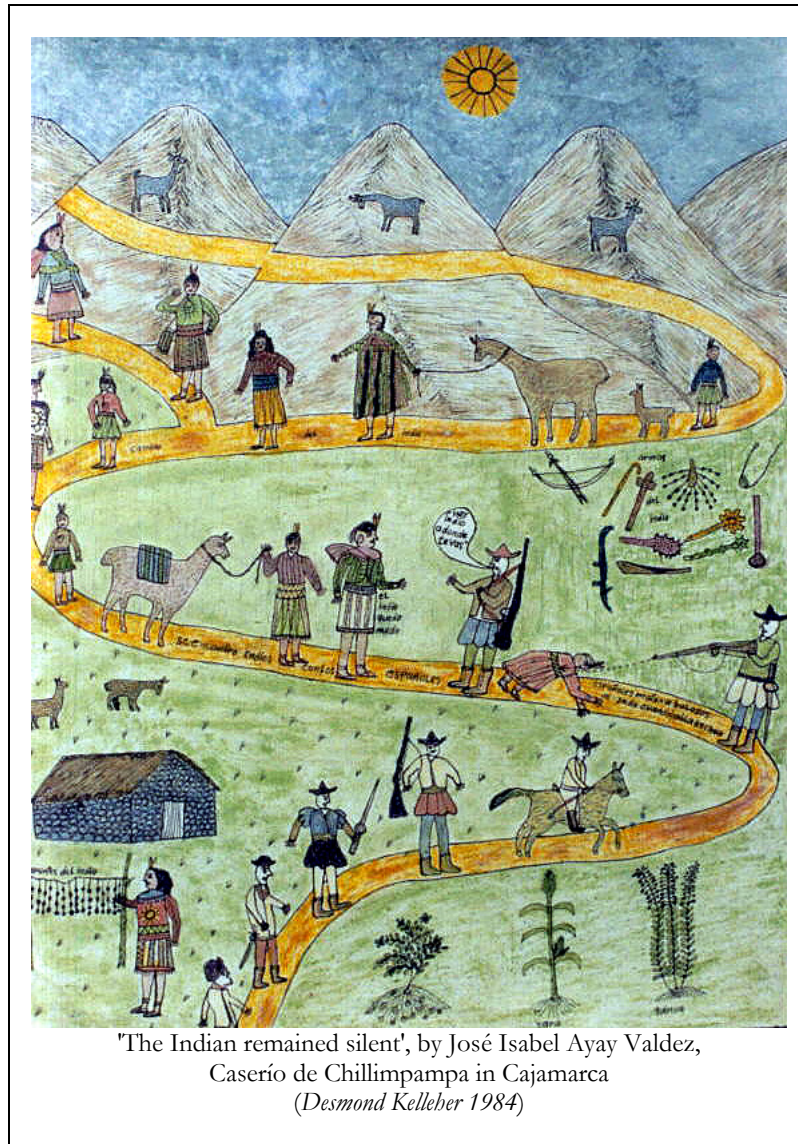
Ana Helguera.CP- Michael Ham.  
Gemma Harrington CP - Michael Ham.  
Caroline Carlisle - Michael Ham.  
Denise Norris - Michael Ham.  
Alicia Martignoni - Michael Ham.  
Mónica Cañellas - Michael Ham.  
Cristina Glavina - Holy Cross.  
Anne Elliot - Holy Cross.  
Irene Brito - Florida Day School.  
Carlota Romero -Instituto Labarden.  
Peggy Ortiz Machado - St. John's School.  
Magdalena Ortiz - Colegio Río de la Plata.  
Elena Ortiz - Colegio Río de la Plata.  
María Fernanda Ortiz - Colegio Río de la Plata.  
Lucrecia Prat Gay - Colegio Río de la Plata.  
Patricia Brunckhorst - Profesorado de Inglés - St Catherine's School.  
Susana Walsh - Depto. de Inglés de la UCA.  
Susana Soler - Instituto Bayard.  
Denise Norris - Instituto Bayard.  
Carol Brewer - Instituto Bayard.  
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Analía Vogelius - San Xavier.  
Graciela Criado - San Felipe Apóstol, Don Torcuato.  
Patricia Criado - San Felipe Apóstol, Don Torcuato.  
Alicia Cullen - Colegio de los Santos Padres, Bella Vista.  
Marcela Riccini – Bluebell’s Kindergarden.  
Carolina Tedín - Santa Teresa del Tigre.  
Anne Spangenberg - St. Luke’s, Olivos.  
Delia Boucau - Reserva Mamá Margarita de los mapuches, en Malleo Neuquén.  
Natasha Zschocke Scian - Shamrock Junior School, Devoto.  
Susana Scian - Santa Bárbara.  
Christine Cormack - Santa Bárbara.  
Patsy Wild - Saint Andrews.  
Laura Ordóñez - Jardín del Colegio El Salvador  
Mónica Alvarino - Jardín St. Gregory’s.  
Ana Massone - Instituto de Arte del Teatro Colón.  
Susana Scian - Colegio del Arce  
Lizzie Ryan - Colegio del Arce  
Susana Soler - Inst. Cultural Argentino de Lenguas Vivas (Tucumán)  
Mochita Velarde - Colegio Maryland  
Mónica Soplveira de Ramírez - Kindergarden Maryland



## Much More than a Competition

By Desmond Kelleher



*I recount here an educational experience I had the good fortune to be involved in for ten years in Peru. I refer to a group of NGOs and other institutions involved in agrarian development in Peru, including the National Campesino Unions who decided to organise and launch a painting and drawing competition for campesinos in 1984. Our aim was to honour rural workers, and show the richness of campesino culture, opening a channel of artistic expression between campesinos. It did lead to greater communications among campesinos themselves and society in general. It demanded great organisational skills and dedication by all the many institutions involved, making it possible for thousands of campesinos to participate in the competition, most of them with the desire to make known to others their way of life. It was a collective effort throughout, a concrete example of a great variety of institutions working together on a worthwhile project. According to José María Arguedas, 'the popular indigenous art of Peru is the purest expression of the personality of the indigenous Peruvian peoples, their creative genius and their finest artistic traditions. Moreover, this art in all its forms and varieties proves in a most interesting manner how the indigenous peoples absorbed elements of Western culture, and how these elements have been transformed and adapted to the nature of our cultures.' I would like to share with you a very interesting educational work experience I had the good fortune to be involved in for ten years in Peru. I refer to the organisation and running of a National Painting and Drawing Competition for Campesinos that started in 1984 and continued for ten years.*

### **Peru in 1984: War and Culture**

The competition began during what were very difficult years in Peru. Three years previously Peru's military government had allowed elections for the first time in twelve years. The Communist Party of Peru, more commonly known then as Sendero Luminoso (The Shining Path), refused to take part in the elections and instead launched its guerrilla war in the Andean Department of Ayacucho to replace what it saw as a bourgeois democracy with a 'New Democracy'. Their motto was 'Long Live the People's War, it is Right to Rebel'.

By 1981, three of the Andean Departments were declared in a state of emergency and the military moved in. Terrible massacres were perpetrated both by Sendero and the counterinsurgency of the military, and in many cases innocent *campesinos* were the victims. Within a few years, Sendero had focused its actions on the cities, especially on Lima, blowing up electricity pylons that caused regular blackouts in the entire city. They were also responsible for car bombs and selective killings. At the same time the country was experiencing a severe economic crisis that - as always - weighed heaviest on the poor.

Some would have questioned the idea of starting a painting and drawing competition for *campesinos* during such turbulent times. Yet the professional Peruvians I worked with in NGOs involved in agrarian development programmes at that time embraced cultural promotion as a vital aspect of their work and commitment to a Peru striving for a more just and inclusive society. It was at such a time that the idea of a painting and drawing competition for *campesinos* was first considered.

### **In the beginning**

The original group who organised the first competition consisted of nine Peruvian NGOs engaged in promoting agrarian development, whose main offices were based in Lima but whose work projects and regional offices were in rural Peru. Also represented were the National *Campesino* Unions.

I was working at that time in the Communications Area of one of those NGOs called Servicios Educativos Rurales (Rural Educational Services, SER). Three of us from our Communications Area represented SER on the organising committee of this new venture, a Painting and Drawing Competition for *Campesinos*. My colleagues were María Inés Barnechea and Liliana Prado. We worked with great enthusiasm for ten years supporting this project.

### **Debating the issue**

We had quite a lot of discussion on some aspects of the project that needed looking into before launching the competition. The fact that participants would be competing for a prize was thought by some to jeopardise the objective we had of inviting *campesinos* to express in their own way the reality of their daily lives. In other words, we feared that participants would be more motivated towards winning the monetary prize than expressing and making known their own reality.

Given the multicultural and multiethnic nature of Peru others wondered if the participants from the various regions could compete fairly with each other. Possibly the most serious criticism came from people who suggested that the competition could not compare with the other sophisticated Peruvian forms of creative expression, such as the outstanding works of the Paracas funeral shrouds and the Inca and Ayacucho Wari weavings or the creative metal or silverwork that sprung from Peru's abundance of minerals and semi-precious stones. Other significant forms are their wood carvings as an art form, like the famous San Blas pulpit in San Blas church in Cuzco or the famous *retablos* (miniature altar-pieces), inspired by Spanish altar-pieces. Another form of popular artistic Peruvian expression cited in our pre-competition debate was the finely carved pieces that include the Tablas de Sarhua, called after the village where the painted boards (tablas) are made. One could also mention Peru's superb leather works that include chests, armchairs and a huge variety of saddles, harnesses and other riding pieces.

Among popular creative works, a special place must be occupied by the famous *mates burilados*, the engraved decorated gourds or dried pumpkins said to be the oldest cultural object of Peru. The oldest decorated one was discovered with clear patterns of wild animals and snakes in the Huaca Prieta, an archeological site from the late pre-ceramic period (3500-1800 BC) in the Chicama Valley in northern Peru. It has been said that the engraved dry pumpkin represents the spirit of the Andean Peruvians and others have referred to the *mate* as the Andean newspaper.

Garay (2008) wrote:

*Creativity and need of expression seem to have no limits for Peruvian artists. After mastering the art of stone, clay and metal sculpting, craftsmen found on the surface of certain fruits a perfect supporting element to let their souls talk. The pumpkin also known as 'mate' (Lagenaria vulgaris) has become an ideal canvas for the engravers' art.....a dry pumpkin represents the artistic spirit of the Andes.*

Yet not least among all these popular cultural expressions are the countless forms of music, dance and song performed throughout rural Peru.

Another serious question that arose in the debate that preceded launching the competition was the significance of painting or drawing on paper for *campesinos*, given that the use of paper and pencil is more related to the culture of the Spanish. As Bonilla *et al.* (1990: 31) point out, 'the use of paper and pencil is related to the culture of the "Conquistadores", those who either ignoring or despising the culture they encountered, broke the dialogue and tried to impose their ways of expressing or speaking.'

We saw at a later date, in the course of the competition, that this rupture of dialogue between the indigenous Peruvians and the invading Spaniards was creatively and graphically portrayed in the second year of the Competition by an entry titled 'El Indio quedó mudo [The Indian remained silent]' by the *campesino* José Isabel Ayay Valdez from Caserío de Chillimpampa in Cajamarca.

The artist depicts the meeting of Indigenous and Spaniards in the Andes. The indigenous

(surprisingly he uses the term Indio for his own people, a disparaging term used by the Spaniards for the indigenous) who are coming down the mountain road (he calls it 'Camino del Indio [the Indian road]'), meet the Spaniards going up. The artist writes 'Se encontró Indio con los españoles [Indian meets Spaniards]', a meeting of two cultures! The Spaniard asks 'Hoy (for "Oye!") Indio, ¿A dónde te vas? [Hey Indian, where are you going?]' Then the artist writes 'españoles matan a balazos al indio cuando habla quechua [the Indian is shot dead by the Spaniards when he speaks Quechua]', his native language.

It is of note that the artist also compares the Indigenous to the Spaniard in other ways: above the shooting scene he shows us 'armas del indio [the weapons of the Indian]' and at the bottom right of his painting the three foodstuffs most associated with the Quechua-speaking Andean people: acshu (the Peruvian purple potato), maíz (corn) and quinoa. And finally, on the bottom left, he shows us 'los apuntes del indio [Indian calculations]' - the famous Quipu, the counting method of Inca times. What a stark way of portraying the rupture of two cultures!

That scene reminds me of another scene in the same region of Peru, Cajamarca, that took place centuries before, on 15 November 1532, when the historical rupture of this dialogue between two cultures was so vividly enacted between Indigenous and Spaniards. The Spanish invading force, led by Francisco Pizarro, was face-to-face with the Indigenous army led by the Inca Atahualpa on the plains of Cajamarca. A popular but wildly disputed legend states that the priest who accompanied Pizarro, Vicente de Valverde, supposedly handed the Bible to the Inca Atahualpa, telling him that it was the written word of the one All Powerful God and that he, Atahualpa, should accept this God. Atahualpa supposedly took the Bible, held it to his ear and not hearing any voice or word spoken said 'Why does it not speak to me?' He then threw it to the ground saying that the God who could not speak was not so all powerful after all and hence not worth adhering to.

