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# Irish Migration Studies in Latin America



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The Argentine countryside strike of 2008  
Demonstration at roundabout linking national routes N° 8  
and N° 33, Venado Tuerto, 15 May 2008  
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## The Irish in Latin American Politics, Government and Diplomacy

Guest Editors: Jorge Cernadas Fonsalías and Carolina Barry

Editors: Edmundo Murray, Claire Healy

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## **The Irish in Latin American Politics, Government and Diplomacy**

By Jorge Cernadas Fonsalías and Carolina Barry (1)

Guest Editors

Translated by Claire Healy

The activities of the Irish and their descendents in Latin America has been studied on the basis of their commercial, professional, religious and military pursuits. Although these areas are important, they also made a significant contribution in political participation. This goes some way in explaining the level of cohesion that they had or sought to enjoy in receiving countries, particularly in Argentina, the country with the greatest number of Irish migrants in the region. Political participation implied participating and mixing, associating themselves with and taking an active part in the public life of the community. Therefore, in a strict sense, political participation refers to situations in which the individual contributes directly or indirectly to a political situation (Sani 1983: 1181). It is important to take into account that politics is not solely confined to participation along formal or strictly electoral channels but rather also by other methods.

However, it should be noted that foreigners in general were reluctant to participate in politics, and it is probable that one of the causes has been the limited political space that the State grants to immigrants - and their own disinterest in enjoying political rights through naturalisation. The majority of sending countries take away nationality from people who adopt a new one. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento maintained that immigrants not only decided to remain isolated from political life, but a common feature was “the systematic abstention of foreigners from taking part in social life” (Cúneo et al 1967: 72). (2) Sergio Kiernan argues in relation to the low level of naturalisations that the “first generation was so reluctant to become Argentine that it attracted the ire of President Sarmiento, who wrote article after article damning the Irish as ungrateful” (Kiernan 2004). It is noteworthy that today for some

descendents their Irish identity is worth more than their Argentine one.

At any rate, as maintained above, the electoral route is not the only form of political participation, as, from the final third of the nineteenth century, foreigners claimed and defended their interests through alternative political channels to voting, such as the press, community associations and public demonstrations (Sabato 1998). In this sense, we can observe in the articles presented here how the Irish played an active role in the political life of Latin American receiving countries.

The majority of Irish people arrived between forty and fifty years before the onset of mass immigration between 1880 and 1914. As well as the circumstances that favoured their arrival before the great migratory flows, the Irish community was quantitatively smaller compared to the others. However, in the case of Argentina, their insertion into the most dynamic sector of the economy of the time was a vital activity, on the basis of which a limited number of people made great profits, and gained prestige in the life of the new country. Nevertheless, their political intervention pointed to how Irish migration was still an isolated case. Preliminary research allows us to affirm that both the Irish and their descendents were involved in numerous political events, within a broad ideological range. Among the most emblematic personalities were Guillermo Brown, the founder of the Argentine Navy; Edelmiro Farrell, president of Argentina; and the revolutionary Ernesto (Che) Guevara Lynch de la Serna, to name but a few. It is interesting to highlight that the military were present in one manner or another in politics, albeit from different places and with different objectives.

In Argentina the Irish had their own political party, the Admiral Brown Club, founded by Dean Dillon and others in 1884, with the objective of occupying a place in the Senate. The same Dillon had created a newspaper, *The Southern Cross*, which, together with community objectives, also reflected the political situation in Ireland and Argentina, and played a significant role during the process of independence on the island. (3) The editorial line of that newspaper maintained this characteristic of a “political tribune”. Although over the years it changed its ideological content, the imprint left by Dillon from the first edition remained. Apart from this particular experience, the main Argentine political parties had both Irish men and Irish women in their ranks, occupying elected positions as well as participating in uprisings and insurrections. (4)

Argentina was the country with the greatest number of Irish migrants in Latin America, though this is not to say that they were not important in other countries where they were also involved in local politics. One of these was Juan O'Donohue y O'Ryan, from Seville but of Irish origin, selected as the last Viceroy of New Spain. (5) In the same location, the activity of William Lamport was of significance (of whom more will be said below). In independent Mexico, John O'Reilly commanded the San Patricio Battalion; (6) and John Devereux commanded the Irish Legion in Colombia. (7) Daniel O'Leary, an Irishman, fought in the wars of independence in South America together with Simón Bolívar and was the representative of Gran Colombia in England. We can also mention Peter Campbell in Uruguay, and James O'Kelly, Leopoldo O'Donnell and Richard Madden in Cuba. (8) There was also Bernardo O'Higgins, national hero of Chilean independence – and Chile also had a descendent of Irish immigrants as president of the nation, Patricio Aylwin. In more recent years the relationship between the FARC and the IRA (9) represents a relationship between Ireland and Latin America, or, better said, between Irish people and Latin Americans. Edmundo O'Gorman, as a historian, generated a political debate that marked new and revelatory visions of the history of Mexico. Various generations of the influential O'Connor family in Bolivia

continue to undertake important political activity, at this moment in opposition to President Evo Morales. In many of these examples, the relationship between the military and political contexts is significant, not only as a military strategy in itself, but also as a form of creating power. It was not only a case of political action by the military but also military action by civilians.

How important was Irish ascendancy and insertion in local politics? It was a result of the necessity for integration in the new lands. Can causal relationships be established or are we simply dealing with a list of names with a common origin in extraordinary situations? To provide definitive responses would be too hasty; it is hoped that there will be new research projects that respond to old and new questions. This first special issue on the Irish in politics seeks answers to these questions and proposes new perspectives on a theme that is still being explored.

As we mentioned above, political participation is understood to mean any activity in which the individual contributes directly or indirectly to a political situation. The articles selected for this special issue represent distinct forms of political participation by Irish people and their descendents in Latin America. These studies do not come exclusively from the fields of history and political science but rather they build upon the strong presence of politics in people's lives, prioritising an interdisciplinary analysis to approach this theme, without temporal or thematic limits.

Jorge Cernadas Fonsalías studies how attentive to Irish politics and immersed in the Argentine context the Irish-Argentines were during the period of the creation of the Irish Free State and the role that they adopted. Along the same lines, María Eugenia Cruset analyses the role of the diaspora as agents of diplomacy. Another article related to the role of the Irish-Argentines during the revolution in Ireland is the contribution of the researcher Rebecca Geraghty who analyses the relationship between the Irish revolutionary Arthur Griffith and Patrick McManus who lived in Argentina and was a link to the local community. Brad Lange, for his part, presents an article in which he examines the social and

political participation of the Irish Catholic community in Argentina, and their identification and involvement in their adopted country.

Yannick Wehrli's article focuses specifically on the relationship between the Free State, created in the 1920s, and Latin American countries. The work of Sean Lester in the League of Nations is his main object of study, taking as an example his intervention in the Chaco War and the conflict between Colombia and Peru.

Another historical article that we include is that of Natalia Silva Prada who conducted research in the archives of the Spanish Inquisition in order to investigate two cases against Irish people: William Lamport and Gilbert Nugent. As a backdrop to the lives of these two men born in Ireland, Inquisitorial disputes and European monarchical tensions are revealed.

José Antonio García Quintana presents a revelatory article, illustrating the Abolitionist actions of Richard Madden in Jamaica and Cuba, on the basis of reports, legal testimonies, a book and the stimulus for the creators of a nascent anti-slavery literature. Moisés Enrique Rodríguez's article about the diplomatic career of Daniel Florence O'Leary illustrates the flexibility of one of the Irish officers in Simón Bolívar's army of independence in adapting to changing conditions.

An article that plays on the borders of the historical and the literary is that of María José Punte, who presents the figure of John William Cooke, leader of the Peronist resistance of Irish descendents, through a novel by José Pablo Feinmann – *La astucia de la razón*, which has among its protagonists a delegate of Perón. In the area of Argentine educational politics, Nancy Escobar presents work undertaken by Santiago Fitz Simon, an Irish educator who undertook activities in the country during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and whose contribution

was fundamental for the development of technical education in the country.

A sociological perspective is provided by Olivia Sheringham, who analyses recent Brazilian immigration to Gort, Ireland. A country accustomed to emigration, it is now, due to the ups and downs of neoliberal economic policies, attracting Brazilians escaping the crisis, who find in the “Celtic Tiger” a new place to live though ravaged by the crisis itself.

Also in reference to the Latin American crisis we cannot lose sight of the countryside vs. Government conflict initiated in Argentina one year ago. John Kennedy analyses the role played by the descendents of Irish people who are connected to the agrarian sector and who led a protest that is ongoing against the national Government due to the rise in deductions on the exportation of soya and the absence of an agricultural policy.

The issue is completed with four book reviews: Jean Ziegler's *La Haine de l'Occident*, reviewed by Edmundo Murray; Enrique García Hernán and Óscar Recio Morales's (eds.) *Extranjeros en el Ejército: militares irlandeses en la sociedad española, 1580-1818*, reviewed by David Barnwell; Lourdes De Ita Rubio's *Viajeros Isabelinos en la Nueva España*, reviewed by Cristina Borreguero Beltrán; and James P. Byrne, Philip Coleman and Jason King's (eds.) *Ireland and the Americas: Culture, Politics and History*, reviewed by María Graciela Adamoli and María Graciela Eliggi.

We hope that this first issue on the Irish and their descendents in Latin American politics will result in the appearance of new studies on the theme, the derivations and reaches of which we are just beginning to unravel.

Jorge Cernadas Fonsalías and Carolina Barry

## **Notes**

1. Jorge Cernadas Fonsalías (Universidad de Buenos Aires), and Carolina Barry (Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero). We are grateful to Edmundo Murray and Claire Healy for their support and guidance in the editing of this issue. We are also thankful to the translators Shane Byrne, Ita Dagger, David Barnwell, Tony Phillips, and Conor Kerin.

2. “la abstención sistemática de los extranjeros de tomar parte en la vida social”.

3. Barry, Carolina. "Ciento Treinta Años andando su senda" in *The Southern Cross* 130: 5896 (January 2005), pp. 1-2. A short history of *The Southern Cross* on its 130th anniversary; "El nacimiento de una terrible belleza: Repercusión de la Pascua de 1916 en TSC y los hiberno argentinos" in *The Southern Cross* 313: 5915 (August 2006), pp. 1-2.
4. See, among others, MacLoughlin Bréard, Guillermo. "La presencia irlandesa en las invasiones inglesas" in *The Southern Cross* 132: 5927 (August 2007), 2; Coghlan, Eduardo A. *El Aporte de los Irlandeses a la Formación de la Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1982). Dandan, Alejandra and Silvina Heguy. *Joe Baxter: del nazismo a la extrema izquierda* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Norma, 2006). Barry, Carolina: "Politically Incorrect: Irish Argentines in the Early Peronist Period" in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* (www.irlandeses.org), cited 18 October 2005. "Lorenza Reynafé, una cuestión de género" in *The Southern Cross* 131: 5917 (October 2006), p. 2; "Los borbones argentinos" in *The Southern Cross* 131: 5912 (February 2006), p2. Murray, Edmundo, 'Baxter, José Luis [Joe] (1940-1973)' in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* November-December 2005 (www.irlandeses.org). 'Guevara, Ernesto [Che] (1928-1967)' in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* November-December 2005 (www.irlandeses.org). Cané, Gonzalo, 'O'Farrell, Juan Adrián (1866-1942)' in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* November-December 2005 (www.irlandeses.org). Another example of the broad participation in local political life of Irish immigrants was the nomination of Michael Duffy as the intendant of Carmen de Areco in 1866 (Coghlan, 1987: 287), (Hannon, 2007: 293) and Juan Bautista Dowling (an Irish-Argentine) as a military commander (Coghlan, 1987: 273); (Hannon, 2007: 283).
5. Diego Téllez Alarcia, D. Juan Odonojú, El Último Virrey de Nueva España (1821), paper presented at the Second Symposium of Irish Studies in South America: "Irlanda y América Latina: Hacia Nuevas Perspectivas", 5-7 September 2007.
6. Jaime Fogarty, *Voices of Mexico* magazine, April-June, 2000.
7. Brown, Matthew, 'Crusaders for Liberty or Vile Mercenaries? The Irish Legion in Colombia' in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* (2006). Available online (www.irlandeses.org).
8. Burton, Gera, "Liberty's Call: Richard Robert Madden's Voice in the Anti-Slavery Movement (1833-1842)" in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* 5:3 (November 2007), pp. 199-206.
9. Murray, Edmundo, 'Explosive Journey: Perceptions of Latin America in the FARC-IRA Affair (2001-2005)' in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* 2006.

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- Sabato, Hilda, *La Política en las calles* (Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 1998). Vol. 1.

## **Irish News in the New Spanish Kingdoms: The Circulation of Political Information about William Lamport and Diego Nugent, 1642-1667**

By Natalia Silva Prada (1)

Translated by Claire Healy

### **Abstract**

*This article explores the origins of the formation of the legend created around the life of William Lamport, an Irishman burnt at the stake by the Mexican Inquisition in 1659. In order to study the origin of the legend, an analysis will be provided of the Inquisition trial of another Irishman and contemporary of Lamport, the Franciscan Diego Nugent (Diego Nugent), born in Dublin and tried for having made declarations in favour of his compatriot. The study is based on an unpublished file of the National Historical Archive of Madrid, covering the years 1657 to 1667. For the analysis, the author uses methodological reflections pertaining to cultural history, and particularly focuses on those elements that contribute to understanding the political culture of the modern period, which are present in the reconstruction of the Inquisition trial of fray Diego de la Cruz (Diego Nugent): the rumours, conspiracies and prophecies. The article therefore examines a series of important news items that circulated in the Atlantic world: the problems of dynastic succession, tensions between Portugal and England, and the circulation of forbidden books. Indications throughout the text leave open the possibility of the existence of a connection between Diego Nugent and William Lamport.*

The spectacular life of William Lamport, better known as Guillermo or Guillén Lombardo, is already familiar among specialised academic circles and lovers of literature and fictional cinema. The spread of information on this Irish ‘adventurer’ has grown exponentially at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The publication and dissemination of the works of the Italian historian Fabio Troncarelli since 1999 have contributed notably to the publicity around Lombardo.

At the end of the twentieth century, Guillén’s life began to be the subject of professional historical work, improving upon the curious reconstructions that brought positivist history to occupy itself with the Irishman during the century and a half preceding that publication. Interest in the character of Lamport, an excellent humanist exponent of the Renaissance, has notably increased during the last two decades. A specific list of work dedicated to unravelling his life and actions can already be cited.

The most well-known reference is that of Troncarelli cited above, who has constructed one of the most voluminous biographies, on the

basis of documentation in European and American archives. Despite the international success of *La spada e la croce: Guillén Lombardo e l'inquisizione in Messico*, it has had little circulation in Mexico, despite the presentation of the work at two Puebla universities and its translation into Spanish. The most widespread information currently in Latin America is the significant number of European reviews of the book *La Spada*, along electronic channels.

Even lesser known is a series of theses in different contexts and at different educational levels. (2) Among these, the thesis of Andrew Konove is significant, which, using little original documentation, presents very pertinent political-cultural reflections. Other biographical works that predate that of Troncarelli are those of Gerard Ronan and Ryan Dominic Crew.

My analysis of the life of William Lamport derives from research related to political dissent, in which the pamphlets he wrote against the inquisitors act as irrefutable evidence of the phenomenon. His brilliant personality points to the political relevance not only of this singular person but also of those who surrounded him and of the circumstances that led to him

emerging from anonymity in the history of the New Spanish seventeenth century. (3)

In academic circles, the most common perception of the Irishman, even among those who admire him, is of a rather crazy, perfidious and womanising man. This is the image that Guillermo Riva Palacio, a Mexican writer, created of him in the second half of the nineteenth century. And this was none other than the transposition of the representation that the offended inquisitors portrayed of Lamport, the targets of his criticisms.

It was the least they could do, in view of the values of the time. 'Don Guillén', as he is better known, wrote harsh words against the Court of the Inquisition, related to the scant motivations that were given on the imprisonment of the accused, the seizure of their properties, the extension of reasons to despair and make the defendants confess, and other series of practices that did not accord with the Catholic faith, which are summarised in the following paragraph:

*[...] and Mahoma if he came with them could be called angels in comparison to them [the inquisitors] as Mahoma taught his sect by force of arms to the public, while they (speaking of the inquisitors) are in breach of the Catholic faith with secret arms and sacrileges that are more horrendous than the invectives of Nero and with the cloak of the same faith (AHN, Inquisición, 1731, exp.53, i.365 r y v). (4)*

In the descriptions of his trial, it is repeated in multiple ways that he was a false expert, 'a serious liar and idealist, a falsifier of signatures, whose political plans were chimeras' (AGI, *México* 36, n. 54). During his time he was considered in essence to be 'a bad man' (Archivo General de Indias, AGI, *México* 36, n.54, i.21) and a witness even referred to the accused as 'Don demonio' (Mr. Demon) (Archivo Histórico Nacional, AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, i.161). His own brother, fray Juan Lombardo, confessed that they 'had never had a brotherly connection, neither in their humours nor in their way of living' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, exp.53, i.9) (5). This fact, and that of not putting up with his 'nonsense and lies', would be

the reasons that prevented him from defending his brother at the Inquisition.

Despite the differences between William and John Lamport, their genealogical information is compatible and without the exaggerations of the narrative of the condemned brother, they allow us to ascertain that they were from a noble family with land and inheritance, perhaps impoverished and dedicated to mercantile, military and religious activity.

In his testimonies to the Inquisition, fray Juan was also imprecise. He affirmed that he had arrived with a group of Franciscans led by fray Juan Navarro on 26 March 1640. However, his name does not appear in the delegation that went to Michoacán, while he alleged that there had been no place for him in Mexico and for that reason, he was subsequently sent to Zacatecas (AGI, *Pasajeros*, Leg.12, exp. 119).

One of the crucial aspects, and one that has not yet been studied in relation to Lamport, is the legend that induced Riva Palacio to explore the life of this man. The nineteenth-century writer declared that his interest in the Irish man was born of the amazing stories he had heard during his childhood. A century and a half later, Troncarelli would attempt to follow his lead and to demystify the misinformation about his life. He left in his work a series of signs destined to verify Guillén's relations with personalities of the Court and of high politics, as well as with other Irish in New Spanish territory. One of these is the words of praise that a Franciscan friar from Nicaragua apparently spoke of the Irish man, after his death. Although Professor Troncarelli made mention of the strange case of Diego de la Cruz, he does not cite sources (Troncarelli 1999: 328 & 334).

Thanks to the stimulating call for contributions by the Society for Irish Latin American Studies, I have once again taken up research on this person and I have managed to locate some files that could contribute to shedding some light on the obscure life of Lombardo. The revelation of the documentation held by the National Historical Archive of Spain (6) and by the General Archive of the Nation of Mexico (7) is crucial for understanding the functioning of the history of political culture in the seventeenth

century, where rumours and conspiracies, as well as behaviour of a prophetic type, nourished the scene of political life in the modern world. The indications that are contributed by the case of the friar Diego de la Cruz, also Irish, permit us to open a small window on the internal politics of the Ibero-American Kingdoms and their political connections in the international context. The news that we examine here was current in the kingdoms of New Spain and Guatemala and puts us in contact with Ireland, England, Portugal and peninsular Spain.

### **Biographical Data on William Lamport and fray Diego de la Cruz (Diego Nugent)**

William Lamport is the real name of Guillermo Lombardo de Guzmán, who was born in Wexford, Ireland in 1615 (or 1611 according to Juan Lombardo's information) and died in Mexico City in 1659. Of those forty-four years, seventeen were lived in the prisons of the Holy Office of Mexico, which he left just two times: once he escaped in 1650 and the other time it was in order to be burnt for the multiple crimes attributed to him based on his different roles: sedition of the Spanish Crown, a heretic and inventor of other heresies, defender of heresies, apostate, and a wicked and obstinate man.

The thorny issue of his presumed contacts in the Court in Madrid between 1632 and 1642 remain to be explored, together with the relations he maintained with a group of Irish people who arrived in America on the same date that he claimed to have arrived: 1640.

The details of Guillén's biography provided by his brother, a Franciscan friar, form part of the reconstruction necessary to collect evidence on the complicated theme of the imputation. Therefore the news items contributed by the case of fray Diego de la Cruz will prove relevant.

According to the genealogy composed with the information of the Lamport brothers, some of the names of the relatives given by Guillén coincide perfectly with those provided by his brother. The difference lies in the perspective. While Guillermo showed himself proud that he and his kin had been 'equal in nobility to all of the kings and princes of the world' (AGN, *Inquisición*, v.506), (8) fray Juan refers to the life

of someone like his maternal grand-uncle, Clement Sutton, as someone who had 'misspent his estate' because he occupied himself with 'acts of bravery' and in travel. However, he said that he had been second lieutenant of a ship and married to a noble woman. Of his maternal grandfather, Leonard Sutton, he affirmed that he was a 'merchant of note' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, fols. 308-312). Therefore the opinion of the Inquisition on his genealogy was totally false:

*As to men to whom the title of illustrious and other greater titles with advantageous posts, merits and services never heard of are attributed, as they pretend of their ancestors, all of this is false and chimerical, as this defendant is an unfortunate lowly character [...] and he has never been a person of account, and to have claimed nobility, service and grandeur of himself and his kin is [...] complete malice in order to make a distinction between him and the inquisitors to whom he owes humility in lineage (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, exp.53, fol. 363v.).*

For Guillén, the inquisitors used the argument of 'the common people' in order to give 'a pretext for their fallacies'. The issue of whether Guillén was a person 'of account' or not, followed its own course in the rumours spread throughout the kingdom and as we will see below, in the accusations levelled at fray Diego de la Cruz.

About his brother, fray Juan confirmed his great interest in studies, saying that 'he was always a student', at the cost of his father's estate. Indeed, he studied with Augustinians, Franciscans and Jesuits. Nevertheless, it is on his life in England and Spain that little is known.

Relations between the brothers had deteriorated, because of the separation and more recently, Guillén's living with a woman, doña Ana Godoy Rodríguez, to whom he was not married, and who, although she was noble, was of possible Jewish convert origins, of whom it was said, she could be of 'the Portuguese race' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, fol. 309v). In fray Juan's report it is further perceived that there was a strong rivalry between them in relation to studies.

Although fray Juan and don Guillén had not seen each other for ten years, and according to the friar, in Madrid, he 'scorned him with his words', they had various meetings in the years that they shared on the peninsula: in Madrid, in Seville and in Cádiz. Both communicated mutually that they would go to the Indies. Afterwards they would see each other in Veracruz, and in Mexico City, where Guillén 'offered him letters of reference for the *Corregidor* of Zacatecas, don Sancho de Ávila.' However, it emerges that Guillén's activities were secret, as in Spain it was said that 'he did not say that he was his brother, he did not even write of his brother in letters' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, fol.311). (9)

On the same date as the meeting between Guillén and fray Juan in Madrid, 1639, the former had also contacted the mysterious Fulgencio Nugencio, an Irish man who was really called Gilbert Nugent and who had intersected with his life prior to the voyage to New Spain. Gilbert Nugent had even been accommodated at Guillén's house. Troncarelli alludes to this person as a distant 'cousin' of Lamport, who had been charged with a secret mission, that of the rebellion of Irish noblemen against England (Troncarelli 1999: 138). In fact, it is Guillén himself who says - although he does not specify that the relationship is 'distant' - 'and on that occasion the *baron* don Gilberto Fulgencio arrived in Madrid, *cousin* of the confessant, with a secret embassy to His Majesty, of the kingdom of Ireland and this confessant was hidden in his house for ninety days' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, i.216 and 217). (10)

The fascinating thing about all that is described here is that the friar who was introduced into these people's lives, fray Diego de la Cruz, also had the surname Nugencio and like the Lamport brothers and a Carmelite friend of the Jesuit Michael Wadding, would travel to America in the same year 1640.

Fray Diego was not just a humble Franciscan. His family tree, reconstructed on the basis of the 'discourse on his life' (11) is revealing. Born in Dublin, it is said that before being religiously ordained he was officially called Diego Nugencio and he had been raised in the town of

Mullingar, where his parents had their house (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, fol.26v.y 27). It is probable that Diego, the name of Latin origin of the friar, is not the true one, but he never referred to himself in any other way. Meanwhile it is very clear that his paternal ancestors belonged, like those of Lamport, to ancient Catholic families of Norman origin, the Nugents. Also his maternal ancestors were recognised as the Plunketts. Both families had sacrificed soldiers and religious for the Irish causes against England and in favour of Spain and Catholicism.

It is very probable that Gilbert Nugent was a close relative of fray Diego. He declared that his family had settled in the province of 'Guesmedia', which is none other than the latinisation of Westmeath, a region in which the Nugent family consolidated important properties. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Richard Nugent had obtained the Barony of Delvin, in the kingdom of Meath, the region of origin of Alfonsa Plunkett, fray Diego's mother. The idea that the mercenary Gilbert Nugent was fray Diego's cousin derives from his own family tree. Both had Christopher Nugent as a grandfather. The only uncle that fray Diego remembered was a certain Gerald Nugent. Guillén's Jesuit master in Dublin was probably a relative of fray Diego's mother, Henry Plunkett.

Diego Nugencio's education was like that of Lamport, careful and erudite. He made his first studies in Dublin and subsequently in Spanish Franciscan houses. He was probably a few years older than Lamport. Based on the age he said he was when the Inquisition trial took place, he would have been born between 1602 and 1603. His first studies were on grammar. At the age of 18, he entered the Monte Fernando Convent in the same province, of the order of Saint Francis, where he studied arts for five years. His provincial, Valentín Bruno, gave him permission to move to Spain. He arrived in Madrid in 1630 where he contacted the general of the order, fray Bernardino de Sena (12), who marked him and gave him a patent for the province of Andalusia where he studied arts and theology, first in Cádiz and then in San Francisco de Sevilla. (13)

It should be remembered here that the Irish mobilisation in the Iberian Peninsula was part of an organised management by the Court. In the case of ecclesiastical personnel this has even been called the 'Irish Continental College Movement' (Walsh 1973).

The European life of fray Diego changed when he was assigned to a Franciscan mission that would leave for the province of Señor San Jorge de Nicaragua, where he entered as a reader. Both here and in the province of Guatemala he was commissioner and 'justice of many causes', occupying on various occasions the posts of *definidor*, custodian and guardian. The Inquisition commissioner who followed the case described him as 'of the Irish nation, a native who is neither quiet nor truthful' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, exp. 33, fol.2v.) (14). At the moment that he was called by the Court of Inquisition of Mexico, he was the *definidor* of the province of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, as well as the guardian of the Asunción de Nuestra Señora Convent in the village of Viejo (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, fol. 26v.).

#### **At the heart of the origin of the legend**

The arrival of William Lamport in Mexico is part of the mystery of his life but it could be connected to the system of espionage in place during that time. Neither his baptismal name nor the hispanicised version appear in the archives of the House of Trade and of passengers to the Indies. If, as he says, he arrived in the ship that transported the Viceroy Marquis of Villena, his name does not appear in the list of his delegation. However, we have located a detail of some importance. In a royal *cédula* of Phillip IV, it says that don Guillén had gone to America with the fleet that left Cádiz, commanded by General Roque Centeno y Ordóñez (15). At his first hearing at the Inquisition in 1642, Guillén himself testified to this, adding that he arrived on the 'large Biscayan ship of Captain don Tomás Manito' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, i.208). Indeed, we have found in the Seville archives that this Biscayan ship was that of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, 'of six hundred and fifty tonnes, master Tomás Manito, which sailed from Cádiz, with the Fleet

of Roque Centeno y Ordóñez, for New Spain' (AGI, *Contratación*, 1184, n.1, r.2).

The system of espionage presupposed the use of people close to the Court, who arrived anonymously to the Spanish possessions and sent news directly to the Council of the Indies or to the Monarch. Fray Juan left some leads. He said that when they saw each other in Spain after 1638, - consisting of three meetings, one in Madrid (1638), one in Seville (1640) and another in Cádiz (1640) - his brother had said, as we have seen above, that he concealed their relationship. Guillén declared in 1642 before the inquisitors that 'he went to America in the spirit of expecting that the capitulations that the said ambassador [Gilbert Nugent] had offered to His Majesty would be completed' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, i.218), (16) while he had said to his brother in 1639 that he was going to America to 'be paid some debts by the relatives of doña Ana' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, fol.309). (17)

Both the Lamport brothers and fray Diego, an Irishman of the Nugent clan, left the Iberian peninsula in the same year of 1640. An Irish Carmelite, who knew another Irishman, the Jesuit Michael Wadding or Miguel Godínez, also went. The 'Nugencio' surname of the friar was not unfamiliar in Guillén's life, as we have seen above.

Burnt at the stake in 1659, we again receive news of Lamport, in the Inquisition trial of his compatriot, the Franciscan Diego de la Cruz, accused of having declared words of praise in his favour.

The denunciation of fray Diego occurred two years before William was burnt at the stake (1657). When he was called to give evidence at the Court of the Inquisition, at the beginning of 1662, Guillén was already dead (1659). The four years that passed between the moment of denunciation and that in which the friar was apprehended are the years in which the inquiries and taking of testimonies from witnesses in the provinces of Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras were taking place. This circumstance must have made the process more difficult but on the other hand it is another element that contributed to the formation of the rumour about the fate of Guillén Lombardo.

Recently, a news item has begun to circulate in some blogs in reference to astonishing lives or the film. There it is said that ‘Lombardo’s fame spread throughout the colonial world and served as the inspiration for various revolts, some intimate and patriotic, such as that of fray Diego de la Cruz, an Irish Franciscan who said masses in Managua, and who was taken into prison when he said a prayer from the pulpit for Guillén’s soul’. (18)

It is very probable that José Toribio Medina was the first to highlight the Franciscan friar’s praise of Guillén. Of the publications of his History of the Inquisition in Mexico he only makes mention of the event in *La espada y la cruz*. Troncarelli takes up the news item in his book and it is from this text that some websites have disseminated it. We do not yet know what the origin is of the idea that he was taken prisoner at the moment that he was saying a prayer in his name. In the historical document with which I worked it simply says that fray Diego was notified in Granada, in the province of Nicaragua at the residence of the Inquisition Commissioner himself, decreeing to him that he had four months to present himself in Mexico City, on threat of major excommunication, from 25 January 1662 (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, exp.33, fol.24).

The file that we found allowed us to locate the true origin of the legend and establish some possible links between Lamport and other Irish people present in New Spain between 1640 and 1667, many of whom were Franciscans.

The presence of these Irish people in the Americas makes it ever more evident that this was not casual or based on individual initiatives by impassioned ‘adventurers’. In some way this is connected to the political processes taking place in Europe and particularly among the community of exiled Irish in Spain. Among these, there were two distinct groups, that of the Old Irish, affectionate to Spain, and that of the New Irish, with loyalties to England. Two religious communities were identified with these tendencies, the Franciscans with the former and the Jesuits with the latter. The colleges had been the scene of this severe struggle (Recio 2004: 9). The famous story of Thomas Gage, an English man with an Irish father, illustrates this

distinction very well. He recounted that before receiving the offer to go to America, he had received a letter from his father in which he wrote, ‘furious’ that he had declined to enter the Company of Jesus, and ‘that he would have preferred to see me as a simple kitchen boy with the fathers of the Company, rather than a director of the entire order of Saint Dominic’ (Gage 1838: 28).

It should be noted that Gage, although he was not attracted to the Jesuits, subsequently acted in favour of England and not Spain. Nevertheless, before his trip to America, he expressed his enormous affection for a dear friend, whose presence would be indispensable in the acceptance of the invitation extended to him by fray Antonio Meléndez of the college of Valladolid. The friend without whom Gage could not take the trip was fray Tomás de León and was Irish. This would be repeated in an article subsequent to the work, where he commented that he could not conceal from fray Tomás de León the decision not to travel to the Philippines, as although ‘it is a secret that we should all keep, it was impossible for me to conceal it from fray Tomás de León, an Irish religious and one of my intimate friends’ (Gage 1838: 268) (19). The type of relations described by Gage should be carefully studied as it is in this context that the connections between compatriots and about their political interests can be explained.

On Guillén, his brother declared that when they saw each other in Madrid, he had shown him a poem written in homage to the Count-Duke of Olivares. When he lived in Mexico City it is known that he kept close contact with don Fernando Carrillo, the scribe of the city council, who gave him lodgings in his house in return for grammar lessons for his son. Years previously, the scribe had denounced a conspiracy against the Marquis of Cerralvo before the Council of the Indies. (20) In 1640, similar events occurred. Salvatierra accused the specific opposition of the two ministers of the *Audiencia* who were ready to obstruct the visit of Juan de Palafox, already before his arrival, also in 1640 (AGI, México, 35, n. 15, fol. 6, i.10). Guillén himself during this period denounced the Viceroy Marquis of Villena and according to

a witness at the trial, 'he had been instrumental' in his dispossession (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, i.190).

We return to fray Diego. By his own declarations, we know that his first trip to America did not occur in 1646 but in 1640. It was in the year 1646 that he specified his nationality, but there is another list in the House of Trade for 1640 in which his name appears without reference to his place of origin. He embarked then, the same year as Lamport. The first group of Franciscans with whom fray Diego signed up for the mission in the province of Nicaragua were in the charge of fray Pedro de Zúñiga, founder of various convents in the same province (AGI, *Pasajeros a Indias*, Leg.12, exp. 250). We know that Zúñiga, on his departure from Spain in July 1640, was attacked by the French armada (AGI, *Indiferente*, 112, n.115, i.2).

In his 'discourse of his life', fray Diego relates the reasons why he returned to Spain. He did this in the year 1644 in order to attend the general chapter of the order celebrated in the city of Toledo in 1645, exercising the roles of custodian and procurator of his province, that of Señor San Jorge de Nicaragua. After this, the friar requested his second trip to America with other Franciscans, on 21 July 1646. On this occasion, he was the head of the mission destined again for Nicaragua (AGI, *Pasajeros a Indias*, Leg.12, exp.760).

We still do not know with absolute certainty whether the denunciation that occurred against fray Diego in 1657 was the first (21). In 1643, a Franciscan denounced fray Diego de la Cruz, an Irishman, in Cartago for blasphemies, for saying that 'the souls of heaven could sin, that in heaven all souls have equal glory', as well as other scandalous propositions (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 416, exp. 30 and 35) (22). The friar, according to his own declarations, had had many posts in the province of Nicaragua and 'in the best houses.' This, however, is not proof, as in his defence he himself commented that there was another friar in the province who was also Irish, called fray Diego de la Concepción but known as fray Diego de la Cruz. Nevertheless, this was a young friar who had been ordained many years later (around 1660) and who lived in

the village of Nacaome in the province of Honduras.

The purgatory endured by fray Diego during the six years that he was prisoner in the convent of San Francisco in Mexico City and from which emerged the many details connected to the life of William Lamport and the Court, began as any other denunciation during that time.

In 1657 in the Guatemalan village of San Francisco Panajachel, the Franciscan investigator fray Juan de Torres received from his own investigation assistant a denunciation against fray Diego de la Cruz, relating a series of conversations that had occurred ten days before in a cell at the nearby convent of Tecpan Atitlán in Guatemala. The witnesses called to give evidence were all Franciscan fathers occupying high-level positions in their respective houses and coming from various regions in the province. This leads us to think that the conversations that implicated fray Diego in the praise that he had made of William Lamport took place during the Provincial Chapter of the Franciscan order. As well as that conversation, the witnesses added others that had occurred in various cells, in a street in Mexico City and at a bar on the way from Mexico City to Guatemala.

It was fray Nicolás de Santoyo, thirty-three years of age, who did the denouncing, and the main accusers were three fathers from the order: Francisco Becerra from Tecpan Atitlán, Gabriel de Amaya (23) from San Miguel de Totonicapa and Ambrosio Salado from the province of San Jorge de Nicaragua.

Pedro Robredo, preacher and guardian of San Antonio Nexapa and Pedro de Cárdenas, (24) preacher and *definidor* of the village of San Juan de Guatemala, did not implicate fray Diego. According to their declarations, they only remembered having heard some talk of the inquisitors and absolutely nothing in respect of the theme of the dynastic succession, the theme of another dangerous conversation in which the Irish friar was involved.

The praise that was imputed to fray Diego is reconstructed basically on the basis of four testimonies: that of the denouncer and those of Fathers Becerra, Amaya and Salado. The other two were not sure of having heard everything

they were asked about and only remembered a minimal part of those conversations. From these declarations, the Court of Inquisition constructed a series of dialogues in which fray Diego was to have alluded not only to Lombardo but also to the problems of the succession to the Spanish Crown.

The reports concur on the type of conversation, emanating from questions related to recent acts by the Inquisition and edicts published in 1650, in which some prison escapees were persecuted. The denouncer said that it was fray Diego who first introduced the name of Guillén and that his words expressed regret about the situation. According to the sum of testimonies collected, the friar had said that Guillén 'was a very capable student and theologian and had written against the inquisitors', 'that he had a beautiful face and figure', 'that he had been a friend of the Count Duke who had sent a cédula so that he would go to Spain', 'that they had taken Don Guillén because he had written against the inquisitors and that he had not left in the last act, nor was it known where he was, that he presumed they had returned him to Spain and that he was more Christian than the inquisitors and he had great capabilities and talent', 'that the said Don Guillén had had such a knack that he had left the prison of the Holy Office of Mexico, that he had gone to the Palace and had placed in the hands of the Viceroy a document for the King' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, ii.1-182). (25) These phrases express the essence of the first dialogue, which took place in the cells of the Tecpan convent.

These allow us an initial view of the construction of the legend, in which it is still not clear that fray Diego said everything that was imputed to him. He maintained for years that it was calumny. One day in 1662 he decided to declare that although he did not know whether he was Irish or English, he had spoken to him of another Franciscan and Irish friar: Miguel de Santa María.

Beyond the real knowledge that fray Diego may have had about Guillén, various points should be specified. For 1657 and before his death, the dramatic events of the Lamport case were on everybody's lips. The dissemination of edicts in the process of persecution of the escapee

defendant and of the denunciations in Mexico City brought the case to light at least from 1650. From these first conversations and although not everything was expressed by fray Diego, it is interesting to note the circulation of information that was generated around this crafty person. It is important to note the exchange of news between the two Irishmen about their compatriot, one of whom had first-hand information. It was the Irishman from Wexford, Miguel de Santa María who, according to fray Diego, told him 'that the said don Guillén was competent and that he made divinations (26) and had said bad things about the Holy Court [...] and that he knew from the same friar that the said don Guillén was the brother of a religious who has been in the province of Zacatecas'. (27) What is interesting is that this, said fray Diego, was heard in Mexico City after he had arrived there (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, fol.39): 'and that all that was heard in this city was the voice that was here speaking in common of the badness of the said don Guillén' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, fol. 49). (28)

Indeed, the witnesses who accused him also mentioned these other conversations, but those in which the protagonist was once again our friar. Another conversation that he had according to Amaya, witnessed by him and by friars Becerra and Salado, occurred some three days later in Becerra's cell. Equally, there was another outside the convent in which Nugent, conversing with a layperson, 'expressed regret that the above-mentioned was unjustly imprisoned and that *he was a man of great quality* and well connected in Spain and that the reason for his imprisonment was for having denounced and declared things that the inquisitors had done, making it known that they were not just' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, fol.50). (29) And on another further occasion in the village of Tepeaca, once they had left Mexico City, when they were at a bar, they heard that the inquisitors had apprehended a man of great wealth, on which the friar Diego intervened saying 'he had an estate - that was enough for the Holy Office to arrest him' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, fol.11v.). (30)

This information reveals that as well as fray Diego, there were people in Mexico City who

were very well informed of Guillén's case, apart from the inquisitors. In relation to the more secret information it would be difficult for it not to have been communicated by someone high up in the Holy Office and who knew perfectly well that Guillén had submitted some papers to the Viceroy and that there had been a royal *cédula* in which he requested to be sent to Spain. His relationship with the Count-Duke of Olivares, his relations with Spain and his social prestige, similarly did not originate in the *vox populi*.

