The Road to Cuzco: An Irish woman writer's journey to the 'navel of the world'

Deirdre Brady[1]

Abstract: Although it was not published until 1950, Ena Dargan's travel book *The Road to Cuzco: A Journey from Argentina to Peru* (1950), was set in the 1930s. The book documents her journey from Buenos Aires (Argentina) to Cuzco (Peru), the ancestral home of the Incan Empire; an area once known as 'the navel of the world'. Her aim is to seek out and observe the ways of the Indians, expressed through their customs, dances, music and architecture, in order to see how much they have remained unchanged and how much they have been influenced by Europe. In so doing, she stumbles upon a series of folk plays performed in Oruro (Bolivia), which recall the events which led to the Spanish colonisation of Latin America during the sixteenth century. The principal play, *The Death of Atahualpa*, long thought lost and sought after by scholars, is told in the Quechua dramatic tradition and performed by the native Indians during Carnival. Dargan's recording and retrieval of the much-coveted manuscript of the play, ensures her a place in Quechua literary history. Furthermore, her travel account is an important intervention by an Irish woman writer and situates Dargan as an intellectual whose life and work requires further study.

[1] Deirdre Brady currently teaches at the University of Limerick having completed her PhD in 2014. Her research focus is on Irish literary coteries of the mid-twentieth century. In 2015, she published an essay entitled "Modernist Presses and the Gayfield Press" in *Bibliologica.* She is currently writing a monograph for Liverpool University Press entitled: "Literary coteries and the Irish Women Writers' Club (1933-1958)", and her article entitled "'Writers and the International Spirit': Irish P.E.N. in the Postwar Years" is scheduled for publication in *The New Hibernia Review* in autumn 2017. Her research interests include Irish female print culture, women writers, private printing presses and the history of the book in the twentieth century.

> ***Cousin Inca*** (to Pizarro and his men)
> "Oh red-bearded soldiers with the long necks. I have come to know you and you also wish to know me."
>
> ***Pizarro:***
> "What are you saying, Barbarian?"
>
> ***Inca Cousin:***
> "Oh my lord! Do not be angry."
>
> ***Pizarro:***
> "Why do I talk with these brutes whom I cannot understand? And they cannot understand what I say to them either."[2]
>
> (Dargan 1950: 65)

Ena Dargan's travel book, *The Road to Cuzco: A Journey from Argentina to Peru* (1950), is a blend of memoir, history and travelogue of Latin American culture, witnessed by the author as she travels along the ancient trade route of the Incas and the conquistadors. Her journey takes the reader from Buenos Aires (Argentina) to Cuzco (Peru), through the tablelands of Argentina to La Paz (Bolivia), with a diversion in-country for the Oruro Carnival, and then on to the viceregal town of Sucre. While in Bolivia, she goes to Potosí and Catavi the "mining town '*par excellence* of America"', and makes her way in a lorry to the fertile valley of the Yungas crossing over the snow-topped peaks of the Andes through treacherous road conditions – an experience she would later describe in the Irish journal *Studies,* as "terrifying" (Dargan 1951: 112). Her description of the landscape and the ways of the indigenous population – their cultural mores, oral histories and architecture – is told in an empathetic way, and it represents an important contribution to Irish travel literature.

At the time of publication, *The Road to Cuzco* received much attention, including commentary from Spanish intellectual and historian, Salvador de Madariaga, who wrote the preface to the book. In it, de Madariaga laments the many misconceptions and false concepts that have developed about the history of the South Americas for "who was going to go there and find out the truth of the matter". He suggests that "An Irish person should be an ideal interpreter between English and Spanish cultures", privileging the perspective of the 'other' or postcolonial subject in recording the story (Dargan 1950: 7). Furthermore, de Madariaga claims that Dargan's role as a mediator and interpreter of Latin American life is enhanced by her Irish and female identity: "This book has therefore the advantage of being written by an Irish woman on Spanish life and history for an English-speaking public" (8). Certainly, Dargan's observations about Latin America, and her connection of ideas, religious practices and geographical topography with Ireland are significant and

[2] The two Incas – "Cousin Inca" and the "Inca Cousin" – appear to be two different characters in the play, *The Death of Atahualpa,* which Ena Dargan witnessed during her travels.

original. Throughout the book, she expresses her own ideas of nationhood and culture, and she draws parallels between the conditions of the lives of the Indians and the Irish. Her Irish identity is also useful when negotiating the necessary visas and permits for travel within the area. She carries an Irish passport, "issued by the authorities of *Éire*", and her diplomatic connections (she works for the British Cultural Institute in Buenos Aires) ensure easy access to the myriad of embassies, consulates and police departments she visits along the route (92).