Supposedly this is what gave the Spaniards the reason to attack, starting the Battle of Cajamarca on 16 November 1532. The conquistadors then

fell on Atahualpa and his followers, slaughtering great numbers and taking Atahualpa prisoner. Dialogue was broken and the conquistadors, either ignoring or despising the culture they encountered, broke the dialogue and imposed their way of expressing or speaking (Bonilla *et al.*, 1990: 31). These concerns over the use of paper and pencil or pen for *campesinos* in a competition gave rise to much debate among the organising Committee of the Painting and Drawing Competition for *Campesinos*.

### **A desire to participate**

We also looked at the concept of competitiveness in the Competition. We were aware that it is something that is alive and well in popular Peruvian culture and especially so in the case of *campesino* culture. Lots of their dances are competitive. Take for example the dance called in Quechua ‘Atipanakuy’, where one dancer performs his steps and then stands back to let the other dancer go forward to try to do better steps. Another example is the famous dance called ‘Danza de las Tijeras (the Scissors Dance)’, where again each dancer performs in turn trying to outdo the other in skilful steps all to the rhythm of the large scissors they continually click as they dance.

There are countless competitions for dance groups throughout rural Peru. In urban areas where people have migrated from rural Peru they have brought their music, song and dance with them and each year they vie with each other in closely contested competitions that draw huge crowds. They do contests to win a prize but the fact of participating and having the opportunity to display their talents is greatly appreciated by the contestants. We had to ask ourselves, why launch a painting and drawing competition for people with such a rich history of other creative and sophisticated forms of artistic expressions? However, taking all that debate on board and recognising the many and varied forms of popular cultural artistic expressions I referred to above, we still opted for the painting and drawing competition.



*Danza de las Tijeras (scissors dance) during one of the national workshops at Chaclacayo, Lima (Desmond Kelleher 1984)*

### **First Beginnings: Campesino Day (24 June 1984)**

The Competition was launched in 24 June 1984, *Campesino Day* in Peru, by the nine NGOs and the *Campesino* Unions, with the intention of honouring rural workers and to show the strength and richness of the *campesino* culture. We aimed at creating a space for *campesinos* to portray in graphic form the reality of their everyday lives in rural Peru.

We did not want the competition to be like the traditional competition where people participate, win a prize and that is the end of it. We made every effort to gain the widest possible *campesino* participation, making use of the national and local media to invite participants; radio, television, newspapers and also obviously relying on all the contacts available to all the NGOs and to the other institutions and *Campesino* Unions involved. It started off as a collective effort and remained so throughout the ten years of its existence.

### **Expanding to Other Regions**

To promote the competition right from the start we coordinated with institutions in the various regions of rural Peru through the working contacts of the original nine NGOs whose personnel were engaged in agrarian developments in rural Peru and likewise through the *Campesino* Unions who represented the great majority of *campesinos*.

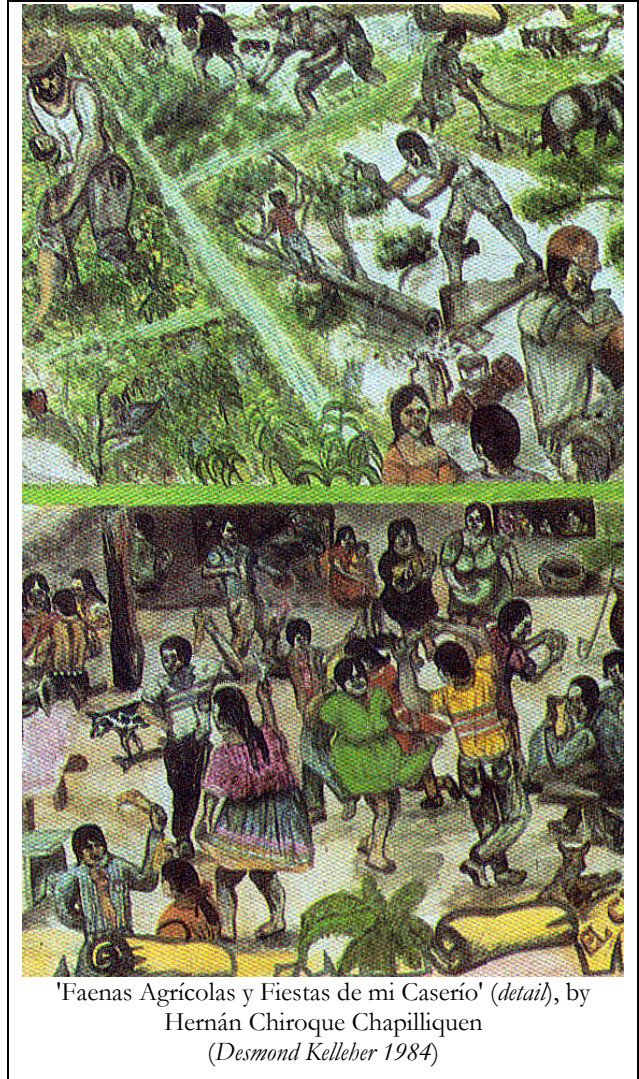
In 1986 for the third competition, the regional and local institutions such as NGOs, *Campesino* Unions and public institutions that up to then had supported the competition were then officially formed into Regional Committees and in time became part of the National Organising Committee. Such was the response from the regions that by the third competition in 1986 we had Regional Committees in fourteen Departments of the country. They were able to organise and award prizes in their own region first and then take part at a national level with a selection of their best entries.

The number of entries for the first year of the competition in 1984 was 213 and by the sixth competition in 1989 there were 627 entries. But because by that time we had Regional Committees and only a selection of paintings/drawings from these regions entered the final phase at a national level, this meant that in truth there were a far greater number of participants in the competition overall.

### Expressive letters

As the Competition took hold, the *campesino* participants made it abundantly clear to us that the overriding motivation they had for participating in the Competition was not necessarily to win the prize money but rather to let *campesinos* from other parts of rural Peru and Peruvian society in general know about their community, their village, their particular reality, their particular customs, their problems and their longings for a more just society and a better quality of life. We had encouraged the participants to write accompanying letters for their paintings and drawings - which most of them did - and this proved to be invaluable not only in helping people to understand their images better, but also to learn much more about the *campesinos'* daily lives and their reality.

Over the ten years of the competition we received hundreds of these letters. I did research on those letters and published my work for the participants in one of our workshops on the competition. Very few of the letters referred to the idea of winning a prize.



'Faenas Agrícolas y Fiestas de mi Caserío' (detail), by  
Hernán Chiroque Chapilliquen  
(Desmond Kelleher 1984)

The majority expressed their desire to communicate something, to make known their community, their village or town, their customs, their daily lives, their problems, their sufferings, especially in those years of political violence. They wanted others to know them just as they themselves wanted to get to know *campesinos* from other parts, their particular customs and their daily lives.

In my research on the letters for the workshop I included a list of the occupations of all the participants of three of the Competitions, the third, fourth and fifth (1986, 1987 and 1988). To mention just some, apart from the majority who presented themselves as *campesinos*, there were also: a carpenter, a housewife, an artisan, a shepherd and a shepherdess, a street vender, a maid, a tailor, a knife sharpener, a plasterer, a fisherman, a washerwoman, a lorry driver and a part-time worker, among others.

### What campesinos portrayed

What did the *campesinos* express in their paintings/drawings? In general they wanted to make known their community and their way of life to *campesinos* in other parts of Peru and to society in general. In line with the theme for each year, which was always quite open, they represented in their images their community, their fiestas and customs, their sufferings, problems and protests, their marginalisation, the political violence they endured in those years, their desire for a better quality of life and for greater justice in rural Peru and the campesinas' participation in rural life.



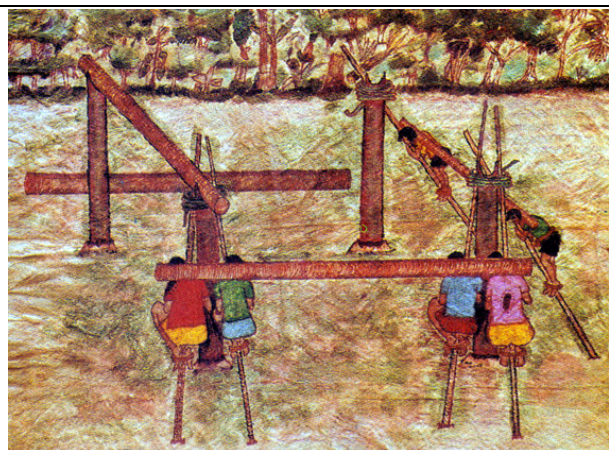
'Nuestra Historia de los Uros', by Sabino Pío Sueña Jilepay and Cristina E, Sueña Coila, Puno  
(Desmond Kelleher 1984)

A very descriptive painting that captures the vital energy of the *campesinos* and their capacity for work and celebration was the winner of the fourth Competition, 'Faenas Agrícolas y Fiestas de mi Caserío' by Hernán Chiroque Chapilliquen.

Quite a different scene is portrayed by an entry from the other extreme of southern Peru on the shores of Lake Titicaca where the Uros people live on floating islands. The painting is the combined effort of two popular artists, Sabino Pío Sueña Jilepay and Cristina E, Sueña Coila, Puno.

I would like to pay a special tribute to the popular artists from the rainforest region of Peru who participated in great numbers all through the years of the competition with beautiful and exciting images. It is worth noting that artists from the region won first place at a national level for three consecutive years - though I do not wish to take away in any way

from the marvellous entries of other regions. If I was allowed more space here I would gladly take you on a tour of entries from the other regions. The painting that won the fifth Competition in 1988 depicted the construction of la Maloca, the Bora chief's house and the artist Manuel Ruiz Mibeco tells us of the colours he used: pink, blue, yellow, red and green from crayons, and brown, bright green and black from natural dyes.



'Construcción de una Maloca', by Manuel Ruiz Mibeco, Brillo Nuevo, Río Yahuasayacu, Río Ampiyacu, Loreto  
(Desmond Kelleher 1984)

In Peru we most often referred to the rainforest region as the Amazon region. I would like to quote here what one of the Coordinators of the Amazon Region said of the paintings/drawings they received at a Regional level:

*They present us this Amazon region full of traditional myth and communal values, their fiestas, dances, customs, and daily activities such as hunting, fishing, extraction of natural resources and attention to tourists. One appreciates in their images their organisations, their strikes and campesino mobilisations, their struggles for better prices for their products, their dependence on nature, sometime cruel as when they suffer from floods and what is typical to this region they portray their means of transport along the rivers (Bonilla et al., 1990: 161).*

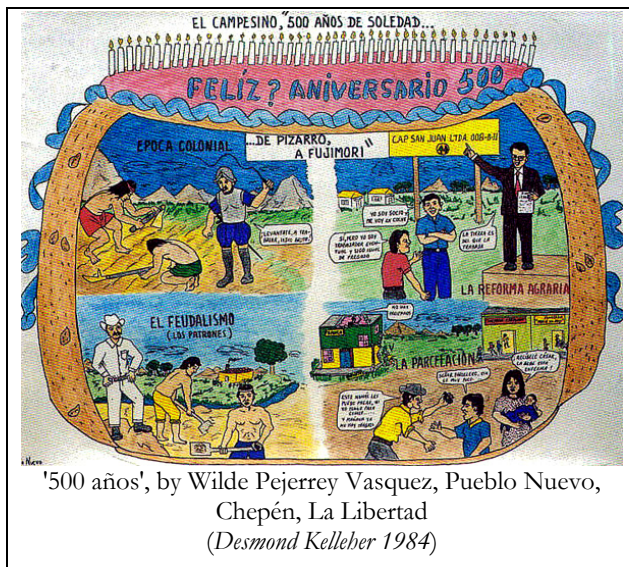
He also refers to the letters that accompanied many of the paintings/drawings:

*The letters also surprised us by their rich content. We found in them not only greetings, expressions of thanks and good wishes but also profound thoughts and insights on their reality. The letters are decisive as many of them help us to understand better the*

*images especially for those of us who are not of the same ethnic origins (Bonilla et al., 1990: 162).*

One unique theme was the occasion of the so-called 'celebration' of the 500-year anniversary of the 'discovery' of Latin America by the Spaniards, a term that was later changed by the Spaniards to a 'meeting of two cultures', due to widespread protests from Latin America, especially from the indigenous parts of the continent. The theme of that year's competition was '500 años [500 years]', what the arrival of the conquistadors to Peru meant for the indigenous population and the consequences for the indigenous population thereafter.

One entry by Wilde Pejerrey Vasquez, a 36-year-old *campesino* from Pueblo Nuevo, Chepén, La Libertad, in Northern Peru, was in the form of a cake with lots of candles and four scenes depicting the abuse *campesinos* and the indigenous population in general have suffered over the centuries up to present times. He titled it: 'The *Campesino*, 500 years of Solitude: Happy? Anniversary 500 ... From Pizarro to Fujimori'.



It shows the *campesino* being abused by the Spaniard, who lashes him, saying 'Levántate, indio bruto y trabaja [Get up, brute Indian and work]'. Later, after independence, more slave labour under feudal lords and more abuse again in more recent times during the Agrarian Reform and the period of Cooperatives are depicted. Here he shows the plight of part-time workers who were paid miserable salaries. The husband protests at the poor pay he is receiving, while being told at the same time 'There's no

work tomorrow'. His wife says 'Take it Cesar, our baby is sick'.