It was unsurprising that fray Diego had received this information from a direct source, as, according to his own declarations, he acted as an Inquisition commissioner in the province of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. (31) It is also reasonable to think that Diego Nugent had personally known William Lamport during the years that they both lived in Spain. Although the idea that the inquisitors were 'hungry for someone else's estate' was made public in the libel cases, Guillén's words in his own defence were not along that vein, such as: 'my zeal for the Church is notorious and for His Majesty, more so than that of the Inquisition' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, fol. 366), (32) which is disturbingly reminiscent of the phrase attributed to fray Diego in which he had said that Guillén was 'more Christian than the inquisitors' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, fol.53).

The culmination of the accusations against fray Diego was not, however, the moment at which he was incriminated for praise of a defendant still being tried by the Inquisition. Although these comments resulted in extreme danger for those who made them, because they could be associated with the crime of being an accessory, (33) they were less delicate than the ironies and criticisms of the monarch himself, as they could be branded as a crime against His Majesty. This accusation in the trial is the one for which there was least proof, but it is also complicated to reduce this to a simple staging by fray Juan de Torres and the three monks who made the main accusations. Although there were numerous trials of religious people at that time, this does not seem to have been a sufficient motive to charge fray Diego with such a serious crime. (34)

The friar from Honduras, fray Gabriel de Amaya, related that days before they had spoken to Guillén in fray Diego's cell, they had been conversing about the lack of a male successor in the royal house of Spain. There, fray Diego made a prophetic declaration: 'that a foreign king had to be sought', whereupon Amaya asked him why he said that. Fray Diego responded: 'how bad for Spain has Charles V been?' To which Amaya responded: give me another Charles V! Fray Diego was of the opinion that if the monarchs could not have a male child with a first wife, they should marry again after two or three years. His companion responded ironically that if it did not work out with the second wife, did he believe that he should marry a third and a fourth – what would the Moors and the Turks say about a Catholic monarch being able to have three or four wives? (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, fols. 5-10).

The theme of the succession of the monarchs had been part of a private conversation between fray Diego and fray Gabriel and this is the reason why they could not retrieve more declarations. This represented a political theme of great interest at the time. Apart from the blasphemous and heretical character of these words – as they were opposed to the sacrament of marriage – these opinions lead us to face a contemporary discursive reality. Philip IV, one of the longest-governing Spanish monarchs, was also a controversial king, both in his international policy and in dynastical affairs. At the moment that it is presumed that de la Cruz expressed his dissident opinions, the monarch had still not had a male child to succeed him to the throne. With his first wife, Elizabeth of Bourbon, he had six daughters and one son, Prince Baltasar Carlos, who died at a young age. After Elizabeth's death, he had a second marriage to Mariana of Austria, but his only male successor would not be born until 1661, five years after fray Diego expressed his disapproval. The words of the friar were probably part of a polemic voice that was running through the Court and the streets, denunciations that criticised his libertine character and the numerous children that he had outside of wedlock.

On the other hand, the idea that this would lead to 'the seeking of a foreign king in Spain' ended up as a premonition, in view of the fact that this indeed happened in the case of the marriage of his son, the 'bewitched' Charles II, bringing about the end of the dynastic house of the Spanish Habsburgs.

This theme is also present in the prophecies of the famous nun Mother María de Ágreda, spiritual counsellor of Philip IV. It would not have been unusual for the Irish friar to have come across her texts in Spain. His own provincial, who had received him in Spain, fray Bernardino de Sena, was the notary of the nun's book.

In his defence, fray Diego allowed an issue of some interest to emerge. This is that of the national loyalties and the relationships of the Irish exiled with the king and with Spain, as they had 'always loved the monarchs of Spain and Spain itself very much as they have lived there for so much time in the service of the Lord our God' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, fol.39v.): (35)

*[...] This confessor wished and wishes that the King of Spain lives a long life until he leaves great heirs for the conservation of Christianity and also as he has never known another king and has received goods from his generous hand, as for twenty-two years he was maintained in the Indies as a chaplain and preacher of doctrine to the Indians [...] how little he loved the monarchs of England and those of his nation, as they had tyrannised the kingdom of Ireland and had robbed them of their estates and in many cases of their lives (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, fol. 45). (36)*

The point of view of the friar needs no further explanation. Nevertheless, the inquisitors did not mention the possible relations of Spain or Ireland to England. It is he who provides these details in the questioning that was undertaken of him on the arrival of a foreign king. At a hearing he admitted having spoken of the king, but said that the only thing he could have said was 'God protect His Majesty until he has heirs because his kingdoms could not be seen with works' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, fol. 49). (37)

These points leave a trace of doubt around the total innocence of fray Diego in relation to his capacity to question political events of the

dynastic type and even to covertly criticise the proceedings of the inquisitors against one of his kind. The phrase is also relevant because in his proclamation of rebellion, Guillén not only sought to make himself king, but also said that he was the son of Philip III and the Countess de la Rosa. A witness declared to have heard him speak 'with very little respect and much audacity against King Philip IV our Lord, gossiping about his government and saying that he only awarded flatterers and that there was no Spanish person who was not a traitor, that only the Irish were loyal and Catholic' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, i.190). (38) Other denunciations, such as those we have highlighted above, lead us to believe that criticism of Philip IV was widespread, and went beyond the borders of Peninsular Spain. One denunciation based in Rome in 1639 and written by a religious, contained among its many harsh criticisms and warnings, '[...] God knows how much more your kingdom and your loyal servants can take / see it is just that they are relieved / before another king inherits it [...]' (Castro 1846: 116). (39)

The friar's concern for international affairs is also apparent in the trial. Diego de la Cruz thought that the summons from the Inquisition was related to the knowledge that he had of a Portuguese Franciscan named Juan de Fonseca. The case narrated by fray Diego to the inquisitors occurred in the first half of the 1640s, precisely during the period when the uprising happened in Portugal, which had generated a climate of strong tension with Spain and her American possessions. Before knowing the reasons why the Inquisition had summoned him, fray Diego presumed it was because of the animosity that had emerged between him and Fonseca, whose religious vows had been put in question. In relation to this possible enemy and author of calumny, fray Diego told of his travels of *Tierra Firme*. He related how in the year 1640 he had met him at the convent of Cartagena, leaving him there when he left for Nicaragua. He met him again in Panamá in 1644 when he was going to the general chapter of the order in Spain. Subsequently, Fonseca had lived in the province of Nicaragua where he had quarrels with other religious and with the *Corregidor* of the village of Realejo, don Diego de Ibarra. In these quarrels, they insulted him, shouting

'Jewish dog'. He therefore required permission to enter the priesthood, and information on him was required in Spain. Fray Diego presumed that Fonseca was his denouncer as he threatened to present himself before the Court of Inquisition in order that they restore his honour. (40) However, the fact is that he never did that, nor did he ever meet fray Diego again. Nevertheless, the case breeds doubt, as fray Diego recounted that he defended the friar Fonseca from Corregidor Ibarra's harassment – although he was also involved in the request of the required documentation that would authorise him to be a preacher of the doctrine.

Another curious story that emerged during the trial is that which leads us to establish a relationship between fray Diego and another Irishman, his namesake, who was really called Diego de la Concepción - whom he could have been confused with. Fray Diego had met this Franciscan in Guatemala, and possibly wrote letters to him. We know that his namesake could have had in his hands the first edition of Thomas Gage's work, saying of the description that he gave of the chaplain Andrés Lins: 'that it contained heresies and that the author was a follower of Saint Dominic called fray Thomas, his surname is not remembered, of English nationality and born in London, dedicated to Cromuel [*Cromwell*], who did not know who he was' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, fol. 38r.). (41)

Therefore, the case of fray Diego also provides information about the circulation of a forbidden book in the provinces of Central America. An English sailor who died on don Nicolás Justiniano's ship that came by the gulf, had left it in the hands of a member of St. John of God. He knew English and held on to it. Then, it fell into the hands of fray Diego's namesake, to whom the previous keeper entrusted the book, 'for him to see it' (AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, fol. 38v.), as he also understood the language in which the book was written. The reputation of both religious was tarnished by this information, as, according to the chaplain of the Bishop of Guatemala and fray Diego's informer, the first religious had sought to marry, and the second had taken with him on the way to El Salvador a work that contained many heresies. These were the reasons why Lins and fray Diego may have

thought that the young religious had been confused with the other, our protagonist of 53 or 54 years.

### **Final Considerations**

From the news items that appear in Diego Nugencio's trial, the importance of the rumours of the time are in evidence, rumours that were not insignificant and on the contrary, point to a notable network of communication of news, some quite dangerous. Therefore it is clear that the Lamport case did not go unnoticed in its time, and that it was used to promote loyalties and disloyalties. Although Nugencio did not say everything that it was said that he said, it is true that at some moment he expressed regret for his compatriot. On the other hand, Guillén's name was able to produce reactions that could have been used for political causes, such as displacing undesirable candidates for religious posts. In this case the religious dynamism of fray Diego, as well as his nationality, played an important role against him.

Equally, this informs us of the existence of close networks of communication between people of Gaelic origin in American territory. From this case it is clear that Diego Nugencio, Juan Lombardo, Diego de la Concepción, Miguel de Santa María, Thomas Gage, Tomás de León and Guillermo Lombardo himself, as Fabio Troncarelli suspected, exchanged impressions with those of their nation.

Fray Diego's defence was based on the equivocal idea that those who testified against him were surely his sworn enemies, revealing that he had many. He was so convinced of this that he mentioned in a detailed way the name of each one of them and the crimes that he had seen in the exercise of their functions internally within the Franciscan order and as an Inquisition commissioner. He also makes a parallel list of lay enemies. These data provide further details on the mobility of fray Diego in the Franciscan provinces of the *Audiencia* of Guatemala. From these two lists, no name coincides with those of the declaring witnesses in his Inquisition trial. None of those appear, who, like the Corregidor don Diego de Ibarra, had threatened him more harshly. Neither did the Portuguese friar Juan de Fonseca, fray

Antonio de Sierra or fray Cristóbal López de la Raza appear, with whom he had disputes for not supporting them in their upwardly mobile careers in the province. Equally absent were the friars put on trial for crimes such as the unspeakable sin, sale of a free black, setting fire to the mayor's house, killing the livestock of the confraternities or the abuse of indigenous populations.

The inquisitors who finalised fray Diego's trial were not the same ones who passed judgement on Guillén. While in Guillén's trial, inquisitors with a black list of crimes were implicated, such as Bernabé de la Higuera y Amarillas or Juan de Mañozca himself, in that of fray Diego, the auditor of the Inquisition intervened, Pedro de Medina Rico, subsequent author of the denunciation of the faults of the former inquisitors. Nevertheless, neither he nor Juan de Ortega Montañés accepted the innocence of fray Diego and assured that they were convinced that behind his obstinacy in not confessing other serious crimes were hidden. The many letters that he wrote pleading for mercy during the years of his trial were not enough, the intervention of his lawyer was not enough, and neither was the letter written to the Council of the Indies. The witnesses of his conversations were all prestigious preachers in the province. He lived for six years as a recluse in the convent of San Francisco in Mexico, and as soon as the sentence was established he did not manage to get it modified. The only consideration that they made for him was because of his history in serving the Catholic faith, which was part of the ecclesiastic privilege. This was to not apply torture, for him to remain a prisoner in the convent and to permit him just once to visit the chapels of the virgin of Guadalupe and of los Remedios. The crime examined and the sentence given left an indelible mark on the future life of fray Diego de la Cruz.

## Notes

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2 Other works are cited in the bibliography.

Nothing would prevent him from being taken from the hall of the Inquisition with neither cord nor chapel and with one candle in his hand, for the crime of slight suspicion of crimes against the Catholic faith. He was obliged to renounce *de levi* in front of the members of each religious order of the city. This outcome led him to lose his positions, his honour and his esteem. Even so, the Irish Franciscan did not give up and the last news we have of him is that after the trial and the renunciation, he requested a copy of the trial in order to seek the assistance of the general provincial of his order in Spain. There we lose trace of him forever.

With us remains the 'slight suspicion' that this Irishman, though without malice, spoke of his compatriot, with whom it is possible that there existed more than a 'blood tie' and they were connected by some political relationship or a corporative nexus of the territorial type. In Lord Baltinglass's rebellion in 1581 and in the context of the uprising in Ireland against Elizabeth I, various members of the Nugent, Sutton and Lamport families participated and were executed (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Fernández 1991). Some of the witnesses who testified against fray Diego had expressed that he spoke of Guillén 'as an impassioned supporter of his nation'. At any rate, this episode contributed *sui generis* to a scandal, spreading the fame of William Lamport in Hispanic America in the seventeenth century. A scandal promoted by a member of the religious community that threatened the interests of the defenders of the faith themselves, as the inquisitors referred to themselves, and whose reputation in those days was quite dubious.

Natalia Silva Prada

3 On Silva Prada, see the articles in the bibliography.

4 “y Mahoma con ellos si viniera pueden ser llamados ángeles en comparación de estos [los inquisidores] porque Mahoma enseñó su secta por fuerza de armas a lo público y por lo que era, más estos (habla de dichos señores inquisidores) prevarican de la fe católica con armas secretas y sacrílegas mas horrendas que las invectivas de Nerón y con capa de la misma fe.”

5 “nunca tuvieron conexión fraternal ni en los humores ni en el modo de vivir”.

6 AHN, *Inquisición*, 1732, exp. 33.

7 AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 416, exp. 35 y vol. 512, exp. 4.

8 “iguales en nobleza a todos los reyes y príncipes del mundo”.

9 “no dijese que era su hermano, ni le escribiera de hermano en las cartas.”

10 “y en aquesta ocasión llegó a Madrid el barón don Gilberto Fulgencio primo de este confesante con una embajada secreta a su majestad, del reino de Irlanda a quien este confesante tuvo noventa días escondido en su casa”.

11 Expression used to get to know the genealogical past of people on trial at the Inquisition, of whom it was always suspected that they had bloodlines that affected their Catholic beliefs. It refers to the “day-to-day” life and today has become an excellent source for biographical reconstruction.

12 He was on the commission that studied the orthodoxy of the text *Mística ciudad de Dios* by Mother María de Jesús de Ágreda, which Philip IV was fond of.

13 Founded in 1596 by fray Buenaventura Calata Girona. In 1600 it was relocated to San Vicente Street.

14 “de nación irlandés, el natural poco quieto y poco verdadero”.

15 Letter from the king in request of Guillén de Lombardo. 1643. There were 18 ships in the fleet and only the captains are mentioned. AHN, *Inquisición*, 1731, exp. 53.

16 “se fue a América con ánimo de esperar que se cumplieran en Irlanda las capitulaciones que el dicho embajador [Gilbert Nugent] ofreció a su Majestad”

17 “cobrar unas libranzas de los parientes de doña Ana”.

18 “la fama de Lombardo se expandió por todo el mundo colonial y sirvió de inspiración para varias revueltas, algunas íntimas y patrióticas, como aquélla de fray Diego de la Cruz, un franciscano irlandés que oficiaba misas en Managua, que fue llevado a la cárcel en el momento en que elevaba desde el púlpito una oración por el alma de Guillén” - Ana Victoria Morales’s Blog, ‘Viajar por Irlanda. La isla esmeralda’ (<http://unariocuartenseenirlanda.blogspot.com>).

19 “es un secreto que todos debíamos guardar, me fue imposible ocultársela a fray Tomás de León, religioso irlandés y uno de mis íntimos amigos”.

20 Letter addressed by the Viceroy Salvatierra to the king. Carrillo wrote to the king that Cerralvo wanted to rise up against the kingdom. AGI, México, 35, n. 15, fol.6, i.10.

21 My sabbatical in Europe prevented me from consulting the sources during the composition of this article. I think that it will be very useful to do this in the future.

22 “las almas del cielo podían pecar, que en el cielo todas las almas tenían igual gloria”. In the same year and place, fray Juan de Bustos was denounced for saying that “it was common to preach stories from the pulpit”. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 503, f.15. In 1625 there were scandals in Cartago because of a lack of knowledge of censorship and excommunications. Cartago belonged to the jurisdiction of the Bishopric of Nicaragua and Costa Rica.

23 In 1650 he was guardian of the convent of Santiago Atitlán. He had conflicts with the Corregidor Francisco de Castellanos, who seems to have tried to murder him. In 1657 he was named Provincial Custodian in Comayagua, Honduras (Aguirre 1972).

24 Native of Guatemala, considered a great master of Indian languages. He died in 1666 (Adams 1952).

25 “era muy hábil estudiante y teólogo y que había escrito contra los inquisidores”, “que era de linda cara y talle”, “que había sido amigo del conde duque que había enviado cédula para que fuese a España”, “que habían cogido a Don Guillén porque había escrito contra los inquisidores y que no había salido en el auto último, ni se sabía a donde estaba, que presumía le habían despachado a España y que era más cristiano que los inquisidores y era de muy buena capacidad y talento”, “que dicho Don Guillén había tenido tal ardid que se había salido de la cárcel del Santo Oficio de México, que había ido a Palacio y puesto en manos del Virrey un pliego para el Rey”.

26 This refers to the astrological exercises by which Guillén attempted to divine the future of various important personages.

27 “que el dicho don Guillén era hábil y que levantaba figuras y que había hablado mal del Santo Tribunal [...] y que supo del mismo fraile que era el dicho don Guillén hermano de un religioso que ha estado en la provincia de Zacatecas”.

28 “y que solo oyó en esta ciudad la voz que ha estado aquí hablar en común de las maldades del dicho don Guillén”.

29 “lastimándose del susodicho que estaba injustamente preso y que era un hombre de muy gran calidad y bien emparentado en España y que la causa de haberle preso era por haber denunciado y declarado las cosas que habían obrado los señores inquisidores dando a entender no eran justas”.

30 “ya tenía hacienda, pues basta para que el Santo Oficio le prenda”.

31 For example, one of his enemies was fray Juan de Bustos, whom fray Diego himself had put on trial for sedition and who was also accused in Cartago in 1643.

32 “es notorio mi celo a la Iglesia y a su Majestad más que cuanta Inquisición ha habido”.

33 Basically this was the crime of providing assistance, favour and refuge to someone considered to be a heretic, although it also includes the act of obstructing the decisions of the Holy Office.

34 One fray Juan de Torres, Franciscan, managed to be named Bishop of Nicaragua and Costa Rica but died before taking up the position in 1659.

35 “que a los reyes de España y a España ha amado siempre y ama mucho porque en ella ha vivido tanto tiempo en el servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor”

36 “[...] Este confesante ha deseado y desea que viva el Rey de España largos años hasta dejar herederos grandes para la conservación de la cristiandad y más cuando nunca conoció a otro rey y ha recibido bienes de su liberal mano pues ha veintidós años que le sustenta en las Indias por capellán y doctrinero de los indios [...] cuan mal quiere a los reyes de Inglaterra y a los de su nación, pues tiene tiranizado al reino de Irlanda y a todos quitándoles sus haciendas y a muchos las vidas”.

37 “Dios guardase su majestad hasta que tuviese herederos porque no se viesen sus reinos con trabajos”.

38 “con muy poco respeto y mucho atrevimiento contra el rey Felipe IV nuestro señor, murmurando de su gobierno y que no sabía premiar sino a los lisonjeros y que no había español que no fuese traidor, que solo los irlandeses eran los leales y católicos”.

39 “[...] sabe Dios que más no puede tu reino y fieles vasallos/mira que es justo aliviallos/antes que otro rey lo herede [...]”

40 On this act, this could be the report on insulting a Portuguese religious, before a numerous audience – as recounted by fray Diego – in Tegucigalpa in the year 1646. AGN, *Indiferente virreinal*, exp. 95, caja 5713.

41 “que contenía herejías y que era el autor un religioso de Santo Domingo llamado fray Thomas no se acuerda del apellido de nación inglés y nacido en Londres, dedicado a Cromuel, que no sabe quien fuese”.

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## Arthur Griffith and Patrick McManus

By Rebecca Geraghty (1)

### Abstract

*On 13 June 1912 Irish revolutionary Arthur Griffith wrote to Patrick McManus in Argentina requesting financial aid for the Sinn Féin newspaper. Griffith was a prominent leader of the Sinn Féin nationalist movement that advocated for Irish independence from the British Empire. The newspaper was the forum through which Griffith articulated his views, and a vital lifeline of the struggle for Irish freedom. In an acute hour of need, Griffith appealed to an Irish-Argentine for support. McManus immigrated to Argentina from Ireland in the 1880s, achieving great prosperity and actively promoting Irish cultural activities. McManus's connections to one of the foremost architects of the independent Irish state points to the significance of the Irish-Argentine community in this revolutionary struggle. This transnational connection between Griffith and McManus widens the traditional interpretive lens applied to the early twentieth century, indicating that along with rebels in Ireland and the United States, Argentina was also host to individuals who contributed to Irish freedom.*

The Irish War of Independence relied upon a network of agents that stretched outside of Ireland's borders and across the Atlantic. A standard paradigm portrays this war as the cooperation between the Irish and Irish-American physical-force republicans against the British Empire's domination of its island-neighbour. The wealth of scholarship documenting the Irish-American contributions to this war has placed the branch of revolutionary agitators in the United States at the centre of the independence struggle. Absent from this traditional narrative, however, remain the other outposts of the Irish diaspora across the world.

If we broaden this conventional paradigm, and ask what the implications are of treating this independence struggle in a global context, we can reveal the transnational currents that influenced this conflict. The Irish nationalist struggle invoked a variety of global participants, and these expatriates approached the war with an anti-colonial mentality gleaned from their immigration destinations. At a critical juncture in the nationalist movement, one of Ireland's principal proponents of separatism, Arthur Griffith, appealed to Argentine citizen Patrick McManus (2) for support. McManus's presence within Griffith's network of contacts signals that Argentina played a role in Ireland's revolutionary efforts. By turning our glance to the Southern region of the Americas in the year 1912, the Irish War of Independence can be

seen as an anti-colonial struggle with global resonance.

Emerging from the cultural revival blossoming in Dublin throughout the early twentieth century, Arthur Griffith founded the political party *Sinn Féin* to agitate for an independent Ireland. The movement's title translates from the Irish language as "We Ourselves," and points to the charged cultural atmosphere from which Griffith's vision materialised.

Over the course of British colonial rule, the Irish language had been suppressed and derided as a primitive custom antithetical to the civilised manners of Empire. The language received an additional blow from the 1840s potato famine, as many of the poorer, predominantly Irish-speaking population died of starvation. Associated with poverty and backwardness, at the end of the nineteenth century the Irish language appeared to be a relic of the past. However, conscious that the native language was a unique cultural repository of Irish identity, Douglas Hyde founded the Gaelic League in 1893. Through the League he organised classes to educate the Irish people about their own language, and combined history and songs into these lectures. In his article "The Necessity of De-Anglicizing Ireland," Hyde asserted the inherent value embodied within distinctly Irish customs:

*In order to de-Anglicise ourselves we must at once arrest the decay of the language...We must arouse some spark of patriotic inspiration among the*

*peasantry who still use the language, and put an end to the shameful state of feeling -- a thousand-tongued reproach to our leaders and statesmen -- which makes young men and women blush and hang their heads when overheard speaking their own language (cited in Reid 1999: 143).*

This “patriotic inspiration” indeed took root, as Gaelic Leagues multiplied across Ireland, and were also embraced by Irish-American circles in New York and elsewhere in the United States. Through this cadre of followers, the Gaelic League catalysed a cultural reawakening that permeated across the artistic disciplines. Dublin became alive with theatre, music, and art pieces that celebrated themes and storylines evoking a traditional Irish past (Harrington 1991: viii). Mirroring this cultural reawakening in the title of his periodical, Griffith articulated the corresponding need for Irishmen and Irishwomen to reassert their political rights.

*Sinn Féin* served as a forum for Irish nationalist dialogue through which Griffith emphasised the need for both political and economic independence. Irish nationalism had divided into two factions: physical-force republicanism and constitutional nationalism. Whereas the first faction proclaimed that independence could only be achieved with violence, the latter intended to secure sovereignty through purely constitutional means (Kenny 2006: 289). Mediating between these divergent poles of nationalism, Griffith’s views provided an alternative. He developed a sophisticated political programme to restructure the relationship between Ireland and Britain. Drawing upon the model of Austria-Hungary, he proposed that Ireland remain united with the British crown - but function separately in every other respect. For instance, he demanded that the Irish Parliament of the late eighteenth century be restored, thus enabling the Irish people to compose their own legislation (Lyons 1971: 252).

Along with these political proposals, Griffith was also keenly aware that true independence could only be gained with economic sovereignty. Colonial domination by Britain, the birthplace and nursery of the Industrial Revolution, had impeded Ireland from developing any notable manufacturing base. (3) Griffith thus wrote

extensively on the need to redress this dearth of industry as a prerequisite to national growth. He advocated a series of tariff barriers that were designed to force British manufacturers to grant Ireland the right to trade freely, and thereby enable self-sufficiency in the economy (Lyons 1971: 253).

In addition to Griffith’s commentary on political and economic affairs, he also mobilised various nationalists to protest against King Edward VII’s visit to Ireland in 1903 (Lyons 1971: 255). Upon visiting Argentina a year earlier, the monarch had been greeted with numerous festivities, and Buenos Aires had been “...decorated with the Union Jack...which flew above railway stations, British-owned banks, corporate buildings...” (4) (Graham Yooll 1998: 9). Although a similar outward façade gleamed across the Dublin streets, Griffith and his core of loyal followers did their best to puncture the king’s visit with furious verbal protests.

*Sinn Féin* consolidated itself into a political movement that was crucial in securing the independence of the Irish state. Around 1905 the *Sinn Féin* sympathisers began to solidify into a political party, and after 1907 consistently backed their own candidates in the parliamentary elections (Lyons 1971: 258). Although *Sinn Féin* would later become the standard-bearer of Irish nationalism, in 1912 Griffith’s efforts remained embryonic. Competing brands of nationalism captivated Irish attention, and *Sinn Féin*’s message was overpowered by the prospect of Parliamentary Home Rule.

Although most individuals felt a general sympathy towards Griffith’s dream of an independent Ireland, they were attracted to the debates occurring within the walls of the British Parliament. British legislators discussed an arrangement whereby Ireland would receive greater autonomy and a degree of self-government. Although the two previous attempts to extract the concession of Home Rule had been thwarted by the Conservatives in the House of Lords, by 1912 the Irish Parliamentary Party had gained an edge on these Tory opponents. The passage of the Parliament Act had significantly curbed the power of the

Lords, with greater clout resting with the House of Commons. The successful alliance of the Irish Parliamentary Party with the Liberal majority in the Commons appeared to give Home Rule a fighting chance (Reilly 2006: 113). With such a promise of peaceful independence in the air, the public withdrew their support for the separatist platform proposed by Arthur Griffith.

The supposed inevitability of the Home Rule Bill paralysed *Sinn Féin's* activity. This constitutional arrangement appeared to present an immediate solution that Griffith could not offer. His demands for separation were more extreme, and would require protracted negotiations before they could materialise. More importantly, Griffith's ability to publicise his platform was limited in contrast to the Imperial Parliament, and at this point *Sinn Féin* devotees were a minority in the country (Reilly 2006: 109). However, in spite of the perceived inevitability of Home Rule, the advent of the First World War in 1914 prompted Britain to cast Irish affairs aside. Finding themselves reduced again to a mere colony with no prospect for advancement, the Irish people subsequently gravitated back towards the *Sinn Féin* platform after 1916.

Jumping forward in time for a moment, it is important to emphasise that *Sinn Féin* and its founders were crucial protagonists in the fight for independence from 1916 onward. In fact, Griffith himself was a signatory to the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921 that dissolved the majority of colonial ties and founded the Irish Free State. As a result, 1912 represented a decisive year in which public apathy threatened *Sinn Féin's* message with extinction. If *Sinn Féin* had collapsed, it is conceivable that Irish freedom might have remained a dream. In this hour of acute need, Griffith called upon his allies around the world to appeal for financial support. Directing his words towards Argentina, Griffith expressed the grave situation of Irish nationalism in the face of the dwindling readership of the newspaper.

Griffith appealed to Patrick McManus, an individual of Irish descent who had immigrated to Argentina in the 1880s. Within Argentina, McManus was a vocal proponent of Irish

nationalism, and had amassed great prosperity through agricultural work (Meehan 1998: 52). Manager and editor of his own newspaper *Fianna*, McManus shared Griffith's fondness for journalism as a medium of political expression. Speaking to this fellow reporter, Griffith explicitly laid out the challenge that the *Sinn Féin* movement faced. Addressing the Home Rule situation, he explained:

*I wish to set before you the position of the Sinn Féin paper and seek your help.*

*The new lease of power which the proposal of a Home Rule bill has given Parliamentarianism has reacted on the paper... and will continue to do so until the Bill passes through or is rejected. I believe it will pass through. During the last eighteen months the paper has been sustained by great sacrifices and for another twelve months it cannot hope to get into smooth water.*

In the context of these "great sacrifices" that he was forced to perform, Griffith thus communicated the urgency of *Sinn Féin's* situation. Having weathered eighteen months of declining circulation, Griffith expected the newspaper to undergo yet another year of difficulty:

*If S. F. [*Sinn Féin*] can be carried over this crucial year, I feel pretty safe about the future, both of it and the movement. If it be forced to stop publication now it will be very difficult to resuscitate [*sic*] the natural movement when Home Rule comes into operation.*

Although he was expressing the gravity of the upcoming year, Griffith simultaneously told McManus that he was hopeful about the newspaper's "future." In the course of one paragraph Griffith thus transformed the tone of the situation. Having captured McManus' attention with the opening sentences of gloom, he then signalled that there was reason for hope. Acknowledging that the newspaper faced a troubling year ahead, Griffith also asserted that this period of time might nonetheless culminate in the triumph of *Sinn Féin*. He therefore portrayed this as a watershed for Ireland's future. If sufficient energy could be infused into the paper at this make-or-break moment, Ireland might embrace the vision of *Sinn Féin* after all. Such a hopeful prophecy thus hinted

that McManus himself possessed a degree of agency to transform Ireland's fortunes. Griffith then turned the conversation towards financial matters, and appealed to McManus for aid:

*Two hundred pounds would, I think, save the paper, taking it over the interval between now and the defunctive passage or rejection of the Home Rule bill. In either event Irish politics would enter on a new era and our opportunity would come.*

Griffith thus laid out in no uncertain terms how much money he hoped to receive, and the expected benefit of "a new era and our opportunity" that such a financial outlay would provide. He also warned McManus that he could not repay the money for at least three years. Reinforcing the gravity of his situation, Griffith closes the letter by saying: "I am sorry that the first letter I write to you after your return should be of this nature, but I am face to face with the worst crisis in the history of the paper" (National Library of Ireland, Bulfin Papers). From one journalist to another, Griffith thus solicited McManus' cooperation in his crusade for Irish independence. By linking McManus into his web of *Sinn Féin* beneficiaries, Griffith thus engaged Irish-Argentine aid to sustain the vital dialogue of nationalism. While Griffith's motivations were confined to a purely Irish context, he may have unknowingly tapped into a unique opportunity for the Irish in Argentina.

While we cannot be sure of his precise answer to Griffith's letter, McManus' overt sympathies with the nationalist movement would appear to suggest that he responded favourably. If we assume that McManus did extend his support, we can question the unique motivations that may have guided his actions. As a member of the Irish-Argentine diaspora, McManus related to the colonial context in a different way than his North American counterparts. In the early twentieth century, Britain exerted a form of commercial imperialism that constricted the Argentine economy to serving the exclusive interests of the Empire. In the context of this informal dominance of Argentina, Griffith's appeal may have been infused with an additional layer of colonial associations that informed McManus's republicanism. The traditional depiction of a republican cooperation confined to Ireland and the United States fails to account

for this wider anti-colonial framework embedded within the struggle for Irish freedom.

The time period surrounding the revolutionary struggle is typically portrayed with New York City as the base from which Irish-Americans provided key financial and organisational support. Irish-Americans invested in the bonds of the anticipated Irish Republic in amounts ranging from ten to ten thousand dollars, anticipating that they would be paid back once sovereignty had been achieved. In 1920, for instance, American citizens raised an estimated \$5 million for the Irish cause (Kenny 2006: 295). These monetary flows funded the arms, transport, and propaganda campaigns that were essential to the guerrilla operations waged against the crown forces. This vital financial backing was augmented by a core group of Irish-Americans who prepared a formidable cadre of paramilitaries for combat. Republicans such as John Devoy trained a new set of agitators through the secret Irish Republican Brotherhood to join their ideological brethren in Ireland in conducting military operations against the Crown (Reilly 2006: 100). As the contributors of both financial and organisational support, the Irish-Americans have come to be viewed as an appendage to the republicans back in Ireland.

As residents of the "land of the free," the Irish-Americans had been exposed to the democratic rhetoric of the United States. Although they were primarily confined to the working classes and at the lower end of the bargaining table in labour negotiations, they nonetheless lived in a formidably democratic system. Like Argentina, the United States had been founded upon an anti-colonial legacy that expelled the tyranny of an imperial power to establish an independent republic. In addition to the democratic discourse of the country's foundation, many Irish-Americans had also served as Union soldiers in the fight against an exploitative system of slavery in the Civil War of 1861-1865. Finally, the American dream of social mobility for the deserving had enabled various Irish-Americans to enter the prosperous middle classes, and extended the prospect to many more (Kenny 2006: 291). As residents of this bastion of democracy, the Irish-Americans

bypassed an informal colonial situation that may have informed how other branches of the diaspora related to the independence question. In other immigrant destinations, where freedom may not have been heard to “ring” in the same tones, alternative motivations may have informed an enthusiasm to undermine the British Empire. Although in pursuit of an escape route from the colonial paralysis of their homeland, the Irish that immigrated to Argentina had encountered a unique version of imperial domination.

The British influence in Argentina had originated in the nineteenth century as a mutually beneficial trade circuit between the two countries. Facing limits to its geographical resources, yet equipped with superior industrial capacities, Britain was in search of both raw materials and new outlets for its manufacturing exports. Conversely, Argentina was seen as both “under-populated” and in need of the infrastructure to transform its natural resources into commodities with exchange value (Cain 2001: 206). With each country in demand of what the other had to offer, Britain and Argentina teamed up as intimate partners in trade. By investing heavily in the construction of Argentine railroads, British capital accelerated the time required to transport goods across the vast countryside of the Pampas. As a result, this investment granted Argentina entry into the international trade community. Enjoying inflows of British capital, Argentina ascended as prosperous exporter of wool, grains, and meat. These activities heightened the demand for manpower, and attracted a steady flow of immigrants from Southern Europe. Although by the early twentieth century Argentina had asserted itself as a world power, the shadow of dependence nonetheless lingered, and the country remained beholden to its patron of capital.

Despite the perceived prosperity of the economy, the British exerted a two-pronged dominance over Argentina through financial and social control. First, in order to sustain economic growth, Argentina depended on the continued influx of British loans (Cain 2001: 208). Without this extensive borrowing, the country could not have financed its

development. As a result, the control over the means of production remained in British hands. For instance, the British investors responsible for the railway lines retained their control over these capital fixtures. Similarly, the thriving meat exports had to pass through the British-owned refrigeration companies before they were free to enter world markets (Graham Yooll 1998: 12). The economic hegemony held by the British was mirrored on a social level through the veneration of these Anglo elites. The British investors and merchant families who based their operations in Buenos Aires reigned over the social pyramid as the privileged classes. Through an English school system, cricket leagues, and the construction of the sole Harrods department store outside of London, they recreated the British culture in this environment (Ibid). Allying themselves with the local landowning elites, the “ingleses” successfully permeated the country with a two-pronged financial and social hegemony.

By the early twentieth century, Argentina had transitioned from a position of relative equality in its trade relationship with Britain towards that of a dependent partner within a definite power structure. This is not to say that Argentina did not derive some benefit from the relationship with Britain. Indeed, the historiography of this period comprises a spectrum of distinct interpretations, and different historians assert a range of arguments that either defend or denounce the British presence (Cain 2001: 243). However, even if some Argentines did benefit from the British presence, the country was nonetheless characterised by a tangible backdrop of imperial dominance. Functioning as an informal colony, Argentina suffered not from a political state of subservience - but a commercial imperialism (Graham Yooll 1998: 13). Within this continent of romance languages, those who spoke English commanded the highest currency.

Amidst the migration of European peoples into Argentina in the nineteenth century, a distinct group of English-speakers arrived. The Irish looked for outlets from an agricultural economy paralysed by a repressive colonial rule that eliminated the possibility for social mobility. Their experience in sheep-farming, as well as

adherence to the Catholic religion, presented transferable skills of use in Argentina. They comprised a much smaller migrant flow than their counterparts who travelled to the United States, and prospered through agricultural work on the Pampas. One example is Patrick McManus, whose success in farming enabled him to buy three ranches that equalled the geographical area of the entire county of Donegal - his place of origin (Meehan 1998: 52). Describing his compatriots who united in Argentina, McManus noted the diversity of their origins:

*Some of them like yourself came from their castellated homes in the Bog of Allen, some from fisher cabins on the Atlantic coast of Donegal, some from the smiling plains of Westmeath, some from the heather blooms of the Galtees, some from the city counter, some from the teacher's desk, some from the plough, some from the sheepfold, some from the forge, the beach, the shop, the school, the field (McManus 1913: 98).*

From this array of Irish places and occupations, this migrant pool settled in a land where the Spanish language reigned, the seasons were reversed, and there were many opportunities to prosper. Overturning the dispossession and poverty that had characterised his life in Ireland, McManus nonetheless resented the colonial echoes that he continued to experience in the Argentine Republic.

In marked contrast to his English-speaking counterparts, McManus pioneered Irish culture within Argentina. Although oceans away from Ireland, he helped to found a branch of the Gaelic League (Murray 2005). With the goal of instilling a linguistic pride amongst the Irish diaspora in Argentina, McManus transferred Douglas Hyde's dream to Latin America. As a result, the Irish in Argentina blended Gaelic into the horizon of languages particular to their community. Additionally, in 1910 McManus launched a newspaper entitled *Fianna* in which he commented on international events of relevance to both Ireland and Argentina. The newspaper often focused on the evils of Empire, and the threats that the British posed to both his homeland and current place of residence.

In *Fianna*, McManus referenced the politically-charged questions of territorial ownership in South America. In fact, "[t]he paper never missed an opportunity to attack Britain's occupation of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands" (Marshall 1996: 9, cited in Murray 2005). For example, in one issue he included photographs of the Malvinas Islands - known to the British as the Falklands (McManus March 1910: 8). This was a hotly disputed region off the east coast of Argentina to which numerous European powers, including Britain, laid claim. Given its close proximity to the islands, the Argentine government also pursued a rival claim of ownership, and this issue burned at the forefront of the political discussions of the era. Weighing in on this controversial issue, McManus included these photographs amidst a collection of poems written in the Irish language. The juxtaposition of Gaelic and Malvinas was not accidental, since the language resonated as a symbol of cultural resistance against the foreign coloniser within Ireland.