The book, published in London by Andrew Melrose Publishers, was marketed in English-speaking countries, including Ireland, Britain and the United States of America. In the prestigious New York-based journal, *Foreign Affairs,* the book received high praise. Henry L. Roberts, writing in the magazine lists *The Road to Cuzco* in his "Recent Books on International Relations" describing it as "An account of a journey from Buenos Aires, across Bolivia to Cuzco in upper Peru, told with skill", a compliment not extended to many in the magazine (Roberts 1951: 335). The book is promoted alongside other travel books on South America, including Frances Toor's *Three Worlds of Peru* (1949), and William Russell's *The Bolivar Countries: Colombia, Equador, Venezuela* (1949).[3] Other contributors to the issue included then Japanese Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, foreign diplomat Sumner Welles, and explorer and international relations expert, John F. Teal, Jr.[4] In Britain, Dargan promoted the book by giving talks on Incan culture, including a lecture at St Anne's House, London, on the organisation of the Incan empire pre-Spanish colonisation, and a talk to the Irish Literary Society on "Ladies of Latin America" (Candida 1951: 5). In Ireland, after the publication of her book, she received widespread attention in the newspapers and periodicals of the period, including *The Irish Times,* and *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* (Candida, 20 October and 17 November 1950; Macken 1950).

Moreover, her achievement as a first-time author did not go unnoticed in the Irish national press: "To have written a book for the first time is an achievement in itself, but to receive an award for a first work is something that does not happen to an author" (Candida, 17 November 1950: 5). Another article in *The Irish Times* referred to Dargan as an "intrepid traveller in the South Americas" and claims that *The Road to Cuzco* was written as background for another book, *Bright is the South*, which was "now with the publishers and should be out fairly soon" (Candida, 20 October 1950: 7). To date, no account exists of this book, although records exist of two other Dargan publications. In 1959, she published a book, *The Holy Ghost,* focusing on the sermons of St John of Avila (Dargan 1959). In 1966, she translated French liberal writer Georges Cattaui's book, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux* (Cattaui 1966). Dargan's fascination with religious subjects permeates much of her work. In *The Road to*

[3] Readers of *Foreign Affairs* are offered the chance to purchase these books from the list, *'post free',* if published in the United States. Although Dargan's book was published by Andrew Melrose London Limited, it is likely that readers could order directly from *Foreign Affairs,* but not *post free.*

[4] The same edition features on the board of editorial advisors, the Deputy Director of American Central Intelligence (later the Director) and the future President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Cuzco, she frequently comments on the rituals and rites of the Indians, and the fluidity with which the native Indians seamlessly incorporate Pagan and Christian rituals "with complete impartiality" (Dargan 1950: 21).

Dargan's ability to access leading publications and public spaces underscores the influential networks within which she circulated; yet, surprisingly, little is known about the author. Notwithstanding this, some clues as to her background can be found in the committee reports of writing groups based in Dublin City. The records of the writer's group, Irish P.E.N., confirm her nomination to the club by the detective-story writer and biographer, Sheila Pim, in 1950 (Irish P.E.N. 1935-2004).[5] As a member of this internationally minded club, Dargan took an active role: representing P.E.N. at the International Congress in Edinburgh in 1950, in London in 1951 and in Paris in 1952.[6] She also gave a talk at one of their 'at homes' in 1954, on the subject of radio, and her name appears in the archives of Radio Éireann, Ireland's national broadcaster. In addition, her membership of the professional writers group, the Irish Women Writers' Club, suggests an influential literary milieu and one with close connections with international feminist and peace organisations.[7] Her role in promoting women travelling as adventurers and explorers, a stated aim of the international women's movement, must have appealed to the internationally minded writers club, and the progressive elements within the club.[8] For her achievement, she was awarded their prestigious literary prize, the Book of the Year, for *The Road to Cuzco* in 1950.[9]