### **Judging the Images**

We were fortunate to have excellent judges in the closing stages of each competition. We made sure there would always be a good balance on the panel, including a popular artist, an art critic or an anthropologist and a representative of the *Campesino* Unions as well as a representative of the Organising Committee. We were well supported over the years by anthropologists like Juan Ansión and Karin Lizarraga and by the art critic Roberto Miroquesada, sadly now deceased and to whom the book *Imágenes y Realidad, a la conquista de un viejo lenguaje* (Images and Reality, conquering an ancient language) was dedicated. From the third year of the Competition onwards, we also invited the *campesino* winner of the previous year to be on the panel of judges. I represented my NGO, Servicios Educativos Rurales (SER) on one occasion. I was impressed by the professional and meticulous manner in which my fellow judges performed their duty.

Only once in the ten years did I witness an unpleasant experience. On that occasion a well known art critic who had been invited to be on the panel came along to act as one of the judges. He entered the area where all the paintings and drawings were laid out and where the other judges were already present, he looked around and then without a word, just turned around and walked out! I can only surmise that he thought the scene and the people he was to work with were beneath him! He is still writing as an art critic for one of Peru's leading papers.

### **All roads lead to Lima**

For the first few years of the competition we invited the winners, three in number, to the awards ceremony in Lima. For the winners, many of them from very remote regions of Peru, it was a novelty, apart from receiving a monetary prize, to get to Lima the capital, a first time for most of them.

Those of us based in Lima organised their stay there and after the awards ceremony, we took them around Lima to see the sights, organised

radio and television slots and accompanied them to art galleries and Lima's museums. Those who were from inland Peru were so anxious to see the Pacific Ocean! However, as an aside, I remember years previously being in Lima with an elderly friend from the Andes mountains who was visiting for the first time and had never seen the sea. When I took him out to a good vantage point to view the Pacific expanse, I was expecting an exclamation of wonder from him, when all he said was: '*Ab, había sido agua, no más!*' [So, it was only water after all]!



Winners of the 1987 competition in Plaza San Martín. Rufino Fiestas Pazo (Piura), Mamerto Díaz Rodríguez (Loreto), and Hernán Chiroque Chapilliquen (Piura) (Desmond Kelleher 1987)

I was fortunate enough several times to have the opportunity to guide the winning artists around Lima in my beautiful small sky-blue Volkswagen car of those years and to enjoy with them their enthusiasm on discovering their own capital city, City of the Kings.

Later in the competition it was decided to hold the awards ceremony in the different regions. Again in 1988 I represented the National Organising Committee, and travelled to my beloved Cuzco for the prize-giving that year. Two of the winners of the competition of that year were from the Cuzco region, and the winner of first place was from the rainforest of Peru. He was Manuel Ruíz Mibeco, whose winning painting was mentioned above, a Chief of the Bora Tribe from a place called Brillo Nuevo on the Ampiyacu River, a branch of the Amazon River some 120km east of Iquitos in the Department of Loreto.



The author Des Kelleher speaking at the Awards Ceremony in La Casa Campesina, Cuzco, 1988 (Desmond Kelleher 1988)

I had an Irish connection with him. It was in Manuel's area that the Irishman, Roger Casement, in 1910/11, as British Consul, denounced the murderous rubber slavery of the Bora tribe by the British registered Peruvian Amazon Company controlled by the rubber baron Julio César Arana. I witnessed Manuel's great joy in reaching Cuzco, the capital of the Inca Empire. The ceremony was held in 'la Casa Campesina [the *Campesino* House]'. I put a lot of effort into giving my speech in Quechua, which I was proud to do. I had worked for seventeen years near Cuzco, where I learned Quechua, so I felt right at home among the *campesinos* of the Cuzco region and accompanied by a Bora chief.

### The Travelling Exhibition

Early on, we realised that it was vital that the winning images should circulate throughout the country. This was to ensure that the communication among *campesinos* and the nation in general, which the participants really wanted, would take place. To achieve this, we put together a collection of the paintings/drawings which we called la muestra ambulante (the travelling exhibition). We ensured that it would be representative of the great variety of entries to the competition, that it would include regional winners and at the same time portray the variety of themes that the *campesinos* had wished to portray.

The use of paper in this case proved an advantage both for the participants and for those of us in the Organising Committee who had to prepare the paintings/drawings for exhibition. For the participants, since paper was available to all, it was not expensive and could be despatched from the most distant parts of

the country. Still we did not insist that the images be on paper alone. Some were very creative and expressed their ideas on other materials, such as dried animal skins. After each competition we organised exhibitions of the paintings/drawings in various venues in Lima and other cities.

Another aspect of the diffusion of the paintings and drawings was the roundtable events we organised in Lima and other cities and towns not only to bring *campesino* art to as wide a public as possible but also to motivate debate and discussion on the theme of culture in a society like Peru that is so multicultural and multiethnic. We used the travelling exhibition extensively each year throughout rural areas; at *campesino* meetings, fairs and in public areas of towns and villages when launching a new competition.

I quote one example of the efficacy of rotating the travelling exhibition, from one of the Regional Organisations in Huaura, a rural town some two hours north of Lima:

The exhibition of the painting/drawings ('the travelling exhibition') in twelve districts and in six cooperatives gave rise to a very interesting debate about art and *campesino* culture, which resulted in a greater participation in future competitions with painting/drawings that portrayed the reality of our region (Bonilla, J. et al., 1990: 131).

As another way of diffusing the paintings and drawings of the *campesinos* we produced a full size poster of the winning entry of each year and attractive calendars and post cards.

### **Natural Resources and Natural Colours**

Another aspect that was very evident over the years was the creativity of the *campesinos* in the use of natural resources and materials to create natural colours, a fact they alluded to in their very detailed letters. José Espíritu Tafur is just one example. A *campesino* from Caserío Chumbe, Bambamarca in the Department of Cajamarca, he gained first place in the Second Competition in 1985 with his painting entitled 'La Pobreza [Poverty]'. More interesting still is the fact that on returning home to Cajamarca after gaining first prize in the competition he then taught a group of *campesinos* in his area the use of natural dyes for painting on paper. In his accompanying letter he wrote:

*I have painted with materials taken from our mountains or, as we say, from Mother Earth, where we Peruvians live. I used black nettle (ortiga negra), leaves of the papelillo tree, flowers of chochocon and flowers of the mustard tree and of the suncho and the fruit of saca saca. For the first time I have discovered this mine of painting material in my village of San Miguel (Bonilla, J. et al., 1990: 38).*



José Espíritu Tafur, 35 years  
Caserío de Chumbe de Chontabamba, Cajamarca  
(Desmond Kelleher 1988)

In other regions such as Loreto, the Amazon region, the frequent use of natural resources and materials was similarly notable. Some created their images on the bark of a palm tree called chambira. Others used the dried skin of the sajino (a pig-like animal) or of the ronsoco (the largest rodent in the world), of deer or even of the lagarto (the lizard). For colouring their paintings, they also used the natural dye extracted from the seeds of the achiote bush or tree. That natural dye is used in other parts to colour food products, such as cheese, fish, and salad oil. It is interesting to know that achiote was long used by American Indians to make body paint, especially on the lips - which is the origin of the plant's nickname, the 'Lipstick Tree'. The use of the dye in the hair of the men

of the Tsáchila of Ecuador is the origin of their usual Spanish name, the Colorados.

### **Our Workshops: Time out to Reflect**

After the Fourth Competition in 1987 we held an evaluation workshop with members of the National Organising Committee and invited experts in art and culture to accompany us. It was a time for all of us to get together to reflect on different aspects of the competition, to take time out to understand at a deeper level the great richness of the themes portrayed by the *campesinos*, to reflect on cultural problems in the context of Peru's turbulent reality and in a practical way to plan together for the continuing activities of future Competitions.



Group work at a National Workshop in Chaclacayo, Lima  
(Desmond Kelleher 1988)

We were greatly assisted in this reflective and planning process by experts like the well-known anthropologist and expert in Andean culture mentioned above, Juan Ansión, who accompanied us for many years of the competition. He enabled us to 'see' much more in the painting/drawings than we would have appreciated on our own.

I remember how on one occasion they reminded us that what the *campesinos* presented in their painting/drawings represented the collective sentiment of a people. Mentioning the word 'collective' brings to mind many of the painting/drawings that were created by more than one individual. There were examples of works done by groups, or by fathers and sons, or mothers' clubs, or wives and husbands.

One campesina, Marina Bardales Andrade from Loreto, wrote in her accompanying letter:

From the moment I heard about the competition, I told my husband that I was going to participate. But he said to me 'No way you are going to win!' I answered him 'I don't care but I want to participate'. Well, as things turned out later, he was convinced and he helped me with the drawing (Bonilla et al., 1990: 38).

### **The presence of Campesinas**

Right from the start of the competition, campesinas were participating with paintings/drawings that vividly portrayed their own reality and the vital role they play in everyday life. We admired paintings/drawings that depicted their role in rural organisations such as mothers' clubs but also their active presence in *Campesino* Unions, their presence in *campesino* protests or marches, often in the front line and of course their role in their daily labours both at home and out in the fields beside their husbands.



Juan Ansión, anthropologist and expert on Andean culture in a plenary session at a National Workshop, Chaclacayo, Lima  
(Desmond Kelleher 1988)

### **Final year of the Competition (1996)**

After the Seventh Competition in 1990 it was decided to hold subsequent competitions every two years, so what were to be the final three Competitions were held in 1992, 1994 and 1996 - and there the Competition as a project came to an end. Why? One of the principal reasons was - as often is the case - finance. Throughout the previous years the competition had been financed through the various NGOs that received support for this project from their sponsors. After supporting the project for ten

years, the sponsors declined to continue that support. The Organising Committee had wanted to carry out a final sistematisation of the project including digitization of the images that had arrived in Lima, but finances were not forthcoming. Those images that I have referred to are now in the keeping of the University of San Marcos in Lima.

Also by that stage some of the NGOs were prioritising certain other areas of their work and it was getting harder to maintain the organisational capacity demanded for such a year-round commitment. I do believe it was a marvellous collective effort by a huge number of committed people for a long period of ten years, who demonstrated that they could work together with great enthusiasm for a very worthy

project that benefited a section of Peruvian society who embraced it and made it their own.

I round off this account of the National Painting and Drawing Competition for *Campesinos* with an extract from the letter of Carlos Garcia C. from Ancash, which accompanied his painting for the Fifth Competition in 1988:

I want to greet and thank each and everyone of you for the opportunity you gave us to manifest, even if it be through a painting poorly done, but which nevertheless expresses some of the concerns that we feel (*Bonilla et al., 1990: 30*).

Desmond Kelleher

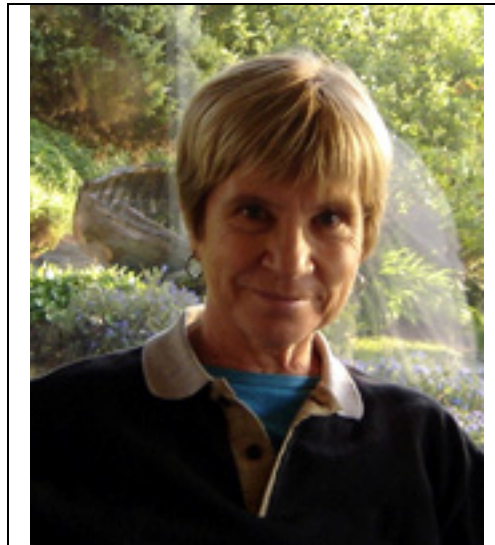
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## 'We wanted to go on thinking, working, developing our skills' Interview with Hilda Sabato

By Edmundo Murray



Hilda Sabato  
(Carlos Majaukas 2007)

Hilda Sabato is Professor of History at the University of Buenos Aires and research fellow of the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET). She studied at the University of Buenos Aires (B.A., 1976) and the University of London (Ph.D., 1981), and published several books on social, labour and political history in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Argentina. Sabato has also edited two volumes of research, publishes regularly in academic and cultural journals, and participates in discussions and exchanges in the public sphere. In April 2008, Sabato was teaching in France. This interview was undertaken both by telephone and online.

**Edmundo Murray (EM):** What is the purpose of your trip to Paris?

**Hilda Sabato (HS):** I was invited to spend a month as Visiting Professor by the Université Paris Diderot – Paris 7, where I gave two lectures, established academic contacts, and carried out a fruitful intellectual exchange with colleagues and graduate students.

**EM:** I met some of your relatives and read some of their work. One could say that the

Sabato family of Argentina is a sort of Latin American version of the James family of Boston. How would you describe your family background and its influence on your working life?

**HS:** Well, the James family... but without the James family's fortune! Actually, my great-grandparents arrived in Argentina as working-class immigrants in the late-nineteenth century. Like so many other families of the same background, they made all the necessary efforts to send their children to college (or the local equivalent). They did not make money, but they succeeded in improving their lot, particularly in educational terms. Among the eleven sons of the Sabato migrant who arrived from Italy, only eight survived to adulthood: four of them went to university, while the other four did not – they had to work to help support the family. In any case, my mother and father belong to the second generation, and they both went to college. In the Sabato family, several members achieved academic, intellectual, and public recognition – my father among them. (1)

And when my generation's turn came, they were already a very important presence in our

lives. In my case, my parents' intellectual and public commitment was a key influence both in my professional life and, above all, in my civic and political involvement.