Combining these Irish and Argentine questions, McManus thus strategically deployed the Malvinas to suggest that the British Empire's insatiable territorial hunger also posed an acute threat to Argentina. By situating the language of a formal colony next to an image of a *desired* British colony, McManus was able to underscore the sense of imperial encroachment on Argentine possessions. Additionally, referring to the Torre de los Ingleses in Buenos Aires, he suggested that returning the Malvinas would "...be a more graceful act than the construction of an absurd clock tower" (McManus March 1910: 6). McManus found an opportune chance to reinforce these charges on the occasion of the monarch's death - mirroring the distaste that Griffith had displayed in 1903.

While some might have been at a loss for words upon hearing of the king's death, McManus had much to say and dedicated an article in *Fianna* to the topic. Launching into the issue, he denounced "The grabber of the South Orkneys, Edward VII of England..." (McManus July 1910: 20). The Orkneys, another controversial section of territory located near Argentina in the Antarctic region, were indeed at risk of being "grabbed" by British territorial initiatives.

McManus then proceeded to mock the deceased king by sarcastically expressing condolences to the bereaved palace dog named Caesar. He explained that although he wanted to unleash a vitriol of comments against the land-hungry king, "...out of consideration for Caesar we will say none of many truths welling up in our bosom" (Ibid). Waging a double attack on Britain, McManus thus disparaged not merely the imperial ambitions towards the Orkneys, but even the king himself.

In addition to his anti-monarchical comments, McManus made no secret of his sympathies with the Irish republican movement. Speaking on behalf of the republican elements within the Irish-Argentine community in 1910, he professed: "We owe loyalty and fealty to the Republic and we freely tender it in unstinted measure" (McManus July 1910: 24). Invoking fallen Irish heroes, he also declared, "[t]he heritage of Tone, Emmet and Mitchell is ours. The Gaelic heroes beckon to us from afar off. We need scarce make a sacrifice, although who would not do so, if need demanded, is not a faithful son of Ireland" (McManus March 1910: 10). These strident republican tones transmitted back to Griffith in Ireland, and enveloped McManus into the network of global nationalist activity. For McManus, Griffith's appeal contained an implicit opportunity to voice more issues than those particular to the Irish case.

Due to their close proximity to Empire, a pro-Ireland stance may have assumed a different set of implications for the Irish-Argentines in contrast to their North American brethren. The struggle presented an opportunity not merely to strike a blow for their homeland, but also to leverage their domestic fortunes within Argentina. An Irish victory would fracture the invincibility that the Empire appeared to command, and cast the elevated members of the social pyramid in a different light. Ireland in 1912 thus served as a vehicle whereby Irish-Argentines could renegotiate their fortunes within their Latin American country of residence. Channelling these hybrid motivations towards an independent Ireland, by overturning the Irish colonial past, the Irish-Argentines looked towards a brighter future in Argentina.

The connections between Arthur Griffith and Patrick McManus reveal an exciting new layer of the history of the Irish in Argentina. The fact that such a prominent figure, and a founding father of the Irish state, composed this direct and detailed appeal suggests that Argentina has connections to the central events in the struggle for independence. The letter is reproduced in full below. While the historiography of this period has focused exclusively on the diaspora in the United States, Griffith's letter provides indisputable evidence that other migrant destinations also contributed tangibly to the independence movements. The only other reference to this document that I have uncovered is Helen Meehan's brief comment on page 153 of her piece "Patrick McManus (1864-1929)" in a folklore publication *Sinsear* in 1995. Since Meehan's intention was to provide a panoramic view of McManus's life, she did not examine the letter in detail, but simply explained the content:

*In 1912 Griffith wrote to him [McManus] again, this time seeking funds or a loan for the paper Sinn Féin. In the letter, Griffith said the paper was experiencing financial difficulty— since the introduction of the Home Rule Bill, support for the paper was dropping. He also stated that it would be three years before he could repay the loan, but by then he hoped to have the paper on a firm financial footing (Meehan 1995: 153).*

Meehan therefore takes inventory of the content of the letter but does not flesh out the possible implications of this connection. As a result, this letter is a source of historical richness waiting for researchers like myself. Although I have advanced a particular viewpoint in this paper, I am both open and enthusiastic to alternative views and interpretations on this document.

Rebecca Geraghty

Thank you to the members of SILAS who continue to excavate any and all evidence about this forgotten section of the diaspora, and I hope that this letter may generate further scholarly inquiry.

**Arthur Griffith to Patrick McManus,**  
**13 June 1912**

This document can be found in the National Library of Ireland in the Bulfin Papers collection. I have reproduced the letter in full here so that it may assist other researchers' quests for information on the Irish in Latin America. There were a few instances while transcribing this document from its original handwritten form where I had trouble reading the writing. I have noted such cases with underlining, and look forward to further research that may decipher the precise content of these words. As a whole, however, these instances do not detract from an overall comprehension of the document, and I hope that this may be of use to enthusiasts of the Irish-Argentines.

*A chara, (5)*

*I wish to set before you the position of the Sinn Fein paper and seek your help.*

*The new lease of power which the proposal of a Home Rule bill has given Parliamentarianism has reacted on the paper. It has forced us to make time and will continue to do so until the Bill passes through or is rejected. I believe it will pass through. During the last eighteen months the paper has been sustained by great sacrifices and for another twelve months it cannot hope to get into smooth water.*

*If S. F. [Sinn Fein] can be carried over this crucial year, I feel pretty safe about the future, both of it*

*and the movement. If it be forced to stop publication now it will be very difficult to resuscitate the natural movement when Home Rule comes into operation.*

*The weekly \_\_\_\_\_ [illegible] on the paper is small, and might be met by us but there is a legacy of debt from the days of the "Daily" which threatens to crush it, for the paper, at present, cannot pay its \_\_\_\_\_ expenses and the debts of a former date which press on it.*

*[Page 2] Two hundred pounds would, I think, save the paper, taking it over the interval between now and the defunctive passage or rejection of the Home Rule bill. In either event Irish politics would enter on a new era and our opportunity would come.*

*I have \_\_\_\_\_ which was purchased a few months ago for £300. With the improvements I have made I daresay it would sell at any time for £350 or more. There is no debt on it save one of £30. If you would lend me £200 on the security of the home I believe I could pull the paper successfully through.*

*I could not attempt to repay the money for at least three years.*

*I am sorry that the first letter I write to you after your return should be of this nature, but I am face to face with the worst crisis in the history of the paper.*

*of my le mear mór*

*Arthur Griffith*

## **Notes**

1 Rebecca Geraghty is a student in her senior year at New York University studying History and Spanish. Hoping to combine her interests in these two subjects, she embarked on a semester in Buenos Aires. To her delight, she found a vibrant community of Irish-Argentines proud of their ancestry and eager to share their stories, and hopes that this piece may shed further light on their history.

2 Patrick McManus's name is found with both spellings of "MacManus" and "McManus." Simply to establish continuity I have opted for the latter spelling.

3 Aside from some shipbuilding and factories in the North, the island as a whole had remained predominantly agricultural with no manufacturing capabilities.

4 "...embanderada con la Union Jack...que flameaba en estaciones de ferrocarril, bancos de propiedad británica, edificios de empresas..."

5 Irish greeting for "my friend," equivalent to "Dear" when used in letter. Although the original document was written in the Old Irish script, for the purposes of reproducing it in typed form I have used the modern convention of replacing the c with a dot above it with a simple "ch" to denote the same sound.

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## **The Irish Struggle for Freedom as Seen from the Pampas The formation of the Irish Free State and the Perception of the Irish-Argentine Community (1916-1922)**

By Jorge Cernadas Fonsalías

Translated by Claire Healy

*- A nation? says Bloom. A nation is the same people living in the same place.  
- By God, then, says Ned, laughing, if that's so I'm a nation  
for I'm living in the same place for the past five years.  
So of course everyone had the laugh at Bloom and says he, trying to muck out of it:  
- Or also living in different places.*

James Joyce, *Ulysses*

On 28 July 2005, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) publicly announced its official abandonment of the armed method of providing a solution to the conflicts of Northern Ireland. From that moment on, the struggle was confined to the political sphere and both the IRA and Sinn Féin placed the quest for their objectives in the hands of diplomacy.

With this historic event, the sword was laid down in order to define the destiny of a nation with the pen. Almost nine decades earlier, a group of republican nationalists raised the sword in order to attempt to liberate the Irish nation from the English yoke. The fire set at Easter 1916 burned for five years, years marked by violence and political struggle. In 1921 the flames seemed to be extinguished by the Anglo-Irish Treaty. On that occasion, the pen sought to put an end to a conflict that had been going on for centuries. However, the treaty did not result in a definitive solution for the Irish nation, and many more sons of the island had to give their lives in search of a definitive peace.

They were not only united by the political connections, which for centuries had been associated with the subjection of Ireland to British power, but also since 1801 the two islands had been united under the same crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. There was also a very strong link in terms of identity as a consequence of this political union. Although it is true that many

Irish people rejected their belonging to the British Kingdom and had a nationalist vision that longed for the liberty and independence of the 'Emerald Isle', there were also a certain number of people born on that island who did not see a contradiction between British and Irish identity. A proof of this is the large number of Irish people, British citizens, who enlisted in the army or had professional and academic careers on English soil.

Therefore, as Kee argues in the second chapter of *The Green Flag*, 'Contradictions of Irish nationality', some arguments put forward by Irish nationalists tend to reinforce the idea of the existence of two totally antagonistic nations, that one of them was historically oppressed by the other and as a consequence of this all Irish problems were the result of English tyranny. This idea is perhaps far removed from a more objective view. Irish dependence on England obviously cannot be disconnected from the colonialist and imperialist condition of the British power, but neither can it be denied that in any type of political domination by one State over another nation, a series of relationships of imposition-acceptance come into play. This applies to the section of the oppressed society who obtain advantages by virtue of the characteristics of the political arena.

For the period 1916-1921, during which the confrontation between the Irish faction and the British forces was open and hostile, there were

also contradictions at the heart of Irish 'nationality', if by that we understand people born within the borders of the island. They are visible in the course of the conflicts, whether they were armed combats or the political-electoral struggle. Although the nationalist republican faction enjoyed a great consensus among the population, there were also people who saw their action with reticence.

The internal divisions within the Irish revolutionary group, inevitably resulting from its ideological heterogeneity, came to light in the year 1923 during the civil war. During this war the factions who disagreed on what had been agreed in the Anglo-Irish Treaty came into conflict. At this opportunity, the scant returns that politics sometimes provides were the motive for the bloodshed that stained the same soil that had given life to all of those who fell in that battle.

Therefore the contradictions that result from the crossing of distinct concrete interests, whether they are political or economic, become more confused when the question of identity comes into play. We have seen how the very firm assumption of Irish nationality among one sector of that country did not prevent it being more diffuse among another societal group. And it was even possible for someone to feel a very strong love for their native land but at the same time not see any contradiction in belonging to the British Crown.

Consequently, if it was possible for these contradictions to occur on the same island of Ireland, it is not surprising that they took place overseas. It should be taken into account that as a consequence of the massive Irish emigration to various parts of the planet, there were communities of Irish people and their descendents in various places. They conserved many characteristics particular to their country of origin, such as the survival of their traditions (folklore, sport, religious festivals, and so on), language, and also the political ideals of the land that they left behind. However, it should be clarified that as much as the community of residents of the same origin were endogamous and as strong as the ties that united the Irish immigrants were, they were never homogenous groups. One could find individuals from

different social strata, diverse political ideas and even markedly different identities.

In the case of Irish immigration to Argentina (Sabato and Korol, 1981), this took place mostly during the nineteenth century, with a very high proportion associated with the great famine in mid-century as a consequence of a crisis in the production of potatoes. The counties that provided the greatest number of migrants were Westmeath, Longford, Wexford and also residents of large cities such as Dublin or Cork. In the formation of the community of Irish-Argentines, the traditional model of migratory chains was followed, according to which an initial group of foreigners who settle in one place inspire and facilitate the arrival of new contingents of compatriots who tend to be relatives or connected through friendship.

For the period under study, the community of Irish people in Argentina and their descendents formed a great family of around 110,000 people. They were mostly settled in rural areas (some 80,000), as the main attraction was sheep-breeding as a consequence of the expansion of economic activity associated with wool. According to the authors mentioned above, the community went through a period of consolidation between the mid-nineteenth century and 1870, while the final quarter of the year saw the stabilisation of the Irish as a group. Therefore, during the years of the Irish independence struggle, the community in Argentina had already been consolidated for a number of decades and as a result it comprised people born in Ireland and their descendents of the second and third generation. It should also be highlighted that the group was no longer so strongly associated with rural areas, as, even though the bulk of the members lived in the countryside, a large number had migrated to the cities and had dedicated themselves to other tasks that were not related to sheep-breeding.

In relation to the integration of the community into the rest of Argentine society, it is clear that this was a slow process. Initially the immigrants from the island kept themselves practically isolated from native people and only maintained the few links with Argentines that were required for the wool industry. There were many differences - starting obviously with that of

language - in relation to the customs and traditions of people from Ireland and the local inhabitants. However, as the community began to open up, they began to integrate with the rest of society. Mobility towards the cities and exogamous marriages facilitated this process. The Irish race made numerous contributions to the receiving society, mainly related to the educational field.

Although we have seen that the Irish-Argentine community was formed by migratory chains and as a consequence of this there were strong links between its members, this does not mean that it was of a homogenous character. Despite the fact that they had numerous factors to suggest this, such as: the same language, generally the same religion, the fact that they shared identical traditions, in many cases coming from the same part of Ireland, undertaking similar professions and economic activity; it should also be pointed out that we cannot speak of a harmonious whole.

One of the most important factors to be highlighted as the cause for differentiation is the question of identity. As Edmundo Murray comments, the Irish arrived in Argentina as British citizens and entered into a circuit that connected Argentina to the United Kingdom as a nexus in the wool trade (Murray 2004). Therefore this is the moment at which it is most convenient to refer to the sectoral and even individual level within the community. This is because speaking of 'the Irish' can in many cases lead to ambiguity. As we have observed, in Ireland itself, if national identity was not completely defined and widespread, then in the faraway Argentine Pampas it would be difficult to find everything well-rooted. Although it is true that there were a considerable number of immigrants with a strong Irish national consciousness, there were people who had been born in Ireland and had arrived in Argentina who considered themselves to be, and felt, British. There were others who simply kept a memory of a land that had given birth to them but the vicissitudes of life had distanced them from it and they started to feel like Argentines. As Murray maintains, identities are not static but in continuous flux.

If, as we have observed, diversity and sometimes ambiguity in relation to identities lead to the necessity to talk about individual histories, it would be very difficult to reach general conclusions and one would be obliged to undertake biographical work on each immigrant in order to find out what was their true identity. Nevertheless, people who think and feel the same way tend to unite and form associations, to get together to celebrate and to debate and may even publish their ideas in journals or newsletters. As Hilda Sabato affirms, within the groups of immigrants, a common feature during the last third of the nineteenth century was to have media for spreading their ideas. A large quantity of newspapers and periodical publications of immigrant origin circulated in Argentina, vocalising the thinking of every group and their political ideas, whether these were about the country of origin or the Argentine reality (Sabato 1998).

The two most important newspapers of Irish origin published in Argentina during the period under study were *The Southern Cross* and *The Standard*. The first of these was created in 1875 and became the loyal and principal organ of the ideas of the Irish community. Its first director was Patrick Dillon and one of his successors, William Bulfin, was one of those charged with inculcating an Irish nationalist sentiment in the Irish-Argentines. During the period under study the director of the publication was Gerald Foley and it was a weekly.

The newspaper *The Standard* emerged in 1861. Its founder was Michael Mulhall, and Michael Duggan collaborated in the publication, an influential member of the Irish community. For the period under study, the director of the publication was John Mulhall. Because of this origin, the newspaper was directed at all English-speaking readers, so that the Irish did not consider it an organ of their community and the attitude of the publication was pro-British.

The ideology of each publication can be clearly understood in the pages dedicated to the specific events that we deal with in this article. If we begin with the Easter Rising of 1916, we can observe that it was a historical fact that for some authors contributed little to the struggle for Irish independence (Fitzpatrick 1992), while

it was understood by the readers of the *Southern Cross* as the defining milestone of Irish freedom. And in the case of the *Standard* the rising was condemned as undertaken by a group of fanatical 'rebels'.

However, we will begin by relating some details about the Easter Rising. From 1915, a rebellion was being organised by a military council of the 'Irish Republican Brotherhood' movement, in order to break ties with the English government and establish a republic, taking advantage of the fact that Great Britain's forces were concentrated on the Great War. The group had the support of other organisations such as the 'Irish Citizen Army' led by the socialist James Connolly. The combined movement was presided over by the writer Pádraic Pearse. The supply of weapons was provided by Roger Casement, who obtained them from the main enemy of the British at that moment, Germany. However, the ship that was transporting them to Ireland was detained by English forces. Casement was taken prisoner and months later tried, sentenced and executed for high treason.

The rising planned for Easter Sunday was postponed one day and took place on 24 April 1916. The revolutionary group occupied the General Post Office and other strategic locations in the Irish capital. There was also a limited level of support from the interior of the country - Wexford, Galway and Cork. They then raised the tricolour flag, the symbol of the republican group, and read a proclamation that established the creation of a republic.

There were a great number of victims including civilians, revolutionaries and British people. In the beginning the rising did not have the support of the population of Dublin, but as soon as martial law was declared and there were executions of the rebel group, popular sentiment was re-orientated towards repudiation of English repression. On 29 April, they surrendered unconditionally.

How did the Irish-Argentines perceive this event? The pages of the two newspapers provide us with different views. In the case of the *Southern Cross*, there was fervent support for the revolutionary group and very strong criticism of the English government. For its part, the

*Standard* considered the 'sinnfeiners' (the newspaper included in that movement the entire revolutionary group, although they were much more heterogeneous) as a group of rebels.

In the *Southern Cross*, very detailed information was provided to the members of the community, clarifying in many cases the misinformation that the rest of the press carried in respect of the events. Entire articles were included in the publication from North American publications which better evaded the censorship that the British government imposed upon information channels. From the editorials of the newspaper, there were criticisms of the local newspapers such as *La Prensa* and *La Nación*, which, due to their attitude and incorrect information filtered by English censorship, provided erroneous information.

Not only did the editorials of the *Southern Cross* contain commentary with support for the revolutionary group, but also a large number of readers' letters were published from members of the community who declared themselves in favour of the rebels. A clear example of these is the short letter cited here:

*'Irish from Argentina, men and women, Argentine born and Irish born, let us show whom it may concern, that we are proud of those brave men who gave up their lives for the old motherland although they had little chance of success. We are proud of them and of the cause for which they have fought and died, and for which our forefathers fought and died generation after generation. Ever yours. P M. Kelly.'*

Brief telegrams were also published, such as the following, from Junín:

*'Honour to the noble Irish who have died fighting the enemies and traitors of their race. J L Mackinson' (1).*

As we have seen, the republican movement led by Pearse and the group of men who gave their lives for Ireland were supported and honoured from Argentina by the readers who were members of the community. Nevertheless, and the respect of the *Southern Cross* for freedom of the press should be highlighted, it also published opinions opposed to the ideology of the newspaper. Some members of the

community were opposed to the revolutionary movement and wrote maintaining that the rebels were traitors who had taken the city by force, interfering in the peace of the residents of Dublin. This type of commentary was closer to the first sentiment of the inhabitants of the Irish capital. However, as we have seen, popular sentiment shifted as a consequence of the severe British repression. In Argentina in relation to that bloody episode, the *Southern Cross* wrote:

*'A feeling of intense horror and indignation has been produced in the Irish Argentine community by the vengeful brutality of general Maxwell in dealing with the brave insurgents who have proved that patriotism and heroism are still alive in Ireland (...) we hold up our heads with pride for the martyrs of 1916 have shed the luster of new glory on their country and have vindicated their race.'*

Another way of expressing the support of a section of the Irish community for the republican movement was the holding of religious ceremonies in honour of the victims of the Easter Rising. As Kee has pointed out, masses in honour of those who had fallen in the struggle for independence were a form of public political demonstration in support of the republican ideals (Kee 1972: 587). In various locations in Argentina where the Irish presence was very strong, a great number of religious ceremonies were celebrated for those who gave their lives for their nation.

In the same way, also in the pages of the *Southern Cross* there were lists of the people who cooperated economically with the victims of the rising and their families. The collection was organised by the newspaper. There were many contributions by the members of the Irish community, ranging from considerable sums to the minimum that could be donated. Other forms of cooperation were through the organisation of events (festivals, tea parties, hurling matches) that were aimed at raising funds with the same purpose. Also support for the movement was manifested through poetry inspired by those who fought for Ireland with the title of: 'the dead who died for Ireland'.

A public demonstration of the adhesion of a section of the community to the republican movement was the appearance of tricolour flags

in the successive celebrations of Saint Patrick's Day or in the year 1920 in a demonstration on the streets of Buenos Aires by the Irish-Argentines.

Meanwhile, at the *Standard* the perception was the opposite. Proof of this is the first news items that appeared about the rising, which were interspersed with the majority of articles that were aimed at informing people about British participation in the First World War. On 25 April, the newspaper published a brief note with the title 'A stupid rumour':

*'There is great excitement here in Irish circles. A cipher message has been received in Wall street saying that a revolution has broken out in Ireland, financed with German and Irish-American money (...) Our readers will understand this to refer to the insignificant Sinn Féin movement described in other cables.'*

The newspaper considered the Sinnfeiners to be 'the parasites of the island' and insisted that Ireland was like an orphan that could not govern itself. On the support for Sinn Féin, it wrote:

*'the loyalty of the Irish nationalist volunteers proves that the Sinn Féin organization (...) has no backing in the country (...) It is therefore hoped that the movement will be rapidly extinguished'*

*'the anger of the loyal Irish against the rebels is much more marked than that of the English'*

*'The object of the National Council is the re-establishment of the independence of Ireland' and the newspaper stated 'That the policy of the Sinn Féin Party was a decidedly suicidal one and contrary to the best interests of Ireland, it is self evident, as the masses of the people stood aside and never sanctioned the insane object of the organization'.*

In reference to the repression and the executions the *Standard* said: 'rebels are being ground, general Maxwell has the situation well controlled' and on the execution of Casement: 'Roger Casement, all must admit, has deserved death.'

With these types of sentences the pro-British position of the newspaper can be clearly perceived; in contrast to the *Southern Cross*, it

refused to publish articles with opinions opposed to its own, such as a reader's letter entitled 'Ireland's Heroic Dead', which was censored for its nationalist content.

Other examples of the attitude of the *Standard* are the readers' letters that complain about the low level of Irish participation in the World War. In the case of the collections that were made by the newspaper's initiative, they were for the relatives of the British soldiers killed in the European battle.

Other commentaries that allow us to perceive the support by a section of the community for the Irish republican movement make reference to the political struggle. In this case, they were in relation to the general elections in December 1918 in which Sinn Féin obtained a very significant proportion of the votes. The *Southern Cross* wrote:

*'We foretold the victory of Sinn Fein, but we frankly admit that we did not anticipate such a sweeping triumph. Seventy-three seats won by the great men (...) who are defenders of liberty, democracy and the small nations. They stand for civilization, for self-determination, for the freedom of the world, especially, of course, for the freedom of Ireland.'*

One of the events that caused great happiness and was received with enthusiasm by the Irish community in Argentina was the declaration of independence and the Proclamation of the Republic. On this, the *Southern Cross* published:

*'January 21st, 1919 will be a memorable day in Irish history. On that day the representatives of the vast majority of the Irish people met in the Mansion House, Dublin, and in exercise of their inalienable rights, solemnly declared the independence of Ireland.'*

In 1921, Laurence Ginnell arrived in Argentina as a representative of the Republic of Ireland. The envoy of the Irish Government had the objective of collecting funds to sustain the new State and to finance the struggle against the British forces. The funds that he succeeded in collecting did not satisfy initial expectations.

In the town of Venado Tuerto, after the Irish community of that town had exclaimed: 'Long live the envoy of Ireland, long live Mrs. Ginnell,

long live the republic of Ireland!' (2), the diplomatic representative addressed them with the following words:

*'By your distance from Ireland, by England's complete command of all ocean cables, by her rigorous military censorship and by her power over the press, even in this country, you have been prevented from hearing how England trotted our declaration of independence, and consequently prevented you from strengthening the hands of your kindred in the motherland, or even realizing how much they needed strengthening.'*

Throughout the entire mission, in which he traversed numerous locations where there were Irish communities, Ginnell stressed the necessity to organise the community, to reinforce its love for the nation that gave birth to them and to deepen the knowledge of the community of what had occurred in Ireland. Ginnell undertook this work together with Eamon Bulfin, who had first been sent by the Government of Ireland and had participated in the Easter Rebellion. With the intention of organising the communities of Irish in Argentina, the first Congress of the Irish Race in South America took place.

While in the *Southern Cross* this mission was followed step by step, the *Standard* published one single note entitled 'A Curious Mission':

*'Great Britain is still Argentina's best client, as she is Ireland's best client. Argentina will not forfeit the friendship of England by recognizing an Irish envoy, although by doing so she will win the sympathy of a non-existing republic.'*

With these words the opposition of the newspaper to the creation of an Irish Republic independent of Great Britain is clear. There are no doubts about this when another article affirms: 'The Irish republic is an illusion unreachable'. In the first quote one can also observe what was one of the main motives for that opposition. Argentina was one of the most important trading partners of Great Britain, therefore it was not convenient to lose British sympathy because of support for the Irish cause.

The newspaper's disagreement with the republican movement had its origin in the

conception that that movement was not popular in Ireland. The newspaper maintained:

*'But the extremists are not the people of Ireland, the heart of Ireland recognized in the royal message something with which it could sympathize'.*

Therefore, for the *Standard* the republican cause was not just and the Anglo-Irish conflict was not seen as a war for the independence of a nation, but rather as sedition by a minority group that did not have the backing of the Irish people.

Two very distinct, antagonistic views - how is this possible? The only reason that explains this is the heterogeneity of the Irish community. If on the same island where the events were taking place there was no unanimity about the republican cause, in Argentina it could not be expected that there was total support for it. Although what Joyce has Bloom say is true, that

is that a nation is more than the people who are born in the same territory and can include people who are outside of it, this does not mean that all those who are born in the same geographical unit feel part of the same nation. As has been demonstrated in this article, there was a group of Irish-Argentines who had a very strong nationalist identity and who therefore supported the cause of independence. However, at the same time there were other people who originated from Ireland and settled in Argentina who perhaps never had that 'Irish' identity or lost it due to their new identity. They were indifferent as to what happened in Ireland or even saw what was happening in a negative light as it could affect their interests.

Jorge Cernadas Fonsalías

### Notes

1 "Honor a los nobles irlandeses que acaban de morir combatiendo los enemigos y traidores de su raza."

2 "Viva el enviado de Irlanda, viva la señora de Ginnell, viva la república de Irlanda".

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## Sean Lester, Ireland and Latin America in the League of Nations, 1929-1946

By Yannick Wehrli (1)

Translated by Edmundo Murray

### **Abstract**

*Ireland and the Latin American states shared many features in the international negotiations at the League of Nations. In particular, they positively asserted their national independent status in their relationship with the organisation. To illustrate this, this article covers the role played by Sean Lester in the resolution of the Chaco and Leticia conflicts.*

Born from the rubble of World War One, the League of Nations (LoN) was founded in 1920 at the instigation of United States President Woodrow Wilson, and became the first international organisation with a global scope. Its major goals included the building of a lasting peace, and cooperation among nations. The LoN's original undertaking was connected with the aftermath of the global conflict and the European political situation. However, most of the Latin American states were founding members of the organisation (2). The Irish Free State was admitted in 1923 and shared a similar situation with the Latin American members. They all based their diplomatic strategies on the LoN, aiming to assert their national independence and to establish contacts with a large number of nations. The first part of this article deals with the relations between the Irish and Latin American delegations. These relations intensified when the LoN investigated two regional conflicts, the Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay, and the dispute between Colombia and Peru over the Leticia territory. In the context of both events, Ireland's delegate Sean Lester played a key role, which is examined in the second part of the article with the objective of determining whether he acted on behalf of his government or to support the LoN's moral and legal principles.

The Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in 1921 to establish a dominion known as the Irish Free State, yet foreign policy continued to be the responsibility of the British Foreign Office. Nevertheless, the development of foreign relations is one of the aspects of state

sovereignty and the aspiration of all independent nations. Article 1 of the Covenant of the LoN offered member status to 'any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony [...] provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations [...]'. For Ireland, the LoN represented both an opportunity to gain international recognition, and a space to develop its foreign policy through independent voting rights from those of the British Empire.

Already in 1919, Sinn Féin recognised that the LoN (then still a project) could be a forum for the internationalisation of the Irish aspiration towards independence. The creation of the LoN was approved at the Paris Peace Conference, where Sinn Féin wanted to introduce the Irish question. This did not prove possible and the Sinn Féin leaders lost their interest in the LoN, favouring a bilateral strategy. It was not until the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 and freedom from strife after the Civil War that the Irish Free State could join the LoN on 10 September 1923 (Kennedy 1996: 13-20). On this occasion, the permanent delegate of the Irish delegation entered the conference room of the LoN Assembly and delivered an important speech marked by its symbolic significance. The first sentences were rendered in the Irish language, not in English, strongly indicating the Irish national identity and the independence that its leaders aspired to enjoy at the LoN.

The LoN played the same role for many Latin American nations. Indeed, their sovereignty was already recognised as independent states.

Yet they feared for their sovereignty because of the military involvement of the US in Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua, or by treaties authorising intervention, such as the Platt Amendment in Cuba and the 1903 treaty with Panama. For the nations of this region, participation in the LoN offered a vehicle to restate their independence. The Covenant of the LoN guaranteed the territorial integrity and the independence of the member states. Furthermore, as mentioned above, pursuing a foreign policy is a way of asserting sovereignty. For that reason, in spite of the occupation of Haiti by the US marines (which lasted until 1934), from 1920 the former country sent a delegation every year to the Assembly meetings. Furthermore, in 1930 the Haitian delegation overtly condemned the US occupation. In the Dominican Republic, once the US forces left the country in July 1924, the first action taken by the Republic was to request accession to the LoN, which was effected in September of the same year (Wehrli 2008).

There was another advantage to participating in the LoN negotiations. Establishing links with delegations from more than fifty states was not an insignificant opportunity. Countries like Ireland were in the process of gaining independence and lacked their own diplomatic representations. The Latin American governments lacked the necessary budget to develop an extensive network and only had a few legations, typically in Washington, London, Paris, Madrid, Rome, Berlin and in some neighbouring countries. In fact, it was at the LoN that the first 'diplomatic relations' were established between Ireland and Latin America.

In fact, those relations were not particularly close. However, the Latin American delegations supported the election of Ireland to the Council in 1930. At that opportunity, they recalled the links between Ireland and Latin America, including the soldiers who fought with the *Libertadores* during the Wars of Independence, and the immigrants who in the nineteenth century contributed to the development of these nations (Kennedy 1996: 130-141). However, it was during the resolution of the Chaco and Leticia conflicts that the Irish

delegates - in particular Sean Lester - and those of four Latin American states were to work together.

### **The Chaco War (1932-1935)**

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Chaco territorial dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay spoiled relations between the two countries. In July 1932, the conflict worsened and became an armed engagement. In the earlier stages of the Chaco War, the LoN delegated the negotiation to the Neutral Commission, including six governments of the Americas and led by the US. From 1929, the Neutral Commission had been trying to ameliorate the conflict. Nevertheless, in September 1932 the LoN Council recognised that the situation was rather worrying and appointed a three-member committee - 'The Committee of Three' - to analyse the war's evolution and, if needed, to prepare the LoN's intervention. Actually, according to Article 11 of the Covenant the LoN could not intervene on its own without having been called upon to do so by a member state. At that time, Ireland was responsible for the presidency of the Council so its delegate was the president of the committee. Sean Lester, together with the delegates of Spain and Guatemala, Salvador de Madariaga and José Matos respectively, acted on behalf of the Council during all the instances of the LoN mediation in this conflict, and tried to sort out the irreconcilable positions of the Bolivian delegate Adolfo Costa du Rels, and his Paraguayan counterpart, Ramón Caballero de Bedoya.

In early 1933 the situation had been clearer. In February, the most influential powers in the LoN, France and Great Britain, recommended an arms embargo on the warring parties. The Committee of Three was in charge of presenting a report, and Sean Lester evaluated it as a relevant proposal. However, the problem was that the LoN could not take a decision without a formal request from a member state. In March 1933, the three members of the Committee placed the Chaco War on the Council's agenda, therefore authorising the execution of concrete resolutions. In a letter

dated 4 March 1933 addressed to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Dublin, Sean Lester wrote 'We have been making history in Geneva this week', and explained the actions undertaken by the Council. 'For the first time [...] arrangements are in progress for the declaration of a League embargo on arms for two countries, Bolivia and Paraguay, and, I think also for the first time, three states will exercise their friendly right in invoking Article XI in a dispute between two other countries' (LONA, PSL). Regrettably, within the context of the economic crisis, major state-run arms exporters refused to apply the embargo if it was not generalised, which included the US and other non-member states. However, the US senators rejected a law authorising the President to declare an embargo, therefore it could not be established. It was not until the summer of 1934 that the embargo was established, including the participation of the US.

In May 1933 the state of affairs became even worse when Paraguay declared war, though the declaration was a mere confirmation of the de facto situation. The Council decided to increase their pressure. After lengthy negotiations, the Committee of Three was authorised by the parties to send a reconnaissance mission to Chaco. The mission was delayed by the decision of the parties in June to accept arbitration by the neighbouring countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru). The failure of this arbitration allowed the departure of the mission, which arrived in Chaco on November 1933. Ireland's presidency of the Council ended its mandate in September, so Sean Lester ceded his post on the Committee of Three to the Czechoslovakian delegate and the presidency to the Mexican Francisco Castillo Nájera. It was not until June 1935 that a ceasefire was reached with the support of the neighbouring countries instead of the LoN.

### **The Colombian-Peruvian War (1932-1933)**

Rather more successful was the LoN intervention and Sean Lester's action in the resolution of the conflict between Peru and Colombia for the Amazonian territory of Leticia. The Salomón-Lozano Treaty of 1922

(ratified in 1928) made provisions for the swapping of territories between Peru and Colombia. Colombia would have direct access to the Amazon River and therefore possess the town of Leticia and adjacent territory. However, on 1 September 1932 a group of armed Peruvian civilians seized the Amazonian harbour of Leticia in a demonstration against the Salomón-Lozano Treaty and expelled the representatives of the Colombian state. After some days, the Peruvian government despatched forces to support the rebels, and the hostility increased between Lima and Bogotá. In January 1933, Colombia requested the intervention of the LoN. The Committee of Three and its president Sean Lester were already working for peace in Chaco, and were appointed as negotiators between Peru and Colombia. The former country was represented by the renowned intellectual Francisco García Calderón. His Colombian counterpart, Eduardo Santos, was the owner of the liberal newspaper *El Tiempo* and would later be Minister of Foreign Affairs and Colombian President. Lester led the discussions and managed to reach a satisfactory resolution. Since the Council had acknowledged the validity of the Salomón-Lozano Treaty, the goal was to convince the Peruvian forces to withdraw. Furthermore, Leticia would be placed under the control of the LoN and returned to Colombia at a later stage.

However, since the Peruvians could not revoke the Treaty, they sought to revise it. Therefore, they proposed holding a conference focusing on this dispute. During the conference, Leticia would be protected by international forces led by the LoN, and returned to Peru or Colombia according to the decisions taken there. Yet the Colombians believed that only their soldiers should set foot in Leticia. They did not accept the presence of an international force, though they would agree to hold the conference. Confronted with these opposing stances and aside from the negotiations, Sean Lester tried to establish an arms embargo against Peru if its government continued presenting unreasonable demands. In May, this approach proved to be unnecessary because a resolution was adopted thanks to Lester's conciliatory expertise. The

settlement included one-year administration of Leticia by an LoN commission. During this period, a conference would be held with the purpose of making lasting decisions about the borders between Colombia and Peru and the free navigation of the river Amazon and its tributaries. In order to maintain order, the Commission would send international troops to the area, although Lester and the Colombian and Peruvian representatives decided through confidential correspondence that the troops would be from Colombia. Therefore, Lima was able to save face and Bogotá's demands were fulfilled. As for the LoN, it came out of the ordeal with increased stature.

Sean Lester received several compliments and congratulations for his work, which also helped to strengthen Ireland's international reputation. In the July 1933 issue of *Concorde*, a publication of the Irish League of Nations Society, an article remarked upon 'an instance - of which little notice was taken by the press in this country - in which it can be seen how opportunities of a unique and honourable kind are given to our countrymen to render splendid services to other nations through our membership of the League' (LONA, PSL).

What was the actual role played by Dublin through Sean Lester's activities? From September 1933, Lester had witnessed the poor performance of the Council during the Manchuria affair and its inability to end the Japanese occupation (Barcroft 1973: 26-43). He reckoned that the Chaco and Leticia disputes provided the LoN with an opportunity to restore its reputation and to showcase its efficient operation. Therefore, as Michael Kennedy observed, 'Lester's actions were taken without seeking advice from Dublin; they were matters of League and not national policy. He was acting as President of the Council, not Irish Permanent Representative' (Kennedy 1996: 177). Most of the time, Lester proceeded on his own initiative and without instructions from his superiors, and just reported to them on the development of his mission. Indeed, he obtained his government's support regarding

the embargoes. But Dublin would have preferred him to act with more prudence (Kennedy 1996: 179). Sean Lester's main objective was to defend world peace and the interests of the LoN. In this way, he gained significant prestige in diplomatic circles and was successively appointed High Commissioner in Danzig (Gdańsk) in late 1933, Deputy Secretary-General in 1937, and Secretary-General in 1940. According to Kennedy, 'these two disputes show Lester metamorphosing into an international civil servant' (Kennedy 1996: 177).

In spite of the lengthy negotiations, Sean Lester had good contacts with at least two Latin American delegates. In September 1938, he wrote in his diary of Francisco García Calderón: 'Catholic poet, and orator, like so many Latin-Americans: a man of culture. We are friends since I presided over the Peru-Colombia Committee about six years ago' (LONA, DSL). During World War Two, acting as Deputy Secretary-General, Lester also maintained a good relationship with Costa du Rels, who was the President of the Council. Furthermore, in July 1940, Costa du Rels supported Lester's appointment as Secretary-General, succeeding the French diplomat Joseph Avenol. (3)

### Conclusion

Ireland and a number of Latin American states lacked an extensive diplomatic network, but were able to use the LoN as a platform to assert their independence and to make their case known in the international context. Their contacts increased through the activity of Sean Lester, in particular during the Chaco and Leticia conflicts. Lester acted with great autonomy yet officially represented the Irish state, and operated above all as an international civil servant. During this period the Latin American diplomats were less in connection with Ireland than with an Irishman.