In the book, Dargan sets off from Retiro train station in Buenos Aires to La Paz with a "motley company" of individuals, each exploring the Americas for different reasons: a Spanish professor of law; a few North Americans; a couple "lately escaped from Hitler's Europe, he Bolivian and her Belgian"; a "sprinkling of miners, Germans and Czechoslovakians; and, lastly, my Irish self" (Dargan 1950: 19). As the train speeds across the Argentinian tableland, where the "climate is cruel"; and living conditions harsh, Dargan is captivated by the colourful landscape: "the subtle blending of umber browns, creams and pales-washed greens of the stringy grasses and plants". She catches sight of

[5] P.E.N. stands for poets, essayists and novelists, though its catchment was later extended to include editors, translators and others. It was founded in London in 1921. P.E.N.'s aim is to promote friendship, freedom of expression, international goodwill and intellectual cooperation amongst writers. The archives of P.E.N. Ireland are held in the National Library of Ireland.

[6] Sheila Pim, was also a fellow member of the Women Writers' Club. For more on the Women Writers' Club, see Brady (2014).

[7] It is worth noting that many of the prominent members of the Women Writers' Club were involved in international affairs. For example, Sybil le Brocquy, a prominent member of the Women Writers' Club, played a leading role in the Irish branch of the League of Nations. Another member, Rosamond Jacob was secretary of the Irish branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) for over ten years. Helena Swanwick, former editor of *Foreign Affairs,* was also involved in the WILPF (Vellacott 1993 and Ashworth 2008).

[8] Previous recipients of the Book of the Year award included Elizabeth Bowen, Dorothy Macardle and Kate O'Brien.

[9] According to Catherine Clay, the ability of women to travel was a "defining feature of the period between the two world wars", particularly for British women writers (Clay 2006). Dargan, as an employee of the British Cultural Institute in Buenos Aires in the 1930s, can fit into this category.

occasional villages with "slanting roofs thatched with wiry *paja brava* laid over the stems of cereals". In the villages, women squat in the doorways, men lean against the walls, and children play nearby, "the oranges, browns and verdant green of clothing toned in with each other and with the hues of the earth" (20). On their houses, which are "devoid of the most elementary comforts", a cross hangs, "with little tiny objects representing the instruments of the passion of Christ, Inca divinities, or the Spanish bull, symbol of fecundity" (21). Describing the diet of the natives as "monotonous", she notes their dependency on certain foods – the potato, once cultivated by the Incas – and quinoa, or *cañawa*, the grain "the poorer people take". Meat intake is rare, as animals are too valuable and dairy consumption is non-existent. Only the chewing of coca, "a real philosophers food" relieves the monotony of their diet, fatigue and thirst; it is rare to see an Indian "whose cheek is not bulging with leaves" (23). Despite the harshness of life, and the lack of education and opportunity, Dargan posits that the "intercommunication between the Indian and nature" is so powerful, that "he rarely leaves" (22). She comments on the "agelessness" of the regions, where "man and his doings are dwarfed to ant-like significance", eking out a bare existence in "this immensity of space" (28).

Fig. 1. Indian woman on the Bolivian Tableland (Photographer: Bell. *From:* Dargan, Ena, *The Road To Cuzco: A Journey from Argentina to Peru* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1950.)

As they arrive in La Paz, Dargan and the other passengers rush to the window of the train to see the "hundreds of yellow lights cut the velvet blackness in a circular cluster of stars" (29). Here the "indomitable spirit of conquistadores" is evident in the architecture of the city where houses were constructed in the style "they had known in their native land" (31). Now in decay, the project of restoration of this viceregal city is hampered by the topography, as the Bolivian indigenous painter Cecilio Guzmán de Rojas explains to Dargan: "La Paz, unlike other towns, cannot keep on growing in size. The mountains will see to that" (31). On the tour of the old city, Dargan visits the church of San Francisco, where the imprint of "pagan America" is discernible in the

ornamentation on the stone façade (33). The district around the church is swarming with activity: "the tiny shops – open to the street – are a tumble of gaily-striped blankets, rugs, embroidered tapestries, and shawls all spun by Indian hand" and served by stony-faced *Cholas,* females wrapped in their brightly coloured shawls (32). It is here in La Paz that the stark divide between the two classes is most obvious and is described using colonial tropes: the descendent of the Spaniards, the upper-class Bolivian creole, "conscious of his superiority" and in contrast, the Indian, "solid and unmoving as his own Andean rock" (37). Dargan notes that, "there are practically no intermediate stages" (37).