**EM:** Was your book about the Irish in Argentina with Juan Carlos Korol your first published work? (2) What attracted you and Dr. Korol to the research on the Irish settlements in Buenos Aires?

**HS:** That is a rather atypical story... This research was not prompted by regular academic requirements: There was no dissertation involved, nor any scholarship or funded project. It was the result of a combination of circumstances... When we decided to study the Irish in Argentina, Korol and I had just finished our studies in History at the University of Buenos Aires. But all our ties with our school had been cut off: the Government (Isabel Perón, 1974) had decided to send a hand-picked team to the University to replace the legitimate authorities, expel teachers and students considered to be 'subversive', and control all academic activity. Thus, the institution became an intellectual desert. Besides, we had been politically active in the student movement, and therefore could have been subject to persecution. It was in the context of that situation that we started our work on the Irish. Why? We wanted to go on thinking, working, developing our skills as newly-trained historians. But we were alone.

At the same time, I had heard a lot about the Irish in my family. My father's grandparents on his mother's side were Irish immigrants, and he had many stories both about his Irish 'side' of the family, and about his childhood (he was brought up by his Irish grandmother). (3)

Also, he had a strong affection for all things Irish, and a very rich collection of books on Irish history and literature in his library. We used to talk a lot about these topics, and he gradually infused in me an increasing curiosity and interest in the history of this immigration to Argentina. When things went so wrong at our University, and we were trying to find ways to continue our work and to avoid being defeated by the contemporary situation, I

succeeded in instilling some of that interest in my friend Korol. Once we got started, our enthusiasm only increased, as the subject proved to be more challenging than we had expected.

**EM:** You developed from economic to labour and then to political history. How do you see your career pathway from your research on the Irish Argentines to your recent book on Argentine political events? (4)

**HS:** It was not a straight path! The connection between our research on the Irish Argentines and my second work, my Ph.D. thesis at the University of London, is quite obvious. As we had studied the immigrants, I 'discovered' the importance of the agricultural sector to the history of Argentine capitalism, a topic that had been rather neglected in our historiography. The transition from sheep-breeding and wool production to labour is not so obvious, but it still may be easily explained. Labour had been a key factor in my research on capital accumulation in the ovine sector. At the same time, I had returned to Argentina and joined one of the few small research groups that managed to survive the dark years of the military dictatorship with international support and reach. (5) Several members of this group worked on labour history, and therefore I was influenced by our group readings and debates. The project that led to the book with [Luis Alberto] Romero involved several of us. From there to political history, the connecting road is harder to follow. Let me try [to explain]: My first project in this field was very much a follow-up. Our studies on labour were basically an exercise in social history, and I was now interested to see what had happened with workers in the political arena. But this move was not as easy as I initially thought it would be, and the transition from social to political history proved quite challenging. It required a different perspective altogether, and I had to immerse myself in the literature on politics, which was – by the way – experiencing a very significant revival in the 1980s and 1990s. The result was a new proposal, very different from the first project, which got me started on the long road that I am still travelling.

**EM:** When you studied the Irish land ownership patterns on the Pampas, you had recourse to elements of Marxist theory to establish the process by which some of the Irish in Argentina could manage to acquire their means of production (that is, sheep and land). After the fall of key Marxist political regimes in the twentieth century, and the adoption of neo-liberal policies by socialist governments, do you think that Marxist theory is still a valid tool to analyse historical processes?

**HS:** Marxist theory, like any other solid theory, is consistent and therefore 'valid' in and of itself. Whether or not it is useful to explain the world is another matter! As a historian, I have always utilised social theories in order to find concepts and categories that help me to make sense of what I find in the past. But I make rather eclectic use of those concepts. This means that I don't stick to any particular theory in visiting the past. In the case of the study of landownership patterns and capital accumulation, I found Marxist categories very useful to explore the origins of a capitalist economy and society such as the one I found in Buenos Aires during the second half of the nineteenth century, but I did not find the answers to my questions in Marxist theory.

**EM:** How is Marxist theory complemented by post-colonialist, gender and other schools?

**HS:** Marx would probably have been surprised to see the company he is in now...

**EM:** Are historians inclined towards teamwork with literary critics and other experts from different disciplines or do they prefer solitary research work with purely archival sources?

**HS:** It depends on the historian... I think the tendency towards dialogue with other disciplines is increasing among historians, but not everybody is happy with that.

**EM:** What connections do you see between the fields of Irish Studies and Latin American Studies?

**HS:** Until recently connections were rather scarce, but in that sense I believe SILAS can

make a difference, and we can expect more connections in the future.

**EM:** Is it true that the main difference between private and public universities in Argentina is political activism? Is it possible to be a scholar and to be active in politics at the same time?

**HS:** In Argentina, the main universities are public. It is in those institutions that most of the research and teaching are done. The relationship between politics and the university goes way back in our Western world, and there is nothing wrong with that. But the political and the academic world are two different spheres, and should be kept separate (though they are related). In Latin America, this key principle is sometimes forgotten, to the detriment of academic autonomy. This is not to say that the university as an institution is free from power struggles, and therefore, from internal politics, which comes with the job, so to speak. Thus, in Argentina, university politics has been the training ground for many of our politicians (both the good ones and the not so good...). I would like, however, to raise a different issue, that of the involvement of academics in public life. In Argentina, the typical twentieth-century figure of the 'public intellectual', who uses their expertise to address wider issues of social interest and speaks to non-academic audiences, has been a strong, and very positive, presence in the public sphere.

**EM:** At school, Argentinean children are taught from a young age to worship the visible representations of Argentineness (such as the flag, coat of arms, national anthem, and so on). Do you think the educational curriculum in Argentina is a nationalist one?

**HS:** The education curriculum in Argentina was strongly nationalist during the twentieth century. In recent times, there have been some efforts to introduce a more critical perspective in relation to national topics. How successful they may be, I'm not so sure...

Edmundo Murray

## Notes

(1) Jorge Alberto Sabato (1924-1983) was a leading scientist, professor of physics and researcher of nuclear energy, as well as an adviser to international organisations and the Argentine Government. His uncle is the celebrated writer Ernesto Sabato (b. 1911).

(2) Hilda Sabato and Juan Carlos Korol, *Cómo fue la inmigración irlandesa en Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra, 1981).

(3) Hilda Sabato's grandmother was the school teacher Brígida Condron (1898-1926), daughter of James Condron of Westmeath and Sarah Tobin, farmers in Rojas, Buenos Aires province.

(4) Hilda Sabato, *Pueblo y Política: Claves Para Todos* (Buenos Aires: Capital Intelectual, 2006).

(5) Programa de Estudios de Historia Económica y Social Americana (PEHESA), an Argentine research centre for the study of social history, was established in 1977 by a group of historians in association with the Centro de Investigaciones Sociales sobre el Estado y la Administración (CISEA).

## Books by Hilda Sabato

- *Cómo fue la inmigración irlandesa en Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra, 1981), with Juan Carlos Korol.
- *Capitalismo y Ganadería en Buenos Aires: la fiebre del lanar, 1850-1880* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1989). Revised edition in English: *Agrarian Capitalism and the World Market: Buenos Aires in the Pastoral Age, 1840-1890* (Albuquerque, NM: New Mexico University Press, 1990).
- *Los Trabajadores de Buenos Aires: la experiencia del mercado, 1850-1880* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1992), with Luis Alberto Romero.
- *La política en las calles: entre el voto y la movilización: Buenos Aires, 1862-1880* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1998). Second edition (Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2004). Revised edition in English: *The Many and the Few: Political Participation in Republican Buenos Aires* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).
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  - *Ciudadanía Política y Formación de las Naciones: Perspectivas Históricas de América Latina* (México, D.F. : Fondo de Cultura Económica y El Colegio de México, 1999).
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  - *De las Cofradías a las Organizaciones de la Sociedad Civil* (Buenos Aires: GADIS, 2003), with Roberto Di Stefano, José Luis Moreno and Luis Alberto Romero.
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## **The Spanish Language in Ireland**

By David Barnwell

*This article provides an overview of the situation of Spanish in the Irish educational system and in wider society. Spain enjoys positive attitudes among Irish people, helped by the considerable amount of property in that country purchased by Irish during the past few years. The Spanish language has over the years experienced mixed fortunes as regards its place in Irish education. Recently, however, there has been a moderate increase in the numbers studying Spanish across all sectors. Other European languages have lost students, while uptake for Spanish has increased. Numbers studying Spanish lag far behind those studying French, however, and in fact there is a general tendency towards a decrease in the study of languages nationally. The future is problematic, since any weakening of the requirement that those seeking admission to the National University of Ireland must have studied foreign languages will tend to detract from their status. Another factor that is very hard to predict is the effect of mass immigration - there are now over 100 languages spoken in Ireland - on linguistic policy.*

### **Introduction**

In Ireland, the compulsory educational system is the competence of the Department of Education and Science. This branch of the Government controls the curriculum, examinations and teacher certification up to the Leaving Certificate level (the Leaving Certificate is the final exam for school-leavers, generally taken around the age of seventeen or eighteen). The State-run Irish educational system may be divided into two categories, primary and secondary.

### **Primary Sector**

For many years, no foreign languages were offered in the Irish primary sector (schools for children between about five and twelve years of age). Since a significant part of the primary school curriculum revolves around the teaching of the Irish language, there was considered to be no time for an extra language. In 1998 however, the Department of Education and Science launched a limited project to introduce the teaching of foreign languages (French, German, Italian and Spanish) in primary schools. This initiative has been quite successful, though limited to a minority of the nation's schools. Perhaps as many as 4,000 children now take Spanish in primary schools, though it should be reiterated that this is but a small fraction of the total number of children in these schools. (1)

### **Secondary Sector**

The study of a foreign language is not compulsory in the Irish secondary school curriculum. Nevertheless a large majority of students in second-level schools (from approximately thirteen to eighteen years of age) do take a foreign language for at least part of their time in school. Since the decline of interest in the classical languages, French has for many years been dominant among foreign languages in the schools. A generation or two ago, Spanish was a relatively close second, Ireland at that time having the highest proportion of students taking Spanish as a foreign language in any European country.

German and Italian were the only other foreign languages taught at Irish schools, but they lagged far behind in numbers. Spanish was in some cases promoted by individual enthusiasts of the language, in an *ad hoc* way rather than as a coherent school policy. Up to the 1970s it was quite common for the language to be taught by a religious person who had lived in Spain or Latin America. Indeed the author of this article was introduced to Spanish by an Irish Christian Brother who had spent some years in Chile. Spanish at that time tended to be the foreign language offered in boys' schools, girls being directed more towards studying French.

By the late 1980s and 1990s, however, German was making significant progress and Spanish was relegated to a distant third place. At a time

of strength for the German economy, paralleled by weakness in the economy of Ireland, German was associated with prosperity and employment. The falling of the Berlin Wall also drew very positive attention to that country. By the mid-1990s, however, interest in German began to decline. French threatened to monopolise language choice in the schools, much as it had done in Britain years earlier, not through any set policy or as a result of rational discussion, but rather through a certain inertia and *laissez-faire* attitude.

Micheál Martin, who was at the time Irish Minister for Education, became concerned about the growing hegemony of French. He therefore made several million Irish pounds available for a programme to strengthen the place of 'minority' languages in the schools (minority in the sense that only a minority of schools were offering them) and to promote diversity in the language offerings available to Irish children. This was quite a unique initiative in European terms, since until then no European Government had sought to intervene in ensuring that a wide range of languages were available to students.

The Department of Education and Science implemented Martin's policy by launching an initiative in 2000 to enhance and expand the teaching of 'minority' languages in post-primary schools (specifically Spanish and Italian) as well as to introduce new ones (Russian and Japanese). (2) The Initiative produced a significant amount of promotional material, such as videos aimed at school principals and parents for the purpose of prompting interest in taking up 'minority' languages. Schools participating in the Initiative could apply for extra funding to purchase pedagogical materials as well as enjoying more generous terms for

employing specialist teachers than were available for other subjects.

New programmes in teacher education were set up, and a Postgraduate Diploma course in language and teaching methodology was offered at several third level institutions. In the case of Spanish, the Government Initiative provided financial support for the national linguistics institute (ITE) to run workshops for teachers of Spanish. There was also support for the Institute to engage in materials production for the teaching of the language. One of the problems facing the teaching of Spanish in the secondary sector has traditionally been the reliance on textbooks published in England. As a result of the initiative, a new Spanish textbook META was published in Ireland. (3) The book was attractively designed and methodologically up-to-date, and bore favourable comparison with Spanish textbooks published elsewhere.

It would be inaccurate to assign credit for the increase in numbers taking Spanish in Ireland solely to the Government Languages Initiative. There have been parallel increases in a number of Northern European countries in which there was no Government intervention. For example, for Sweden the Instituto Virtual Cervantes speaks of "the enormous growth in Spanish in Sweden, it is important to take into account that until just ten years ago, Spanish did not exist as a school subject in compulsory education. The only languages that pupils could opt for were German and French". (4) Similar strides have been taken by Spanish in other countries.