Yannick Wehrli

## **Notes**

- 1 Lecturer in history at the University of Geneva.
- 2 Among the founding members of the League of Nations were Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Haiti and Cuba. Among the states invited to accede to the Covenant were Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, El Salvador and Venezuela.
- 3 Joseph Avenol (1879-1952) was forced to resign by the Vichy Government, which wished to discontinue relations with the LoN. Avenol was reluctant to leave his job (Barros 1969: 252-4).

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## **Irish Diplomacy in Argentina**

By Maria Eugenia Cruset (1)

Translated by Shane Byrne and Ita Dagger (2)

### **Abstract**

*There is a relationship between the internal politics of states and their diplomacy. This relationship is a kind of feedback where the two 'spheres' mutually interact. Internal interests influence the decisions that are made in international affairs, just as what occurs abroad can, in various ways and depending on the openness of a country, affect what occurs on an internal level within states. The role of the diaspora as an agent of para-diplomacy has become an important variable for small countries like Ireland. I will endeavour to study this phenomenon from the perspective of historical and political science. This work is the product of research carried out in order to complete my master's thesis in International Relations. Hence it has a double focus; from the historical point of view, which is my main background, and from the point of view of political science. I hope to be able to bring this topic to a conclusion with my doctoral thesis.*

### **Introduction**

Nationalism, as a formative theory in these countries, gives us an approach to these internal relationships. Models of nation formation have their own characteristics, which are repeated in international roles. Nationalism as we understand the word in this article is the social and political doctrine through which groups of humans form themselves into and are called nations. This implies that state and nation do not necessarily correspond, though in the majority of cases the formation of a nation will demand the creation of a state. When that formation arises from below, or when what unifies is consciousness or myth of belonging, based on race, language, religion etc., we then call it romantic nationalism. When Irish romantic nationalism managed to achieve an independent country (although with limited autonomy in the beginning), we saw a new state, small and relatively weak, which had to improvise a foreign service from the good will and personal capacity of the personnel available to it. It saw itself forced to resort to informal strategies such as the use of its diaspora and its para-diplomacy, or participation in large numbers of forums in order to further its cause.

### **Development**

Irish foreign policy shows a number of basic elements that derive from the national

characteristics of the country. A very important one of these is the defence of international law and the conduct of policy within these rules. This is seen as a means for controlling the powerful in favour of the weak. Moreover, the framework allows smaller countries greater room for manoeuvre. This also applies to the work of diplomats. That is why these tend to be enthusiastic participants in every type of forum where collective decisions are made - hence the practice of multilateral international relations where small countries gain most through seeking allies. (3)

The first Irish diplomats were not career diplomats, but rather people who were chosen because they knew a foreign language or had some useful skill. From 1919 until 1922, this area was known as the Department of Foreign Affairs, but then changed its name to the Department of External Affairs and maintained this name until 1971. Its primary and almost exclusive objective was to achieve recognition of Ireland's independence. In order to achieve this recognition, representatives were sent all over the world. One of its greatest successes in this respect occurred on 6 December 1922, when Ireland became a member of the League of Nations. This permitted the state to have diplomatic representation in other states, and gave it the power to negotiate and sign treaties and passports for its citizens.

Ireland was one of the first small countries (in population and territory) to achieve independence after the First World War. As Gerard Keown points out, one result of this was that the country participated in numerous international conferences, even when the country had in fact no material interest in the topics that were being debated, and it signed agreements that essentially it did not have the capacity to break. For example; its support for the International Court of Justice in 1929 and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. (4)

### **Diplomacy and Diasporas**

Today's diplomatic affairs have allowed for the emergence of new actors. As borders between states dissolve, new possibilities are created. It is not a case of nation-states losing primacy but rather of them allowing for the emergence of other actors. However, what is in our day facilitated by telecommunications and the global economy and culture had in fact important precedents in an earlier period. This is particularly the case with diasporas and their mother states, along with the role they played in strengthening national objectives.

There are authors who speak of conflict resolution in a country in terms of a 'game of three levels' and then there are other authors who even include a fourth level, where the diaspora is converted into a 'variable' (Hocking 1993). Ivo D. Duchacek has termed these activities 'para-diplomacy', which may be thought of as the relationship of these groups with foreign states in commercial fields such as industry and culture. Quite often, these 'new' players have interests and interpretations of events different to those of the central government (this can occur very frequently) and even different to those of their 'nations of origin', although this is less frequent. (5)

Immigrants and their descendents try to maintain their customs, language, and religion in the country in which they settle. For these purposes networks are developed whose main function is to maintain links with the original place of origin. They do this more efficiently than could one single individual. At the same time they achieve a relationship of mutual

benefit between the leaders of these groups and the non-immigrant sector. The former achieve recognition within their community for their proximity to existing national groups, while the latter gain support that they could not previously gain in their country of origin. These non-national diasporas and their agents can act as a third party in conflicts between their nationalities and their central governments, and they become more effective to the degree that they can involve the states where they live. The more numerous, the richer, the more powerful or more influential these groups are, the greater their possibility of achieving this.

The concept of diaspora is profoundly linked to romantic nationalism, and the model of foreign policy which arises from it. All the rhetorical discourse of the government begins to centre itself on concepts such as *Madre patria* (Motherland), where race is what is most important and goes beyond the state. For a long time the term diaspora had negative connotations because of its association with the Jewish loss of the Promised Land and their subsequent dispersion for not being loyal to their covenant with God. It is for this reason that the term was associated with the notion of punishment. However the word is of Greek origin and means, 'to scatter plentifully'. This was the idea of bringing Greek culture to the colonies and for this reason, it had a positive connotation. Nowadays, however it no longer retains this double meaning and it is used by the social sciences as term for a field of study. This is how it will be used in this article.

### **Foreign support for Ireland's independence process**

We have already mentioned that Ireland was a nation characterised by emigration, be it forced or voluntary. The exodus of large numbers of the population was motivated by economics, politics and religion. This process was significantly accelerated by the 1840s potato famine. With regard to forced emigration we refer specifically to criminals. Often only convicted of minor offences, they were sent to the penal colonies in Australia or to work as slaves on the plantations in the Caribbean. This

spawned the birth of a diaspora nation, one that was deeply connected to its homeland and which, for the most part, never lost these connections. Let us take two of these cases as examples: the Hiberno-Argentines and the Irish diaspora in the US - which has been comprehensively studied and for geographical and cultural reasons merits being kept in mind as we try to understand what happened in Argentina. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century Argentina was one of the most important countries in the world for receiving migrant populations. The country presents us with a rich diversity that is fruitful ground for study.

### **The Hiberno-Argentines** (6)

Irish immigration to Argentina went through a number of phases. There were already families that had settled around the River Plate during the colonial period. After the English invasion prisoners were left behind who integrated themselves gradually and formed their own families. After Argentina gained independence this immigration continued. The majority of Irish immigrants were connected by links with family, friends or neighbours who had already migrated. These links (in the case of Westmeath, Longford and Offaly) were started mainly by ex-prisoners and those who deserted after the English invasions of 1806 and 1807, whereas (in the case of Wexford and Offaly) it was merchant settlements in Buenos Aires that started the migration chain.

Korol and Sabato believe that the decision to emigrate to Argentina was not an easy one. In addition to the difficulties of uprooting and moving that are faced by people deciding to emigrate, the language, unknown traditions and completely alien culture also caused problems. On the other hand the distance between Ireland and Argentina was an insurmountable obstacle for the poorest sectors of society. They generally could not reach further than England or with a lot of luck they could get as far as North America. The structures that were built up to facilitate emigration from Ireland to Anglo-Saxon countries cannot be compared

with the poor organisation involved in the relocating of the Irish to the River Plate.

One of the determining factors in their decision to relocate to the River Plate was the casual relationship of future migrants with the nucleus of Irish immigrants who lived in Buenos Aires. This relationship is known as a 'migratory chain', and according to John McDonald, it can be defined as, 'a connection through which future migrants can become aware of existing labour opportunities, obtain the necessary means to relocate, find accommodation and a job by using the social links they have with previous immigrants' (McDonald 1997).

The total number of immigrants who travelled to Argentina is estimated at between 40,000 and 45,000. (7) Of these immigrants, almost half returned to Ireland or went to the USA. We owe most of this information to the research carried out by Eduardo A. Coghlan, who created an entire genealogical catalogue tracing the surviving descendents of these immigrants.

From 1919 to 1923 Ireland maintained a diplomatic presence in Latin America, particularly in Argentina and Chile. The people sent by Sinn Féin did not have official accreditation for these countries but did have such accreditation for the Irish communities in these countries. The first diplomat was Eamon Bulfin and the second was Frank Eagan. This shows the initial interest in maintaining contact with the diasporas in these countries. The first International Congress of the Irish Race was arranged following talks between Eamon De Valera and the British Prime Minister Lloyd George and was a way of showing the world what was going on in the country. It was held in Paris in 1922 and its main organiser and chief ideologue was Thomas Hughes Kelly from New York (Barry 2004: 3).

In order to prepare the Congress, they first needed to organise all of the Irish communities in the different countries, in order to unify strategies. For this reason, during 1921, the government sent special missions to South America, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Russia and the US. Within this context

Laurence Ginnell arrived in Buenos Aires as the representative of the Republic of Ireland to work with Eamon Bulfin who was already there working on the issue. (8)

Finally, the first Irish Congress took place in Buenos Aires on 29 November 1921. More than 50 organisations sent their representatives and they founded a new Federation. The number is an important piece of information because it shows the large amount of immigrants, their dispersion and to an extent their fragmented organisation. They elected five delegates to go to the conference in France.

Eamon Bulfin was an interesting man, whose involvement in the Easter Rising of 1916 led to him becoming admired among the diaspora both of in his own day and indeed today. Bulfin was born in Buenos Aires in 1892. He was the son of William Bulfin, who emigrated to Argentina when he was just twenty years old. In his adopted homeland he went on to become a writer, journalist, editor and owner of *The Southern Cross* newspaper. He used his newspaper to help the republican cause financially and with propaganda. In 1909 he returned to Ireland with his family and died there the following year.

Eamon actively participated in the 1916 Easter Rising and it was he who hung the flag from the roof of the General Post Office. When the rebellion was repressed he was sentenced to death by an English court-martial. However due to the fact that he was an Argentinean citizen his life was spared and he was deported back to Argentina. A few years later, in 1919 Eamon De Valera appointed him consul. It was his task to gather support among the Irish community in Argentina. He also sought to win

over public opinion in order to raise funds and assemble arms to aid their cause. In 1922 he was finally able to return to Ireland where he settled until he died in 1968.

### Conclusion

While recognising the similarities between small nation states that are formed on the basis of national identity, we should also begin to take cognisance of their differences. We should do so by looking to the farthest reaches of these states - to their diasporas. This in itself offers a different and indeed a new emphasis than that provided by notions of 'motherland' (Cruset 2007). The ideals of 'nationalism' and group belonging, and what they imply; the role of the church; the role of women; the question of 'race'; the armed struggle as means of winning political goals - these concepts not only distinguished the Irish diasporas in Argentina and other countries but they marked a difference between the Irish diaspora and the diasporas of other countries. It would be interesting to study how emigrant groups of other nationalities sought out and studied the 'Irish mirror', not just out of intellectual curiosity but as a means of learning from the history of another ethnic nationalism which managed to attain political independence. Of interest also would be to study the foreign policy strategies which helped to achieve national goals. At some time in the future we would like to know in greater detail what was reflected in that mirror and what was done with the image it showed.

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### Notes

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2 National University of Ireland, Maynooth.

3 In 1969, during the political situation known as 'The Troubles' - a period of confrontation between Catholics and Protestants which began in 1969 and ended with the Good Friday agreement of 1998 -

faced with rising violence, the Irish government appealed to the Security Council of the United Nations for a ceasefire and a peaceful solution to the conflict. However this did not achieve the desired results.

4 The Kellogg-Briand Pact, 27 August 1928 in Paris, was signed by fifteen countries. It outlaws and prohibits war as an instrument of national policy.

5 On this situation, Gloria Totoricaguena's case study on the Basques is worth consulting (Totoricaguena, Gloria, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 2005).

6 This is the name frequently given to Argentines of Irish origin and it is derived from the word Hibernia, which comes from the Roman name for Ireland.

7 According to McKenna, Patrick. *Nineteenth Century Irish Emigration to, and Settlement in, Argentina*, cited by Murray, Edmundo. *Devenir irlandés* (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 2004).

8 Another one of his important missions was to launch the 'Irish Fund'. Ginnell and others in Ireland had high hopes for the Irish in Argentina because they were rich landowners with a lot of available capital and were also sympathetic to the different Irish causes. This reputation was completely unfounded (most of them were labourers, foremen and administrators and only a very small minority were landowners).



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

By Brad Lange (1)

### **Abstract**

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **The Hiberno-Argentine Review and Fianna**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **The Irish in Argentina, 1520-1905**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **The Sinn Féin Debate and Irish Catholic Integration**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Conclusion**

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

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

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

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

that signalled the process of integration to be well underway.

Brad Lange

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### Notes

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

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

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

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

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

6 It appears that this event never transpired.

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## **Damned Irishman: John William Cooke**

By María José Punte (1)

Translated by David Barnwell and Edmundo Murray

### **Abstract**

*This article focuses on the life of the Peronist radical John William Cooke (1919-1968). Born into a family with Irish roots, Cooke has been a key figure in the history of the Peronist movement. His legacy is an alternative Peronist political ideology and the symbolic social imaginary related to revolutionary activism. This article includes an analysis of J. W. Cooke as a character in José Pablo Feinmann's novel *La astucia de la razón* (1990). Working from a gender perspective, the goal is to deconstruct the configurations defining the parameters of masculinity and virility that were popular among the political activists of 1970s Argentina, and that contributed to establishing a defined image for the revolutionary.*

*... since I think an Irishman - he said - is a person with a passionate heart for justice and he knows, I think, that only the armed struggle will soothe and appease that passion...*

José Pablo Feinmann, *La astucia de la razón*

### **Cooke in the Flesh**

Given the fantastic and adventurous appeal of John William Cooke it is surprising that until now his revolutionary Peronist character has not been included in fictional literature. However, there is an exception that is worth exploring - a section of José Pablo Feinmann's novel *La astucia de la razón* (1990). Peronism - the political movement initiated by Juan Domingo Perón (1895-1974) - has inspired numerous fictional works in literature. The starring roles have been traditionally reserved for Eva (*Evita*) and Juan D. Perón. *Evita* in particular enjoys enormous popularity in literary works, and Juan Perón is the protagonist in the well-known *La novela de Perón* by Tomás Eloy Martínez (1985). Recent historical research is more balanced as to the relevance of Juan and Eva Perón compared to other figures of Peronism. But literary fiction has followed suit, even if there is a growing interest in the secondary characters of the movement. Feinmann's book is noteworthy because of its focus on J. W. Cooke as an inconvenient character. (2) Cooke played an interesting role in Peronist history, but in the

1980s it was neglected by more recent generations. In the 1990s, the decision to include Cooke in a fictional text is significant. During this period, fundamental changes were wrought on Peronist ideological discourse. As explained below, this decision was taken within the context of the revisionist history of the role played by the 1970s Peronist youth and their generation of activists, as well as of the tragic history experienced by Argentine society in that period.

As an important political figure, John William Cooke's fate was to puzzle his audiences. Christened with an English name and born to a family with an Irish background, (3) John William Cooke was born in La Plata, the capital city of Buenos Aires province, the eldest child of Jorge Isaac Cooke and María Elvira Lenci. His grandfather Jenaro William Cooke was born in Panama, the son of an Irish merchant seaman and his Panamanian wife. Jorge Isaac Cooke was a lawyer and wrote regularly on current affairs. During his son's formative years, he witnessed his father's intense political activity. The family had strong links with the Radical Party and followed the *caudillo* Hipólito

Yrigoyen (1852-1933). However liberal and pro-British they were, when the Peronist movement was launched they adhered enthusiastically. Elected at twenty-six to the congress during the first Peronist period (1946-1952), John William Cooke was the youngest Member of Parliament. His father was appointed minister of foreign affairs, but both careers had their ups and downs during the first Peronist period. (4) The young Cooke established himself as a sound intellectual with dazzling public speaking abilities. However, he lost official support due to his ideological radicalisation.

From 1952, Cooke left his post in congress and taught at the university. He also directed *De Frente*, a publication often critical of the bureaucratisation in the Peronist Justicialist Party. After the fall of Perón in 1955, Cooke became a fugitive and was detained and confined to prison in Río Gallegos with other high-ranking Peronist officers. However, two years later he managed to flee, together with Jorge Antonio, Héctor Cámpora, Patricio Guillermo Kelly and the trade unionist leaders Espejo and Gomis. From that moment on, the myth about Cooke started to take shape. In exile, John William Cooke contacted Perón and set off the opposition which resulted in the most significant attempt to organise a Peronist guerrilla, by the Uturuncos. Juan Perón appointed Cooke as his envoy and personal representative. In 1955-1960 Cooke became the liaison between Perón and his followers in Argentina. He negotiated a deal with Arturo Frondizi (1908-1995) that allowed the latter politician to become President in 1958. Attracted by Fidel Castro's revolution, John William Cooke went to Cuba and established a productive ideological relationship with Ernesto "Che" Guevara. In 1964, Cooke founded the Peronist Revolutionary Action, one of the movements that sought to spread the Cuban model throughout Latin America. This was at the origin of the rift between Cooke and Perón. In his later years, Cooke tried to convince the former Argentine president to adopt more radical positions, but this was a difficult task in a complex political

milieu. On 19 September 1968 John William Cooke died of lung cancer in Buenos Aires.

### Cooke in Ink

José Pablo Feinmann's novel *La astucia de la razón* is a story about the young revolutionaries of the late 1960s, who later became active politicians. (5) The historical background of the book is the process by which middle-class university students well-acquainted with Marxist theory adhered to the Peronist movement. The main character is Pablo Epstein, who is also the narrator (though a fragmented narrator with a limited point of view).

One of the narrative sequences in the novel occurs in the summer of 1965 at the seaside resort of Mar del Plata. In the evening Pablo and three friends, philosophy students like him, are enjoying a philosophical barbecue (*asado filosófico*) on the beach beneath the stars. In their intellectual conversation they try to find an answer to the crucial question of how to define the essence of philosophy. The four agree with Marx's proposition that philosophy must transform the world. (6) Each adheres to a different philosophical school. Pablo is a fervent follower of Hegel. Ismael coins his own statement, inspired by Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Pedro is a loyal disciple of Marx but focuses on the earlier period of the German philosopher. Finally, Hugo Hernández provokes a certain tension in the plot when he repeatedly breaks the logical discourse. Furthermore, he introduces the historical character, John William Cooke. Hugo argues that there is a 'discursive position', (7) from which he can elucidate a historical contemporary period and a geopolitical context that is the Argentine and Latin American world. Pablo, who knows his friend's ideas, uses irony when he refers to Hugo's 'Latin American Theorem'. To define philosophy, Hugo uses a statement by J. W. Cooke: 'Peronism is a doomed occurrence in a bourgeois country'. (8)

Citing a revolutionary thinker instead of a philosopher Hugo introduces the first discursive gap. Instead of being framed in the intellectual context of philosophy, Cooke

belongs to the muddy world of politics. In that summer evening of 1965 Hugo tries to convince his friends that the Marxist-inspired revolution that they wish to achieve in Argentina will only be possible through Peronism. However, it is a leftist revolutionary Peronism that Cooke advocated. The four friends are well acquainted with Marxist theory, and are aware that the condition for revolutionary action is that substance and subject must converge. That is, that theory must meet reality through its true interpreters, the proletarians. Hugo argues fervently in support of Cooke's principles. The first step is the evaluation of the state of social awareness among the masses. Since the vast majority of the proletarian class in Argentina follows Perón, the revolutionary process cannot neglect Peronism, which is the proper approach. But this process does not necessarily include Perón.

In the historical context, the discussion can be viewed from the optic of Perón's exile and the banning of Peronism in the electoral arena, as well as the internal feuds and factions that wanted to take the control of the movement. In addition, there is the background of the Cuban revolution which spread throughout the Latin American region. By that time, Cooke and Perón were not as close as before.

Two stories embedded in the novel are narrated by Hugo and are used as discursive resources. On the one hand, there is an imaginary dialogue between Karl Marx and the federal *caudillo* Felipe Varela (1821-1870). The goal is to support the first step of Hugo's case, that is, the idea that revolutions in Latin America must respect the historical, political and social context and should avoid transferring foreign (European) approaches to the region. This is an implicit criticism of communism, but also of nineteenth-century ideas and of the Age of Enlightenment. On the other hand, the other story supports Hugo's line of reasoning and focuses on the national circumstances in Argentina. Hugo met with John William Cooke on the evening of 4 December 1964.

The narrative takes place one year after the meeting, which Hugo considers to have been a

milestone in his life. He recounts his trip to the Argentine province of Córdoba to participate in a political meeting organised by the association of university students. The meeting was a lecture by Cooke, but was banned by the provincial government from taking place in the main lecture hall, and transferred to the premises of the University Foundation of Córdoba. In the beginning Cooke earnestly addressed the students, workers and trade unionists and won them over with his ideas about Peronism, inciting their revolutionary enthusiasm. These ideas are briefly exposed here: to achieve Perón's return from exile so that he could join again with the masses; that the Peronism / Anti-Peronism opposition represented the class struggle in Argentina; that within Peronism there are potential revolutionaries and a bureaucratic class of traitors who preclude the revolutionary process.

The second story embedded in the narrative occurs in a more intimate and exclusive space that is the quarters of the mechanical workers' trade union, a "mysterious and mythological place" (146). (9) Cooke is introduced to the union leader René Rufino Salamanca. Hugo is invited by the student Antonio Miramón, who is the chief intellectual in the union. The conference itself has an air of conspiracy and secrecy. Cooke and Salamanca, two colossal men, confront each other in the room. Hugo, the narrator, tells his friends on the beach that the meeting of the two leaders was the embodiment of History (with a capital H). During a couple of hours Cooke and Salamanca talked about Peronism while they had *empanadas* (pies) and red wine.

This passage opens with an introduction to Cooke's biography and, in particular, adds a mythical effect to the historical narrative. Cooke tries to convince Salamanca and he achieves his goal. He also wins over Antonio Miramón, who is introduced as Salamanca's 'intellectual'. Miramón is the 'soul' whilst Salamanca is the 'body', an analogy that suggests Marx's alliance between the intellectual avant-garde and the proletariat. The dialogue is not included by the narrator so one can only guess the exact words used by Cooke that

evening. But his proposals had been explained at the conference before the meeting. What is interesting about this story is that, beyond the ideas, the atmosphere and tone are plausible in that period. Time is measured by the wine disappearing from the demijohn, a fact that gives the reader an idea of vanishing time, and also of the lack of moderation at the meeting. The last glass of wine is emptied by Cooke, who exclaims '*Me cago en Perón*' (fuck Perón) - a riposte to Salamanca's previous statement that the workers are Peronist but the Peronist movement is not focused on the workers. After that, Cooke gives details of his plan to create political progress for Perón but avoiding any avant-gardism. He insists on the need to work from within Peronism since it is the state of awareness of the masses. At the end of the meeting, Cooke has been able to convince the union leader, the intellectual, and the young student. The latter completes his account with a cry, '*viva Perón, carajo!*' (long live Perón, god damn it!).

The third and final setting is even more intimate and private, and occurs in the street when Cooke and Hugo are walking back from the trade union quarters to Hotel Mitre (they happen to stay in the same hotel). Hugo asks Cooke if he may come with him. The relationship between the two men is that of a teacher and his disciple, and it is represented in a brief dialogue. However, the narrator (Hugo) also takes on a filial position when he suggests a scene from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Hugo states that he followed Cooke like Hamlet followed his father's shadow. (10) They continue talking while they walk, even if Cooke is now lost in thought. Two statements by Cooke make a lasting impression in the student's mind. Hugo was seeking certainties, and he finds them in that dialogue. Cooke affirms that all possible convictions are a journey with one point of arrival, and explains that there are just three beliefs: God, revolution, and suicide.

Hugo is moved by the earnestness of the moment. Before he was an excited witness, but now there is an uneven exchange between a teacher who is supposed to provide brilliant solutions and a disciple who is still a prisoner

of unoriginal statements. Cooke speaks about Borges, God and suicide, and Hugo is taken aback. Just then, Cooke allows himself to behave as a man instead of as the public figure in the previous scenes. But when they arrive in the hotel, Cooke again plays his role of revolutionary activist of the Peronist left. 'Cooke went back to being Cooke', says the narrator. (11) It is time to take their leave of each other and to conclude the discussion. Cooke gives Hugo the secret to becoming a good revolutionary, which is the certainty that Hugo was looking for. A revolutionary is a good translator, says Cooke. To conclude, he uses the same statement that a year later Hugo will use to define philosophy. This axiom represents a cultural definition of Peronism. The whole narrative focuses on this proposition, which works in the novel's discourse like a setting on a precious stone.

The account of the meeting covers thirty pages (135-165). It is included in, and subsidiary to, the main plot, and emphasised with suspense and also by rupture. To present his ideas, Hugo selects discursive genres that are not adjusted to the expectations of his friends. He has recourse to fiction and personal anecdote. Finally, the statement he uses is taken from a different discursive field than that of philosophy. The semantic nucleus is 'irruption', which from the beginnings of Peronism has been one of its most established interpretations (Avellaneda 1983: 13-54). According to this interpretation, as Cooke said, the essence of Peronism has been to irrupt in the conventional landscape and generate a fracture. The general structure of the text suggests the image of Chinese boxes, in which some parts include others. The narrative also represents the dynamic of concentric circles. The story of the meeting with Cooke shares that dynamic that moves from the public to the private in a triple movement of the three scenes, leading to intensity.

The effect of this passage in the total structure of the novel is significant, since it includes in a reduced scale what later will be generalised among the four friends. This expansionist movement gives sense to the main plot of *La*

*astucia de la razón*, which is the tragedy of a generation represented by the main character Pablo Epstein. The point of departure is the evening of 1964 when Hugo is converted by Cooke, a move that will be performed again in 1965 when Pablo and his friends are converted by Hugo. It is a tragedy because the point of view of the story is that of Pablo narrated in the present tense, though it occurs in the late seventies or the early eighties and in different circumstances, that is, the persecution and repression by the last military dictatorship. Nevertheless, the novel confronts the tragic present with a cheerful past, when these young men were convinced that they could change the world.

### **Clash of Titans**

With regard to the figure of Cooke the image that arises from the text is at all times positive and vital. This explains the character's enormous seductive power, power that is not limited to the intellectual dimension. The descriptions of the historical Cooke always focus on a central physical aspect of the man, namely his great bulk. One of his nicknames, not surprisingly, was 'Fats'. This is the core of the author's philosophical and ethical portrait of Cooke. To some extent the fact of his fatness makes Cooke an unlikely revolutionary. With respect to the physical, a figure such as Che Guevara offers a much more suitable role model for a hero. Yet on the other hand, obesity has been considered in other times and places as a mark of vitality, of exuberance and of material wealth. These emerge as key elements throughout the biography of Cooke.

In the first place, the fact that his was not a classically attractive body according to the Grecian model may have instigated his career as a great orator (although he was said to be a fine dancer). In addition, the choice of the intellectual sphere as the one in which to excel relates to the subordination of the body to the spirit within the binary system typical of Western culture. According to certain stereotypes, the alternative for the man who is less than attractive physically is to achieve eminence in oratory or intellectual pursuits (the

*labia*). These are some of the traits that Feinmann uses to construct the character of Cooke. The same polarity is posited for the hero, Pablo Epstein. Through him the author develops themes such as virility, sexuality and the body. In the portrait of Cooke, mediated though it is through the eyes of Hugo, fatness is in no way an obstacle to the work of a revolutionary. On the contrary, it 'symbolised all that was exuberant and overflowing in him. His ideas made him fat, as did his deepest convictions and his passions' (149). Another element that forms part of Cooke's overflowing character is his speech. It not only comes forth in torrents, but is striking for its clarity: 'Cooke's voice was clear, brilliant, potent, in short, the brilliant voice of a brilliant man' (141). Strangely, there is no mention in this depiction of another of Cooke's excesses, namely his smoking, which would later kill him.

According to the text, the external elements express the inner man, in such a way as to establish a parallel between the inner and the outer. Several techniques are used to this purpose. These men appear as 'Titans, their outsize figures dominating the entire scene. Their gestures are exaggerated, their bodies vigorous. If Cooke's vitality is stressed - Hugo states: 'I remember that then I thought I had never seen a man more alive than he' (149, underlined in the original) - his gigantic size makes us think of such things as statues and monuments. Cooke's large stomach serves also to liken him to a figure who appears in Hugo's other story - Karl Marx. Marx is repeatedly described as the 'bearded giant'. And Cooke, who in real life did not have a beard, (12) is described by Hugo: 'Cooke was like that, he was fat and had a beard, and beyond that, his language was sharp, full of ideas, but at the same time dramatic and even epic' (141). In constructing his characters the author uses various resources: juxtaposition, repetition, amplification. The result is an impressive cast of characters, which makes the contrast with a present that is focused on the four young men all the stronger: 'Cooke stood up like a giant and bellowed *Perón or Death!*' (145).

The other aspect that should be borne in mind is the stress on the maleness of the event. Besides the fact that there are no women present, there are evident references to virility. It is expressed in signs, in language and in the way that the characters interconnect, as in the following phrase: 'Lifting his hand, his fingers fat, vigorous not soft, but rather massive and strong, Cooke silenced the party members' (144). This is especially visible in the scene where Cooke and Salamanca debate, accompanied by wine and *empanadas*. All this contributes to portraying the confrontation as a clash of titans, from which Cooke emerges as victor. These men do not struggle with arms, but with arguments. But that does not mean it is not a combat, punctuated by loud laughs or pounding on the table and by a tension which only lifts at the end. The silence is, we are told, so tense you could cut it with a knife. The equation between masculinity and activism is explicit. They are all hard men, restrained and careful in their movements and gestures, because they know that these things reveal even more than what they say.

When he withdraws, the embrace that Cooke gives Salamanca is emotional, but also 'manly and militant' (157). The same happens in the third scene when Cooke takes his leave of Hugo, doing so with a clap on the back that is 'strong, sonorous and virile' (165). All the men in the story act as men are supposed to do, at least in the sense of seeing themselves as compelled to observe certain kinds of conduct in order to be respected by their peers. This is made even more obvious in the third scene, which shows a Cooke who is exhausted from alcohol, from sumptuous dining and passionate arguments. Hugo catches him in a moment of weakness in which among other things Cooke confesses his admiration for the writings of Borges, 'that gorilla genius'. (13) But his weakness does not last for long. He sees that he must renew the role of master, and things return to normal: 'And Cooke was once again Cooke, that is to say that he was no longer tired of being Cooke; his eyes regained their habitual life and his speech again shot forth, flowing, abundant, brilliant' (163).

### Perón's Boys

The figure of Cooke appears again within a complex text, one in which Pablo Epstein speaks of fragmentation and neurosis. The contrast between a bright past in which they 'still had all their life before them', as Pablo stresses, and their tortured present, highlights these images, full of life and force. The character who tells the story of Hugo attempts to represent a political alternative, namely that of left-wing Peronism. It might be said that the vitality so often stressed in the book refers also to the vitality of an ideology. This is, as we have pointed out, from the point of view of the Peronism of the 1990s, which had taken the opposite direction and represented the failure of the political line put forward by Cooke. Thus the novel is a commentary on the generation of the sixties, their successes and failures, one that is a precursor to much of the theoretical work later to appear on the period.

With regard to the construction of masculinities, there is an element present which Omar Acha alludes to in an article about football, homoeroticism and Peronist culture (Acha 2004: 123-169). It is a fact that Peronism sought to establish an equivalency between virility and the masses, just as it tried to associate ideas of femininity with the opposition. In a sense, Feinmann's text uses one of the elements in this binary opposition, in which the need to develop a space for consensus and conviviality among party members is inferred. In the story that involves Cooke, the manly qualities of the encounter are stressed even to excess, and associated with their popular characteristics: the copiously flowing wine, the *empanadas*, the tough language and the almost caricatured male gesture system (embraces, pounding on tables, etc.). All serve to define this territory as of the nation and of the people, that is to say, as Peronist. It is impossible not to notice a strong homoerotic element throughout the story, a theme suggested though not developed in the novel. (14) In short, we are dealing with a solely male community, in which the banners of liberty, equality and fraternity can fly freely. Class differences have no importance, as Hugo

happily finds out. Workers and intellectuals are seated at the same table, achieving Marx's alliance of substance and subject. At the banquet, hierarchies are diluted, trade unionists and students alike being privileged to attend, all in the company of the comfortably middle-class Cooke.

On the basis of this equality they can also find a space to go beyond the political limitations of the moment, namely the banning of Peronism. Yet no female characters appear in the group, nor among the students who a year later sit down to discuss philosophy. (15) The author evokes a party membership where differences do not exist and which excludes any element that might question group unity. In fact, the emblematic 'new man' inspired by that conception springs from a vision of humanity that is quite phalocentric. This had a number of

consequences as to the form that militancy took, especially in the acceptance of violence as a means of achieving revolution. The full text of *La astucia de la razón*, aside from analysing the theories which inspired the militants of the 1960s, brings to life a Cooke who cannot be divorced from those ideas. Though he may not reach the stature of symbol of his time, he is restored to a place from which he had been sidelined. The elaboration of his character, however, serves to reinforce an imaginary cultural world in which the author establishes a number of the characteristics of party members. He certainly does not shrink from the stereotype that considers revolution to be a man's affair.

María José Punte

### Notes

1 María José Punte graduated from the Universidad Católica Argentina and the University of Vienna. Her current research at the Universidad Nacional de La Plata is on the intersection between literature and Peronism. Her publications are included in the website: [www.punte.org](http://www.punte.org).

2 *Personaje inconveniente* is the expression used in Richard Gillespie's biography of J. W. Cooke, which was published when access to primary sources was limited (Gillespie 1989: 15).

3 At his time of birth, Cooke's given names in English are an exception since the Argentine civil records office did not allow the use of the translation of Spanish-language names into other languages.

4 For a time, under Evita's influence, Cooke father and son fell out of Perón's favour (Linder 2006: 35-60).

5 An in-depth analysis of this text is included in a chapter of Punte 2002: 101-23.

6 Feuerbach's eleventh thesis is often used by Feinman as a *leitmotif*: 'Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it' (Karl Marx, *Theses on Feuerbach*, 1845 in: *Marxists Internet Archive*).

7 *Lugar de enunciación*.

8 *El peronismo es el hecho maldito del país burgués*.

9 *Lugar misterioso, mitológico*.

10 The Shakespearian reference suggests an interpretation by José Pablo Feinmann of the 1970s revolutionary activity, its failures and achievements, which are openly depicted in his later *La sangre derramada* (1998).

11 *Cooke volvió a ser Cooke*.

12 He wore a beard during his time in Cuba where he was a militiaman.

13 *Gorila*, epithet used in general to refer to the reactionary middle-class bourgeoisie in Argentina and to the opposition to the Peronist movement in particular.

14 The relationship between Pablo and Hugo is heavily connoted by an explicit sexual ambiguity. Pablo portrays himself with feminine characteristics, and at the same time he admires and envies his friend's masculinity. At least in what is read between the lines in Pablo's discourse, the body has a significant presence in the manner in which both characters interact. Pablo's attraction to Hugo is subtly more than intellectual. This is supported by the fact that he had a marriage of convenience with a woman whom he considers cold 'as a canvas shoe in winter'.

15 In fact, the main character's fear of women and the banning of the feminine perspective from the sphere of reasoning is one of the topics about which the novel makes a series of variations from Kant's ideas of nature and Ludwig Wittgenstein's axiom about the ineffable.

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## **The Argentine Countryside Strike of 2008: the Success of a ‘Large Interest Group’ and the Irish-Argentine Dimension**

By John Kennedy

### **Abstract**

*Against a backdrop of increasing prices for agricultural commodities on international markets, driven by a confluence of factors, including increased demand particularly from the growing economies of Asia and a rise in the use of bio fuels, the Argentine Government in March 2008 levied a new variable export tax on soybeans, sunflowers, wheat and maize. No account was taken of the parallel steep increase in input prices. The measures were considered punitive by the four key interest groups that represent the sector: The Argentine Rural Society (SRA), Argentine Agrarian Federation (FAA), the Confederation of Argentine Rural Societies (CRA) and the Inter-cooperatives Association (CONINAGRO). Despite the heterogeneity of these groups, as they historically represented divergent elements of the socio-economic and political spectrum, they joined together under the auspices of an umbrella group, the Liaison Commission, to call for a countryside strike. Only once before, in 1970, did these groups unite to challenge government policy. The strike was to last 128 days, ending in the withdrawal of the tax by the Government. Although the key focus of the strike was export taxation, it also exposed many other grievances in the rural sector, which motivated even those not directly affected by the measure to protest against what they perceived to be a Government that was unsympathetic to the countryside, as well as urban dwellers concerned about the style of government. The analysis that follows will conceptually examine the strike in the context of the generic theories of interest group behaviour developed by the political scientist and economist Mancur Olson (1932-1998). Special reference will be made both to the role of Irish-Argentines, in a historical and contemporary context, in the interest groups, and their involvement in the strike.*

### **Background**

After many failed attempts, the constitution that forms the basis of modern Argentina came into effect in 1853. Soon after Buenos Aires left the Confederation and after its return in 1860 further reforms were made to the constitution, establishing a federal system of government. Under Article 4 of the reformed constitution, the Federal Government was granted the exclusive right to levy import and export taxes to finance the expenditure of the nation. Since their introduction, import and export taxes have been a ubiquitous feature of the Argentine taxation system. By the end of the 1880s, export and import taxes represented 80 per cent of the Federal Government’s revenue (Barsky & Dávila 2008:146). The levying of a specific export tax was first introduced under the presidency of Bartolomé Mitre in 1862 and such taxes were sporadically imposed at various times over the subsequent 129 years. (From an Irish perspective, it is interesting to note that President Mitre’s great-grandfather on his

maternal side, Roberto Wertherton, was from Ireland (MacLoughlin 2006)). Under the presidency of Carlos Menem (1989-1999), they were abolished in 1991. However, following the economic crisis of 2002 they were again resurrected and applied to the main agricultural products to finance the budget deficit and fund social programmes such as *Jefes de Hogar* (1). Nestor Kirchner, president from 2003 to 2007, continued with such a policy, increasing export duties twice between January and November 2007. By the end of his tenure taxes reached 35 per cent of the international price for soybeans, 32 per cent for sunflowers, 28 per cent for wheat and 25 per cent for maize.

The new system of export taxation introduced through Resolution 125/08 on 11 March 2008 by the Economy Minister Martín Lousteau in the newly formed Government of President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, was based on a sliding scale so that taxes would increase or decrease to reflect the Free on Board price (2) (F.O.B). Based on the F.O.B. price for March 2008, the export duty for soybeans would rise

to 44.4 per cent and for sunflowers to 39.1 per cent. For maize and wheat the export duty would fall by a little less than a percentage point, to 24.2 per cent and 27.1 per cent respectively. Lousteau justified these new measures on the basis that they were 'intended to strike a better balance in the farming sector by decoupling international and domestic prices, which would increase production and enable the country to increase exports and provide what the world requires, while at the same time providing food products at reasonable prices to Argentine families.'

In reaction to the announcement, the four key interest groups representing the agricultural sector: SRA, CRA, FAA and CONINAGRO convened a nationwide strike, by which farmers suspended the supply of grain, meat and milk, to protest at the Government's policy. This collective action was accompanied by demonstrations, *tractorazos* (3) and road blocks in the key agricultural provinces. Other groups with grievances also joined in the protests, such as the workers from meatpacking plants in Mar de Plata who demanded greater quotas for exporting meat. With no response forthcoming from the Government, the protests intensified with *cacerolazos* (4) organised by urban dwellers sympathetic to the countryside springing up in the major cities. The Government in turn organised counter-protests. Whilst some minor modifications to the plan were made, the measures were deemed unsatisfactory by the strikers.

The protests continued over the coming months with intermittent lock-outs and demonstrations, such as one in Rosario where it is estimated that over '200,000 attended' (Barsky & Dávila 2008: 237). The conflict worsened in late May with the arrest of eight farmers accused of blocking a road in San Pedro, Buenos Aires province. Incidentally the federal prosecutor in the case was an Irish-Argentine, Juan Murray. In an effort to break the deadlock, the president referred Resolution 125 to Congress for approval. With some modifications, the plan was approved by the Chamber of Deputies (lower house) by 129 votes in favour, 122 against and 2 abstentions.

Among those who voted against were two deputies of Irish extraction: Eduardo Kenny of La Pampa and José Ignacio García Hamilton of Tucumán. To become law, the measure had also to be adopted by the upper house, the Senate. In the event of a tie, it is the role of the vice-president of the Federal Republic who is also the Senate leader to cast the deciding vote. On 17 July 2008, the Senate vote tied and Julio Cobos, Vice President and leader of the Senate, cast the deciding vote rejecting an increase in grain export taxes. The measure was shortly afterwards rescinded by the Government.

In his seminal work, *The Logic of Collective Action*, Olson argued that collective action by large groups, as manifested during the countryside strike, would be difficult to achieve, as large groups are less likely to act in their common interest than small ones. The basis of his rationale was that individuals in large groups will gain relatively less per capita from successful collective action, whereas individuals in small groups will gain relatively more. Hence, there are weak incentives for large groups to organise. If such groups were to organise it would take them longer as they would find it difficult to agree on what type of collective good to pursue. Whilst this theory may have had some merit in explaining the evolution and achievements of Argentine agricultural interest groups in a historic context, the success of the countryside strike, which drew together such disparate groups in coordinated action in such a short timeframe, largely invalidates such a hypothesis in the contemporary era.

### **Irish-Argentines and Agriculture**

During the major wave of Irish emigration to Argentina from the 1840s to 1890s, a substantial proportion of immigrants settled in the countryside. Coming from a background of tenanted smallholding in the midlands and southeast of Ireland, they were lured by the prospect of land ownership. Initially they established themselves in the sheep-breeding sector as wage labourers, sharecroppers or tenants as it required less start-up capital (Sabato & Korol, n.d.). As they accumulated financial capital, over time many Irish

immigrants progressed to become *estancieros* (ranchers), or mid-sized landholders. Some, such as Eduardo Casey and the Duggan brothers of Chacabuco, were at the forefront of cattle breeding. Others, such as Guillermo Mooney of Chivilcoy, were early proponents of mechanisation.

Due to their position, many Irish landowners advanced to positions of membership of the SRA and leadership in their rural communities, and were often instrumental in the formation of local Rural Societies. Besides land ownership Irish Argentines became involved in the provision of ancillary services to the agricultural sector, such as livestock and land auctioneering. This involvement continues to the present day, a good example being the significant number of the auction houses at Liniers (5) livestock mart having links to the Irish-Argentine community, including Lynch y CIA S.R.L, Lalor S.A.C.M and F. Gahan y CIA. S.A. Many Irish-Argentines are also involved in the supply of services and inputs that have emerged in recent decades. Given the number of Irish-Argentines involved in all areas of the agricultural supply chain, it was unsurprising that many played a prominent role in the countryside strike either as members of the interest groups, principally the SRA and CRA, or as independent protestors known as *autoconvocados*. Their active participation was also accompanied by unequivocal editorial support for the strike in *The Southern Cross*, the newspaper for the Catholic Irish-Argentine community.

#### **Underlying developments and their contribution to the success of the strike**

Since the mid 1990s, Argentina's agricultural sector had undergone a major transformation both in terms of the nature of agricultural production and the structure of the sector. Paradoxically, while these changes have tempted the Government to intervene to a greater degree through taxation and other measures, they have also made such actions much less likely to succeed. One can argue that they made the effectiveness of collective action of a large group more likely. Furthermore the hegemony of power by the Executive arm of

Government, which became very apparent during the strike, has led to a political debate about the form of governance, the meaning of federalism and the transparency and role of the institutions of state. What follows is a more in-depth analysis of these key developments.

#### **Structural factors**

Over the last thirty years there has been a radical change in the way tillage has been carried out in Argentina. Conventional tillage, which includes activities such as annually ploughing the soil and inter-row cultivation, has been replaced to a large extent by direct sowing. Under direct sowing the seed is planted directly into the soil by a mechanical seeding machine. In parallel, the introduction of the herbicide glyphosate by Monsanto in the 1970s, which was less toxic than other varieties, enabled direct sowing to become a viable proposition. By the end of the 1980s, over 92,000 hectares had been planted using this method (Barsky & Dávila 2008: 42). The fall in the price of glyphosate in the late 1990s made direct sowing even more popular in Argentine farming circles.

Advances in the development of genetically modified crops in the 1990s led to the introduction of soybeans resistant to glyphosate, known as *Roundup Ready*® (RR) in 1996. This innovation enabled farmers to spray the herbicide on the crops without causing them harm. In addition, the cost of herbicides for RR soybeans was lower than for those used in traditional no-till systems. By 2001, RR constituted 90 per cent of all soybean varieties planted in Argentina (Barsky & Dávila 2008: 43). Analogous to the spread of soybeans was the emergence of double-cropping. This allows farmers to sow a double crop; wheat and a short-cycle variety of soybean, thereby maximising income. This led to the rapid diffusion of soybean production in Argentina and small farmers in particular began to rely heavily on this crop as part of a profit-maximisation strategy, in order to contribute to the (short-term) economic viability of their farms (Trigo & Cap 2006: 5). Due to Government intervention in the livestock

sector, which has reduced prices, and the low regulated price for milk, many larger farmers also engaged in soybean and wheat production to increase profitability. As a consequence there has been a convergence of interests between smaller and larger farmers, creating a nexus for coordinated action.

There have also been structural changes in the forms of land ownership, and the land and the actors involved in the supply. As Bisang (2008) observes, Argentine agriculture is no longer vertically integrated, it outsources production, forming networks of sub-contractors (similar to an industry supply-chain). Although the practice of leasing land had largely disappeared by the 1970s, it is now once again a common feature of the agriculture scene. Typically, smaller property-owning producers are also renting to enable them to expand and benefit from cash crops and economies of scale. Another type of producer, known as a *contratista-tantero* (a non-property owner), rents the land from a third party for one harvest and pays a fixed price or part of the production. A vibrant industry in service contracting has also emerged, such as machinery contracting services for sowing, harvesting and spraying herbicides. A number of Irish-Argentines contract such services, such as Donaldo Kelly e Hijos SRL in La Plata, who offers direct sowing, fertilising, spraying and other services and Tomás Deveraux of San Antonio de Areco, who offers direct sowing services.

### **Sowing Pools**

Beginning in the early 1990s, a new feature of agricultural organisation began to appear; sowing pools (*pools de siembra*). Due to a paucity of capital for the expansion of large-scale cereal production, the sector began to seek speculative investment funds as a source of financing, obviating reliance on the banking sector. The key features of a pool are: the organiser of the pool develops a business plan and offers it to potential investors; land is leased from a third party; the work is done by contractors from the area; and marketing is done through certain buyers, manufacturers or exporters. Generally the risk inherent in

agricultural production is managed through diversification of products and locations. During the 1990s there was a significant growth of pools as an investment vehicle. More recently, factors including the banking crisis of 2001, the low opportunity cost of capital and an increase in the prices of some cereals have made the sowing pools even more commonplace. Many middle-class urban dwellers have invested in these pools, thereby creating a symbiotic relationship with the countryside which was perhaps a significant factor in urban support for the strikers.

### **Co-participation**

Argentine fiscal federalism (6) is characterised by a severe vertical fiscal imbalance (7). While the provincial governments have responsibility for the collection of taxes on income, consumption and wealth, in practice they have delegated responsibility to the Federal Government under co-participation arrangements. These arrangements were given formal status in 1988 under Law 21,548, which established that the Federal Government would retain 42 per cent of these taxes while 57 per cent would be distributed among the provinces, with the remaining 1 per cent set aside to finance unforeseen crises in the provinces. Further legal protection was accorded to the principle of co-participation through its inclusion in the Constitution in 1994. The Argentine system of fiscal federalism 'is considered to be very inefficient by all specialists' and 'its system of intergovernmental transfers does not correspond to any economic criteria' (Tommasi, Saiegh & Sanguinetti 2001: 147). It became evident during the countryside strike that there was a general concern about the manner in which these intergovernmental transfers were managed and that state governments would not automatically benefit from the additional tax from the export taxes.

### **The history and dynamics of the four key agricultural interest groups and Irish-Argentine influences**

*Argentine Rural Society (SRA)*

The Argentine Rural Society (SRA), which brings together the interests of landowners and

producers, has the longest pedigree of any of interest groups involved in the strike. Established in 1866 during the presidency of Bartolomé Mitre, the key movers behind its creation were large landowners from the Pampas, led by José Martínez de Hoz, Jorge Temperley and Ricardo B. Newton. This group had 'also interests in commerce, finance and other urban investments, particularly in the city of Buenos Aires' (Barsky & Dávalia 2008: 107). It was in essence, as Sesto (2005: 51) points out, the institutionalisation of a circle of friends who were pioneers in livestock breeding. From the early days membership was dominated by *estancieros*. The SRA began to exert a very powerful influence on government policy. The address by the president of the SRA at each year's annual fair in Palermo became 'a barometer of how the incumbent politicians stood *vis-à-vis* the country's most powerful interests' (Lewis 1992: 22). In an analysis by Smith (1969), five of the eight Argentine presidents between 1910 and 1943 were members of the SRA, four vice-presidents, four finance ministers and for the most part the foreign affairs and agriculture ministers were also members. With the ascent of Juan Perón to power, the SRA lost much of its influence and was 'also forced to subsidise the populist policies of the new regime, which continued under subsequent Radical Governments' (Manzetti 1992: 601).

In response to the changing political landscape from 1943 onwards, the SRA began to broaden its membership beyond its core base of *estancieros*. An examination of the history of the first seventy-seven years of the SRA's existence gives some weight to Olson's theory that smaller interest groups are quicker to organise and more effective in their pursuit of collective goods. Today the organisation has ten thousand members. Whilst traditionally it represented the livestock sector, in recent years, its membership has also evolved to include agriculture producers and dairy farmers. Although none of its founders were of Irish origin, as the Irish were at that time in the process of establishing their foothold on the land property ladder, those that became *estancieros* would later join the Society. Since its

foundation there have been three presidents of the SRA with Irish roots: Dr Emilio Frers Lynch (1908–1910) who was also the first Argentine minister of agriculture; his son Enrique G. Frers (1950–1954) and Guillermo Alchouron (1984–1990) who has Irish ancestry on his maternal side. In the contemporary era, Eduardo Ramos, who is Vice-President and is responsible for political campaigns, has Irish links through his grandmother's side. Mercedes Lalor, who comes from an Irish-Argentine family prominent in the agricultural sector, joined the board as director last September, the first woman in its history to do so.

#### *Argentine Agrarian Association (FAA)*

Following the fall of the Rosas regime, the colonisation of Santa Fe province began. During the period between 1858 and 1895, the population of the province grew from 41,000 to 395,000 (Barsky & Gelman 2005: 127), in the process becoming the granary of Argentina, producing wheat, maize and linseed. As the colonies evolved, many of the entrepreneurs sold land to small farmers, known as *chacareros*, and these either co-existed with or were absorbed into the colonies. The predominant emigration to the rural areas was Italian. Consequently, the area became known as the *pampa gringa*. With the spread of the colonisation process to the south of the province, the structure of land ownership also began to change and the granting of land ownership became a less formal feature of the settlement process. This resulted in a rise in lease-holding and sharecropping. Similar trends began to emerge in the south of Córdoba province.

After the spike in land prices in the 1880s and their subsequent collapse in the 1890s, many immigrants decided not to invest in land ownership and to rent instead. The failure of the harvest in 1911 meant that the *chacareros* could not cover their debts to various intermediaries such as the general stores, who had given them credit until the harvest. A bumper harvest in 1912 led to an over-supply in the market and this, combined with a decrease in demand, meant that the price

collapsed. Together with the previous indebtedness and a rise in the price of inputs, this exacerbated the problems of the *chacareros*.

The high rates of interest they had to pay, previous indebtedness and the rise in the price of agricultural inputs gave origin to a protest movement which culminated in an assembly of farmers at the Italian Society in the town of Alcorta in 1912 (Barsky & Gelman 2005: 127), known as '*el grito Alcorta*' (the declaration of Alcorta). This led to the creation of the FAA, which was a seminal event in that it represented the creation of a competing pressure group to the SRA. Manzetti (1992:594) contends that in line with Olson's theory, larger groups such as those that would form the membership of the FAA would take longer to organise, 'as they are unlikely to agree on which type of collective good to pursue'. Through successful lobbying by the FAA, in 1921 tenant farmers were given more protection through the regulation of agricultural rents, anti-competitive practices were prohibited (such as the requirement to use a particular supplier) and a minimum four-year lease was established. During the government of Juan Perón, farmers were given long lease extensions, which made leasing unattractive to landowners; this measure, combined with generous loans from the state, enabled many *chacareros* to become landowners. Of the three main farming groups, there is no evidence of involvement of Irish-Argentines in the organisation either historically or in the contemporary era; the vast majority of FAA members are of Italian extraction.

#### *Argentine Confederation of Rural Societies (CRA)*

Traditionally, beef production in Argentina was non-vertically integrated. In the poorer non-cultivated land with drainage limitations – the Cuenca del Salado region of Buenos Aires province, the cow-calf system predominated, while in the areas with better soils producing higher quality forage, cattle rearing and fattening prevailed. Prior to the First World War, Argentine meat exports largely consisted of chilled beef. With the advent of the war, Britain introduced chilled beef quotas. At the same time there was a change in the demand

profile. Both Britain and France began to purchase lower quality meat in large quantities, to feed their troops. This led to a rise in the demand for beef overall and a substitution effect towards canned and frozen beef. Between 1914 and 1921 the cattle stock in Argentina increased by 50 per cent (Rock 1987: 204). The boom came to an end in 1921, when Britain ended the stockpiling of Argentine beef.

Although all strands of the beef production sector were impacted by the collapse in demand, the *estancieros* who specialised in cattle fattening were able to mitigate its effects by reverting to the chilled beef trade and maintaining their margins by paying less to breeders. The breeders felt that they were not getting an equitable distribution of the profits from the changed market conditions. Furthermore, the monopolistic practice of the meatpacking firms created further unease. Many of the firms engaged in anti-competitive practices, such as artificially restricting the supply of cattle to Liniers market and paying low prices to producers while at the same time getting good prices on the English market, the principal export destination.

During the government of Marcelo T. Alvear (1922-1928), attempts were made to set a floor price for producers, but these attempts were thwarted by meatpacking plants. This led to tension within the SRA between the breeders and fatteners, and created the pretext for creating a separate interest group, the Confederation of the Association of Rural Societies of Buenos Aires and La Pampa (CARBAP), to represent the interests of smaller and medium breeders. A number of rural societies from the interior of Buenos Aires province affiliated with the organisation, including Trenque Laquen and Azul. Over time, the number of rural societies affiliated to CARBAP increased and other regional groups were founded such as CARCLO, representing the north of Santa Fe, established in 1938. In 1943, the Argentine Confederation of Rural Societies (CRA) was founded to represent these regional groupings at a Federal level.

Historically, Irish-Argentines have played a significant role in the foundation of many of

the rural societies in Buenos Aires province, which would later come under the umbrella of CARBAP and at a federal level the CRA. Thomas Maguire, from Empor, County Westmeath, was one of the founders of the Rural Society of Mercedes in the nineteenth century. A number of Irish-Argentines were founding members of the Rural Society of Suipacha, including Alfredo MacLoughlin (1917-1991) who was its first president. In Santa Fe province, Irish-Argentines were also prominent in the establishment of Rural Societies. As Landaburu (2006: 70) notes, the Rural Society of Rosario established in 1895 included two Irish-Argentines among its founders: Enrique Coffin and Ricardo Murray. Tomás Brendan Kenny (1883-1940), physician and surgeon, born on 23 July 1883 in Salto, was a founding member and first president of the Rural Society of Venado Tuerto.

Today the CRA represents almost 110,000 farmers who belong to three hundred Rural Societies across the country. This is the largest agricultural interest group and has the widest social base, bringing together small, medium and large producers engaged in a wide range of agricultural activities, from livestock to winegrowers, horticulturalists and beekeepers. Of all the groups involved in the farmers' strike, the CRA has the strongest representation of Irish-Argentines through membership of their local Rural Societies. Many play key roles in their local organisations, as well as at regional and Federal level. At the Federal level, Manuel Cabanellas, a descendent of Timothy O'Connor [sic] from County Cork, was a former President of the CRA and played a prominent role in the strike. Jaime Murphy of La Pampa province was Vice-President of CARBAP during the strike and another Irish-Argentine, Mario Conlon, is currently Treasurer of CARBAP.

#### *CONINAGRO*

The first rural cooperative established in Argentina dates back to 1898, when a group of French settlers founded a cooperative in Pigüe, in the south of Buenos Aires province, to provide cover against the risk of hail. However,

the first cooperative farming organisation was not created until 1904 in Junín in the north of the province of Buenos Aires. CONINAGRO was founded in 1956 to represent the cooperative movement and has a presence in all the provinces, with a membership of over 500 cooperatives which, according to Besada (2002: 10), represent 20 per cent of the total grain and 26 per cent of the dairy products sold in Argentina. It is estimated that it indirectly represents some 100,000 members. Besides representing the dairy and grain sector, it also acts for producers of rice, cotton, wool, tea and tobacco. Irish-Argentines have played a role in the cooperative movement throughout its history. La Suipachense, a dairy co-op, which is part of the Council of Inter-cooperative Milk Producers and an affiliate of CONINAGRO, has among its past presidents Heriberto MacLoughlin and Guillermo Cánepa Rossiter.

#### **The *autoconvocados***

During the countryside strike a new group emerged, known as the *autoconvocados*. These were people who did not belong to any organised agricultural interest group, but nonetheless made a significant contribution both on an individual and collective basis to organising spontaneous pickets, roadblocks and other forms of protest. This eclectic group of participants included farmers not aligned to any of the agricultural interest groups, commodity traders, students, professionals, service providers, government officials, agricultural machinery dealers and lorry drivers. One prominent independent campaigner was Alejandro Gahan, a veteran of collective action through his leadership in the campaign against the Botnia pulp mill in Uruguay. Alejandro was the victim of an assault by the Government sponsored *piquetero* (8) Luis D'Elía at a countryside protest in March 2008 at the Plaza de Mayo in the city of Buenos Aires, which was filmed live on prime-time TV.

#### **Testimonies of Irish-Argentine participants in the strike**

##### *Mercedes Lalor*

Mercedes comes from a prominent Irish-Argentine family, who are inextricably linked

with the agricultural sector. Her great-grandfather Juan Lalor came to Argentina from County Wicklow in 1830, where he married another Irish immigrant, Emilia O'Neill. His son Eduardo married Maria Alicia Maguire, whose Irish-Argentine lineage stretched back to 1830. Mercedes made history in September 2008, when she became the first woman to be elected a Board Member of the SRA. She specialises in breeding and fattening Aberdeen Angus cattle.

As president of her local rural society, General Villegas, which is affiliated to both CARBAP and the SRA, she played a key leadership role in the countryside strike. Of particular importance was the work she did on the communications front and in liaison with the other striking organisations. She also engaged political commentators and analysts, such as Rosendo Fraga, an advisor to the Vice-President Julio Cobos, whom she invited to speak at the General Villegas Rural Society. Mercedes believes that the extensive use of 'communications was the defining factor' in creating a successful outcome. The use of text messaging and the internet were central to the mobilisation of the countryside. Another critical factor she opines 'was the media': the countryside was able to effectively exploit the use of television and radio to get their message across, and at the same time generate ratings.

#### *Fernando Boracchia*

Fernando Boracchia, a great-great grandson of Diego Gaynor, is president of the Rural Society of Exaltación de la Cruz, Campana and Zárate, a part of Buenos Aires province with a significant concentration of Irish-Argentines. He is a soybean, corn and wheat producer and also fattens cattle for export to the European Union. Fernando played a visible role in the in the countryside strike, appearing on many television programmes and doing interviews for the media. Besides his media role, he also lobbied the mayors and other public officials and organised the first *tractorazo* in Capilla del Señor, which was twenty blocks in length.

He believes that the main reason for the strike's success was that 'the government tried to

subjugate the countryside', a countryside whose 'values are common to everybody, even if they do not own a centimetre of land'. Essentially, Argentine identity and consciousness is closely intertwined with imagery of the countryside, for example the *Pampas*, the ombú tree, gauchos, *mate*, *dulce de leche*, Martín Fierro and beef. This was a key reason why many urban residents with no connection to the countryside also rowed in behind the strikers. Fernando also adds that the country in general 'woke-up to the huge transfers of resources to the Federal Government, which only re-distributes them to their friends'. The political strategy of the Government also turned people off. There was a general feeling of disenchantment with the behaviour of a government that resorted to 'shouting, fighting and intolerance'.

#### *José Garrahan*

José Garrahan is an Irish descendent who runs a dairy farm in Carmen de Areco, with a herd of 250 Friesian (Holstein) cows and an annual production of 1,400,000 litres. Like many dairy farmers, due to the low profitability of dairying, he has diversified into soybean, maize and wheat. He is auditor of the Association of Agricultural Producers of Carmen de Areco, an organisation affiliated to CARBAP.

Recounting his experience of the strike he said that 'I never thought we were going to have to go out on to the roads and protest'. A key part of his role was to provide information to drivers who stopped to speak to protesters on the road. He also went from door to door in his community to canvass support and provide information to those who did not have links with the countryside. The principal source of information was communications via the internet from CARBAP. Like the others, he also stressed the importance of text messaging in mobilising support. José believed the key reason why the strike was ultimately successful was because 'the country realised that in one way or another it was dependent on the countryside'.

#### *Edmundo Moore*

Edmundo Moore is a sixth-generation Argentine, whose ancestors came from Ireland

by way of the United States in 1827. He farms in Lobos, Buenos Aires province. The family farm 'El Pinos' has been in Moore's family for many generations. He is a cattle farmer and also produces corn, sunflowers and wheat. A current board member and former president of the Rural Society of Lobos, he played an active part in the protests against Resolution 125. Among the roles he played was to distribute information and persuade those with no connection to the land of the merits of the farmers' case.

Edmundo believed that the key reason for success was that 'the countryside united like never before' and 'had the moral upper-hand'. He felt that the Government did everything possible to antagonise the countryside and exhibited nothing more than 'hatred and revenge'.

#### *Mario Conlon*

Mario Conlon's great-grandparents emigrated from County Cork in the 1890s. He is Vice-President of the Rural Society of Laprida and treasurer of CARBAP and also presides over the provincial commission that deals with locust plagues. Mario's principal activity is small-scale livestock production and he also administers mixed farms, growing soybeans and other crops combined with livestock, for third parties.

During the countryside strike, as a board member of CARBAP, he played a prominent role in the demonstrations in Rosario and Buenos Aires. Mario also accompanied local producers in the roadside protests and organised *cacerolazos* and *tractorazos* in Laprida. One of his responsibilities was to participate in meetings with legislators prior to the Congress vote. CARBAP's lobbying strategy not only centred on alerting legislators to the impact on producers of Resolution 125, but also the effect it would have on the rural community at a wider level. Another key element of their strategy was to emphasise the point that revenue from the export tax increase would not be directed back into the communities that generated them, but would instead be spent in a discretionary manner by the Government.

He cites a number of factors that led to the success of the strike. Firstly, he cited 'the unity of the producers from the different organisations', who pursued a single, clear objective. Secondly, he mentioned 'the support of the urban classes, which was spurred on by the pronouncements of the President and the behaviour of some of her supporters and cronies'. Thirdly, he commented that the legislature had an opportunity to scrutinise and debate the measure. But above all he believes the decisive factor was 'persistence'.

#### **Conclusion**

Changes in the structure of Argentine agriculture in recent years, driven by technological and financial innovations, have led to the emergence of new actors in the sector, such as various suppliers of services and inputs and private investors. The sector 'has moved towards creating production and innovation networks based on relationships that go beyond specific commercial ties governed by prices' (Bisang 2008) – a point that did not seem to be well understood by Government policy makers. These symbiotic relationships created a basis for the disparate interests groups to join together under a large umbrella group, the Liaison Commission, and succeed in collective action.

From a political science perspective, the success of the strike challenges Olson's theory that large groups were unlikely to achieve their objectives through collective action - and if they did that it would be a lengthy organic process. The testimonies of Irish-Argentines who participated in the strike give us a powerful insight on a practical level into the methods deployed by the interest groups and how they contributed to a successful outcome. Beyond the boundaries of those with an interest in the agricultural sector, the strike also drew general support from those who were critical of a style of Government has been termed 'hyper-presidential' by Berensztein (2008: 48), ignoring the realities of a federal system, and also from those worried about the quality of the institutions of state.

John Kennedy

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## **Notes**

1 The Jefes de Hogar (Heads of Household) Project is the workfare part of a social safety net launched by Argentina in April 2002 to alleviate the impact of rising unemployment due to the worsening economic crisis.

2 The price actually charged at the producing country's port of loading.

3 Tractor protests or "tractorcades": these are a common form of protest by the farming sector in the European Union.

4 This is a form of popular protest in Argentina whereby people create noise by banging pots, pans and other utensils.

5 Liniers cattle mart is the major livestock trade centre in Argentina.

6 Fiscal federalism deals with how competencies (expenditure side) and fiscal instruments (revenue side) are allocated across different (vertical) layers of the government.

7 The difference between the relative revenue and spending responsibilities of the Federal Government and provinces is known as a vertical fiscal imbalance.

8 A piquetero is a member of a politically orientated group, whose modus operandi is to organise groups to picket businesses or block roads in pursuit of a particular demand.

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## Madden and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba

By José Antonio Quintana García

Translated by Claire Healy

*The writer, journalist and doctor Richard Robert Madden (1798-1886) represents the relationship of an honest Irish intellectual with Cuba. His contributions can be appreciated in two areas: culture and politics.*

Born in Dublin, he was the son of Edward Madden, a silk merchant, and his second wife, Elizabeth Forde. He pursued studies in medicine in Paris, Naples and London. Already at that time he demonstrated an inclination towards the humanities as a contributor to the *Morning Herald*. He exercised his profession for five years in Mayfair, London. In 1833, he was appointed special magistrate for Jamaica. He remained there for two years and undertook laudable work in promoting the emancipation of slaves. The British Government recognised his work and sent him to Cuba in 1836 as Superintendent of Free Africans and Executive Member of the Mixed Commission of Havana. His mission was to supervise the treatment of free black people by the Spanish authorities.

*'Although he was Catholic, Madden had the cold eloquence of the Puritans and a narrow yet passionate sense of justice; he was convinced that his mission was to fight not only against the trade and slavery in general, but also for the moral and material wellbeing of all Africans resident in Cuba, and particularly those who had been emancipated [...].'* (1)

Madden already enjoyed some renown as a man of letters and an abolitionist when he arrived in Havana. The success he had had in actions against the Jamaican slave-owners was known to the Havana intellectuals. In Cuba he undertook intense activity above and beyond the bureaucratic duties assigned to him. The economy of the island was sustained by slave labour. It is calculated that between 1790 and 1865, 467,288 Africans entered the island, even though the trade had been illegal since the year 1820.

From early on, friendships were formed between the Irishman and the intellectuals Domingo del Monte (1804-1853), Félix Manuel Tanco (1796-1871) and José de la Luz y Caballero (1804-1853). Relations with the latter, a philosopher and

educator of note, were so close that he was godfather to his son, who was baptised with the suggestive name of Thomas Moro.

José Martí has written that the lawyer, journalist, literary critic and writer Domingo del Monte was 'the most real and useful Cuban of his time'. On the basis of his contributions he is considered an indispensable figure in the study of the formation of Cuban nationality and culture. At the time that Madden settled in Havana, del Monte commenced his literary gatherings in the capital of the island. The Cuban '[...] lent him books and documents about the slave trade and he responded with an extensive questionnaire, useful and rich in responses that were loaded with statistics and historical data on the trade in Africans and about the life of slaves on the Island'. (2)

The participants in the literary gatherings promoted the abolitionist literary movement, which was influenced by Madden's ideas and principles. When he returned to England, he brought texts that denounced the slavery regime and illustrated the thoughts of young Cuban intellectuals. These were the manuscripts of the autobiography and poems of Juan Francisco Manzano; the *Elegías Cubanas* by Rafael Matamoros; *Francisco* by Anselmo Suárez and *Petrona y Rosalía* by Félix Tanco.

As soon as he arrived in London he began looking into publishing these works. He managed to get *Poems by a slave in the island of Cuba* published in Liverpool in 1840. This contained Manzano's texts, verses by other poets and the responses by Domingo del Monte to the questionnaire that he had undertaken on slavery.

With the publication of the autobiography, Madden brought to light an exceptional testimony: the vision of the victim, as Manzano (1797-1854) had himself been a slave.

### The Amistad Affair

The hijacking of the ship *La Amistad* by a group of slaves constituted a spectacular feat, and has been the inspiration of authors and filmmakers. Madden's participation in the judgement of the hijackers was decisive. We will see here in summarised form how events transpired.

On 28 June 1839, a cargo of 53 slaves departed from Havana on the ship *La Amistad*, headed for Príncipe Port. During the transport of the slaves, under the leadership of the young Sengbe Pieh, popularly known in United States history as Joseph Cinque, mutinied. They killed the captain and the cook. They took charge of the ship and attempted to navigate it towards Africa, but they ended up on the northern coast of Long Island, New York, where they were detained.

Imprisoned, the Africans were accused of murder and piracy. The rigged judicial process began. Various plaintiffs presented in favour, claiming possession of the merchandise of the ship: the Spanish Crown, the North American Secretary of State, the Cuban traders and a group of abolitionists.

During the month of August, the North American press gave much space to the story of the hijackers and the judgment to which they were subject. At that time Madden was organising his return to England. Nevertheless, his love for the liberty of slaves meant that he postponed the journey. He embarked immediately for New York and declared that the accused had been bought at illegal markets and that the trade documents were false. He also revealed the complicity of the Spanish Government, which received ten dollars for each slave imported to Cuba. In the end, the mutineers were freed and taken to Africa. (3)

Madden's attitude at the court case exacerbated his tense relationship with the Spanish

### Notes

1 Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Correspondencia reservada del capitán general Don Miguel de Tacón. 1834-1836* (Havana: Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, 1963), 322-3.

2 Urbano Martínez, *Domingo del Monte y su tiempo* (Havana: Ediciones Unión, 1997), 260.

authorities and in 1840 he was, to all intents and purposes, expelled from the country (4), but his work had contributed to planting seeds that germinated on 10 October 1868, the date that marked the beginning of the first Cuban war of independence.

### The Island of Cuba

When he returned to England, Madden also took with him, together with the manuscripts of the Cuban authors mentioned above, his own notes, where he relates his observations on the reality of the largest of the Antilles. Based on these testimonies by 'people without history' (slaves, farm managers, factory-owners, etc.) and on data from Cuban and European historians, he prepared the volume *The Island of Cuba*, in which he describes, as the subtitle sets out, its resources, progress and perspectives.

This is a work that, thanks to the economic and demographic data that it provides – data that are very useful for anyone interested in colonial history –, presents us with first-hand information about the daily life of the sugar producers. In very direct language, the narrator denounces the abuses that the slaves were subject to: physical punishment, poor nutrition and excessively long working days.

Madden completed the task given to him by the British Government as Superintendent of Free Africans and Executive Member of the Mixed Commission of Havana in an outstanding fashion. Through reports, legal actions, a book and the stimulation of the creators of the nascent abolitionist literature, he influenced anti-slavery ideology and left an enduring mark on the history of Cuba.

José Antonio Quintana García

3 [www.famousamericans.net/richardrobertmadden](http://www.famousamericans.net/richardrobertmadden), accessed 15 November 2007 and Richard R. Madden, *Op. cit.*, 255-71.

4 After his departure from Cuba, Madden was Special Commissioner of the British Government in the British colonies in Africa and Colonial Secretary of Western Australia. He continued to cultivate his journalism and wrote literary works. From 1848, he lived in Ireland, where he retired from public service in order to dedicate himself to the defence of poor farmers.



## Under Three Flags The Diplomatic Career of Daniel Florence O'Leary

By Moisés Enrique Rodríguez (1)

### **Abstract**

*During the South American Wars of Independence (1810-1825), nearly 10,000 British and Irish volunteers joined the armies and navies of the rebellious colonies. One of the most distinguished was Daniel Florence [Florencio] O'Leary, who served both as soldier and diplomat. He also wrote his 'Memoirs', which are the most complete contemporary account of the Wars of Independence. The title Memoirs of O'Leary retained by posterity is somewhat misleading, since the work is not an autobiography and O'Leary dedicates few pages to himself. He is mostly a witness and not an actor of the events he describes. The central character is Simón Bolívar and not his aide-de-camp. A brief biography of Daniel F. O'Leary is included in a previous issue of Irish Migration Studies in Latin America, (2) and a full-length biography (Vida del General Daniel Florencio O'Leary) was published by the Venezuelan historian Manuel Pérez Vila in 1957. My own book, Freedom's Mercenaries dedicates two chapters to this distinguished Irishman. Readers interested in O'Leary's overall career are invited to refer to those sources. This article concentrates on O'Leary's role as a diplomat and a mediator. In this capacity, he served under three flags: those of Gran Colombia, Venezuela and the United Kingdom.*

### **The Early Years**

Daniel Florence O'Leary was born in Cork between 1800 and 1802 (the exact date of his birth is unknown) and came to Venezuela in 1818, in an expedition organised by Luis López Méndez, the Venezuelan representative in London. Bolívar was hiring thousands of British and Irish troops, which were organised in different regiments collectively remembered as 'The British Legion'. O'Leary soon realised that there would be better prospects if he could learn Spanish and several months after his arrival he asked to be posted to a Venezuelan unit in order to improve his knowledge of the language. His request was granted and he was assigned to the 'Guardia de Honor' (personal guard) of General Anzoátegui, later a hero of the battle of Boyacá. As part of this unit, O'Leary fought in the battle of La Gamarra (27 March 1819) and was promoted to captain at the end of the engagement. He also took part in the epic 'Campaña Libertadora', one of the major feats of the independence of South America. Bolívar crossed the entire length of the Venezuelan and Colombian *Llanos* (plains) during the rainy season - something that was considered impossible - moved up the Andes and took the war to the heart of Colombia. The

twin victories of Pantano de Vargas (25 July 1819) and Puente de Boyacá (7 August 1819) resulted in the liberation of central New Granada. From this rich and populous area, Bolívar was now able to strike both north (towards Venezuela) and south (against Ecuador and eventually Peru). O'Leary served as a staff officer during these operations, but (like Bolívar himself) he was in the thick of the fighting and in the battle of Vargas received a sword wound in the forehead. The injury was not serious but O'Leary carried a scar until the end of his life. In September 1819, O'Leary was awarded the 'Order of the Liberators', the highest distinction in the Colombian army.

O'Leary's career in the next few months is not well documented but it is almost certain that he remained attached to Anzoátegui's staff until the death of this general on 15 November 1819, caused by an infection contracted in the crossing of the Andes. Between this date and April 1820, O'Leary probably served under Anzoátegui's successors, Generals Salom and Urdaneta. We know for sure that in April 1820 O'Leary was appointed aide-de-camp to Simón Bolívar and that he quickly became one of his most trusted officers.

### **The First Diplomatic Missions**

Bolívar's senior aide-de-camp at this time was Colonel Diego Ibarra and both he and O'Leary took part in the negotiations between Patriots and Royalists which resulted in the Trujillo ceasefire at the end of 1820. They spent many days travelling back and forth between the headquarters of the belligerents and, once agreement was reached, were present during the famous interview between Bolívar and Morillo. O'Leary gives a full account of this meeting in his memoirs. After the armistice, the 'Pacificador' left for Spain and never returned to South America. The armistice broke down in January 1821 and, as a member of the Liberator's staff, O'Leary took part in the campaign that followed and fought in the battle of Carabobo (24 June 1821), which sealed the independence of Venezuela.

In September 1821, Bolívar entrusted O'Leary with his first diplomatic mission. He was sent to Jamaica, to request supplies and assistance from the British colonial authorities and private traders. He obtained the help of Wellwood Hyslop, a merchant who sold him 470 uniforms and other supplies for the Patriot army and who was later appointed Colombian Consul in Jamaica in recognition for this and other past services. O'Leary returned to Santa Marta (New Granada) on 5 October.

### **Confidential Messenger**

During 1822 and 1833, O'Leary's activities were essentially military. He was, however, no ordinary officer and he served as confidential messenger between Bolívar and Sucre, his commander in the south. O'Leary's contribution in the liberation of Ecuador was outstanding and he distinguished himself at the battle of Pichincha (24 May 1822). It fell to O'Leary to negotiate the surrender of the defeated Spanish forces. In recognition for his services during this campaign, O'Leary was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel 'graduado'. The fact that Sucre had selected him over more senior officers to negotiate with Aymerich was also a sign of esteem, and there are many passages in the General's correspondence which show how much he appreciated O'Leary.

In June 1822, Bolívar (moving south from New Granada) liberated Pasto and arrived in Ecuador. In Guayaquil he met O'Leary, who returned to his staff. In his capacity of aide-de-camp, O'Leary was present during the historic meeting between Bolívar and San Martín, the two liberators of South America. After the Guayaquil meeting, San Martín retired from the war and departed for Europe leaving Bolívar as the undisputed leader of the revolution.

Bolívar intended to invade Peru with an army of 6,000 men and in April 1823 General Sucre was ordered ahead with a force of 1,500 soldiers, as Colombian diplomatic representative to the Peruvian Patriots. On 25 May 1823, O'Leary was sent to join Sucre with confidential correspondence from Bolívar. He was also asked to gather information concerning the confusing situation in Peru, to investigate the true political sympathies of the population of El Callao and to assess how sincere was the petition of help made by the local patriots to the Liberator. O'Leary was with Sucre when the Colombians had to abandon Lima and withdraw to El Callao (18 June). Two days later, Sucre sent him back to the Liberator with a full and confidential intelligence report of the current situation in Peru.

O'Leary joined Bolívar in Quito and informed him that the situation in the south was critical. The main army should join Sucre as quickly as possible. Bolívar invaded Peru in September 1823.

### **Mission to Chile**

Although O'Leary accompanied the Liberator to Peru as aide-de-camp, he did not stay in the Viceroyalty for long and did not take part in the battles of Junín and Ayacucho (1824), which sealed the liberation of Spanish America. Bolívar sent him on a diplomatic mission to Chile and on 26 October 1823 O'Leary left for Santiago in the *Aurora* (captain Prescott). His orders were to persuade the government of that republic to increase her contribution to the war effort and to do everything in his power to neutralise the intrigues of Riva Agüero, who

had now been deposed and replaced by Bolívar as President of Peru.