An indication of trends in language study in the Irish secondary sector may be seen in the following set of statistics: (5)

	2001	2007	Trend
<b>French</b>	33,818	27,805	-17,8 per cent
<b>German</b>	9,379	7,539	-19,6 per cent
<b>Spanish</b>	1,483	2,660	+79,0 per cent

As can be seen, the numbers of students taking Spanish have increased, though from a very low base. The opposite movement has occurred in the cases of German and French. Generally, there is a worrying trend towards decrease in the numbers taking languages to Leaving certificate level. 79 per cent of all students sat a foreign language exam in 2001, compared to 74 per cent in 2007. The figures are quite high, but the British experience has shown that, unless continuously supported in the curriculum, foreign languages can suffer precipitate falls in student numbers. There are now schools in Ireland where as many as half the youngest pupils are studying no foreign language, a situation unheard of a decade ago.

Of all the students taking the Leaving Certificate only about one in twenty-five takes Spanish. An important point in considering the situation of Spanish in the secondary schools is that the National University of Ireland network of universities requires for entry that a student have successfully studied a foreign language. Though this policy is coming under strain, it remains as a very important motivator for language study in the secondary sector. Were the requirement to be removed, it is feared that a substantial decline in numbers taking foreign languages would occur.

A person wishing to obtain a permanent teaching position in the secondary sector in Ireland must possess a degree in the subject they wishes to teach. This degree, if the person wishes to teach a language, must include significant work in literature. The requirement has affected a number of Spanish people who wished to make a career out of teaching their language in the public system in Ireland. There is also a requirement that the person show some competence in the Irish language. Teachers from Spain have complained about this, though the level of competence required in Irish is low, and could be attained with some effort.

The Ministerio de Educación, Política Social y Deporte (Ministry of Education, Social Policy and Sports) of Spain runs what is called an Asesoría Técnica Docente (Teaching Technical Consultancy) in Dublin, a sub-office of the

Consejería de Educación de España en el Reino Unido e Irlanda (Educational Department of the Spanish Embassy in the United Kingdom and Ireland) in London. The function of this office is to support the teaching of Spanish in Ireland, through provision of advice on materials, study and teaching opportunities in Spain, and so on. There has been a little resentment that the Spanish Ministry in this manner sees Ireland as a region of the United Kingdom, but the personnel employed as asesores (advisers) in Dublin have been well received and their work much appreciated by teachers of Spanish in Ireland.

### **Third Level**

There are seven universities in the Republic of Ireland, and two in Northern Ireland. Spanish has been taught at Trinity College Dublin since the eighteenth century, and at University College Dublin since 1884. The latter now has the largest Department of Spanish on the island. It was only in the early twentieth century that the subject became part of the academic programme of institutions outside Dublin such as University College Cork and National University of Ireland, Galway. 1926 saw the creation of Chairs of Spanish at two institutions, Trinity College Dublin and Queens University Belfast. The Irish universities offer programmes of study in Spanish to Bachelor, Masters and doctoral level.

Most of the universities accept students *ab initio*, people who did not take Spanish at secondary school and have no prior knowledge of the language. These students are given the first year to catch up with students who have studied Spanish in secondary school or elsewhere; thereafter all students take the same language courses. The focus and approach at the universities tend to be fairly traditional, with an emphasis on the literature and high culture of the Spanish-speaking world. The literature of Spain has historically been better covered than that of Latin America in Irish universities. This imbalance still exists, but a number of younger faculty members in the universities are now offering courses on Latin America, especially Mexico.

There is some interdisciplinarity, such as courses on Spanish-language cinema, on comparative literature or European Studies, but much remains to be done in integrating Spanish with other disciplines. The Irish system is a long way from the flexibility of the American model, where students can take a course or two in areas outside their major subject. In Ireland students generally do not have the opportunity to take a language course unless it is part of their degree programme.

Hispanic linguistics is rarely taught, unless it is as philology, while there has been no movement towards country studies such as have become popular at the better American universities, courses which combine the study of the culture, history, literature and politics of a particular country as a case study. A lacuna in Irish departments of Spanish is that no-one appears to have attempted to organise courses that deal with the links between Ireland and the Spanish-speaking world. In the past few years there has been a burgeoning of interest among historians in Spanish-Irish shared history, as well as in studying the experience of Irish emigrants and their descendents in Latin America. So far, however, the Irish

departments of Spanish have not found a role in participating in this research.

In some instances Spanish is also taught at what are known as Institutes of Technology. As the name suggests, these are third-level colleges that concentrate on science and technology. A number of these offer programmes in languages, either as diploma or as full degree courses. Such courses are often non-traditional, in the sense that they do not focus on literature or the arts, but rather combine Spanish with business, economics, law and so on. It has to be said that Spanish remains well behind French and German in numbers of students taking such combinations.

An indication of recent trends in student numbers taking Spanish is provided by the following statistics (2005 is the latest year available, but the trend is likely to have continued). It should be mentioned that the university figures parallel those for the secondary sector, in that the overall percentage of students taking a foreign language is declining slowly. Spanish goes against the trend, but again from a low base (numbers taking Spanish at Third Level): (6)

	2002	2005	Trend
Universities	2,295	2,456	+7.0 per cent
Institutes of Technology	1,284	1,394	+8.5 per cent

Several hundred students graduate with degrees in Spanish every year. No effort has been made to systematically evaluate the proficiency of those who graduate with a degree in the language in Ireland. Impressionistically, it can be stated that there is a wide range of ability. Some graduates are truly excellent, many are adequate, while some exhibit serious deficiencies in their command of the language. (The same formulation would apply to Irish teachers of Spanish).

Undergraduate students have opportunities to spend significant time in Spain. They can either do this through the long-running Socrates

(formerly Erasmus) programme, which permits study at a European university, or by availing of opportunities to serve as English Language teachers in Spanish schools, especially in programmes run by the Spanish Ministerio de Educación. Those students who have availed of the opportunity to spend some time in a Spanish-speaking country not surprisingly tend to be well ahead of those who have not. The Spanish government makes available opportunities for Irish teachers of Spanish to take summer courses in language and pedagogy in Spain, but teachers often claim that family commitments make it difficult to participate in

these schemes. There appear to be no structured opportunities for students or teachers to study or gain work experience in Latin America.

No statistical information is available as to the careers that holders of a degree in Spanish follow. Anecdotal evidence, however, shows that a number of them enter the teaching profession in Ireland. These tend to be academically strong students, since entry standards for the teaching profession have become ever higher, but not necessarily those with the best command of the spoken language. A large group of students find jobs in public administration and the civil service, while another large cohort decide to go to Spain or Latin America after graduation and become impossible to track. There are always a few who pursue graduate studies in Spanish or cognate areas, though very few proceed as far as Ph.D. level.

Ireland shares the British tradition of predominantly employing native English speakers for faculty positions in departments of Spanish. This results in departments in which the only native speakers of Spanish are employed at junior levels, often part-timers or temporary instructors of language. Positions in Spanish tend to be advertised only in Ireland and Britain, and academics at British universities play a key part on Irish interview boards.

Despite the huge numbers working in Spanish language, literature and linguistics at the universities of the United States, Irish departments of Spanish continue to look to Britain rather than to the USA or the Spanish-speaking world. The low number of native speakers of Spanish in key positions in Irish departments of Spanish is undesirable, and impossible to justify. Though most of the university faculty members in these departments exhibit very high proficiency in the language, there is a tradition of advanced courses in literature or culture being given through the medium of English. This practice probably adds little to students' proficiency in Spanish, and was recently criticised in a report of the European Union. (7)

## **Conclusions**

This is not the place to attempt a history of Irish Hispanism, but it is perhaps appropriate to allude to the fact that Ireland has a rich tradition in Hispanic Studies. This sets it apart from the large number of European countries where no such tradition exists. In the nineteenth century the Irish poet Denis McCarthy became internationally renowned for his translations of Calderón de la Barca. In the twentieth century, the first holder of the Professorship of Spanish at Trinity College was the colourful character Walter Starkie, a famous translator of *Don Quixote*. It may be mentioned in passing that part of *Don Quixote* has been translated to Irish. (8)

More recently, a graduate of Trinity College, Ian Gibson, published widely admired biographies of García Lorca and Salvador Dalí. Spanish has deep roots in Ireland. As has been seen, the language has enjoyed a modest – though not enormous – improvement in its place in the Irish educational system in the past few years. Outside the formal system, Spanish is quite strong in what might be termed the adult education sector, namely voluntary courses offered to people who have no other motive but their interest in the subject. These are available throughout the country, often as evening classes. In Dublin the Instituto Cervantes also offers a wide range of courses in Spanish. (9) The courses have been so popular that some time ago the institute had to move to larger premises in Dublin.

Outside the schools and colleges, Spain continues to attract large numbers of Irish holiday-makers, an increasing number of whom are more interested in the culture, food and wine of Spain than merely lying on a beach. Tens of thousands of Irish people have also purchased properties in Spain, especially on the Costa del Sol and to the south of Alicante. Several courses have been established to teach these people elements of the language, culture and legal system of Spain. Spain enjoys a generally positive perception among Irish people; one perhaps trivial piece of evidence is that since Ireland was not participating in the finals of the European Nations Cup in football

this year, a radio station ran a poll asking which country Irish people should support. Spain won easily. Add to this the increasing *Latino* element in United States popular culture, a culture that dominates Ireland, and it can be seen that Spanish enjoys advantages over other foreign languages in eliciting positive attitudes among Irish people.

Of course the generally favourable attitude to Spain does not guarantee the language any prominence in the life and culture of Ireland. Irish newspapers are notoriously monolingual, with few even offering a column in Irish. Articles in foreign languages are never carried. With the exception of the Irish language television channel TG4, television stations in Ireland are equally monolingual, and rarely show material in foreign languages. On very rare occasions a Spanish language movie with subtitles will be carried on Irish television. Other than this, there is no Spanish presence in the media, be it written or electronic. Whatever profile Spanish enjoys in the popular culture, much of it is due to a significant extent to the increasing role of Spanish in the culture of the United States.

The cultural organisation of the Spanish State, the Instituto Cervantes, also puts on regular programmes of lectures in Spanish or about elements of Hispanic culture, while each year a festival of Spanish cinema is held in Dublin. Apart from Spain, four Spanish-speaking countries maintain embassies in Dublin: Argentina, Chile, Cuba and Mexico. These maintain a relatively low profile with regard to promoting the Spanish language or sponsoring cultural events.

There was fairly significant immigration from Spain to Ireland in the 1990s, mostly comprising women. This immigration appears to have levelled off somewhat in the current decade. In any case, the census of 2006 reported that slightly over 6,000 Spaniards are

resident in Ireland, the great majority of these in the 25-44 age group. (10) It might be pointed out that this number is less than one-tenth of that for citizens of Poland. No figures are available for nationals of other Spanish-speaking countries, but they are undoubtedly smaller than those for Spanish.

The numbers and the age group of Spaniards suggest that many of these people would be married, either to fellow Spaniards or Irish citizens. This raises the question of language maintenance among their children - do Spaniards living in Ireland make any attempt to educate their children in Spanish? As far as can be seen, no provisions have been made by the Embassy of Spain or the Instituto Cervantes to promote the maintenance of Spanish among children of Spanish people in Ireland.

The issue of language maintenance in general will become a pressing one in Ireland in the coming years. The country has experienced significant and virtually unplanned immigration, to the point where non-Irish nationals now make up some 11.5 per cent of the population. The demands that some of these people may make for language provision for their children, both in English and in their origin languages, look certain to place great strains on the Irish educational system. Parents such as some Poles or Latvians may ask that their children be exempted from learning Irish, so that they may use their time in studying the language of their country of origin. Further, parents may prefer that their children study their own native language rather than the foreign languages available in the Irish schools, Polish rather than Spanish, for example. There are now over 100 languages spoken in Ireland, and we can scarcely guess at the complex issues and linguistic debates that may arise in the future.

David Barnwell

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## **When Ireland landed in the Pampas: The Irish in Argentina Project in the University of La Pampa (2007-2009)**

By María Graciela Eliggi, María Graciela Adamoli and Enrique Alejandro Basabe (1)

Translated by Annette Leahy

*The interest in Irish literature and culture of a group of teachers of English as a foreign language, led to, in early 2007, Ireland landing in La Pampa as a field of study and research, and as a clear proof that in a global world of diasporas, certain antagonisms are no longer possible. The 'Irish in Argentina: Recuperation of literary sources, translation and criticism' project, to give it its full name, is an experimental development and involves teacher-researchers in charge of different areas of literature, culture and translation from the Faculty of Human Sciences at the National University of La Pampa, Argentina. One of the objectives of this project is the analysis of the reception of Irish literature in Argentina, through the recuperation of various texts that represent the multiplicity of the Irish subject and can be found in periodical publications. Another important aspect on which our research is based is the translation of critical, theoretical and fictional essays into Spanish. In this way, contemporary critical literary and socio-cultural debate will be enriched from a comparative perspective. All of this will contribute to the dissemination of Irish culture and the reinforcement of intercultural relations.*



*Driving goats on the Pampas  
(Eliggi 2008)*

### **Introduction:**

#### **The Irish in Argentina Project**

Nothing could be further from the smooth and undulating fields of Ireland than the winds and emblematic sand flats of La Pampa. Nothing seems to be more in contrast than the damp grey of that island and the torrid and dry sun of the Pampa; or the persistent cheerfulness of the

Irish people and the sometimes taciturn sullenness of the people of the Pampas. Nevertheless, the interest of a group of teachers of English as a foreign language - crusaders on intercultural frontiers - in the literature and culture of the Celtic country caused Ireland to disembark in La Pampa at the beginning of 2007 as an area of study and research, and as a clear demonstration that in a

globalised world of diasporas, certain antagonisms are no longer possible.

At the end of 2006 and arising from a postgraduate course taught by Laura Izarra of the University of São Paulo at the Faculty of Human Sciences of the National University of La Pampa (UNLPam) on the literature of the Irish diaspora in general, a great deal of interest was generated among the assistant research professors. This translated into the creation of this new research project with its main focus on the Irish migration to Argentina in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The project 'The Irish in Argentina: Recuperation of literary sources, translation and criticism', to give it its full title, is an experimental undertaking and involves the researcher-professors in charge of the subjects Introduction to Literature, English and North-American Literature, Culture of English-speaking Countries, Literary Theory and Analysis, Seminar on Research Methodology of the English Faculty of the National University of La Pampa, and of the Translation Service of the Faculty of Human Sciences. This is framed within the field of Minority Literature in Argentina and literary translation and its possible fields of application are Contemporary History, National and Regional History, Sociology and Community Studies.

Although the researchers who decided to focus on the study of Irish literature have been working in the area of literary and cultural studies for more than ten years as an independent group within the Department of Foreign Languages, the beginning of this new project was a big challenge given how new and heretofore unexplored the theme was in our university. In light of the opinions expressed by the project's external evaluators, who highlighted 'the originality not only in relation to the research itself but also in the proposals for applying the results' (Boiero, M. 04/01/07), soon after beginning we realised that the undertaking we had just begun was not well explored in other study and research centres affiliated with national universities and/or third level institutes in our country. One year after its initiation, the 'Irish in Argentina' Project has

attracted the attention of new young researchers who asked to join for the purpose of finishing their English Language and Literature degree studies with the idea of writing their theses on this new field of research. The incorporation of these new members has in turn elicited a very positive response from those of us leading the project, and this entails a double responsibility and even greater challenge. All of the above demonstrates the relevance of this project and, at the same time, opens the door for the future creation of a Centre for Irish Studies within our university, with the possibility that this will be open not only to literary and cultural studies, but also to other interdisciplinary studies such as, for example, socio-historical and economic studies.

In previous projects the research team had proposed dealing with issues relating to the formation of identity within a particular culture, based on the analysis of different variables so that these could be used as a basis or starting point for later comparison with the literature of other English-speaking ethnicities and/or minorities. In successive projects we focused on the comparative study of English-language literature from the perspective of genre, ethnicity and personal, cultural and religious identity. Lastly, and based on the work completed thus far, the team decided to limit the theoretical as well as application corpus to texts written by contemporary Irish authors and also by Irish-Argentine authors, literature which for a very long time was considered marginal in relation to canonical English literature.

This new stage of research will deal with analysing the reception of this literature through the recuperation of literary texts published in newspapers of the Irish community in Argentina, among other sources, with the aim of helping to configure the literature of the diaspora in South America, a research project which had already been initiated at the University of São Paulo (Brazil) in 2000. Another important aspect on which our research is based is the translation of critical and theoretical essays and fictional texts into Spanish, to disseminate Irish culture in

Argentina, which will contribute to the information on this and to the understanding and strengthening of intercultural relations.

Thus we propose to give visibility to non-canonical Irish literature and culture, which, as stated in the previous paragraph, has remained on the margins of English-language output. On noting its resurgence in the literary world in recent decades, we propose to select and analyse texts from writers who represent the multiplicity of the contemporary Irish subject and translate them for the Argentinean public, a key objective that our research is aiming for. In this way current critical literary and socio-cultural debate will in turn be enriched from a comparative perspective. Nevertheless, in order to reach this objective we must, in the first place, make a literary map of the Irish presence in Argentina, taking the nineteenth century as our starting point. This was the era when a great number of Irish immigrants arrived in our country and settled mainly in the Pampas region forming an endogenous community who imported items and books from the old country in order to keep their roots alive.

The relevance and feasibility of this research increases if we consider that the Irish community in Argentina from the mid-nineteenth century on had various mechanisms of socio-cultural communication and dissemination, starting with the establishment of newspapers like *The Irish Argentine* (1888-1889) - which will be consulted should we gain access to it -, *Fianna* (1910-1912), *The Hiberno-Argentine Review* (1906-1927), *The Standard* (1861-1954) and *The Southern Cross* (1875 to the present) which in themselves constitute an important repository of sources. This reading material will in turn enable us to trace those distinctive signs and/or marks which define the idiosyncrasy of the Irish diaspora in Argentina. Therefore, the analysis of journalistic material of that era, where literary texts are published as serials, and critical summaries, will be compulsory reading in order to construct a literary history of the reception of Irish writers in Argentina from that time until the present. In the same way, and if we are granted access to these, the analysis of documents such as first-

hand accounts, letters, personal diaries, travel journals, among others, would constitute other notable written evidence that would enable us to achieve a more fine-tuned situational analysis, completing our study on this subject.



Caldén trees in La Pampa (*Prosopis caldenia*)  
(Eliggi 2008)

### **Irish Literature as an Academic Theme**

The literature of the Irish diaspora of the end of the nineteenth century and contemporary literature form this project's academic theme. This helps to re-evaluate the mechanisms of constructing and representing a particular identity, that of the Irish, characterised since the mid-nineteenth century by displacement and cultural dispersion, and who developed strategies of what could be called a 'culture of survival'. Towards the last quarter of the twentieth century however, Ireland moved from a subordinate position to become a European Union member-state and witnessed an inverse diaspora process when it became an area that attracted the immigration of other peoples. A description of the current situation of the theme set forth by this project, then, allows us to observe that, faced with the historical-cultural changes of present-day Ireland, its literature in recent decades has shown the transformation of a postcolonial vision towards a global vision. In this sense a critical study of the state of Irish art within and outside of Ireland will enable us to reflect on the appearance of new literary elements in the different genres, which will contribute to the debate on comparative studies in our country.

On these bases, we pose the following questions: how does contemporary Irish literature represent the transformations of modern Ireland and in what way are the new cosmopolitan identities formed? How do these 'new identities' interact with the systems of representation from the nineteenth century? How can the Irish question be moved and translated historically to the Argentinean context? How is contemporary Irish literature received in present-day Argentina? What are the implications of these cultural translation processes?

It should be made clear that light has been shed on these questions by the advances stemming from the seminal - though much debated - work of Benedict Anderson (1983) and of its application to Irish literature by Declan Kiberd (1996), both supported by solid post-structuralist bases and promoters of a representation of the nation and literature as cultural constructs, as 'imagined communities', as 'invention'. Moreover, and due to the fact that our questions are based on an interdisciplinary logic, our study must necessarily be framed within what Sabrina Sharkey (2003) considers to be revisionist practices, those in which they propose tackling dominant narratives about Ireland subject to the deconstruction demanded by certain specific historical crossroads.

In light of the above, these questions influence the choice of a corpus of analysis which is formed in part by the summaries of the aforementioned newspapers for the purposes of determining what Irish literature was read in Argentina. Next, works by Irish authors in Argentina are considered, such as the work of William Bulfin, and descendents of Irish people in Argentina as is the case with Juan José Delaney, and these are analysed according to the contact zones which are established in the intercultural representation. Thirdly, contemporary Irish works are selected and their reception among groups of students in literature courses in our English Faculty is evaluated.

The study of these representations in a context of tensions provoked by the meeting of

different cultures opens new ways of understanding the processes of forming cosmopolitan identities in the contemporary era. Therefore, these issues and those which arise in the future of the research will have to be resolved by reconsidering the meaning of the concept of 'cosmopolitan' in the present time. This is an adjective which, according to postcolonial theories, allows one to characterise individuals, particularly marginalised individuals, who pass through the different cultures and frontiers within their own geographic, social and cultural space but at the same time, with the possibility of recreating and questioning their identity in the debate on current globalisation (Bhabha, 1990: 139-40).

In this way the phenomena of (im)migration and diaspora become the centre of discussion and relate with the diverse processes of identity construction. Our questions take on more life in this context as they aim to reconsider the flows of the Irish diaspora towards Argentina as is reflected in the literature and to evaluate the global possibilities of contemporary Irish literature in the present-day context.

Thus, we will be working on both the centrifugal and centripetal directions of Irish movements and in two definite temporal contexts. The study and theorisation of the diaspora, focusing on the dispersion of peoples and cultures through geographical areas, and as a part of a network of crossroads of several fields of research, will then enable us to re-examine history and literature in order to discuss again and re-signify the concepts of transnationalism, transculturalism, globalisation and cultural hybridity, in this case in the relationship of Irish literature with Argentina.

### **Preliminary Advances**

All landings are misty and arduous, even in times of computer networks and global communications. All landings also imply displacement and migration for the people who experience them. All landings are a sign of mobility understood in the specific or most abstract sense of the word, as a change of mental structures and as the appropriation of new concepts and methods. In our case, and

for these very reasons, one of the aspects considered by the project demonstrates a more prudent advance. The displacements implied by the necessary trips to the archives located in Buenos Aires and the journey from Language and Literature towards History and Historiography have meant that the recuperation of literary sources and the analysis of the literature of the Irish diaspora in Argentina at the end of the nineteenth century is still in the stage of gathering data and the systematic study of the interdisciplinary crossovers which we are proposing. While we are already quite comfortable in some areas, namely Literary Criticism and Teaching Literature, our advances are more promising and we can say that we are already walking on terra firma.



The cemetery at Kilmonaghan, near Clara, County Offaly, Ireland  
(Murray 2005)

### **Criticism of Irish Literature in Argentina**

During our first year of research (2007) and within the context of this project, we wrote a series of works of literary criticism, gathering

journalistic data and imparting educational information, presented at two international forums. One took place in the city of Belo Horizonte, Brazil: The First International Conference of ABRAPUI, Federal University of Minas Gerais, which the directors of the project attended as speakers. The other took place in the city of Buenos Aires, Argentina, with the title 'Second Symposium of Irish Studies in South America'. It should be pointed out that our University, through this project, played an active part in its organisation which entailed more than half a year of management and organisation alongside the University of São Paulo, Brazil, all coordinated by Laura Izarra, the project's external adviser, and which culminated in the National University of La Pampa Press (EDUNLPam) releasing a CD containing a selection of the most relevant papers presented on that occasion.

Among the contributions by UNLPam researchers we can give special mention to those papers focused on analysing the work of the Irish-Argentine writer Juan José Delaney dealing with concepts of place, displacement and diaspora and social self-marginalisation. Several papers were also presented on writer William Bulfin's *Tales of the Pampas*, critical texts contemplating the analysis of the implications of Irish immigration to Argentina; the attitude towards the new land, its inhabitants and customs; the construction of the identity of being Irish; and the intercultural crossovers which are forged through the different mental representations held about the Irish foreigner and vice-versa. Other papers discussed issues closer to the author's personal choice. Among the topics dealt with, those relating to the construction of identity and autobiography can be cited. Lastly, as coordinator, participant and writer who is a member of the Irish-Argentine community in Argentina, Juan José Delaney interviewed his peers Susan Wilkinson, Lilian Doyle and Michael John Geraghty who referred to the process of developing themes on the diaspora, common to many of their works and related to their status as descendants of Irish people.

### **The Reception of Irish Literature at the English Language Faculty. A case study**

Ireland has held a privileged position in the field of Literary Studies. Nevertheless, its literary production was always joined to that of the UK. One need only mention James Joyce and W.B. Yeats, figures who have been undisputed and anthologised *ad infinitum* within the canon of English literature. If, in our search for a 'decolonisation' of Irish literature, we debate this location as we talk, as we did years ago in one of faculties belonging to the project, of 'Literature, nation and nationalism: the case of Ireland and its literary "renaissance"', perhaps we inadvertently move towards the extreme of stressing nationality over literature itself, of putting the GIWs (Great Irish Writers) on a pedestal. The subject '20th Century English-Language literature' at the English Faculty in UNLPam presented a favourable context for the resolution of that debate due to the fact that the lack of a national identification in its title allows room to explore the different literature produced in English-speaking countries in the twentieth century, including Irish literature, and also enables us to transfer the knowledge acquired by the teacher-researchers in the context of the project in question.



National University of Ireland, Maynooth  
(Murray 2005)

In a changing world of displacement and cultural dispersion, the corpus which the students need to tackle forms an initial problem. Though the narrative work of Joyce,

Yeats' poetry and Synge's dramatic work are unavoidable in the context of twentieth-century literature, we detected that these were on the road to becoming unreadable for our students, of faster, more de-contextualised and less informed readings. For this reason, in the first place we decided to leave these contexts behind and our first explorations on Irishness are today constituted by some Bernard MacLaverty short stories and some non-fiction pieces by Ian Sansom, which invite one, as Sharkey suggests (129-131), to 'revisit' Northern Ireland, as do the plays of the Irishman living in London, Martin McDonagh, and "The Beauty Queen of Leenane" (1996) and "Translations" (1980) by Northern Ireland's Brian Friel.