Chile had played a key role in the early stages of the liberation of Peru but had exhausted her resources and had been forced to scale down her contribution. Earlier in the year, Ramón Freire had replaced the hero of the independence, Bernardo O'Higgins, as Supreme Director. The new leader was uncooperative and this was understandable. Chile's financial situation was precarious and O'Higgins's fall had initiated a period of political instability. Freire extended O'Leary a friendly welcome, was polite and sympathetic and promised to do all he could, but it was clear that little real support would be forthcoming.

A few months before O'Leary's arrival, the Chileans had launched an expedition against Arica (Southern Peru) but this force had decided to return home after the debacle of Santa Cruz's campaign in the Puertos Intermedios and had refused to proceed to El Callao. O'Leary vainly attempted to persuade Freire to send these troops back to the Viceroyalty. Instead, they were used to launch an unsuccessful attack against the island of Chiloé. Chile played no significant role in this last stage of the war and the Colombian army remained the main actor in the final phase of Peru's independence.

O'Leary spent sixteen frustrating months in Chile and left the country at the beginning of February 1825, on board the *O'Higgins*. Although no fault of his, the mission was unsuccessful and the only thing that O'Leary achieved was to buy a cargo of arms. British and French merchants gave him money for his personal expenses but refused to provide any credits for the war in Peru. Interestingly in view of what happened later, during his time in Santiago Daniel O'Leary published several articles in the local press, defending Bolívar against charges of wanting to crown himself as king. By 1828, O'Leary himself had become favourable to the establishment of a monarchy in Colombia, with the Liberator as Simón I or a European Prince in his place.

Thanks to O'Leary's lobbying, the *O'Higgins* and other units of the Chilean Navy took part in the blockade of El Callao (1825-1826) but by then the war had been won and their contribution was not really needed. They were commanded by Admiral Blanco Encalada.

Madariaga accuses O'Leary of having mismanaged Patriot funds during his mission in Chile, but Perez Vila refutes the charge. Bolívar approved the accounts presented by O'Leary and proof of his trust in him is the fact that he kept him in his service and even promoted him to first aide-de-camp. The Spanish historian lets that nationalism and nostalgia for a lost empire clouds his judgement.

### **Bolívar's Last Years**

Much to O'Leary's disappointment, the war had already ended when he returned to Peru. With the Spanish army gone, the fragile unity between the patriots began to break down and Bolívar was faced with growing opposition. In 1827, a revolution in Peru brought Bolívar's enemies to power. In Venezuela, General Páez led the movement which resulted in the secession of that country from Gran Colombia in 1830. A reluctant Bolívar assumed dictatorial powers in Bogotá in 1828 but relinquished those powers two years later and died in Santa Marta, on his way to exile in Europe.

During this melancholy period, O'Leary was entrusted with several political and diplomatic missions. In 1826, Bolívar considered sending him to mediate between Brazil and Argentina, which were on the verge of war, but nothing came of it. Instead, he was sent to restore harmony between Generals Santander in New Granada and Páez in Venezuela, whose feud threatened to destroy the country. This proved unsuccessful. In 1828, he acted as Bolívar's representative at the Ocaña Convention, where the different parties failed to agree on a new constitution. He was appointed Colombia's Minister Plenipotentiary to Peru but war broke out between the two countries before he could take up his position. Last but not least, he was chosen to be Colombia's Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, but this appointment was also cancelled when, with

chaos looming, Bolívar decided that he could not dispense with his services.

O'Leary also took part in military operations, first against the rebels led by General Córdoba in Antioquia and later against the Peruvian invaders in Ecuador. He distinguished himself at the battle of Tarqui and was promoted to brigadier. Always a negotiator, O'Leary was one of the two Colombian signatories of the peace treaty that brought the war to an end.

In 1831, the new anti-Bolivarian government banished many supporters of the Liberator from the country and O'Leary fled to Jamaica, where he spent the next three years, working on his memoirs.

### Venezuelan Diplomat

In 1833, O'Leary's brother-in-law, General Carlos Soublette (then Secretary of War), persuaded the Venezuelan government to authorise O'Leary to settle in the country. In spite of his intense dislike for José Antonio Páez, the Republic's strongman, Daniel O'Leary and his family moved to Caracas and on 11 July he was incorporated into the Venezuelan army with the rank of Brigadier General. His talents as a diplomat could not be ignored and he did not stay idle for long. On the following year, the government sent General Mariano Montilla on a mission to Europe with the purpose of obtaining diplomatic recognition for the new republic (proclaimed in 1830 after the dissolution of Gran Colombia) and of negotiating a Concordat with the Holy See. O'Leary accompanied him as his assistant and secretary.

The envoys arrived in London on 5 May 1834 and on 25 October the Palmerston government recognised Venezuela. O'Leary then took a short leave of absence to visit his native country and travelled to Dublin and Cork. His father had died four years before but his mother was still alive. O'Leary also met the Liberator Daniel O'Connell, who had always been favourable to the independence of South America.

In November 1834, Montilla (who was suffering from asthma) returned to South

America and O'Leary stayed in Britain as *de facto* ambassador of his adopted country. Shortly afterwards, he travelled to Paris where he published a small book about Bolívar (*Retrato Moral del Libertador*, published in Spanish, English and French). On 12 February 1835, Carlos Soublette arrived in London as the new Head of Mission and the two men left for Spain, to obtain the diplomatic recognition of the mother country.

They had powerful allies. The Duke of Wellington (then Foreign Secretary) put a Royal Navy ship at their disposal for the voyage (the somewhat inappropriately-named HMS *Royalist*). In Madrid, the British and French Ambassadors (Villiers and De Rayneval) did all they could to help them for London and Paris wanted to see the relationship between Spain and her colonies normalised. Unfortunately, in spite of the strong support of these countries, the mission failed. The Peninsulars were in the middle of the First Carlista War and had other concerns. Moreover, Madrid wanted financial reparations in exchange for her recognition, something which was unacceptable to the young republic. Pride and principle were at stake. Venezuela had paid for her freedom in blood but there were also practical reasons: Caracas had no money.

During their visit to the Peninsula, the two Venezuelan soldier-diplomats had the opportunity of meeting their old adversary: General Pablo Morillo, now Captain General of Galicia. The 'Pacificador', honoured by his sovereign with the titles of Marquis of La Puerta and Count of Cartagena but remembered in South America as a butcher, had a generous side to his character which has often been overlooked. A royalist, he was convinced that Spain should accept the loss of her empire, he agreed to use his limited influence with his Government on behalf of Venezuela. Nothing, however, came of his efforts. More importantly, on learning that O'Leary was working on a book about Bolívar, Morillo gave him many of his papers. He had always admired the Liberator, the worthiest of his adversaries in the battlefield. The envoys also met General La Torre (Morillo's successor

in Venezuela ), the former Royalist commanders in Peru (Generals Canterac, Valdes and Rodil) and many other officers. All these veterans believed that Spain should recognise her former colonies but the politicians proved impossible to convince.

Soublette and O'Leary returned to Britain empty-handed in January 1837 and in February the former went back to Venezuela (where he became President shortly afterwards). O'Leary was again left in London representing his adopted country.

The mission to Spain failed but proved vital for O'Leary's future. The British Ambassador in Madrid, George Villiers (later Lord Clarendon) was much impressed by O'Leary's diplomatic skills and when the time came used his influence to help him join the Foreign Office.

O'Leary next left for Italy and Pope Gregory XVI received him on 10 April 1837. As O'Leary had always been a practicing Catholic, this must have been a very intense moment. Unfortunately, his negotiations with the Vatican proved unsuccessful and after two years of efforts in 1839 he returned to London empty-handed. The Holy See had neither recognised Venezuela nor agreed to a Concordat. Caracas had expelled Archbishop Mendez twice, first in 1830 for having refused to swear the Constitution and two years later for declining to appoint two prelates nominated by the government. This was only the most visible manifestation of the deep difference which existed between Church and State on the issue of ecclesiastical appointments. The problem was not solved until many years later and it was so serious that some in Venezuela even considered breaking away from Rome and establishing an independent national church.

In April 1839, the Venezuelan Government appointed O'Leary to represent it in an international commission charged with negotiating Gran Colombia's outstanding debts with British creditors. The successor republics (Caracas, Bogotá and Quito ) had to divide these obligations between themselves and in the end New Granada assumed 50 per cent of the combined debt and Venezuela and Ecuador

25 per cent each. O'Leary fulfilled his responsibilities loyally and efficiently but unfortunately nationalist circles opposed his appointment on the grounds that he was a British subject and thus had an implicit conflict of interests. They forgot that O'Leary had spent more than half of his life and his entire career in South American service. As a result of this, he (following Soublette's advice) resigned but was asked to continue as commissioner until the arrival of his successor, Alejo Fortique, on 16 October 1839.

### **British Diplomat**

O'Leary left London in November and was back in Venezuela in early January 1840, after six years of absence. At the age of thirty-eight or forty, his prospects looked somewhat bleak and life on his modest military pension promised to be uncomfortable. He spent the next few months working on his memoirs but fortunately he did not have to remain unemployed for long. In June, Sir Robert Kerr Porter, British chargé d'affaires and consul general in Venezuela, requested a leave of absence and recommended that O'Leary should replace him until his return to the country. This was accepted and O'Leary assumed these positions *ad interim* from 1 January 1841. Kerr Porter was not his only supporter in Whitehall. In Britain, Daniel O'Connell (the Irish political leader) and Lord Clarendon (formerly George Villiers, Ambassador to Madrid ) intervened on his behalf. On 14 August, O'Leary was appointed Consul in Puerto Cabello (this time on a permanent basis and not *ad interim*) but continued doing Kerr Porter's job in Caracas and did not move to this port until 1843. The hapless Kerr Porter never returned to Venezuela and died of an attack of apoplexy on 3 May 1842, while visiting his daughter in St. Petersburg.

Understandably but somewhat unfairly, the Foreign Office hesitated in making these appointments because of O'Leary's long service to the South American republics. Like the Venezuelan nationalists of 1839, the British Government feared a conflict of interests. As in the previous case, the suspicions were

groundless and O'Leary's activities proved beneficial to both countries.

In 1842, O'Leary helped to organise the repatriation of Bolívar's remains from Santa Marta to Venezuela and arranged for a British corvette (the *Albatross*) to join the naval escort which accompanied the brig *Caracas* in the journey. Other European nations also sent ships for this purpose: France (the *Circe*), the Netherlands (the *Venus*) and Denmark (the *St Croix*). As the senior diplomatic representative of the United Kingdom, O'Leary was present at the burial ceremonies in Caracas cathedral... but one cannot help thinking that he occupied the wrong seat during these events. His true place was not among the foreign diplomats but among the Venezuelan Generals who had fought under the Liberator. At about the same time, O'Leary wrote to the sculptor Pietro Tenerani (whom he had met in Italy) and on behalf of the Venezuelan Government commissioned a monument to Bolívar, to be placed in the cathedral. These were, of course, extremely satisfying tasks.

On 11 April 1843, Belford Hinton Wilson replaced O'Leary as British chargé d'affaires and consul general in Caracas and O'Leary finally moved to Puerto Cabello as Consul. General Páez, now reconciled with his former enemy, had been much impressed by O'Leary's activities and had written to Lord Aberdeen (the Foreign Secretary) respectfully suggesting that he be permanently appointed in Kerr Porter's place. The British declined, probably thinking that O'Leary was too close to the Venezuelans and fearing a conflict of interests. Moreover, Wilson had been requesting the job for some time and had been in the British diplomatic service for longer. He had been chargé d'affaires and consul general in Peru and had the support of his influential father, General Sir Robert Wilson.

Caracas did not have to regret the Foreign Office's choice, for Belford Wilson also behaved as a true friend and gave total satisfaction to both his home country and his hosts. O'Leary was, of course, disappointed since the climate in Puerto Cabello was unhealthy and the job much less interesting.

Fortunately, Wilson and others intervened on his behalf and on 1 January 1844 O'Leary received a dispatch from Lord Aberdeen naming him chargé d'affaires and consul general in nearby Colombia, where his predecessor Robert Stewart had died in July 1843.

O'Leary presented his credentials to the Bogotá government on 14 April 1844 and retained the appointments until his death, ten years later. As we have mentioned, his brother-in-law General Soublette had helped him to settle in Venezuela in 1833 and it soon fell to O'Leary to return the compliment. When his hapless kinsman was banished from Caracas in 1848, O'Leary gave him shelter in Bogotá.

O'Leary's health started deteriorating in 1851 and in 1852 he travelled to Europe to obtain medical advice. In London, the doctors found nothing seriously wrong with him and O'Leary went back to Colombia via the United States, after having visited France, Italy and Ireland. Unfortunately, the physicians were wrong. Daniel Florence O'Leary died in Bogotá soon after his return, on 24 February 1854. He was given a state funeral in the cathedral and received full diplomatic and military honours. In 1882, his remains were moved to the *Panteón de los Héroes* (National Pantheon) in Caracas, where he lies close to Simón Bolívar, the man he so loyally served.

### O'Leary and the Monarchy Scheme

In 1826, while in the Peruvian capital, O'Leary sent a significant private letter to his friend Field Marshal Sucre. This document (quoted by Perez Vila) is important in two respects. First of all, it contains a very lucid analysis of the political situation in South America and warns of many of the calamities which later happened. It therefore shows O'Leary as a first-class diplomatic observer. Secondly, it makes clear that O'Leary was convinced of the need for a strong regime, a monarchy if necessary.

Critics of the aide-de-camp (both then and later) have accused him of being a reactionary for holding such views. This is unfair. With hindsight, kingdoms in the western hemisphere

seem absurd but the idea did not look ridiculous or extremist in 1826. At that time, there were only two republics in the world: the United States and Haiti (the latter, an autocratic regime). Even France had restored the Bourbons after the fall of Napoleon and most European liberals favoured constitutional monarchies. O'Leary was not alone and an important body of Latin American opinion (particularly but not only in Mexico and Peru) shared his views. In Britain, Castlereagh and Canning would have preferred to see kingdoms and not republics as successors of the Spanish colonial regimes. It must be remembered that all the states born in Europe before 1914 opted to be constitutional monarchies, even those created by radical revolutions: Greece, Belgium, Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania and Norway. Italy and Germany unified under a king and an emperor, respectively.

In 1826, monarchies were the rule rather than the exception and republics reminded many of the worst excesses of the French revolution. O'Leary saw anarchy looming ahead and favoured a strong hand, legitimised and tempered by the prestige of a crown. In the end, Spanish America did not get kingdoms but states run by *caudillos*. They were republics in nothing but name, and the continent had to suffer decades of chaos because of the rivalries between these strongmen.

Conservative historians believe that monarchies would have probably not survived for more than a generation but are convinced that they would have been a factor for stability in the critical early years of the infant states. They point to the example of the Brazilian Empire, ruled by the Braganzas until 1882, which achieved political and economic progress while her neighbours disintegrated into anarchy. O'Leary might have been wrong but his views were not at all extreme in the context of the time.

### **O'Leary's 'Memoirs'**

The Republic of Colombia has built no memorials to Daniel O'Leary, probably because of his role in the death of her favourite son, General Cordoba. Her sister, the Republic of

Venezuela, has been kinder and her army still has a Staff Battalion 'Daniel Florencio O'Leary'. There is a 'Plaza O'Leary' (O'Leary Square) in Caracas and, of course, he is buried in the National Pantheon, a rare distinction. O'Leary's true monument, however coarse, are his memoirs, the essential source for the study of the period. Even the bitterest critics of Bolívar have rendered O'Leary the ultimate compliment: they have used his material.

O'Leary's memoirs consist of thirty-two volumes. Three of them are a *Narración* (an account of the events) and the remaining twenty-nine are supporting documents and correspondence between Bolívar and other men. Concerning the *Narración*, the author completed the first two volumes (which follow Bolívar's life until 1826) and the third one (an appendix) is composed of material which he intended to use for the period 1827-1830.

It is unfortunate that O'Leary's *Narración* comes to an end in 1826 as it would have been fascinating to have his account of the last three years of Bolívar's life (1827-1830). This period covers extremely important events in which O'Leary was directly or indirectly involved, the Liberator's reluctant dictatorship, Cordoba's rebellion and assassination at El Santuario, the September conspiracy, the demise of the Bolivarian party in Peru, the war between Lima and Bogotá, Sucre's departure from Bolivia and his murder at Berruecos, among others. O'Leary lived through the sad process of disintegration which led to the break-up of Gran Colombia and was not only a witness but also an actor in this drama.

Did he really have no time to complete the third volume of his *Narración*? He started working on his memoirs in 1830 but only died in 1854. As the loyal aide-de-camp himself declared, the purpose of his account was to defend the reputation of Simón Bolívar. The last three years of the Liberator's life were among the most controversial (the period of his reluctant dictatorship) and we have seen how O'Leary himself might have been enlisted in doing dirty work for his master. I do not doubt that these activities were essential for the preservation of the country and have no

sympathy for General Santander's party. Nevertheless, O'Leary might have found it difficult to explain certain facts to his readers and might have decided that total omission was better than occasional distortion. Although nobody has suggested it, I suspect that O'Leary did not complete his third volume on purpose.

Daniel O'Leary was aware of the controversies which his memoirs could cause. In his will, he asked his sons Simón and Carlos (entrusted with his papers) not to publish anything before the 1860s.

Moisés Enrique Rodríguez

### **Notes**

1 Born in Colombia and educated in Britain, Moisés Enrique Rodríguez published *Freedom's Mercenaries: British Volunteers in the Wars of Independence of Latin America* (2006), and *Under the Flags of Freedom: British Mercenaries in the War of the Two Brothers, the First Carlist War and the Greek War of Independence (1821-1840)* (forthcoming, 2009).

2 Healy, Claire, 'O'Leary, Daniel Florence [Florencio] (c.1802-1854)' in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, 4:2 (March 2006), pp. 95-96. Available online ([http://www.irlandeses.org/dilab\\_olearydf.htm](http://www.irlandeses.org/dilab_olearydf.htm)), cited 12 March 2009.

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## **Ethnic Identity and Integration among Brazilians in Gort, Ireland**

By Olivia Sheringham (1)

### **Abstract**

*This paper explores the relationship between ethnic identity and integration among Brazilian migrants in the Irish town of Gort in County Galway. According to recent estimates, the population of Gort is now over 30% Brazilian, yet very little is known about the experiences of the migrants themselves. Responding to the striking dearth of research on this significant 'new' migrant group in Ireland, the study examines how the everyday practices and interactions of the migrants themselves impact upon their situation and the places to which they are connected. It contributes to this growing field of research through discussing the complex relationship between 'integration' and 'transnationalism', how it is manifested in this particular case, as well as the wider conceptual and policy implications. The paper also draws on empirical research conducted with Brazilians and Irish residents in Gort. It reveals how the experiences of Brazilians reflect a positive interaction and identification with both Irish and Brazilian identities and places. However, the paper also points to the limitations of the situation, and the barriers that continue to exist to the 'structural integration' of Gort Brazilians.*

### **Introduction**

Gort is a small rural town in County Galway, in the West of Ireland. While at first glance there may be little that distinguishes the town, it has received significant media attention in recent years in response to the considerable influx of Brazilians who have migrated there. The first Brazilians arrived in 1999-2000 to work in a local meat processing plant that was on the brink of closure, and ever since it has become the destination for many new migrants from Brazil who now make up over a third of the town's overall population of approximately 3,000 (Hoskins 2006).

The social landscape of Gort has thus been dramatically transformed, becoming the "fastest growing town in Ireland" (O'Shaughnessy 2007) with a population that has not only dramatically diversified, but doubled in the last five years. Media coverage has portrayed the 'Brazilianisation' of this small Irish town as an example of successful integration, "a rare success in the usually glum history of migrations in Europe" (Ibid), becoming Ireland's own "Little Brazil" (Hoskins 2006) and bringing colour and life to this formally sleepy 'one-horse' town. Yet while the media has highlighted the visible and largely positive aspects of the situation - and tended to sensationalise the national stereotypes of Brazilians and Irish - there is a striking lack of

in-depth research into the experiences of the migrants themselves, and the wider implications of this phenomenon.

Issues related to the 'integration' of migrants have been the subject of endless debate and re-examination (Joppke & Morawska 2003; Favell 2003; Snel *et al* 2006; Vasta 2007). Early theories and policies included 'assimilation' or 'acculturation' - themselves vague terms, but which broadly refer to processes whereby migrants are seen to 'assimilate into' the socio-cultural and political norms of their receiving society (Alba & Nee 1997). More recent theories have incorporated concepts of cultural pluralism, or 'multiculturalism', which involve participation in host societies, but with the recognition and acceptance of cultural difference (Vasta 2007). However, within conceptualisations of 'integration' there has been a tendency to regard the 'transnational' practices of immigrants - maintaining strong ties with their ethnic counterparts both in the receiving society and in their country of origin - as somehow 'an impediment to immigrant integration into the host country' (Snel *et al* 2006: 287).

This paper draws on empirical research conducted in Gort to examine the everyday practices and interactions of the Brazilian migrants in Gort, and how these impact upon their situations and the places to which they are connected. Moreover, drawing on different

conceptualisations of 'integration', it seeks to examine what is meant by the notion of the 'successful integration'. This research suggests that integration is occurring - despite the existence of strong 'transnational' ties among the immigrants. However, questions arise as to the sustainability of such a situation and the extent to which this 'integration' is in fact limited to the "social and cultural" (Snel *et al* 2006) realm rather than the economic and institutional, where opportunities are shrinking due to declining economic growth and increasingly restrictive immigration policies.

### **Migration, Integration, Belonging**

Integration and the ways in which "immigrants adapt to their new environment" have been widely debated within migration research (Snel *et al* 2006: 287). The uncertainty surrounding the notion lies, in part, in its use both as a description of the "post-immigration" experiences of immigrants, and as a key policy concern for receiving societies (Favell 2003; Vasta 2007). Indeed, Joppke and Morawska contend that "state policies" are often very far removed from the actual "practices and adjustments" of immigrants themselves (2003:1). In the UK, the current debate centres on a re-think of the policy of 'multiculturalism' and a shift towards a more 'assimilation'-inspired notion of 'community cohesion' in response to Britain's ever-increasing 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007a; Vasta 2007). The prevailing multiculturalist approaches have been widely criticised on the grounds that they are culturally essentialist, or that they refer only to 'ethnic minorities' and thus deny the multi-dimensionality of integration (Parekh 2006; Vertovec 2007a, 2007b; Vasta 2007). Moreover, as a result of a "crisis of confidence" among policy makers the notion of 'community cohesion' has emerged, as the formation of separate communities within immigrant groups is seen as "an impediment to integration and cohesion" (Vasta 2008: 2). Vasta contests this critique of multiculturalism and the subsequent shift toward more assimilatory policies, arguing that it fails "to concentrate on the ongoing inequality experienced by many immigrant groups throughout societal institutions and

structures" which, she argues, represents the principle "barrier to integration" (2007: 25). Thus, rather than abandoning multiculturalism as a policy, Vasta suggests that the notion should be expanded to address such structural barriers (Ibid).

In Ireland, where large-scale immigration is a far more recent phenomenon, the integration debate is still in its early stages, yet the "dominant ideology of homogeneity" (Fanning 2002: 4) has meant that multiculturalism (known as 'interculturalism' in Ireland) remains "weak", "characterised by a narrow focus on liberal democratic rights with little focus on racism as a factor in inequality and discrimination" (178). According to Lentin, the transformation of Ireland into a country of "in-migration" has led to what she describes as "crisis racism", whereby migrants are perceived as "problems" and "the state repeatedly refuses to admit that its punitive migration policies lead to racism" (2007: 621).

Indeed, a clear problem with a discussion of integration is the vagueness surrounding its meaning. Thus in an analysis of the relative success, or level of integration in a particular context, it is important to determine what is actually implied by the term. Snel *et al* make a distinction between "structural integration" and "social and cultural integration" (2006: 287). While "structural integration" refers to the incorporation of migrants into the socio-economic "structures" of the host society - such as education and the labour market, "social and cultural" integration, according to their definition, describes the "informal social contact of immigrants" with members of the host society, as well as "the extent to which immigrants endorse the host society's prevailing moral standards and values" (Ibid). While the two are "strongly related" (Ibid), such a distinction is useful as it also enables us to examine the interrelationship between the day-to-day practices and interactions of immigrants with members of their host society, and the broader structural processes and changes. Moreover, it suggests that the two dimensions can be experienced unevenly, so

that, “social and cultural integration” can occur to a greater degree than “structural” integration.

Another area of dispute surrounding immigrant integration is that it implies the existence of a cohesive structure or system into which immigrants “integrate” (Samers 1998; Joppke & Morawska 2003). Moreover, as Samers argues, “integration” as a concept “suggests a static notion of society where the ‘them’ confronts the ‘us’, and ignores the dialectics and ambiguities of social and cultural change” (1998: 129). Indeed, the ever-increasing diversity of many European states, and the practices of immigrants and communities whose practices can be conceived of as ‘transnational,’ challenge such a bounded and static notion of societies (Favell 2003). Yet, as Favell argues, rather than bringing an end to the “integration paradigm”, “transnationalism in Europe has to be seen as a growing empirical exception to the familiar nation-centred pattern of integration across the continent” (Ibid: 36). Thus, as this research seeks to illustrate, the study of the transnational practices of immigrants can in fact shed light on integration processes and have wider policy implications.

There are few empirical examples of work that discusses the relationship between transnationalism and integration (Kivisto 2003). Giorguli-Saucedo and Itzigsohn’s broadly quantitative study (2002), and their more recent elaboration that incorporates a gendered perspective (2005), represent important contributions, as do Morawska’s discussion of different “combinations of transnationalism and assimilation” (2003) and Levitt’s research among Dominicans in Boston (2003a). However, these examples remain limited to the specific US context. Snel et al’s (2006) study, discussed above, is perhaps the most thorough European example, which examines the relationship between transnationalism and integration in relation to immigrants living in the Netherlands. While the authors point to the need for more research into the issue, and the complexity of making any concrete conclusions, the overall suggestion is that “transnational activities and identifications do

not need to constitute an impediment to integration” (304).

The interdependency of transnationalism and integration is further examined by Vertovec (2007a: 20). Significantly, he suggests that neither ‘transnationalism’ nor ‘integration’ are “of a piece”, and “various modes or components can be selectively combined by migrants” (21). It is this “selective combination” that I examine in the context of Brazilians in Gort, looking at the different levels of their experience so as to challenge any linear explanation. Vertovec’s notion of “civil-integration” will also be useful in my analysis (2007b). The concept suggests that ‘integration’ need not involve “deep, meaningful, sustained relations,” and that in fact practices based on “civility”, and mutual acceptance and tolerance, are equally if not more important for promoting “social cohesion” (*Ibid*: 3).

### **Research Methods**

The empirical research for this study was in conducted in Gort in June-July 2008. This involved first, a two-page questionnaire survey, which was carried out with forty-five Brazilians (twenty-one women and twenty-four men) to elicit basic socio-economic data. This included basic questions relating to their migration experience, their transnational practices, and their everyday lives in Gort. This initial stage was followed by twenty-three in-depth semi-structured interviews with Brazilian and Irish respondents. Of the Brazilian respondents who agreed to be interviewed, I selected a sample of fifteen, which aimed to capture as far as possible the diversity of the Brazilian population in Gort, in relation to factors such as gender, class, regional origin, age and religious affiliation. Irish respondents included the local police Superintendent, the police Ethnic Liaison Officer, a doctor, a community worker, two teachers, a shop owner, and a priest.

These stages were complemented further by other ethnographic methods including participant observation while I was living in the town. The portrait of Brazilians in Gort presented in this study by no means purports to

be entirely accurate, but rather represents a general insight based on the experiences conveyed to me by a sample of immigrants and local residents. The questionnaires and in-depth interviews with Brazilian respondents were carried out in Portuguese in most cases. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed, and translated where necessary. The quotes from interviews are cited in the text in italics and are my translation. Names have been changed to protect anonymity.

### **Research Context**

*Ireland, once a place where people were compelled to leave through lack of opportunity, is now a place to which they come because of the opportunities which exist. (2)*

The above citation reveals the dramatic demographic transformation in Ireland in recent years as a result of the country's economic boom in the 1990s - known as the 'Celtic Tiger'. According to Ruhs, "[n]et migration to Ireland increased from 8,000 in 1996 to over 41,000 in 2002, and remained high at 32,000 in 2004" (2005: x). Such a dramatic demographic transition has undoubtedly been fraught, and created challenges both in practical and policy terms, and with regard to widespread perceptions of Irish identity (Healy 2007; Fanning 2002). Many non-EU nationals living in Ireland came having been offered work permits by Irish employers which, until 2003, were almost entirely employer-led and allocated with a relative lack of restriction (Ruhs, 2005: xii). In 2003, however, the Employment Permits Act was introduced, which implied a much more interventionist role for the government, imposing a more restrictive skills based system, with priority to workers from new EU member states (Ibid: xii).

In Gort, a large number of the migrants have been affected by this policy change, and either become undocumented unwittingly - as their existing work permits expire - or have entered the country and stayed on, working as irregular migrants. As Ruhs suggests, the recentness of widespread labour immigration to Ireland means that very little research exists into its

consequences and impacts (Ibid). While this paper does not discuss in-depth the economic impact of labour immigration, or indeed irregular migration, a focus on the particular experiences of immigrants in Gort does point to some broader implications for integration in Ireland, and their potential relevance for policies in other receiving countries.

As with many examples of migration flows, the influx of immigrants from Brazil to Gort is a consequence of both 'macro' and very 'micro' factors. It began in 1999, when the meat exporting factory, Sean Duffy Meat Exports Ltd., situated on the outskirts of Gort, obtained six work permits and hired people (four men and two women) from Vila Fabril, a suburb of the Brazilian town of Anápolis in the state of Goiás (Healy, 2006: 150). These workers had previously been employed at a large meat factory there - of which the manager was an Irish expatriate - that had recently closed down (Ibid). Following the 'success' of this initial wave of migrants, gradually more people came from Brazil to Gort, and recent reports state that the Brazilian community now accounts for somewhere between a third and half of the town's population.

While Sean Duffy's meat factory was the original catalyst bringing Brazilians to the town (3), many more came over to work in other sectors - with men filling labour gaps in areas such as construction, farming and fisheries, or manufacturing, and women filling gaps in the service industry (gaps formally filled by Irish women) in restaurants, hotels, nursing homes, or as domestic cleaners or childminders. Moreover, while the original Brazilian arrivals were from Vila Fabril - and later from elsewhere in the state of Goiás - the community in Gort now includes people from other Brazilian states.

The existence of strong social networks and what Massey terms the "cumulative causation" of migration flows (1990), has clearly represented an important 'pull' factor drawing more people to Gort. The fact that there already exists a strong Brazilian presence in Gort reduces the costs - both financial and emotional - of migration and thus influences

the decision of potential future immigrants. Gort has thus become a “first stop” for many new Brazilian migrants to Ireland who arrive there to find information about issues such as employment and accommodation before moving on to elsewhere in the country (Mcgrath, 2008: 3).

However, as recent reports confirm (Pereira, 2008), increasing numbers of Gort Brazilians are returning to Brazil as a result of labour shortages and declining economic opportunities. Some of my interviewees also mentioned how the economic situation in Brazil is now improving, and that this is another reason why people are returning, or at least plan to return soon.

### **The Importance of the Local**

*[P]laces do count. Contrary to the image of transnational immigrants living simultaneously in two worlds, in fact the vast majority is at any moment located primarily in one place. (4)*

In Europe, speculation over different integration ‘models’ has re-entered policy debates in response to the unprecedented rates of immigration that have fuelled widespread public and media attention. The tendency has been to focus on - and exaggerate - the negative dimensions of this phenomenon, and immigrant communities that participate in ‘transnational’ activities are seen as a “threat” to what is perceived as an “already integrated, bounded society” (Joppke & Morawska 2003: 3). As such, multicultural policies that accommodate such cultural diversity are falling widely into disrepute (Vasta 2007; 2008). Yet within these policy debates - often influenced by highly reactive media sensationalism - there is little emphasis placed on the actual processes occurring and the experiences of immigrants themselves (Favell 2003; Vasta 2008).

The practices of Brazilians in Gort and their direct contact maintained with Brazil do suggest the emergence of a ‘transnational social space’ that encompasses networks and circuits spanning Gort and Brazil. However, my research suggests that this does not represent an alternative to, or substitute for, engagement

with the local place but rather that transnational practices and local attachment can, as Kivisto contends, “co-exist in a dialectical relationship” (2003:12). In what follows, I reveal some of the ways in which this “co-existence” is manifested through the everyday practices of Brazilians living in Gort. I consider different dimensions of the ‘integration’ of Brazilians in Gort in terms of firstly, what Vertovec calls “civil-integration”: “getting on with” each other in ways that do not necessarily involve “deep and meaningful interaction” (2007a: 40) and secondly the two-way mutual respect and appreciation that exists between Brazilian and Irish residents in the town. Finally, I discuss the barriers that still exist with regard to what Snet et al (2006: 287) call “structural integration”, which reveals the power of the nation-state to determine and control the full extent of integration.

### **Separate spaces and “Civil-Integration”?**

*The way it works here at the moment seems to work really well. The Brazilians and the Irish mix, but not too much. ... For the locals it’s like having a friend who comes once a week, but they don’t stay too long. I think the Irish people like us because we know when to leave (Milton, 17.06.08).*

The above quotation aptly conveys the way in which integration is in many ways occurring despite the fairly separate lives led by members of the community and their Irish counterparts. The majority of my respondents said that they do not really have Irish friends with whom they socialise, yet they have many acquaintances - made through work, or through day-to-day activities. Thus, for example, Brazilians do not frequent Gort’s many pubs - important places of social interaction for a large proportion of the town’s Irish residents. For some, this is because they do not drink alcohol (in fact around half of my Brazilian respondents told me that they drink no alcohol at all), or that they do not have time as they work long hours and tend to go home, eat and sleep. However, respondents also said they could not understand why Irish people drink in pubs - such enclosed, dark spaces, where people drink

large quantities of cloudy beer! (Roberto, 11.06.08). Most of my Brazilian respondents said they preferred to socialise at home - having barbeques (weather permitting!), or parties with loud Brazilian music and dancing.

As the situation in Gort suggests, however, it is not necessarily that Brazilians cannot go to more characteristically 'Irish' places, or attend the Catholic Mass in English, nor indeed that Irish people cannot go to the more 'Brazilian' places. Rather, there seems to exist in the town a mutual acceptance of difference and openness to the gradual processes of adaptation. This tolerance is perhaps at the heart of the generally harmonious co-existence. As Luis remarked,

*I think that the Irish have one way of living, and Brazilians have another, and in that sense there is no "integration". But at the same time there are lots who have more contact, there are families that are mixed - Irish married to Brazilians - with Irish kids. And in the world cup there were Irish people in the Brazil kit, with Brazilian flags... (10.06.08). (5)*

The processes of 'integration' occurring in Gort reflect, to some extent, Vertovec's notion of "civil-integration" mentioned above, which, he suggests, "helps us to understand that a lack of 'deep and meaningful interaction' between communities ... does not necessarily mean poor social cohesion" (2007a: 40). Moreover, it is perhaps illustrative of the possibility of "selective combination" of "various modes or components" of both transnationalism and integration (Ibid: 21). The practices of Brazilian immigrants in Gort reflect a combination of both participation in a 'Brazilian space' and an attachment to, and interaction with, where necessary, the wider community.

### **Mutual Appreciation**

While some of the stories I heard did challenge the predominantly celebratory portrayal of Gort in the media as a benchmark for integration, the general impression I received was indeed of a positive situation, for both Irish and Brazilians alike. All but two of my Brazilian interviewees said that, despite going through hard times at first, the experience

overall had been entirely positive, both for financial reasons and with regard to how it had changed them as a person. João remarked,

*I feel like I've grown up a lot here living in Ireland. The experience that you get here - not just economically, but the experience itself...we learn to economise, to live, we learn to respect and to be respected... we go through hard times, but it's all part of growing up. Today I feel like a different person, I have grown in so many ways - mentally, and spiritually (13.06.08). (6)*

A few people did mention exploitation by Irish people, such as not being paid for work done, or being given false cheques. Yet those who did recount such stories tended to see it as inevitable "it happens everywhere" (Luis, 10.06.08) - and said that Brazilians would - and have - done the same thing. Moreover, those who said they had been exploited said it had been because they did not speak any English and that as soon as they learnt some their situation improved (see Mcgrath 2008: 15).

In general, however, people seem extremely grateful for the opportunities they have had through coming to Gort. One of the only complaints was the lack of "lazer" - leisure activities or entertainment - in the town for both adults and children. However, this was nearly always counterbalanced by the more important issue of safety and security, particularly with regard to children. As Ana told me, "it's so safe here in Gort, we can even leave the front door open. You could never do that in Brazil" (17.06.08). Carlos, who has three children in Gort, including a seventeen-year-old son said,

*for him [his son] it's really hard in Brazil because of the violence - drugs and stuff...he said he wanted to stay here. To live, to bring up kids, there is no better place than Gort (16.06.08). (7)*

Moreover, just as the arguably strong degree of 'integration' of Brazilians in Gort is evident through their adjustment to certain local practices and places, there is also little doubt that the town of Gort itself has been radically transformed as a result of the Brazilian presence there. Siobhan, a local shop owner remarked,

*Integration can't be successful unless it comes from both sides...locals have to go a bit of the mile as well. We have to meet somewhere in between (05.06.08).*

To some degree, it seems this two-way process of adaptation has occurred, and is occurring, in Gort. Indeed, a major factor contributing to the positive experiences of Brazilians in Gort is the way in which local residents have welcomed them on the whole. As Siobhan said,

*When people first came, people barely knew where Brazil was on the map. Then the community grew and grew ... They are a natural part of the community now (06.06.08).*

Claire, who teaches the 'immersion class' at the main secondary school, described the influx of Brazilians to Gort as bringing, "a ray of light into a dark Irish town." (19.06.08).

The local population have welcomed the Brazilian community, not just in terms of the 'colour' they have brought to the town, but also with regard to the undeniable economic transformation witnessed in Gort since their arrival. Many Irish residents now own second - or several - properties that they rent out to Brazilian households. Furthermore, a lot of Irish families now employ a Brazilian cleaner, and businesses in sectors such as construction, mechanics, catering or care, rely on Brazilian workers. Brazilians in my study noted how they have been well received, as people's perceptions of Brazilians have changed. Tereza remarked when I asked her what she thought of the integration between Brazilians and Irish,

*Before the Irish people must have thought "who are these people arriving here - South Americans, from the favelas?" ... I think that over time they've seen that we work, cleaning the houses of Irish people. They've seen that Brazilian women aren't like that image they had of sexy women - they see that Brazilian women are responsible, organised, hard working -and this has changed people's ideas (09.06.08). (8)*

The Superintendent of the local Gardaí (Irish police) spoke of the astonishingly few problems they have had with Brazilians. During our interview he told me that he had been doing his

crime statistics that morning and, of the twenty-four crimes reported in May, not one had been committed by a Brazilian (13.06.08). In fact, the majority of crimes related to Brazilians in Gort have in fact involved the arrests of rogue Irish employers who have exploited migrant workers, or a few cases of drunken violence towards Brazilians. There was a general consensus among people in Gort to turn a 'blind eye' to immigration status, a factor which undoubtedly attracts Brazilians to Gort and contributes to their sense of security in the town. Ana told me that she knew of six women in the nearby town of Roscommon who had been deported, as the Gardaí there are nowhere near as tolerant as they are in Gort (17.06.08).

### **Places of Interaction**

While there clearly exist some distinctly 'Brazilian' places in Gort and a degree of separation between the lives of Irish and Brazilian residents, the community does not exist in a "bubble that isolates them entirely from the impact of the host society" (Kivisto, 2003: 16). Rather, Brazilians have undergone inevitable adjustment and adaptation processes that form part of the migration experience (Favell, 2003: 15), and there are many places in Gort where both Brazilians and Irish people interact with one another. Indeed, the small size of the town facilitates this interaction so, for example, while many of the newly built housing estates are inhabited predominantly by Brazilian households, there is not the same degree of residential segregation as may exist in bigger towns or cities. Moreover, while Brazilians do go to Brazilian shops to buy specific products, all of my respondents said that they shopped in one or more of Gort's supermarkets, which now stock plenty of beans and rice. Parenthetically, branches of the supermarkets Lidl and Aldi have opened up in the town in the last two years, and there is talk of a branch of Tesco being built. In addition, Siobhan told me that she had started stocking Brazilian products since half of her customers are Brazilian:

*I was worried about what they were eating. I started asking people to write down what kind of*

*food they would like ... Now we always get limes in for example (05.06.08).*

Siobhan's shop is also a meeting place for Gort Brazilians, as well as place to find work as she spreads the word to Irish people who are looking for cleaners and labourers. Moreover, Siobhan has taken a Portuguese course, though she says she rarely needs to speak it nowadays as so many more of the Brazilians speak English.

Schools are also fundamental places of interaction between Brazilian and Irish children in Gort, and for their parents who bring their children to and from school and attend parents' evenings, and so on. Approximately 40% of children in the main primary school and 10% of children at the secondary school are Brazilian and this has undoubtedly had a major impact on the educational environments. Both schools have taken steps to accommodate the growing numbers of Brazilian pupils, employing at least one Portuguese-speaking teacher, and even establishing an 'immersion year' for new arrivals during which they can get their English up to a level in order to participate in the relevant classes.

Of course, it has not been totally free of problems, and Claire told me about the challenges that they had faced coping with some of the 'cultural' differences between Brazilian and Irish pupils and the language barriers. On the whole, however, the new pupils have been welcomed. Moreover, education is clearly a key factor contributing to the decision of many Brazilians to stay longer. Beatriz told me that the most positive thing for her family about living in Gort is,

*the education for my daughter, and the cultural experience - it opens your mind. For the Brazilian kids here in Gort the education they are getting will influence their lives forever (17.06.08). (9)*

My research visit to Gort in June coincidentally coincided with the 'Quadrilha' carnival, a traditional Brazilian (originally Portuguese) festival to celebrate St John's day, which has taken place annually in Gort's main square for the last five years. The event was organised by volunteers within the Brazilian community,

including one of my interviewees, Maria, who choreographed many of the traditional dances and helped put together the costumes. People were dressed in extravagant, brightly coloured outfits and, as well as the music and dancing, there were stands serving Brazilian food and drinks. The festival went ahead despite the heavy rain, and there were some Irish as well as Brazilian participants dancing and enjoying the atmosphere. Thus for one day each year, Gort's main square takes on an entirely different identity, becoming re-imagined and re-fashioned by Brazilians living in Gort.

### **Barriers to Structural Integration**

This paper has so far discussed some dimensions of the 'integration' of Brazilians in Gort. I have suggested that the widely positive image projected by the media is to some extent justified, as there seems to be a general sense of mutual tolerance and respect among Irish and Brazilians living in the town. There is also, without doubt, an acknowledgement on both sides of the town's transformation, which is perceived by most as a positive change for both economic and cultural reasons. Yet my focus has been on the practices and adjustments of immigrants, and indeed local residents, with little discussion of the policies of the Irish state. The former reveals strong levels of what Snel et al call "social and cultural integration" (2003: 287), and in other ways exemplifies Vertovec's notion of "civil-integration" (2007a).

A focus on state policies, however, and a deeper examination of the lives of many Brazilians in Gort, reveals considerable barriers to "structural integration" (i.e. their participation in "central societal institutions", Snel et al, 2003: 299). Twenty-nine of the forty-five people I interviewed were undocumented, and this undoubtedly has a major impact on their lives, as many live in fear of deportation and as such are reluctant to claim their rights. Tereza replied when I asked her if she went for support at the town's Family Resource Centre,

*No, I don't ask anyone ... I'm always scared that I may be deported. I'd rather work quietly, not draw attention to myself for anything and stay here, than risk being sent away (09.06.08). (10)*

Moreover, many of those who are undocumented are afraid to leave, as they fear they would not be able to come back again. Magda remarked,

*I don't know what to do...because the first year that you're here, you come across many obstacles. And gradually you overcome all the obstacles...and now I have, how shall I put it, victory, in my hands...and I'm going to go back. But I'm scared to go back and, as lots of Brazilians who have gone back have found, to have nothing again and not be able to come back here (11.06.08). (11)*

It may be argued that some “structural changes” have taken place at the local level in Gort through, for example, the establishment of the ‘immersion year’ at the local school, and the tolerant attitude of the Gardaí. As Vasta writes,

*“[m]utual accommodation is not just about cultural recognition, but about structural changes where necessary and ensuring structural equality for ethnic minorities” (2007: 26).*

In Gort, however, these structural changes are not official, so for many immigrants, the future remains uncertain. The local community may well turn a ‘blind eye’ to immigration status, and to the large number of Brazilians in the town, as currently the situation is beneficial to all. However, as immigration policies become increasingly restrictive throughout Western receiving societies, the sustainability of this situation is doubtful. It thus remains to be seen whether this extremely positive example of ‘integration’ will continue or whether these predominantly happy, hardworking and law-abiding migrants will be the first to bear the brunt of future economic, political and legislative shifts.

### **Conclusion**

This brief insight into the everyday lives and experiences of Brazilian immigrants in Gort reveals the complex ways in which transnational practices and processes of adaptation and integration are interrelated. While the Brazilian community is inherently diverse, the majority engage in practices that

reflect the forging of a common sense of Brazilian identity in the town and facilitate the maintenance of ties to people and places in Brazil. Moreover, such practices, and the places in which they are carried out, have in fact facilitated the immigrants’ attachment to Gort and their sense of belonging there.

However, while this study corroborates the notion that transnationalism and integration can be complementary as opposed to contradictory, it also suggests that academics and researchers need to move beyond this important recognition and explore how such insights can be constructive in making concrete changes in the lives of immigrants. A “bottom-up perspective” (Favell 2003: 15) on the processes and practices of adaptation and place-making among Brazilians in Gort does suggest that integration is occurring as Brazilians play an increasingly important role in the social and cultural life in Gort. However, the ‘top-down’ actions and policies of the Irish (and EU) government create and reinforce barriers to structural integration, barriers that are becoming increasingly hard to penetrate. Lentin writes,

*“despite an explicit admittance that in order to maintain economic growth, Ireland is in need of immigrant labour, the state is doing all it can to restrict immigration” (2007: 616).*

Restrictive measures include frequent cases of deportation, the increasing scarcity of work permits for non-EU workers, and the passing of ever more restrictive legislation, such as the removal of “birth-right citizenship for the children of migrants” in 2004 (Ibid: 610).

Increasing numbers of Gort Brazilians are undocumented and live in fear of deportation, despite the fact that the local community have chosen to ignore this fact in recognition of the vital role that the Brazilians play to the local economy. However, as Vertovec writes, “group inter-relations are closely dependent on the existence or absence of competition for local resources and services” (2007a: 5). As the Irish economy has begun to take a downturn, cracks will very likely appear in the apparently harmonious co-existence of Brazilians and Irish

in Gort, and questions will arise as to the future prospects of the situation. Already for new arrivals in Gort, work is much harder to come by, and more and more are choosing to go back to Brazil (Mac Cormaic 2008; Pereira 2008). Integration is thus revealed to be limited as state policies continue to pay little heed to the

actual practices and experiences of immigrants themselves, and to the undeniable benefits they provide for the national economy, working for low wages in vital sectors of the labour market.

Olivia Sheringham

## **Notes**

1 Olivia Sheringham is a PhD candidate in the Department of Geography, Queen Mary, University of London. Her doctoral research examines notions of transnationalism and integration among Brazilian migrants in London. Her academic background is in Modern Languages and Latin American Area Studies. More recently this has developed into an interest in Latin American immigrants and their experiences of living across borders. I gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Economic and Social Research Council. I would like to thank Dr Cathy McIlwaine from Queen Mary, University of London for her helpful discussions when writing this article. I would also like to thank Frank Murray for all his help with organising my visit to Gort, as well as his support and friendship while I was there. My deepest gratitude also goes to all the Brazilian and Irish families and individuals who participated in this study through generously sharing their time with me, and without whom this research would not have been possible.

2 IOM, 2006: 187.

3 The meat factory in fact closed down in September 2007.

4 Kivisto, 2001: 571

5 'Eu acho que os irlandeses têm um tipo de vida e os brasileiros têm outro e ali, não existe integração. Mas existe alguns que têm mais contacto, que têm mais integração - têm famílias que são misturadas - irlandeses casados com brasileiros - com crianças irlandesas. Y também no copo do mundo você já vê irlandeses vestidos no kit do Brasil. Muitos. Com bandeiras brasileiras.'

6 '... cresci muito de viver aqui na Irlanda. A experiência que a gente pega aqui, não só de dinheiro mas de experiência mesmo - a gente aprende a economizar, a gente aprenda a viver, aprende a respeitar e a ser respeitado...passa muitas dificuldades - é tudo parte de um crescimento. Hoje eu me sento uma outra pessoa - cresci demais - mentalmente, e espiritualmente.'

7 '...porque eu tenho filhos adolescentes - um rapaz de 17 anos, então para ele no Brasil - e difícil conviver lá. Por causa da violência, de homicídios. Da droga. Então ele também optou de ficar aqui.'

8 'antes os irish devem pensar - quem é isso que chega aqui - o sudamericano, da favela, hoje não - acho que já depois de um tempo eles vêem que trabalhamos, fazendo cleaner casas de irlandeses eles vêem que os brasileiros não são aquele imagem de sexy - eles vêem que as mulheres brasileiras são responsáveis, são organizadas, trabalhadoras - principalmente que são trabalhadoras - e isso foi mudando a idéia.'

9 'Então, eu acho que o positivo é para a educação da minha filha e a parte cultural - a mente abre demais. Para as crianças que estão em Gort a parte positiva é que aquela educação vá influir a futura de elas.'

10 'Não falo com ninguém de eles [family resource centre]. Fico sempre com medo que me deportem, prefiro trabalhar quietinha, não chamar a atenção a nada...para fazer tudo.'

11 'Não sei se vou ficar...não sei que vai passar...a gente fica em dois mundos diferentes...porque o primeiro ano que a gente está aqui a gente enfrenta muitos obstáculos. E depois você empece a superar todos os obstáculos. E agora eu tenho como se diz, vitória, na mão...e eu vou voltar. E ali tenho um medo de voltar e [...] não ter nada de novo.'

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## **Santiago FitzSimon: Promoting Technical Education in Argentina**

By Nancy R. Escobar

Translated by Tony Phillips

### **Abstract**

*The influx of migrants from Ireland into the Argentine Confederation began in the 1840s as Ireland was experiencing a considerable agricultural crisis. The Great Famine led its rural population to migrate to towns and cities and abroad. According to Juan Carlos Korol and Hilda Sabato, this migration had all of the characteristics of a massive exodus. The Irish settlers were driven as much by hunger and poverty as by their yearning to make their fortunes in the Southern Cone. For them, Argentina was a land of promise, albeit a faraway one. A large proportion of the Irish immigrants gravitated toward rural agricultural production as farm workers and many later became part of the expanding Argentine rural bourgeoisie (Korol and Sabato 1981). Although the majority of Irish immigrants dedicated themselves to the agricultural field, an important group chose instead to work in education. Some founded scholarly institutions while others took up jobs in the emerging Argentine State sector - this article examines the latter group. Santiago FitzSimon worked in the Argentine public educational sector. He approached his work with a pioneering spirit in several educational fields. He is responsible for the inclusion of technical, commercial and physical education in national schoolbooks. What follows is a review of Santiago FitzSimon's working life and his contributions to the ontology of the Argentine education system.*

### **Santiago FitzSimon and Technical Education**

The educator Santiago (born James) FitzSimon was born in Ennis, in County Clare, Ireland, on 15 April 1849. His father, who also worked in the educational sector, was the lawyer Patrick FitzSimon. The latter arrived in Buenos Aires on 12 October 1862, and settled in the town of Lobos (province of Buenos Aires) with his wife Bidelia Kelly and their children.

In the district of Lobos, his father founded the Irish College (where Santiago himself studied). In 1867, Santiago began his teaching studies, first at the Paraná School and later at the National School of Corrientes. In the latter school President Domingo F. Sarmiento, appointed Patrick FitzSimon as rector. Besides this, Patrick FitzSimon was also professor of history and of mathematics. Santiago's first forays into the teaching world followed in his father's footsteps, who had also had a distinguished career in Argentine education. As such, when Patrick FitzSimon died of yellow fever in 1871, his son was appointed rector in the same school to replace him. It was in this first position that Santiago FitzSimon began to excel in his educational pursuits, developing a

reputation as a virtuous, simple and austere man.

From the earliest phases in Argentine nation-building, the construction of the educational system was much debated. In dispute was the direction that the nation should take in developing public education. A large debate developed over the relative roles of moral and scientific education, the subject of much discourse among Argentine intellectuals at the time. One of the main proponents of a technical-practical orientation was Juan Bautista Alberdi (1), who considered that this strategy would present a unique opportunity to counter the country's underdevelopment. Alberdi argued for an educational system based on the arts and on the sciences supporting industry. By basing the system on these pillars he hoped that the knowledge thus disseminated could offer immediate and concrete benefits.

Although the activities of Santiago FitzSimon post-date Alberdi's writings, his activities in the educational sector closely parallel this jurist's writings. Under the Presidency of José Evaristo Uriburu (1895-1898) the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction Antonio Bermejo entrusted to FitzSimon the direction of the Industrial

School of the Nation, later better known as the Otto Krause School.

Before founding that industrial educational establishment, FitzSimon was part of the group commissioned to set out their ideas on technical education, by evaluating the relative benefits offered by this form of education. Furthermore they were asked to formulate a programme by which this form of education could be incorporated into the school system. The advantages of incorporating manual labour skills were such that the commission presided over by FitzSimon considered the possibility of beginning this educational activity at the primary level. According to FitzSimon, labour-orientated education should be adapted to the requirements of educating all subjects.

The Irish educator claimed that children showed a natural tendency towards manual labour. This inclination, demonstrated by their love of games, was for FitzSimon an indication of the advantages that could be gained by the adoption of a rational plan for labour-orientated education. As a result of this report presented by FitzSimon and his fellow commissioners, the President of the Republic decreed on 2 May 1895, in the capital Buenos Aires that a workshop be created in manual education. This new establishment would have as its aim the preparation of teachers in the skills of manual education. Again FitzSimon was commissioned to develop this new institution for which he resigned his position of director of the National School of Commerce. One of his responsibilities was the search for a suitable building in which to carry out these activities and the preparation of the budget for the necessary equipment for its launch.

The curriculum for the Normal School of Teachers of the Capital was to be based mainly on the Swedish system *Slojd* (meaning manual labour or small industry). According to feedback from the teachers who had applied that system, it was the best among the proven systems (FitzSimon and Pizzurno 1896). Undoubtedly Santiago FitzSimon believed that the best way to educate children was manually. With such a methodology it was specifically hoped that the child's ability for manual labour

would be developed. By building up the muscular tone of the bodies of the children it was assumed that the child would be convinced that order and exactitude were essential requirements for a future in which they would excel and prosper. The aspirations for education in manual work were such that it was postulated that it might awaken in the pupil the praxis and even love for manual labour, and that it would promote spontaneity and originality. Manual education was much more than the mere preparation of the child for the workforce; it also entailed aspects which were designed to awaken a taste for the aesthetic and to stimulate the imagination, without leading the child astray.

Years later, having implemented courses for manual labour in Argentine schools, FitzSimon was sent to the United States of America and to Europe to acquire new study materials and to contract teachers to give classes in Argentine schools. This intention was never realised, as FitzSimon considered that Argentina already had an adequate supply of educated teachers to develop this education. As part of this study trip, FitzSimon visited the city of London so as to inform his Government as to the characteristics of their local educational systems. Having visited numerous primary, secondary, normal, technical and commercial schools in London, FitzSimon emphasised and applauded the industrial tendency of the London colleges, and also the excellent organisation demonstrated in the city's education system. He lamented the fact that the Argentine schools did not follow this same path (FitzSimon 1903-1904).

As to the Argentine system, FitzSimon drew attention to the lack of certain subjects in the curricula such as the lack of physics and chemistry. Although the state of national labour education presented challenges, he approved of the fact that the new curriculum of the Minister Juan Fernández allocated six hours to sciences and hoped that those hours would indeed be used in that manner. However, for FitzSimon the fact that students received sufficient hours of laboratory and workshop experience was the exclusive responsibility of the principals of the

schools, because both teachers and students in Argentina demonstrated a great capacity to bring this to fruition.

### **Other Spheres of Activity**

Santiago FitzSimon held positions in public service, spanning several Government administrations. Besides being responsible for the foundation of labour education in Argentine schools under the second Presidency of Julio A. Roca (1898-1904), the educator was responsible for reorganising young men's correctional establishments. His work influenced the foundation in 1904 of Marcos Paz, a model institution for abandoned children (Albornoz u/d).

FitzSimon's demonstrable competence in the field won him the confidence of several Ministers of Education who called on him for various tasks. During the administration of José Figueroa Alcorta (1906-1910) FitzSimon performed the functions of Chief Inspector for Secondary Education while continuing in the role of Director of the School of Commerce (2).

FitzSimon conducted several reforms to modernise the School of Commerce. He changed the curricula and educational methodologies. Besides technical education, the Irish educator was a great promoter of commercial education. Towards end of the nineteenth century, and even more so in the early years of the twentieth century, industrial production in Argentina experienced considerable growth. FitzSimon hoped that the education imparted in these institutions would further the needs of industry. Technical and commercial schools were redirected to the preparation of children and teenagers for the working world. With signs of economic growth and material progress, numerous commercial schools were opened throughout Argentina. FitzSimon was tasked with their foundation and their organisation. One of the more important and prestigious commercial schools, the above-mentioned School of Commerce was put under the direction of FitzSimon.

Apart from technical and commercial education, Santiago FitzSimon was also an innovator in physical education. At the Corrientes National School, which he directed from the death of his father, he contracted Professor Thomas C. T. Reeve in 1888 to give classes in physical exercise. This teacher had undertaken his studies at the University of Cambridge, England. In the Corrientes National School, under the auspices of FitzSimon, Reeve practised the first outdoor games with his students in much the same way as in English schools at the time.

The introduction of physical education (started by FitzSimon when he was principal of the Corrientes National School) was repeated when he held the position of Chief Inspector of Public Instruction, with the support of Minister of Education Juan Balestra. Physical exercise, especially in athletics and soccer, was incorporated into the curricula of all national schools.

It is interesting to note that besides his public functions, FitzSimon developed various activities in different aspects of national culture: he was a member of the National Committee of Boy Scouts in Argentina, and was for many years the head of the English Literary Society. He organised the Library of the Corrientes National School, and in addition founded the Buenos Aires Popular Library.

The figure of Santiago FitzSimon was a favourite among the national political leadership, especially those connected with education, as is evident in the speeches of various civil servants on the occasion of his death on 22 August 1925. During his funeral, the Argentine jurist José Leon Suárez delivered a speech emphasising his austerity, simplicity and virtues (Cutolo 1985).

Like many Irish founders of Argentine schools, Santiago FitzSimon contributed to improving the education service and he also engaged in public service. His reports on labour-orientated education led directly to the development of technical education in Argentina, rapidly developing throughout the twentieth century. His contributions to the Argentine education

system in the fields of technical, commercial, and physical instruction bear witness to the modernising spirit of the Irish educator. He developed a remarkable career in public service, starting as the rector of the Corrientes National School and reaching its peak in his highest

position: General Inspector for Secondary Education.

Nancy R. Escobar

## Notes

1 Juan Bautista Alberdi was an Argentine intellectual, who with his best-known work *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina* provided inspiration for the Argentine Constitution of 1853.

2 Translator's note: Escuela Superior de Comercio, a secondary level school now administered by the University of Buenos Aires and known as Escuela Superior de Comercio Carlos Pellegrini. Website: <http://www.cpel.uba.ar/> (accessed 13 March 2009).

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**Reviews**

**Enrique García Hernán and Óscar Recio Morales (eds.),  
*Extranjeros en el Ejército: militares irlandeses  
en la sociedad española, 1580-1818***

By David Barnwell



Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2007  
422 pages, ISBN: 978-84-978-342-6

This volume has its origin in a seminar held in Madrid in June 2006, though it is unclear whether the collection of essays may be considered as proceedings of the conference. The book is composed of eighteen essays, divided into five sections, together with an Introduction and a closing bibliographical review.

The first section places the study of Irish involvement in Spanish military affairs within the context of the widespread use of foreign soldiers in the armies of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In one of the essays, Óscar Recio Morales draws attention to the wealth of research on Irish emigration to English-speaking countries, as contrasted with a much smaller number of studies of Irish migration to continental Europe. Recio Morales points out that Irish historians, perhaps because of their monolingualism and inability to work with non-English language sources, have in many cases been unable to exploit the *riquísimo* store of archival material in other languages. He does however cite a number of historians, beginning with Micheline Kerney Walsh, who did have the research tools to work with the original

documentation. In the subsequent essay, Jane Ohlmeyer stresses the fact that the Irish were not the only nationality from these islands to serve abroad. English and Scottish forces of volunteers or mercenaries fought in a number of campaigns on the continent. Ohlmeyer also offers the rather startling statistic that at one period in the seventeenth century the annual migration of Irish males to serve in Europe exceeded 10% of the entire population.

The second section consists of five articles which in one way or another study the presence of Irish in the armies of Habsburg Spain, essentially Spain of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra shows how vast and shifting the borders were, mental borders it might be said, of the Hispanic world's sphere of interest. They ranged in a sweep from Cuzco and Havana in the far west to the Balkans and the Maghreb, from the shores of North Africa up to the chilly Scottish and Irish coasts. It poses the question of how the Spanish regarded Ireland, in relation to their countless interests elsewhere. What view did they take of Irish society and of Gaelic culture? It seems that the Irish in their homeland were often seen as *salvajes y bárbaros*,

yet, once in Spain and adopted by the Spanish Court, those same people were recognised and respected to a greater degree than refugees from other lands. The key factor, according to the author, was the Catholicism of the Irish. Editorially, this first article might have been better followed by the third in the section, Porfirio Sanz Camañes' consideration of a similar theme, "Irlanda en el archipiélago atlántico". Here the author gives us a useful reminder that in the great game of seventeenth century *Realpolitik*, Spain was not always in direct confrontation with England. There were periods, such as the Gondomar (Spanish Ambassador to England) era in the early decades of the century, when the two countries gingerly sought to establish a *modus vivendi*, and when non-belligerence represented a mutually beneficial policy.

The second contribution in this section, by Enrique García Hernán, deals with the events at Smerwick in County Kerry in 1580 and their consequences. The article stresses how the Spanish landing and subsequent slaughter by English forces was still fresh in people's memory at the time of the Battle of Kinsale. Indeed, perhaps the thought of the massacre at Smerwick made many in Southwest Munster hesitate before flocking to Don Juan de Águila's standard two decades later. It was an atrocity even by the standards of the day - hundreds of foreign soldiers and Irish civilians were slain in cold blood by the English. It is perhaps odd that an account of what happened at Smerwick, as opposed to discussion of its wider context and consequences, merits so little detail in the article.

The last two articles in this section can be taken together. Declan Downey offers an examination of the Milesian myth that underpinned the Spanish-Irish alliance for centuries, and gave the exiled Gaelic nobility the confidence to view themselves as equals of the courtiers of Spain. In the famous phrase of the Conde de Caracena, the Irish were *nuestros hermanos, los españoles del norte*. It is striking that Spain, a country which perhaps more than any other in Europe was obsessed with *limpieza de sangre*, recognised and upheld the class system,

titles and genealogy of Gaelic Ireland. This was in contrast to English-dominated Ireland, where succession rights of Catholics were suppressed for long periods. Downey's treatment of Milesianism is adequate, but it should be considered that surely this pervasive and influential foundation myth merits a full book-length study. Well into the nineteenth century Maturin's "Milesian Chief" and Clarence Mangan's evocation of the "high Milesian race" give testimony to its resonance in Irish culture. The final essay in this section analyses the role of Franciscan priests in Irish military units in Spain. The paper dwells on the great and abiding service to the Irish language and culture rendered in Spanish Flanders by priests such as Aodh Mac Aingil [Hugh McCaghwell] and Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire [Florence Conry], or by soldiers such as Somhairle Mac Dómhnaill [Sorley MacDonnell], who ordered the gathering of ancient Fenian literature into the compendium known as the *Duanaire Finn*.

The third section moves forward to the eighteenth century, to the presence of the Irish in Bourbon Spain. It begins with another essay by Recio Morales, on the *modelo irlandés* in the army. The author sees no huge breach for the Irish between the armies of Habsburg Spain and those of the later Bourbons. Irish soldiers were more integrated into the Spanish Army than mercenaries from other European countries. Evidence of this is provided by the fact that many among their ranks were conferred with membership of one or other of the prestigious military orders associated with the Spanish Crown. There were of course differences as the centuries progressed. For example, the authorities in Ireland connived in the migration of Irish soldiers for a large part of the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century we see a change, with ever more stringent efforts to bring an end to the tradition. This operated in parallel with the opening up of the British Army to Catholics. Interestingly, Recio Morales finds an increasing sense of Irish nationality, rather than loyalty to clan or identification with region, as the eighteenth century wore on.

The author also draws attention to the rise in French recruitment in the later period. Of course many of those who originally had gone to France later proceeded to Spain, Ricardo Wall providing a prominent example, albeit at a generation's remove. Recruitment for Spain met with varied success. Perhaps the greatest failure described by Recio Morales is the effort by Peter Sherlock to export a battalion of soldiers from Southeast Ireland around 1720. Hundreds of would-be émigrés were apprehended by the authorities in places such as Dungarvan, and were lucky not to be hanged. Another of the many interesting insights offered in this article comes in the form of sample details of information about Irish soldiers. We read, for example, that in the mid-eighteenth century Francisco Lacey was a captain in the Ultonia regiment. He was twelve years old. Francisco was something of a veteran when compared to his namesake, Francisco Comerford, who joined the "Irlanda" regiment as a cadet at the age of eight.

Aside from the human interest of such stories, they serve to remind us how the Irish, stripped of their lands and titles in their homeland, were left in Spain with nothing to pass on to their heirs save a place in the military. Casualty rates among the Irish were extraordinarily high, and few of those lucky enough to survive into old age remained in one piece. We read of a captain in the Limerick regiment who had had his right arm blown off but was still recommended as fit for promotion, or a 56-year-old officer in the Irlanda regiment who soldiered on, even though he was quite blind. There were also many cases of what today would be termed psychological disabilities. This excellent account of the Irish in the eighteenth-century army ends with a brief examination of the role of Irish women. Many of these were widowed, and forced to write endless memorials asking for support for themselves or lobbying for advancement for their sons.

In the second article in this section Colm Ó Conaill sets Irish emigration to Spain against that to France. He notes how the two countries' armies can be thought of as having an inverse relationship. The Spanish Army was

larger early on, but then decreased in numbers. The French Army was much smaller in the early seventeenth century, but grew to some 400,000 a hundred years later. Of course, since the Bourbons were monarchs of both countries, by then movement from the French army to that of Spain was fairly easy for Irish veterans of disbanded regiments in France. The third article, by Diego Téllez Alarcia, questions whether an "Irish party" can be said to have existed in the eighteenth-century Spanish Court. He finds that it is not until the mid-century, during the tenure of Ricardo Wall, that an effective *partido irlandés* can be detected. Finally in this section, Francisco Andújar Castillo offers a more exhaustive treatment of a topic that has been aired earlier, namely the social and family ties that developed among the Irish in Spain and Spanish America. Not all the Irish stayed within these networks, however; the author traces the offspring of Dionisio O'Brien, governor of Málaga, as the family rather quickly moved into mainstream Spanish society.

The three articles in the fourth section move across the Atlantic to study aspects of the Irish presence in colonial Spanish America. First we have "La llegada de irlandeses a la frontera caribeña hispana" by Igor Pérez Tostado, in which the author opens up an area which has remained somewhat unknown, namely Irish emigration to the Caribbean in the seventeenth century. Rather than pushing on to far-off Lima or Mexico, the author shows that the Irish concentrated on the island of Hispaniola, whether they had arrived via Spain or directly from Ireland. An Irish community existed on the island from as early as the 1630s, while several fruitless projects were undertaken for large-scale colonisation by Irish people. Often the Irish compared their situation to that of the enslaved Africans, both peoples stripped of their patrimony and forcibly exiled from their native land, though the author nowhere suggests that the plight of the Irish truly approached that of the slaves. Indeed, in what might evince a wry smile from many Irish readers, Pérez Tostado mentions that the authorities on the island complained that other nationalities were masquerading as Irish in

order to enjoy the benefits reserved for that nation.

In the next article Juan Marchena Fernández moves the focus forward to the eighteenth century. He observes that the Irish in colonial Spain were not always popular with other Spanish forces. Happily for Irish self-regard, Marchena assigns this poor opinion to jealousy on the part of the badly-drilled provincial units. More importantly, the author finds among the Irish military the same names that would subsequently rise to prominence as traders and merchants in Latin America. The last essay, titled “El grupo irlandés entre el siglo XVIII y el XIX”, by Jorge Chauca García, offers a biographical sketch of Ambrosio O’Higgins, a figure who has received less attention than his son, but whose achievements the author shows to be no less impressive.

The closing contributions in this volume consist of a rather technical report on “Archives and new technologies” by Patrick Maher and Thomas O’Conner, which describes steps in the creation of a computerised data base of eighteenth-century military data from France. It appears to have much in common with the Recio Morales CD cited below. (1) The section closes with another article by Pérez Tostado, in which he sums up the papers and offers some thoughts on where the field of study may now be going. Among other suggestions, he calls for greater study of the earlier period, stressing the need to look outside of Spain, to France, Portugal and the New World. Finally, Recio Morales returns once more, with a very useful review of the bibliography on Irish contacts with the Hispanic world.

A review such as this present one perforce does less than justice to its subject, since it offers room for only a few sentences on each of what in this case are lengthy and comprehensive treatments of their subjects. Indeed, the content in this case is rich enough that another reviewer might well pick a whole set of other topics to comment upon. Outside of the content, the volume is useful for its bibliography alone, both the references cited in

each article, and the Recio Morales bibliography.

I will close with a few thoughts that occurred to me as I read the papers. Some of these arise from matters mentioned in this volume, but which to my non-specialist mind appear to merit fuller study. Several articles agree that Catholicism was the principal identifier for the Irish in Spain. But did the Irish in Spain seek to preserve their cultural and linguistic traditions? Most of the soldiers were Irish-speaking - how long did the Irish language survive? Did it manage to pass from one generation to the next? Was there anything else that might have preserved Irish identity? What about education? We can assume that the children of the lower ranks received little or none, but were Irish schoolmasters employed for the higher orders? The situation of Irish women also calls for a lot more investigation. How many Irish women emigrated with their men, and what did they do in Spain? Also, what about the Irish who stayed at home? What relationship did they maintain with their cousins in Spain, and how long did the link persist before distance dimmed it? There was onward migration from Spain, though that too needs further study, but was there much reverse migration in the form of Irish people coming back to Ireland for whatever reason? We know, for example, that Art Ó Laoghaire, whose murder in County Cork provoked his wife to compose perhaps the finest love poem in Gaelic literature, had served as an officer in the Austro-Hungarian Army.

It would also be worthwhile to try to establish something of an idea of Spanish attitudes to the large Irish presence in their country, especially in the army. Resentment of the Irish for their *espíritu de partido, mui común entre los yrlandeses* certainly did exist (Recio Morales alludes to this, but it deserves a concentrated study). It would be interesting to see this research linked in with study of the figure of the Irishman in *Siglo de Oro* and later Spanish literature.

One last suggestion; this book concentrates on the military tradition, and covers it very well. But there were lots of Irish people in Spain who were not soldiers. There were figures such

as Guillermo Bowles, the Corkman who became one of the principal scientists of eighteenth-century Spain, Pedro Alonso O’Crowley, author of the *Idea compendiosa del reyno de Nueva España*, or the Irish priests Higgins and Connelly who compiled the massive *Diccionario Nuevo y Completo de las Lenguas Española e Inglesa* towards the end of that same century. Undoubtedly there were dozens of other non-military Irish contributors to their adopted homeland. These should now be chronicled.

A number of minor criticisms of the text may be offered. The inclusion of maps would have been desirable - there are just one or two small sketched ones, both of Ireland and Spain. If available, portraits of some of the people mentioned, perhaps with illustrations of some of the places, would have added to the book’s interest. Regrettably, the volume is marred by quite a high number of typographical errors. Irish language words are misspelled, but then so are English words and Spanish words. Even the name of one contributor (O’Conell) is misspelled. In no way do the errors detract from our understanding of the work, but there are enough of them to suggest that stricter proof-reading was needed, admittedly a difficult task in this case.

There is a further, more substantive linguistic defect in the book. Many citations are given in translation, with no citing of the fundamental original. This is not good practice. While translations should certainly be supplied as a courtesy, the original text should be given as it is supreme. On the other hand, some texts are not translated at all, a case in point being a letter in French to Louis XV, in which Georges de la Roche appeals for the Irish in France to be accorded the same status as they enjoyed in Spain. This is quite a long document, and

merited an accompanying translation from the French for the purposes of the present work. Of course, that translation would have had to be to English and Spanish. The book’s index is entirely in Spanish, even though five of the pieces are in English.

These are small caveats, perhaps, but they are exemplary of a persistent issue in the case of this research field. There are Spanish historians writing in their language, and Irish historians writing in English. I do not know how competent each group is in the other’s language. As the research literature in this area continues to grow, a useful task would be to set up a clearing-house where the work in one language could be translated to the other. In fact, it can be argued that to truly understand the Irish in Spain, the seventeenth-century in particular, the historian should know English, Spanish and Irish (and maybe also Latin!). There is surely no doubt that the majority of the Irish who went to Spain were Irish-speaking; should not historians know something of the language and culture of the people they are studying?

Over the past decade or two there has been a rapid growth in the historiography of Ireland and the Hispanic world. The research impetus was spurred on by the commemorations of the Battle of Kinsale and the Flight of the Earls, and in Spain by a renewed interest in Spanish military history. A vast amount of new source material has been uncovered, to the point where the history of the Irish in Spanish-speaking countries can now be seen as an important field within the general discipline. This book is an important addition to that literature.

David Barnwell

## Notes

1. Recio Morales, Óscar, *La presencia irlandesa en los ejércitos de la monarquía hispánica, 1580-1818. The Irish military presence in the Spanish Armies, 1580-1818*. (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2007). ISBN: 978-84-9781-329- 7. (CD)

## **Editors' Reply**

Translated by Claire Healy

This volume originates from the seminar that took place in Madrid (June 2006) with the title “The Irish nation in the Hispanic army and society (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries)”, the first international meeting of the I+D+I National Plan Research Project of the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science “The Irish community in the Hispanic Monarchy (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries): identity and social integration” (Director: Enrique García Hernán, High Council for Academic Research, Madrid). The primary concern of the authors was to give the volume the cohesion that is not normally associated with conference proceedings, where the themes and dates selected by the authors are very diverse. This was the reason for the clear division into five major thematic sections, with an introduction and a commentated bibliographical appendix. Another important concern of the editors was to pose questions that would inspire further research and for this reason we are very satisfied with all of the questions and constructive criticisms that David Barnwell makes in finalising his comments on the collection of articles.

Moving on to these, we provide some clarifications. In the article on “Foreigners and the Irish nation in the context of new military history”, Óscar Recio provocatively calls attention to the infinite possibilities offered by the Spanish archives and their meagre exploitation by Irish colleagues. In saying this, the author of course kept in mind the excellent work done by Irish historians such as Micheline Kearney-Walsh, however until very recently, there has been no follow-up in Ireland, as also happened in the case of Spain with work pioneered by Anglo-Saxon historians such as John H. Elliott or Geoffrey Parker in the 1960s and 1970s. Among young Irish academics already the need to have recourse to the original sources is recognised, for which a long period with Spanish archives and knowledge of the Spanish language are necessary. The examples of Fiona Clark (University of Belfast) or of Benjamin Hazard (UCD, Micheál Ó Cléirigh Institute) are clear examples of overcoming English monolingualism and seeking out direct sources in the original language (in this case, mostly in Spanish). On the figure of the Irish person and the literature of the Siglo de Oro, the authors found sufficient information in the book by another member of our group, Igor Pérez Tostado, *Irish influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008) and in Óscar Recio Morales’ *Ireland and the Spanish Empire 1600-1825* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, forthcoming). This present work concentrated on the military tradition, but of course studies of the Irish presence in the territories of the Hispanic Monarchy are currently being undertaken in a comprehensive way.

Finally, I fully agree about the need to include maps and illustrations, but in relation to this the editors had to take into account the preconditions of the publisher, on the one hand, and on the other, the time for publication. This could be improved upon, as David Barnwell points out and we will keep it in mind in the next edition of the proceedings of the conference convened recently in Seville with the title “Ireland and the Iberian Atlantic: Mobility, involvement and crosscultural exchange 1580–1823”, edited by Enrique García and Igor Pérez. In relation to the translations, where the texts were in English, Spanish or French we chose not to translate them, as they are main European languages.

In relation to the necessity for Irish in order to study the seventeenth century, it is true that the majority of the soldiers spoke Irish and there is evidence of this also in the eighteenth century. However, compared with the thousands of documents that appear in the Spanish archives in Spanish, documents written in Irish are rare. Of course this does not mean that a) they do not exist (nobody has been able to see all of the documentation) or b) that Irish was not spoken; it is simply that they did not leave documentation written in that language. As the primary and fundamental evidence for the historian is written documents, the Irish language would serve to analyse return migration in Ireland, but it is of limited use in the global context of the Spanish Empire. I am sure that if part of the impressive documentation were in Irish in the European continental archives, I would have no doubt whatsoever that we as Spanish historians would attempt to take basic courses in Gaelic during our

younger years as Erasmus students at Irish universities. This does not mean that we do not have to further deepen ties with Irish specialists and particularly with those who study literature and documentation that is conserved in Gaelic.

It remains for us to express our appreciation for the fine work of David Barnwell and the excellent undertakings of SILAS.

Enrique García Hernán, Óscar Recio Morales



## **Reviews**

### **Lourdes de Ita Rubio, *Viajeros isabelinos en la Nueva España***

By Cristina Borreguero Beltrán

Translated by David Barnwell



Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo. Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas. Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001. 230 pp.