With the inclusion of the latter works we have discovered that the student, even without access to a performance, enjoys this reading which s/he considers more accessible and which allows him/her to mentally recreate the context in his/her own terms, better than the narrative. All of these works, in one way or another, carry the idea of diaspora in their content, either in the migrant background of their authors, or in the migrating quality of the tone. This re-articulation of the corpus is what allows the students later on to return to the also nomadic yet always a Dubliner Joyce and to understand the reason why Gabriel Conroy is so desperate to leave Ireland in 'The Dead' (1916). At times, this can be viewed even in relation to a more familiar context, present-day Argentina, or to re-adapt their readings and re-appropriate the events described in Yeats' 'Easter 1916' with the eyes of someone who already knows that Ireland exists and that it is not only the green hill on a postcard but a culture that is also experienced, written, and lived.

In this sense, the second problem stems from the methodology used in literature classes. At first we accompanied our view of Ireland as a national entity with the classic historical context following on from the textual approach to the works, in order to culminate in describe-and-discuss type questions, such as why the use of the Anglo-Irish variety of the language can form part of a more generalised movement

towards the establishment of a radical national identity (Birch, David 1992: 6). Emphasis was placed on the literary institution and how this accompanies the political institution, a view which is, on the one hand, very narrow and on the other, very far from the reality of our students who, we reiterate, ending up viewing Ireland as a mere object of study.

At this time we chose to propose a living Ireland to the students. The contexts and exercises of post-structuralist reading have gradually left room for questions which are perhaps simpler in some senses, but which allow those involved in reading the literary work to select and organise its elements, excluding some and emphasising others, in order to construct a consistent yet personal whole (Terry Eagleton, 1987: 122). Tackling the problem of the protagonist of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in the first person, for example, was one of the essay questions given. Thus, we believe we are gradually getting closer to one of the aims of the project, the dissemination of contemporary Irish literature in La Pampa and, even in a global and cosmopolitan but sometimes misinformed context that exists nowadays, to work towards Ireland persisting in the mind and memory, in whatever form the readers - in this case, our students- may give it.

## **Conclusion**

With the 'Irish in Argentina' project, Ireland definitively landed in La Pampa through its literature and the rediscovery of the history of those who left the Green Isle to populate the Argentinean Pampas. The results of our studies, though still partial, have shown a significant advance in the quality of the approach to literary works and in the interest in Irish culture this has created, not only among our students, but also among younger professors who choose to broach the theme in their degree studies. Though some of our areas of interest are still in the early stages, our expectations regarding the results to be obtained towards the end of this project are numerous but can be summarised in the transfer of our knowledge to the different subjects involved in the project, the publication of a series of working papers organised according to key thematic-historical issues, the translation of literary texts into Spanish, teaching courses and organising events relating to the theme of the project, all of which will promote Irish culture and the relations and academic exchange between our University and other Centres of Irish Studies in Argentina and abroad.

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## **Notes**

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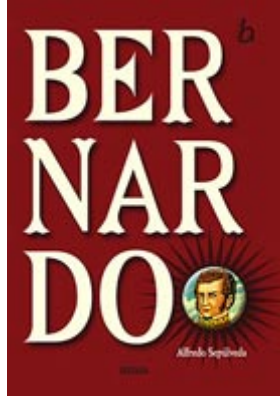
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## **Review of Alfredo Sepúlveda's *Bernardo: Una biografía de Bernardo O'Higgins***

By Fabián Gaspar Bustamante  
Translated by Annette Leahy



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Recounting history - understood as human events in time - has come to be considered by new generations of historians as a form of power that they have assigned to themselves in their role as custodians of a nation's memory. They have legitimised themselves as authorities who monopolise the production of knowledge and the meaning of history. This is based on a methodological baggage that allows them to control their affirmations, at the same time as proposing a united and unifying memory. This memory is then used to spread the social values and behaviour that they aim at, to naturalise a tie of belonging to an imagined community with the aim of bringing the subjects of the process together. This is the origin of the exaltation and the mythologisation of "great figures", from our republican history, inalterable themes reflected in schoolbooks and teaching.

It had to be a journalist and not a historian who dared to (re)write the story of one of these "great figures" with a fine selection of historical material, resulting in a solid nineteenth-century biography. Thus we get *Bernardo*, a biography that chronologically charts the public and private life of Bernardo O'Higgins, looking

behind the facade of the hero of Chilean Independence. For this reason the first name 'Bernardo' is used as a title, for the author intentionally reveals his actual life and not the 'collective myth' created by Chilean historical positivism. Bernardo was in fact not acknowledged by his father and spent part of his life with only the name Bernardo, and not O'Higgins, which he used only later as an adult.

Alfredo Sepúlveda takes as his starting point this man's grandiose normality, passing through the different periods of his life: illegitimate son, landowner, politician, hero, Supreme Governor and exile.

In the first chapter of the book, "El camarón y la bella", Alfredo takes us inside the silence surrounding Bernardo's infancy. He starts with robust research into his parents' lives: Ambrosio Higgins ('the shrimp' was the nickname by which he was known in Chile), a tireless character who leaves Ireland - faced with England's deliberate destruction of the economy - like many other Irish people who emigrated in the eighteenth century: Catholics preferred Spain and France, and Protestants the United States.

Ambrosio chose Spain in order to seek out a more auspicious destiny. He arrived in the Spanish city of Cádiz, just about to turn thirty, as an entrepreneur merchant, travelling throughout America and later, in a notable military promotion, rising to the position of Viceroy of Peru in 1796, after rising through the ranks as colonel of the Cuerpo de Dragones in 1777 and as Governor of Chile between 1786 and 1788.

With this military promotion, and while camping on a ranch owned by Simón Riquelme, he met a girl of Spanish descent, Isabel, aged 18, who would become the mother of a boy called Bernardo.

In relation to this amorous encounter between Isabel and Ambrosio, the author reflects sceptically on the macho novelistic construction around Isabel (particularly that of Jaime Eyzaguirre), who is described as a 'passionate woman' who seduced the Irish soldier. For the author these interpretations do not have 'the slightest documentary substance' (p. 47); furthermore, he raises suspicions and suppositions in relation to the different visions he compares, though he avoids choosing a single one: "we do not know if Isabel was raped and saw the Irishman as an ugly old man who caused her to be disgraced. Or if she consented to sex thinking that there was a chance to leave the constrained world she was condemned to" (p.48).

The illegitimate son of the colonial administrator - who was forbidden to marry a Creole girl in his role as an official of the crown - was treated harshly by life from early on: he was abandoned by his father, though he was later recognised by the Irish officer "in order to give him an education but not a surname" (p.53). Later on, Ambrosio gave Bernardo his surname and inheritance, which included the Hacienda de las Canteras. In this sense, and despite the distance between father and son, the book highlights very well Ambrosio's intimate concern (and obsession) with Bernardo in later years.

Nevertheless, in the second chapter, entitled "El Huacho", the author describes how the boy

was stigmatised; no sooner was he born than he was handed over to the care of Juana Olate who - according to some historians, and as noted by the author - "must have been the first woman Bernardo called 'mamá'" (p.55). However, Sepúlveda later casts doubt on this because it has not been proven whether Bernardo did indeed live with the Olates.

As soon as Ambrosio found out about the birth of his son Bernardo, he intervened and sent him to Talca (through his assistant Domingo Tirapegui) to the house of his personal friend, the rancher Juan Albano Pereira. There for the first time father and son met in what the author, with a tone of humour, calls a 'tearful scene'. Meanwhile his mother married Félix Rodríguez, with whom she had a daughter called Rosa. Bernardo grew up alone, and was sent to a boarding school, the Colegio de Nobles Naturales run by the Franciscans in the city of his birth.

At the Colegio, he did meet with his mother and his half-sister, but his father moved him again, this time to Lima, to pursue his studies at one of the Viceroyalty's best schools, the Convictorio Carolino. In Lima, Bernardo first heard the ideas of the European Enlightenment, thanks to a priest called Toribio Rodríguez de Mendoza. All of this leads the author to wonder if Ambrosio's efforts to give him a better education had brought him "to a hotbed of progressive ideas" which, with Rodríguez de Mendoza, would have put not only the King's cause but also his own father's cause in jeopardy (p.67). However, Bernardo had to leave that Convictorio due to the fact his father had been appointed Viceroy, and having an illegitimate son there was not a comfortable situation for Ambrosio.

The lack of documentary evidence means that the sub-chapter "London Calling" (making reference to a song by the English punk band, The Clash) is one of the most interesting in the book as it investigates Bernardo's life in England, a real mystery - primarily because it is not known if Ambrosio preferred the army, business or a good education for his son. In the end, according to the author's research, Bernardo was in Cádiz, in the care of an ex-

associate called Nicolás de la Cruz and later, for unknown reasons, he arrived in London in the care of the watchmakers Perkins and Spencer, friends of Nicolás de la Cruz, in order to study at Richmond Catholic Academy. There he met his first love, Charlotte Eelers, daughter of Timothy Eelers, the owner of the establishment, but the relationship ended abruptly.

Bernardo's last months in England were awful. Here Sepúlveda maintains that the financial problems arose from his hectic social life; this led to the watchmakers to cease to provide for his upkeep and, for this reason, Bernardo lived through very tough times in the English capital.

During this time he came into contact with Francisco de Miranda, a revolutionary who had fought against English colonialism at the head of the American Revolution and who was trying to form a network of revolutionaries to fight for pan-American emancipation. Bernardo's meeting with the revolutionary leader caused a rupture with his father (this was starting to show itself in the letters he wrote to the Viceroy, which never received a reply): "how was it that Bernardo decided to cross over to the band of Ambrosio's enemies?" (p.82), the author wonders. Nevertheless, and despite all reports to the contrary, it may be that no such rupture really occurred, as Ambrosio, before he died, left him the best of his legacy: the Hacienda de Las Canteras.

In the following chapters it is inferred that those leading the movement of 1810 were the large landowners and wealthiest businessmen who controlled, for colonial purposes, the main sources of wealth, but which remained in the hands of the Spanish Crown's representatives. Therefore, seizing political power, disguised as a patriotic cause, they also had another aim: lowering the taxes established by the Crown and the implementation of exemptions for the importation of raw materials. (1)

Bernardo himself, owner of a large fortune inherited from his father, was more of a rancher than a revolutionary and made few forays into Chilean political matters. The only exception was when he was sent as a

representative of the city of Los Ángeles to the National Congress of 1811 and put some peasants at the disposal of another large landowner of the colonial period: Juan Martínez de Rozas. Definitively, the author shows a Bernardo O'Higgins in this period as preferring to look after his ranch and be with his mother and his sister Rosa, with whom he had reunited (p.119).

The so-called independence process was made up not only of bloody battles but also of a struggle between the egos and interests of the Creole revolutionary leaders: the disputes between Juan Martínez de Rozas and José Miguel Carrera – a character portrayed as an aristocrat seeking glory for himself - and later Carrera's struggle with Bernardo O'Higgins. The power struggle between the elites reflects that the war was not only fought against the Spanish, but was a real civil war.

It should be pointed out that, in the first stage of independence, there was little popular participation as this revolution, started by the Creole elites. The revolution did not mean social emancipation because "they had not changed the old relationship between master and servant; the old ways of interacting were simply transferred into the army" (p.198-199). Nevertheless, this situation would change with the Spanish Reconquista due to the popular rejection of the harsh Spanish repression. For example, popular support was a key factor in the success of the guerrillas of the revolutionary Manuel Rodríguez.

With the command given by the Viceroy of Peru, José Fernando Abascal y Souza, to quash the revolution in Chile, Bernardo joined Carrera's army command without having had any military training. This issue has been obscured by traditional historiography, while the author reflects it very clearly - the Escuela Militar de Chile bears his name. It was thanks to Mackenna that he managed to get military advice to fight against the Spanish.

In confrontations the result was negative for the independence cause: this is how the siege of Chillán (1813) is depicted. This event caused Carrera to lose power over the revolution due

to his military blunders, thereby notably lowering his prestige as a leader. Bernardo O'Higgins therefore emerged with military power as General-in-Chief of the Army, after the skill he had demonstrated in El Roble. This was the reason for the enmity between Carrera and O'Higgins.

These two new irreconcilable bands allowed the Desastre de Rancagua (1814) to happen, leading O'Higgins to go into exile in the city of Mendoza in Argentina. In the chapter "Cuando pa'Chile me voy" the author emphasises that exile was an invasion, during which the Chileans earned a terrible reputation in that city: they often stole chickens, harassed women, got drunk and started fights (p.289).

For his part, General O'Higgins met General San Martín - portrayed by the author as an opium addict, as a result of his bodily ailments - to give support and reorganise the Army and thus defeat the Royalists at the Battle of Chacabuco on 12 February 1817. That same month he was named Supreme Director of Chile, and in February 1818, he formulated the Declaration of Independence in the city of Talca.