There have been considerable advances in research on travel, travellers and travel literature in the New World. New and diverse readings have been offered, with reflections and interpretations of the sources from a variety of angles and perspectives: history, geography, art, literature, archaeology, politics, philology and science.

1999 saw the appearance of the influential book by José Luis Martínez: *Pasajeros a Indias: Viajes transatlánticos en el siglo XVI* (México, FCE). Here the author detailed the arrival of more than 1,522 foreigners to the Indies between 1493 and 1600, his figures based solely on the official registers. In 2001, Lourdes Ita Rubio published *Viajeros isabelinos en la Nueva España*, a study of the different groups of English who arrived in the Americas, specifically to New Spain (Mexico). Since then this line of research has widened, especially in Mexico. A prolific author in this area is Blanca López Mariscal, of the Instituto Tecnológico de Monterrey. In 2003 she wrote an article which can be linked to Ita Rubio's work. This was "*Otros hombres con libros ilustrados: viajeros ingleses a la Nueva España*

*en el siglo XVII*". (1) One year later she published her thesis *Relatos y relaciones de viaje al Nuevo Mundo: un acercamiento a la comprensión del género*. She is also author of the very interesting «Para una tipología del relato de viaje» in *Viajes y Viajeros*, Monterrey, 2006. Within her framework for the classification of travellers she analysed the stories of a number of women in New Spain in «El viaje a la Nueva España entre 1540 y 1625: el trayecto femenino» in *Historia de las mujeres en América Latina* (Universidad de Murcia and Centro de estudios sobre la mujer en la Historia de América Latina).

This field of study was given impetus by the Alexander Von Humboldt international conferences *Travel Literature to and from Latin America from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries*. Held in 2001, 2003 and 2005, these have given rise to the establishment of interdisciplinary and intercultural studies focused on the examination of tales of travel and travellers.

In the research on travel literature prominence should be given to the work *Viajeros isabelinos en la Nueva España*, (Elizabethan Travellers in New

Spain) awarded a Special Mention by the Fundación del Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. The author, from the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of the Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo (Mexico), is a member of the *Society for Irish Latin American Studies*, from which she has coordinated *A través del espejo: viajes, viajeros y la constitución de la alteridad en América Latina* (Morelia, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, 2005) and the Second Alexander Von Humboldt International Conference: *Viajes, viajeros y literatura de viajes hacia y desde México, América Latina y el Caribe, siglo XV al XX*, held in 2003. Here she herself presented work on the accounts left by the crew-members who were put ashore by John Hawkins in New Spain in 1568.

This excellent study *Viajeros isabelinos en la Nueva España* is based on the collection of testimonies by the various groups of English travellers who for one reason or another travelled to New Spain in the sixteenth century. Published in 2001, it is a reference work both for historians of the Americas and for those historians with a more modern focus who are becoming interested in this field of research.

While the presence of Spanish travellers and what they accomplished in the New World was well known, the same cannot be said of the role of English voyagers in the Colonial world. What is original about the work reviewed here is the multifaceted study of the different groups of English who arrived in New Spain. The history of Mexico had in reality been written generally from the point of view of Mexican or Spanish sources. This study, on the other hand, bases itself on English sources, and thus gives up new insights and perspectives.

The author's goals were, in the first place, to learn about the experiences of English travellers, the first non-Spanish Europeans in the New Spain of the sixteenth century. Secondly, she wished to see how English people viewed New Spain in that century, and what importance they attached to it. She sought to evaluate the geopolitical role of New Spain and finally, to consider how all these factors

affected how the territory of Mexico was organised four centuries ago. The primary source for this work is Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation made by sea or overland*, (published in twelve volumes by the University of Glasgow in 1903-1905 from Hakluyt's second edition of 1598-1600). In 1965 the Hakluyt Society published a two-volume facsimile of the London first edition of 1589 (Cambridge University Press, London and Toronto).<sup>\*</sup> This is an extremely important source for Spanish-language historians. Richard Hakluyt was at pains to record all the information that English travellers could give him and asked them to provide written testimony. Because it was based on these accounts, his work was crucial in forming a new paradigm as to how the Anglo-Saxon mind viewed the changed world order of the sixteenth century. Without his efforts in compiling the material, the history of England would have been written differently, as indeed would have been the impact of New Spain on the people of England. In this light, the *Principal Navigations* formed a crucial contribution to the historiography of Mexico. Other documentary sources for the study of English traders in New Spain include the *State Paper Rolls*, which house registries of their patents and ties to the court. Finally in addition to these sources, though secondary to them and not consulted directly by the author, is the documentation in the Archivo de Indias, specifically the Patronato Real or Mexico sections. Most prominent in the study of English pirates is Richard Hawkins' own work, edited by James Williamson, "*The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, from the Text of 1622 with Introduction Notes and Appendices*" (London, The Argonaut Press, 1933). This book was republished by the Da Capo Press in New York in 1968 as *The observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, knight, in his voiage into the South Sea. Anno Domini. 1593.* (London, Printed by I. D. for Ihon Iggard, and are to be sold at His shop at the Hand and Starre in Fleete-streete, neere the Temple Gate, 1622).

*Viajeros isabelinos* is composed of an introduction and three substantial chapters

which analyse the diverse experiences of the three groups of English citizens who travelled to the New World or lived there during the century. In her introduction, the author poses a central research question: Is it true that Spanish America was hermetically sealed to English trade? In some very original ways, however, the introduction offers a more general history of the relations between Spain and England.

The first chapter studies the English merchants who traded with Mexico during the sixteenth century. The second examines the activities in New Spain of John Hawkins, Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish. Finally, the third chapter considers the story of the 114 English sailors who were abandoned by John Hawkins on the Tampico coast after the battle of San Juan de Ulúa in Veracruz in 1568. The structure of the book is clear and well put together, though the author is guilty of occasional repetitions in various contexts and chapters. The author skillfully deals with three questions. What implications did the arrival of traders and pirates to New Spain pose for the Spanish Crown? And for England? And for New Spain?

While the Spanish Crown could incorporate English merchants in its own trading companies without jeopardising its monopolies, the advent of English pirates or corsairs posed grave threats, especially in the Pacific, hitherto considered a Spanish lake. For England, the arrival of merchants and pirates bringing all types of merchandise and booty from the New World supplied an attractive incentive for English traders and adventurers. At intervals of about a decade three English pirates arrived in New Spain: John Hawkins in 1568, Francis Drake in 1578 and Thomas Cavendish in 1587. These were to determine subsequent English sailing routes and conditions in New Spain. The battle of San Juan de Ulúa left its mark on Hawkins and especially on Drake, who from then on thought only of revenge for the “treachery” of the Spaniards. One of the main results of pirate raids on New Spain was the development of changes in the design of English ships. Hawkins’ efforts led to the remodelling of the Elizabethan Royal Navy, which in 1588 was to achieve its victory over

the Spanish Armada. Ironically, as the author points out, England’s\*\* eventual triumph owed much to what it learned from its failure at the Mexican port of San Juan de Ulúa.

Another event that had repercussions for English shipping was the arrival of Drake at Huatulco, then the Mexican Pacific’s international port. His appearance provoked panic through the Spanish colony, since till then the Pacific had been exclusively Spanish. This left its effects on the geography of New Spain, as it forced coastal settlements to be moved inland to avoid pillage by pirates. A third element of great moment was Thomas Cavendish’s voyage around the Strait of Magellan, for the first time open to English shipping. The capture and looting of the galleon *Santa Ana*, as it made its way from Manila was unprecedented. It demonstrated to the Spaniards their strategic weakness in defending the American Pacific. Spain had failed to construct sufficient or adequate fortifications on its vast American coasts.

The activities of pirates are well known to English-language historians. However, as Rod Lévésque of the *Society for the History of Discoveries* has pointed out, few have paid attention to the testimonies of two youths - Miles Philips and John Hortop - as published by Hakluyt. These attracted interest not so much for the fact that they, in company with 112 others, were cruelly marooned and abandoned by Hawkins on his way back to Europe, but rather for how they managed to survive. Miles Philips faced down every danger with intelligence and audacity, but Hortop’s fate was much more bitter. The former lived for fifteen years in New Spain and learned to speak Spanish and Nahuátl perfectly. Condemned and sentenced, he yet was able to reconcile himself with the Inquisition at Mexico City. At length he managed to return to England. In contrast, Job Hortop was seized by the authorities in New Spain, sent to Seville, and forced to serve in the galleys.

The author brings to life all of these characters and is able to situate their activities into the landscape of New Spain. The historical geography which underlies this study, receives support from no fewer than 13 maps.

Composed by the author herself, they provide a magnificent accompaniment to the text. The book is written in clear and non-technical language, with a clarity that maintains and indeed increases the reader's interest as he is introduced to different places and personalities. The two final appendices bring together in table form the various travellers who arrived in New Spain. In the first, we see a synthesis of the activities of the 16 English merchants who operated in New Spain between 1522 and 1585. The second table offers an overall view of a number of merchants, pirates and sailors who arrived in New Spain, and gives their experiences in that country, together with the varied fortunes they met as they came to terms with the country and sought to ply their trades.

The bibliography in this area is copious, but almost always from English sources. In general, the literature owes much to the work of historians such as Bernardo García Martínez or Peter Gerhard, and their studies of sixteenth century shipping, especially that of England's merchants and pirates, together with the formation of the Spanish Empire. Perhaps a pioneering work on the English travellers was that by Joaquín García Icazbalceta entitled *Relación de varios viajeros ingleses en la Ciudad de México y otros lugares de la Nueva España*. Madrid, 1963. But it is not just the travel literature which is becoming more extensive. The history of English pirates, particularly Hawkins, Drake and Cavendish, and indeed of piracy in general

in the New World, has attracted interesting studies in Spanish. For example, see José Antonio del Busto, "Los últimos corsarios isabelinos", in *Historia Marítima del Perú*. Tomo III, volumen 2, Lima, 1973.

The story of the marooned English is well known in Mexico and has been covered in many publications. The article by Samuel Temkin: Los méritos y servicios de Carvajal, 1567-1577 (Revista de Humanidades del Tecnológico de Monterrey, num. 21, pp. 147-186), chronicles the testimony given by Hortop and Phillips when they reached Tampico. There are also statements by Spanish witnesses of the encounter, and these show that the English were viewed with great suspicion, notwithstanding their dishevelled and defenceless condition.

Regrettably, this book lacks a geographic index, be it organised by place or by theme. But to sum up, the work reviewed here brings us on an emotion-filled journey to the New Spain of the sixteenth century, as we follow the English travellers from their disembarkation at the ports of Mexico. We see their first steps in the New World and their failures and successes. It is a journey made through English eyes, one that sees the reality of New Spain from a different perspective.

Cristina Borreguero Beltrán

## Notes

1. Published in the *Revista de Humanidades: Tecnológico de Monterrey*, n° 15, Autumn 2003.

## Author's Reply

Translated by Claire Healy

I thank Cristina Borreguero for her review of *Viajeros Isabelinos en la Nueva España* (FCE, México, 2001, 230 pp) and for her kind and interesting comments on my book. I wish only to refer to the penultimate paragraph of her review. In my opinion, the story of *los desembarcados*, (those put ashore by Hawkins at Pánuco in 1568) is, despite its importance, quite unknown in Mexico. It has attracted little treatment in Mexican historiography. The Battle of San Juan de Ulúa between the fleet of John Hawkins and that of the Viceroy Enríquez de Almansa has similarly received insufficient attention. I decided to use the term *los desembarcados* following the English sources. The term used to refer to the 114 Englishmen is that they were *put on shore* on the wild and dangerous north-eastern coast of New Spain. This term - *los desembarcados* - as well as the very structure of *Viajeros Isabelinos en la Nueva España* - was reused two years after its publication, in 2003. The author of the article in question was Blanca López de Mariscal, and

her title is very similar to that of the work reviewed by professor Borreguero: *Viajeros Ingleses en la Nueva España en el siglo XVI*. It was published in the journal of the Humanidades section of the Tecnológico of Monterrey, coincidentally the same review which in 2005 published the article by Samuel Temkin which the reviewer cites above. Temkin's article mentions, as I myself state in *Viajeros Isabelinos* (p.163), that the testimonies of Hortop and Philips refer to Luis de Carvajal, mayor of Tampico. This man was later to be condemned by the Inquisition as a secret Jew, a few years after the surviving marooned English sailors appeared before that body at Pánuco. In my view, prior to the publication of *Viajeros Isabelinos* in 2001, few Spanish-language historians had dealt with Philips, Hortop and the 114 "desembarcados" at Pánuco. Those who did so generally took as their source the translation to Spanish of the testimonies published by Hakluyt towards the end of the sixteenth century. These were done by Joaquín García Icazbalceta and published after his death by José Porrúa Turanzas. This may explain why the *Relación de varios viajeros ingleses* by Icazbalceta leaves out any mention of Hakluyt as source. It appears that the editors were unaware of it. As professor Borreguero indicates, one of the goals of my book was to establish the importance of different sources, specifically English, for their rich descriptiveness and their usefulness as accompaniment to other material. I hope to have achieved this to some degree.

My thanks to Cristina and to the editors of this journal.

Lourdes de Ita



## **Reviews**

### **Jean Ziegler, *La haine de l'Occident***

By Edmundo Murray



Paris: Albin Michel, 2008

Backcover, 299 pages, ISBN 978-2226186935, EUR 20.00

I find the genre of denunciation rather hard to read. Many books and articles include lengthy and detailed narratives of varied horrors. War, abuse, torture, corruption, human rights violations and destruction of natural resources are some of the condemned calamities, often in connection with conspiracy theories. Frequently, interpretation is silenced by wordy descriptions, and the analysis of the information comes in short supply. Referencing is often shockingly poor and the sources are not clearly stated. Some authors - with a predominance of journalists among them - feel that publishing less than 500-page books would not be considered serious. To complete the inventory of the genre, irony in this type of books is a rare jewel.

Jean Ziegler's new book is a refreshing exception to the rule. The latest addition to his long series of titles, chiefly in the domain of social sciences, *La haine de l'Occident* (1) is a welcome contribution to help to understand reactions against the colonial and post-colonial policies of certain governments to acquire dependent territories or to extend their foreign influence through trade, diplomacy or other means (2).

At 75, the author is flourishing in intellectual production, articles, books, and various polemics. Born in the Swiss canton of Berne,

Ziegler is Emeritus of the University of Geneva, where he taught at the Sociology Department and was the director of the Sociology Laboratory of the Third World. He also taught at the University of Grenoble and the University of Paris IV (La Sorbonne). He studied at the universities of Berne, Geneva, Paris and Columbia University in New York, and has a PhD in law and in sociology. Since the early 1960s, the political career of Jean Ziegler in Switzerland included elected posts at municipal and federal levels, and he was a Member of the Parliament up to 1999. He was United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food in 2000-2008. Among other recognitions, Jean Ziegler was awarded Honoris Causa degrees by the University of Mons-Hainaut (Belgium) and the University of Paris VIII (Vincennes-St. Denis). He was appointed *Chevalier des arts et des lettres* by the French government, and received the Gold Medal from the President of Italy and the Amílcar Cabral National Order from Cape Verde.

A controversial figure in national politics and international relations, Jean Ziegler has gained as many friends as he has collected foes. Rocky declarations like 'Switzerland is a republic of merchants who are not able to argue with ideas' (3) are not received warmly by all. This attitude of almost constant hullabalooing for fifty years may be perceived by his rivals as a posture to

grab the media's attention. But it may also be seen as a sincere and well thought out reaction against the oppressive practices of powerful groups. In 1964, when he was training as a young lawyer and willing to follow social movements in the most needy places of the world, Ziegler met Ernesto "Che" Guevara during a six-day visit of the Latin American leader to Geneva. Guevara told him that it was the brain of the monster that he had to attack, thus Ziegler stayed in Geneva to develop a fruitful, and rather controversial, political and intellectual career (RSR.ch, 29 October 2007).

From the opening paragraphs of *La haine de l'Occident*, Irish links to the subject of the book are manifest. A gathering of diplomats is described at the residence of the Irish ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva. Paul Kavanagh, a seasoned representative with vast experience in international organisations, organised this meeting to prepare the text of a negotiated resolution to the Darfur conflict. This is an example of Ireland's contribution to supporting human rights through diplomatic means. Some see the lessons learned from the conflict in Northern Ireland as a credential to pass on experiences to other struggling societies.

In pages 67-78 a discussion is developed about Mary Robinson's role as High Commissioner for Human Rights (1997-2002). Former President of Ireland in 1990-1997, Mary Robinson was appointed to the UN post by Secretary-General Kofi Annan in order to change the top post in human rights from that of the traditional bureaucratic consensus-builder to a public advocate and setter of principles. Her tenure was full of brave acts and declarations against human rights abuse by powerful governments. However, her job ended in disaster when she led the 2001 World Conference against Racism in Durban, South Africa. The conference was 'a total failure [and] from the first day, hate for the West burst out' (70) (4).

Some readers may find the words in the title problematic - 'hate' and 'West'. The latter is frequently used by the European media - though its use is being gradually abandoned -

and in diplomatic circles. Sometimes ambiguously, Ziegler uses 'West' in opposition to 'South', i.e., wealthy as opposed to poor countries. Apart from the geographic problems of such taxonomy - Australia, Brazil, Argentina and other countries of the 'South' could not accurately be described as poor nations - its use is heavily loaded with Cold War dynamics. However the author is clear about the weakness of the West-South opposition. He thoroughly analyses the situation in Nigeria and Bolivia, where he illustrates the outrageous social divide between the powerful economic elites and an appallingly destitute population. Further examples of conflicts in which 'hate' is described as not exactly between West and South may be found in *la Terreur* during the French Revolution, the current so-called *Campo vs. Ciudad* conflict in Argentina, and the bloodshed on the Gaza Strip. The West-South opposition may be perceived therefore as analogous to the conventional oversimplification of bad and good people, groups or governments, instead of recognising the inherent human quality of being bad AND good (though not at the same time or in the same circumstances).

The use of 'hate' represents a challenging rhetorical strategy. On the one hand, there is a grammatical ambiguity in the original title in French, which can be rendered in English as either *Hate for the West* or *Hate of the West*. The West - namely, the US and Europe - is both the object and subject of hatred by and for the poorer countries. It is the context provided by the book's chapters that clarify the ambiguity of the concept in the title, which clearly refers to the sentiment experienced by the developing countries towards the richest societies in the world. On the other hand, 'hate' may be seen as rather hyperbolic. Even if radical groups in many regions of the world (not to speak of terrorist governments and their followers) are inclined to use disproportionate force in their abhorrence of the most powerful nations, this attitude may not be extended to entire populations. That the whole 'South' hates the entire 'West' may be a gross generalisation, and indeed the author does not fall in the trap; Ziegler's analysis is rich in nuances. It

acknowledges the effects of slave trade, racism, colonialism, territorial and economic imperialism, xenophobia, immigrant and sexual discrimination, and at the same time considers the social spaces in which these behaviours operate.

In this way, there is no clear division between 'West' and 'South', but rather a description of opposing forces in various societies of the world. In the first part, for example, the fundamental reasons for hate towards the most powerful countries are discussed. A thorough chapter is dedicated to the meanderings of memory, (5) i.e., the peculiar way in which human collective memory works regarding terrible and damaging episodes of our life. The relationship between memory and hate is explored in different cases, including the Holocaust and its dreadful aftermath, and the consequences of French colonialism in Africa, among many others. The second part explores the slave trade and the damage it did to relations between the countries where the slaves were hunted and those where they were exploited. Furthermore, this part includes a study of India and China as societies with a severe split between governing elites and working classes. Part Three chronicles two of the most important human achievements, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Millennium Goals, and places them in counterpoint to the hypocrisy and arrogance of certain governments. The last two sections are dedicated to two interesting and frequently neglected case studies, Nigeria and Bolivia, their particular domestic contexts, their relationships with global economic powers, and their different opportunities to break the vicious circle of oppression and poverty.

Ziegler's examination of the process initiated by Evo Morales Ayma in Bolivia is worth mentioning. This is a country divided by almost five centuries of injustice and violence towards the vast majority of the indigenous population - without forgetting a subjugated Afro-Bolivian group - that has not yet found a satisfactory political solution to their demands and those of a powerful landowning bourgeoisie and the international companies extracting the

resources of Bolivian soil. The country has the lowest GDP per capita in South America, notwithstanding the fact that it is home to the second largest natural gas reserves in the region and huge mining industries. Morales wishes to transform the country and eliminate the legacies of colonialism and the colonial state. His party has the support of the majority of the population, but finds strong resistance from the dominant economic elite. There are also radical indigenous leaders like Felipe Quispe Huanca of the Pachakuti Indigenous Movement (MIP) who consider Morales's policy of negotiating with foreign and domestic powers as conceding compromises to the West (252-255).

I was startled by two conceptual inconsistencies in this book. The first one relates to international finance and trade. The author seems to follow the mainstream ideology that guides the critique against universal trade and financial rules and organisations with a global reach like the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The IMF is 'the merciless guardian of the interests of large banks and Western multinational corporations' (286). The World Bank and the WTO are considered as puppets of the US and European governments and large businesses. Nevertheless, there is in Ziegler's work a certain recognition of the validity of global trade rules and their enforcement, like the intergovernmental efforts against the negative effects of agricultural subsidies and the establishment of a dispute settlement system (99). The second inconsistency relates to religion. For societies undergoing stressful situations of poverty, famine and violence, religion may be a motivation to find new solutions (233). But it can also be a force negatively influencing the social structure (200, 258, and 279 note 2). Decidedly unpopular government leaders like George W. Bush of the US and Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria are ironically portrayed as 'born-again Christians'. It seems that for the author, religion is ancillary to class struggle, representing a hierarchy reliant on economic elites and a majority of the people following their faith in an individual and beneficial manner.

What is hate? Is it the opposite of love? How does it relate to memory and fear? These questions can be further elaborated upon based on the information and ideas presented in this book. A Freudian perspective of hatred depicts it as a virtual state of ego wishing to annihilate the source of unhappiness. It is an organisation of the psyche that structures the ego in a destructive way. Hatred is built on a lie, 'that hatred can connect us with others as love does [...]. Hatred is not the opposite of love because hatred is the simulacrum of love, love in the realm of malevolence' (Elliott 1999: 72). Hate can be seen as the effect of want for something that is not possessed. Paradoxically, Plato has written in *The Symposium* about love in the same way - whether it is desire for the loved object, or the fear of losing it. In a society, hatred is strongly connected with collective memory - or with the absence of it. As Charles Dickens masterfully expressed in *A Tale of Two Cities*, the 'leprosy of unreality' that infected the aristocracy up to the French Revolution created a bloodthirsty need for 'extermination' on the

part of the populace. Hate, fear and memory are different aspects of social behaviours that may encourage or pollute the internal and international relations of a society, especially when they are manipulated by governments able to do so. Ziegler's book makes a very good start in illustrating these relationships.

The excellent editing of *La haine de l'Occident*, including its colloquial yet logical style, the practical format, and the large typeset size, are only bonus elements that accompany a breathtaking addition to the prolific genre of denunciation (6). English-language publishers are encouraged to launch a translation of this book as a companion to their series on international relations and globalisation. Jean Ziegler is to be congratulated for his new book and, in particular, for his courageous discussion of matters that are highly sensitive in the world of international relations.

Edmundo Murray

### **Notes**

- 1 Hate for the West (all translations are mine).
- 2 Some may recognise in this definition the content of the entry 'Imperialism' in the Oxford Dictionary.
- 3 Lausanne cités (February 2007).
- 4 Durban fut un échec total. Dès le premier jour, la haine d'Occident éclata.
- 5 Les méandres de la mémoire.
- 6 I would only suggest that Spanish- and English-speaking reviewers of the French text could have contributed to improving the spelling of citations and proper names in those languages. But this is a minor detail that does not undermine the excellent editing values of this book.

### **References**

- Elliott, Anthony. Freud 2000 (New York: Routledge, 1999).
- Radio Suisse Romande, available online (<http://www.rsr.ch/>), En savoir plus sur Jean Ziegler (29 October 2007), accessed 28 January 2009.

### **Author's Reply**

I thank the reviewer for his lucid and very intelligent appraisal of my book.

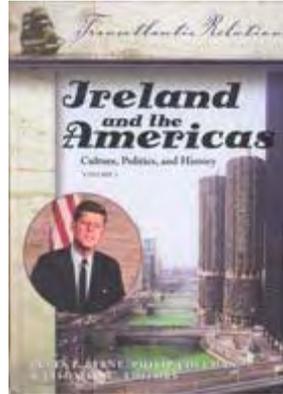
Jean Ziegler

**Reviews**

**James P. Byrne, Philip Coleman and Jason King's (eds.),  
Ireland and the Americas: Culture, Politics and History**

By Maria Graciela Adamoli and Maria Graciela Eliggi (1)

Translated by Conor Kerin (2)



Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO Inc. (2008). 967 pages. Three volumes.  
ISBN 9781851096145 (hard cover); ISBN 9781851096190 (ebook). USD 270.00

Reading the three volumes that make up the encyclopedia *Ireland and the Americas: Culture, Politics and History* is both motivating and stimulating because of its interesting and comprehensive treatment of the relationship between Ireland and the Americas. The work is edited by James P. Byrne, Philip Coleman & Jason King, and forms part of the *Transatlantic Relations* series edited by Will Kaufman. As the title promises, the book's innovative approach considers Ireland's relationship with the entire continent of America and not just with the United States of America.

Thus on the one hand the work creates a greater understanding of the connections between the Americas and a number of European countries. On the other hand, and this is what concerns us here, this new encyclopedia draws a distinction between Anglo-American relations and those between Ireland and America. Since these relations have for a long time been analysed from a perspective that tended to globalise and see them as homogenous, the differentiation made

here represents a great contribution to socio-historical, political and cultural studies. The book begins with a retrospective review which sets out from the voyage of St. Brendan the Navigator, on his mythological passage to the American continent in 550 AD, and goes right through to today.

Among the earlier material that can be linked to this work is *The Encyclopedia of Ireland*, published by Yale University Press in 2003 and edited by Brian Lalor (see review by Maureen E. Mulvihill in *The Irish Literary Supplement* for autumn 2004). Unlike *Ireland and the Americas*, Lalor's encyclopedia has few entries on the Irish in Latin America, if we base our calculation on the total number of pages (1218). Another notable difference between the two is that in Lalor's work an important element is the variety of colour pictures that accompany the text and provide an important visual appeal. By contrast, the ABC-CLIO work is mostly focused on the development of content and equal treatment of each of its subjects.

Another significant previous work is *The Encyclopedia of the Irish in America*, published by the University of Notre Dame (1999) and edited by Michael Glazier. But except for the relations between USA and Ireland there are no entries associated with other American countries. It even ignores the business expansion that came about as a result of the efforts of William Russell Grace (1832-1904) in both Peru in 1850 and throughout the rest of South America.

The organising principle of the *Transatlantic Relations* series revolves around the construction of an approach that examines the state of affairs on both sides of the Atlantic. As the editor points out in his preface, the goal goes beyond a historical analysis over time and pushes boundaries to areas not previously considered, such as gender, race, migration/immigration, and the field of culture in general. The open nature of the work allows the possibility that other experts may undertake further research, provide fresh contributions, or initiate dialogue that may arrive at new conclusions and identify new avenues of exploration.

As previously stated, *Ireland and the Americas* is divided into three volumes, each with approximately the same number of pages. The layout of the cover and body is noteworthy in terms of the quality of paper and design. The choice of font is appropriate and can be read with ease. The cover format is relevant in terms of presenting the contrast between the old; in the photograph of a boat that could represent the arrival of the first Irish immigrants to North America, and the modern, the image of John F. Kennedy and the port of Chicago, its water dyed green to celebrate St. Patrick's Day. As a caveat, one might regret the total absence of any other visual reference to the rest of the Americas.

One of the strengths of this encyclopedia is the fact that it is divided into three volumes of medium size and weight, allowing them to be handled with ease. Similarly, one should highlight the publication of the encyclopedia in electronic form (see website of the publisher: [\[clio.com/products/overview.aspx?productid=109783\]\(http://www.abc-clio.com/products/overview.aspx?productid=109783\)\) which has the advantage of faster searches because it is a format which permits immediate access. In turn, each volume is intertwined with the others through cross-linking of information, which both speeds up searching as well as subsequent readings. As to its internal layout, this work has a table of contents that is repeated in the three volumes, thus facilitating access to the various entries. Likewise, the first volume includes a thematic index divided into central themes and ideas that allows for rapid location of information. The table of chronologies between Ireland and the Americas is both practical and user-friendly, bringing the reader quickly to the time period where the most significant developments in all fields of culture in the Irish-American relationship are presented, be they in art, history, socially, politically or geographically. It would have been desirable to include an index of authors, since the contributors comprise a large number of experts and scholars. Having such a list would give greater visibility to their names and doubtless attach more prestige to the work itself, encouraging the kind of dialogue, as one of the prefaces puts it, which should exist between the actors and creators of culture. At the end of the third volume a general index is added that includes the main entries and the list of illustrations.](http://www.abc-</a></p></div><div data-bbox=)

The black and white photographs (96 in total) of people, places, pictures or other images, are relevant because they enlighten the reader without diverting attention from the main focus. Notwithstanding this, it could be said that searching in the general index is not particularly fast. On the other hand, the distribution of information in three columns alphabetically is a success. Similarly, the provision of bibliographic references in columns immediately below the text entries, facilitates the reading of the data, as well as the immediate location of related references in other sections of the encyclopedia.

The encyclopedia opens with two prefaces. One is by the editor of the series, in which the dynamic nature of the transatlantic relationship is emphasised, and which sets as one of the

motivating principles that it 'transcend or at least challenge the boundaries of nation-region as well as those of discipline '(xiii). The other preface, by the editors of this encyclopedia, illustrates how the process of defining the Irish-American experience invokes an intense theoretical debate.

The introduction and the three subsequent essays in the first volume explain the scope of the encyclopedia. The first refers to the importance of the centuries-old relationship between Ireland and the United States of America. But it also mentions the fact that, while Ireland held longstanding connections with other nations in the Americas, they were not sufficiently documented and recognised as part of that link. Hence the significance of this encyclopedia in highlighting the many and varied contacts between Ireland and Canada or Latin American countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru and Paraguay. The idea that this book is trying to identify is clear in that it endeavours to discover the narrative thread by recognising notable personalities and relevant historical and social situations, as well as by collecting the memory of the common people, often forgotten or marginalised in the development of a nation, but who nonetheless help shape it anonymously.

In the essay devoted to relations between Ireland and Canada, Jason King begins by highlighting the characteristics of migration of the Irish to North America. Due to migrants' extreme poverty, an unfavourable political situation and antagonism exacerbated by religion, King argues that this movement of people has features of exile rather than of 'opportunity to improve one's social situation or material prosperity' (5). In short, this emigration was strictly a matter of necessity, its main objective being to preserve a set of religious and cultural values, then under serious threat. The famine that ravaged Ireland in 1847-1848 became an iconographic symbol present in the popular memory as well as in the literary imagination. Nevertheless, this issue has been subject to different interpretations over the years. There has been controversy about the real reason for the exodus to Canada, and the

matter remains the subject of historiographic analysis. Significantly, the author points to the fact that recently many writers try to minimise the famine experienced in Ireland as being at the heart of the migration process and turn to other factors, as well as pointing to the pre-1847 period which also saw the movement of people to Canada. All the above contributed to the problems and contention associated with many of the stereotypes of long-entrenched collective imagination.

In another sense, King refers to political behaviour of the Irish in Canada and the different settlement patterns related to their religious affiliation, giving clear explanations why the Irish Catholics chose to reside in urban areas, while Protestants are associated with the expansion of agriculture and rural ways of life. Regarding the cultural aspect, the author rightly stresses that while the information available is scarce, it may however allow a Canadian-Irish collective perspective to be reconstituted.

Another noteworthy contribution is the distinction that King makes between the literary production of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is particularly valuable because it establishes the importance of the relationship between literature and the life of the people of a country, as well as how the former documents and accompanies various social processes. In the same vein, the author highlights the various literary genres in both centuries; since literature is closely linked to changes in society, the preference for epic poetry, biographical prose or historical fiction, might thus adequately explain the relationship that he sees. Finally, the contribution of Irish writers to the canon of Canadian literature is historically significant, in that they helped define broader concepts of cultural and national identity in Canada.

In the introductory essay that follows, by Edmundo Murray, an interesting reflection on how historians recognise migration processes is made. The author refers to the processes of colonisation and post-colonisation that took place between the European and American continents, defining the links between Ireland and Latin America as "heterogeneous, fragmented and erratic '(15). Within Latin

America, he highlights the fact that Argentina, together with a few Caribbean countries, is one of the states that received a major wave of immigration and largely succeeded in retaining its immigrants. This pattern was not repeated in other countries where re-emigration occurred, a phenomenon which clearly shows the high mobility of the Irish population. The author is acute in his analysis of the immigration process to Latin America, as reflected in the historical accounts. He makes the distinction between epic narrative - which is presented from the perspective of the victim-immigrant, and the opposing view, which demonstrates the superior position of the Irish immigrant with respect to the native community.

The essay also objectively highlights the very different reasons which led the Irish to settle in Latin American countries. It mentions economic factors – flight from the Great Famine or the search for larger tracts of land than were available in Ireland, land which permitted some Irish to become 'ranchers' and large-scale livestock farmers. There were other no less important reasons of a religious or military nature.

The ability of Irish immigrants to adapt to all sorts of situations and environments is shown. Thus the author notes that in the last decades of the nineteenth century those immigrants who became landowners began to see themselves as part of the British community in Argentina, while those who were part of the middle and lower classes of rural workers remained loyal to their ideas of Irish Nationalism, nurtured in the religious and journalistic discourse of the period. Further, Murray describes how after a process that culminated around 1982 with the Malvinas/Falklands War, those of Irish ancestry in Latin American countries begin to see themselves as Argentines, Uruguayans, Brazilians or Mexicans of Irish extraction. At that point in time, most Irish descendants had lost the use of English as a first language and no longer perpetuated the traditions that their ancestors brought to the new continent. This situation took on new features in Argentina after the economic crisis of 2002, when a

number of Irish-Argentines began to seek permanent residence and employment in Ireland, once again demonstrating the group's ability to adapt to the vicissitudes and needs of the moment.

The last of the introductory essays, by James P. Byrne, refers to the links established between Ireland and the United States and expresses the importance migration processes have had in the relationship between these two countries in all its manifestations: emigration, immigration and re-emigration.

Byrne argues that while the unofficial history of the arrival of Irish to the United States may have started a thousand years before the discovery of America, the first record is dated 1492. The political, economic and religious motives that animated this diaspora are similar to those found in other countries (i.e. religious tolerance and land to settle and work). A very interesting fact is that at the beginning of the twentieth century there were more Irish in the United States than in Ireland itself.

Contrary to the views expressed by those authors who refer only to the Great Famine as an almost exclusive cause of the Irish diaspora, Byrne cites causes covering the periods before and after the famine. The first is characterised as an era of distancing and differentiation between Protestant and Catholic immigrants. The essay highlights the fact that even when Catholics belonged to a group who were slightly more successful than those who arrived after The Great Famine, they were nonetheless subjected to discrimination by the native inhabitants and as a consequence considered as 'others'. The author clearly shows how the post-famine immigrants who arrived in the United States gradually gained privileges within the host community, arising out of their involvement in demonstrations against waves of Chinese immigrants and their entry into the political arena. He also points to the processes of assimilation occurring at the turn of the twentieth century which would continue until after the Second World War.

The last decade of the twentieth century and the first of the twenty-first witnessed new

changes in relations between the two countries. The author offers a clear evaluation of the inversion of the traditional pattern of emigration, as Ireland became a land of immigrants rather than emigrants, and redefined its relationship with the United States, one now based on strong social, political and economic links. Finally, Byrne explains how, due to interaction in the fields of technological, chemical and telecommunications knowledge, the concepts of being Irish, being American and being Irish-American are reversed and redefined.

The explanations and ideas outlined in the introductory essays relating to the connection between Ireland and the Americas are expanded on in the various footnotes. This encyclopedia allows the reader a more in-depth treatment of topics than does a dictionary, and these can be supplemented by readings of articles, essays, etc., cited in the references that accompany each entry.

In his Introduction the series editor outlines the constraints of encyclopedias and of this one in particular, for relations between Ireland and America are constantly being redefined. We believe that rather than as a limitation this should be taken as an interesting motivation to continue the task that has been commenced. Indeed, far from it being merely a small 'step forward' to include relations with countries like Canada, Brazil and Argentina, and to a lesser extent with countries such as El Salvador and Colombia, the work offers an important contribution to the study of the Irish influence in other parts of the world and vice versa. We agree, however, that the entries for some other countries in the Caribbean and South America are scarce and sometimes non-existent; this is one of the possible areas of future development. This should not be taken as a negative criticism of the work but as a challenge and an invitation for researchers who may be conducting further studies in this field. Another issue that could be considered in the future would be that of gender, inasmuch as the work reviewed shows a certain imbalance between the relative contributions of women as a main

theme in Latin America and indeed generally the approach to gender is limited.

Noteworthy successful features include the entries relating to the relationship between Ireland and Argentina over the past three centuries, mostly written by Edmundo Murray, who effectively outlines the cultural scene, literature and Irish Argentina. There is mention of well known personalities in the field of literature in Argentina, from the nineteenth century writer William Bulfin, to Benito Lynch, Kathleen Nevin, Rodolfo Walsh and Maria Elena Walsh, just to mention perhaps the most well known. These authors are studied today in public schools throughout the country, and to these may be added other contemporaries such as John Joseph Delaney, whose latest publication dates from 1999. Murray's outline of the literary situation in Argentina is clear and precise and invites the reader to follow the trail of the authors cited, since they are given more space and more extensive and detailed information is provided in individual entries. For example, we note the article on Maria Elena Walsh, which we found very enlightening, comprehensive, and truthful. It highlights the free, rebellious and subtly confrontational spirit of the writer towards the powerful totalitarian regimes in Argentina of the sixties and seventies.

It also cites situations involving people in the political arena such as the reference to Ernesto "Che" Guevara, José Luis Baxter, and the armed conflict over the Falkland / Malvinas Islands. And other relevant entries are dedicated to the actions of Thomas Armstrong, a businessman and active economic advisor of the nineteenth century in Argentina, Kathleen Boyle, founder of St. Patrick's College in Buenos Aires, an educator who was famed for her innovative ideas in the field of foreign language education, and Father Anthony Dominic Fahy, whose mission was to create an English-speaking Catholic community in Argentina in the nineteenth century. All these references constitute only a sample of the information in this comprehensive work.

Finally, by calling seriously into question the rigid concepts of nation and region, and the

strict division between the disciplines, this encyclopedia, in our view, becomes a significant contribution to the field of interdisciplinary studies. This makes it all the more enriching and required reading for students, teachers and

researchers alike in different fields of knowledge within the area of Irish studies.

Maria Graciela Adamoli, Maria Graciela Eliggi

### **Notes**

1 Department of Foreign Languages, Faculty of Human Sciences, National University of La Pampa, Argentina. This review is dedicated to Doctor Laura Izarra of University of São Paulo, who introduced us to the study of Irish emigration to Argentina.

2 National University of Ireland, Maynooth

### **Author's Reply**

The editors accept this review and do not wish to comment further.

Jason King