Despite having lost in a new Spanish attack in Cancha Rayada (some 5 km to the north of Talca), independence was consolidated at the bloody Battle of Maipú on 5 April of that same year.

In the new climate of patriotism and nationalism, O'Higgins reached a level of unusually high prestige for his military leadership on the battlefield, where the value of independence gained meaning. (2) Nevertheless, his government was authoritarian, justifying his dictatorship within a legal framework first protected by the Constitution of 1818, which, inspired by him, made him the Supreme Director for life.

He tried to liberalise Chilean society in his government while distancing himself from the Catholic clergy through his tolerance towards Protestants. O'Higgins infuriated landowners, who, once the war was over, viewed him as a 'foreigner' - for trying to abolish laws and institutions that protected their inheritances.

Moreover, he made himself very unpopular for his 'consent' to the execution of his most bitter enemy, José Miguel Carrera, in Mendoza and the death of the patriot guerrilla Manuel Rodríguez.

But war did not totally characterise Bernardo's life: in the final chapters, "El mejor momento" and "La hora de los fantasmas", the author reveals the romantic life of O'Higgins with Rosario Puga, praised as quite a liberal woman for her era. With her, he had a son called Demetrio, though they later separated due to the fact Rosario had a lover, a Carrera sympathiser, and had become pregnant.

Despite the proclamation of a new constitution in 1822 which abolished the lifelong position of Supreme Director, with the imminent civil war he was forced to relinquish his position on 28 January 1823. From that moment on, O'Higgins spent the rest of his life exiled in Peru, together with Isabel, Rosa and his son Demetrio at the Montalbán ranch, where he passed away in October 1842. His remains were only returned to Chile in 1869, as a 'National Hero' (or 'exquisite corpse'), according to the military honours of the authorities of the time. Years later, General Augusto Pinochet, the bloody dictator, tried to fuse his figure with that of Bernardo O'Higgins in order to legitimate his new regime.

Finally, in relation to the book's formal aspects, Sepúlveda's writing skills must be praised. The way that the facts flow into one another enables the reader to easily understand, particularly the review of the existing bibliography on Bernardo and the independence period. In the same way, the author is consistent in his reasoning, explained in the prologue, and he develops and confronts several ideas of other authors. At the same time, there is the impression that he opens up many lines of enquiry which are not concluded. Writing history is not narration alone but also interpretation. The author's own explicit interpretation should be more detailed in comparison with the other views that appear in the book.

In relation to the above there is, moreover, a severe limitation in consulting primary sources. Archive consultation is non-existent, leaving the positive information that can be found there aside. Also, there are quotes in many of the book's passages, but the problem is that we do not know where he takes them from as there is no footnote to reference them and this distances the book from being a historical text.

On the other hand, the man behind the hero, Sepúlveda, has the journalist's maniacal obsession with retaining data and facts, filling whole pages with the same material - at times this is unnecessary.

Sepúlveda's greatest contribution is precisely the fact that he puts the re-reading of the study of our 'heroes' back on the agenda, something that seemed to have been abandoned by our national historiography. More importantly still, he calls into question the canonical beliefs of

our historical schools about our patriotic figures.

This biography is without doubt neither the definitive nor the 'true' biography, nevertheless it is an interesting book for anyone interested in the subject, if only in order to motivate and explore new hypotheses and re-readings on O'Higgins.

Lastly, history, as accumulative knowledge, is continuously enriched by new contributions from contemporaries who propose and search for their own responses to their uncertainties. Perhaps Sepúlveda's taste for history will make him continue and further develop the biography of Bernardo or another character in Chilean history, though perhaps with a little more historical rigour.

Fabián Gaspar Bustamante

### Notes

(1) In 1796, Great Britain set up a marine blockade between Spain and its American colonies causing the shortage of products and the Metropolis's inability to control trade in the colonies, leading local traders to seek other markets.

(2) An idea raised by Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt in *La Independencia de Chile: Tradición, modernización y mito* (Santiago: Editorial Planeta, 2001), p. 251.

### Author's Reply

In general I agree with these comments. Bernardo is an attempt, from the perspective of journalism and not history, to publicise the figure of the Independents' leader, with whose surname half of the streets of Chile have been baptised, not to mention an entire region, together with the Military School itself. This publicising through a commercial book, not aimed at specialists, seemed to me to be necessary because he is not a popular hero (in fact, in the Chilean version of "Great Britons", he is not even among the ten selected). The reason for this lack of attention to the figure of O'Higgins lies perhaps in the fact that he was the favourite hero of Pinochet, and that during

the years of the dictatorship, he tried to symbolically connect with O'Higgins: both men were, according to this particular point-of-view, 'fathers' of the land. One founded it and the other 're-founded' it.

It seems evident that O'Higgins was much more than the desires of Pinochet and it was for this reason that I wrote the book: to once again present his life to the readers of today (in 2010 there will have been 200 years of independent Chilean governments), as far away as possible from prejudices and biased official interpretations.

It is true. In Bernardo, there are quite a number of questions that are left unanswered. This is one of the oldest journalistic maxims; 1) asking

questions is, in some way, also giving information and 2) if someone does not know the answer, it is better to say so. I am not trained as a historian and so I sought to leave it open to interpretation, although I do believe that there is a certain level of 'informed speculation' in the book.

I recognise the absence of primary sources. I would have loved to have had the time to dive into the archives, but journalists work fast and to a deadline. I preferred to limit myself to secondary sources and to point this out in the book.

The references were an issue that was a source of some headaches to me. I did not want this text to be full of footnotes. I think this conspires against one of the main strengths of the work: the agility of narration. Therefore I recognised, in the prologue, my three main

documentary sources and I pointed out that I would not be citing them all the time.

"The journalist's maniacal obsession with retaining data and facts, filling whole pages with the same material" is curious. In the world of Anglo-Saxon journalism, where I was educated, this is a positive value. Show, don't tell. Love for details. In the Hispanic world, however, this way of narrating always encounters a certain reticence.

I accept the criticism of being an ally in this crusade to go beyond the canonical views on history. Coming from journalism, which generally has to do with the present and not the past, this was what I tried to do.

Alfredo Sepúlveda Cereceda

## **Review of Juan Pablo Young and Pablo Zubizarreta's documentary film *4 de julio: La masacre de San Patricio***

By Catherine Leen (1)



DVD, 98 minutes

Aguafuerte Films, El Acorazado Cine, Habitación 1520 Producciones  
Produced by Gastón Rothschild, directed by Juan Pablo Young and Pablo Zubizarreta,  
edited by Fernando Vega

The Fourth of July is a date synonymous with freedom and the Declaration of Independence in the United States, but it also marks the little-known story of one of the most brutal repressions of Argentina's so-called dirty war from 1976 to 1983, the most bloody dictatorship in the nation's history. On that day in 1976, six members of the Argentine Navy entered the St. Patrick's parish house in Belgrano, Buenos Aires, and assassinated five religious: the priests Pedro Eduardo Dufau, Alfredo Leaden and Alfie Kelly and the seminarians Salvador Barbeito and Emilio Barletti. Their bodies were left in place, arranged execution style, while the walls were graffitied with slogans accusing the priests and seminarians of being communists and confirming that their deaths were a warning to those who 'poisoned the minds of the young.'

Young and Zubizarreta's documentary questions why this group was targeted when the hierarchy of the Catholic Church at the time closely allied itself with the military dictatorship. The answer to this question is provided by contemporary television and newspaper archival footage, which presents a deeply divided Argentine society racked by

violence and insecurity. The church was not exempt from these divisions and was essentially torn between conservatism and a deep commitment to social reform inspired by Vatican II and liberation theology. The deaths of the members of St. Patrick's crystallised this schism, as the murdered men had been accused of being 'zurdos' - left-wing and even communist revolutionaries. The fact that the church seemed to have had little interest in investigating the killings parallels the efforts of the government to cover up its use of the mechanisms of the state to rule by terror.

Young and Zubizarreta spent six years accumulating the archival footage that is used to powerful effect to re-create the climate of fear and paranoia that the early part of the film evokes. Significantly, they were forced to look outside Argentina for a great deal of this material, which they eventually located in CBS studio archives in the United States. This footage is intertwined with equally powerful and often emotional testimonies from other members of the congregation; the journalist and historian Eduardo Kimel, whose book *La masacre de San Patricio* (The St. Patrick's Massacre) inspired much of the film; excerpts

from Alfie Kelly's diary; and interviews with the mothers of the seminarians. Despite the fact that the title refers to the particular events of 1976, the film has a two-part structure, with the first section concentrating on the massacre and the second following the story of Bob Kilmeate, a former Pallotine priest.

The first section of the film deals with the massacre, placing it within a historical context of a politically and socially fragmented society and the ambivalent attitude of the institutional church in Latin America to liberation theology. Kimel's persuasive and eloquent account of these events does much to provide this part of the film with a clear structure. Interviews with Fr Kevin O'Neill, the mentor of the members of the congregation dedicated to the tenets of Liberation theology, form a moving tribute to the murdered men. The excerpts from Kelly's diary and the interviews with the mothers of the seminarians vividly communicate the atmosphere of fear and suspicion that pervaded Argentina at the time, as Kelly writes of death threats against him while both mothers dreamt that their sons would be killed. The film also effectively chronicles the church's collusion with the regime and the paradox that the junta leader Admiral Videla was profoundly religious and even attended the funerals of the men his henchmen had murdered. The only questionable decision in this part of the film is the reenactment of the moment when the assassins enter the parish house through the church, during which one faceless killer blesses himself. Presumably the intention here was to underline the connection between the church and the military, but this has already been persuasively established and the use of this brief scene opens the directors to charges of dramatising rather than reporting the events portrayed.

The second section of the film deals with Kilmeate's difficulties as a result of his friendship with his former colleagues. He too is suspected of being a communist and possibly a terrorist. After his ordination, only O'Neill supported him, insisting that he stay in the parish though he was sidelined into youth ministry. Kilmeate's determination to continue

to help the poor led him to be transferred to Patagonia, where he was finally forced to leave the order as a result of a smear campaign roundly condemned as slander by O'Neill. His tale has a surprisingly hopeful conclusion, however, as he and other former St. Patrick's seminarians continue to work to help the disadvantaged by defending the land rights of small farmers in Patagonia and forming collectives to help farmers secure fair prices for their goods. At first, the decision to continue the film to the present day through Kilmeate's story seems rather puzzling, yet this is perhaps the greatest tribute that the film makes to the murdered men: the work of Kilmeate and others shows that the ideals they upheld have not died and that change is possible, albeit, in this case, outside the church.

Although many fictional and documentary films have dealt with the dirty war, remarkably few have addressed the relationship between the Catholic Church and the dictatorship. Luis Puenzo's *La historia oficial* (1985), the only Argentine film to win an Oscar, features a brief scene where the protagonist is shocked to learn that her parish priest supports the military's repression. Another key feature film made after the return to democracy, Jeanine Meerapfel's *La amiga* (1988), contains a similar sequence. These films and a number of recent documentaries, such as Pablo Milstein and Norberto Ludin's *Sol de noche* (2002) and Albertina Carri's *Los rubios* (2003), differ greatly in style and form, but all concentrate on the plight of the disappeared. *4 de julio* is therefore a remarkable documenting of the collusion between church and state during the dictatorship that contributes to a greater understanding of the ideological confusion of the regime. In terms of its contribution to filmmaking about the period, it seems to me that the film more than lives up to Aldofo Perez Esquivel's prescription that contemporary Argentine documentary makers must make it clear, through their presentation of events and testimonies, that the past is part of the present (cited in Campo and Dodaro eds., 2007, p.8). Through their skillful use of documentary evidence, interviews and the continuation of the legacy of liberation

theology in the second half of the film, Young and Zubizarreta succeed thoroughly in making the events of the 1970s and 1980s relevant to today's Argentina. This film also has deep resonances for Irish audiences, as the lively debate following its premiere on April 28 at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, organised by the Department of Spanish,

illustrated. Not only is *4 de julio* a singularly moving tribute to the members of St. Patrick's, but it has much to teach Irish audiences about the history of the Irish clergy in Latin America.

Catherine Leen

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### **Author's Reply**

Javier Campo and Christian Dodaro, (eds.), I would first like to thank and congratulate Dr Catherine Leen for having achieved a precise and profound synthesis of the complex story that the film seeks to narrate. It is interesting to observe that she takes issue only with the scene in which we reconstructed the crime in fictional form, and particularly the moment in which one of the murderers, before entering the parish to massacre the priests and seminarians, makes the sign of the cross.

Never before had I questioned myself on the validity or otherwise of that action. This is interesting as I can understand that it is an emphasis that probably is rendered redundant. Both for me and for the co-director Pablo Zubizarreta, it was essential to demonstrate that the murderers of the Pallotine priests were not only Catholics but also had the conviction that they were doing something good in relation to their Christian faith in eliminating the impostors and heretics of St. Patrick's. This issue is even more controversial for Argentinean Catholics and it has been so difficult to talk about this topic that, perhaps because of this (I am not justifying myself but rather seeking to understand our decision), we

have never doubted the necessity of including this action.

Once again thank you to Dr Leen for her fully constructive criticism and to Edmundo Murray for the possibility that he has given us to disseminate this story.

Juan Pablo Young

Translated by Claire Healy