Fig. 2. Indians in La Paz, Bolivia (Photographer: Bolivian Tourist Board. *From:* Dargan, Ena, *The Road To Cuzco: A Journey from Argentina to Peru* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1950.)

Taking the advice of Guzmán de Rojas to "Go to Oruro for carnival!", Dargan takes the train to the town where she stumbles across the performance of a series of old folk plays, *The Conquest of the Spaniards* (46). It is here that Dargan observes the influence of the Spanish conquerors and their impact on the spectacle of Carnival: "Here carnival came, stepping in strange hieratic dance, weighted in Incaic ornament, glowing with the sombre richness of old Spain" (50). The scene is likened to a Grimm fairy tale, the spectacle of the *Cholas* in witch-like hats – that bring a "final touch of sorcery to this evocation of fairy wand and magic spell" and the "cult of the devil" evident in the dances of the largest group, the *comparas,* who pay homage to the "old black gods, Supay" (53). They dance about in silver brocades around the serpents' pole: "There were several hundred of them *[comparas]* and they fairly burst with vitality…Wherever they went they were accompanied by their own particular band, playing their own Devil's march" (54). Dramatic entertainment comes in the form of a series of folk plays, performed by native Indians, resplendent in elaborate costumes.

Fig. 3. Inca King: Folk-play at Oruro Carnival (Photographer: Ena Dargan. *From:* Dargan, Ena, *The Road To Cuzco: A Journey from Argentina to Peru* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1950.)

One performance in particular stands out. Describing it as the principle play, *The Death of Atahualpa* recreates the moment of the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, which led to the downfall of the Incan Empire and to colonisation by the Spaniards. Performed in Quechua (the language of the Incas) and Spanish (representing the Spanish conquistadors), a device that "brings out the mutual incomprehension of the two races", the plot relays the miscommunication between the two leaders, Atahualpa, the Inca King, and Pizarro, leader of the Spanish conquistadors. Dargan's account of the performance, and subsequent retrieval of the manuscript, long-thought lost by scholars, is a valuable contribution to Quechua literary history, and one acknowledged by scholars, including Hernando Balmori and Michael T. Taussig (Balmori 1955; Taussig 2010). Subsequently, in 1955 Balmori published the play in its original form, adding an introduction and translating the play, but crediting Dargan.

In the play, the Inca King sends his cousin to find out what the "red-bearded soldiers" want in his dominion. The Spaniards hand him a letter from the king of Spain, but the Incas do not understand the significance of the white "maize-leaf [paper]" and interpret this as a sign of war (63). Following a short victory by the Incas, Pizarro sends a priest with a Bible to explain the Holy Trinity. The priest asks the Inca King to surrender to his Christian god. The Inca King (who had never before seen a book) considers himself as the son of a god, and rejects this "symbol of an alien creed", striking it to the ground (64). In response, an angry Pizarro advances and slaughters the king. When he dies, the queen and all the remaining Incas lament his death and curse the invaders and

their greed: "All that is gold and silver let it be hidden in the heart of the mountain and let our people give them none" (66). In the play, Pizarro returns to Spain, where he is condemned to death for killing the Inca King, and disobeying the orders of the Spanish king. Although this version of events is, according to Dargan, part fantasy and part history, she is struck by the "tragic pathos" of this performance: heightened by a passionate portrayal of the Inca King, the lavish costumes and the "word-perfect" players who wear masks throughout the play (66).

Fig. 4. Dancers at Oruro Carnival (Photographer: Ena Dargan. *From:* Dargan, Ena, *The Road To Cuzco: A Journey from Argentina to Peru* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1950.)

If this play projects the old Inca spirit, as Dargan suggests, it also camouflages deep-rooted anti-Spanish feeling. The performance reminds Dargan of W.B. Yeats and his experiment with Noh theatre. She refers to and critiques Yeats's version of masked drama as less authentic, yet acknowledges the value of masks to convey meaning: "Where Gordon Craig's theories and the Yeats' productions at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin had failed to convince me, this carnival taught me the value of masks" (69).[10] The masks used during the Oruro festival were so realistic that Dargan comments that "one forgot they were not human" (69). The use of devices such as dance, music and masks in performance are techniques often used in folk plays. According to Yeatsian scholar Margaret Harper, "They [masks] have been so used in a number of

[10] Gordon Craig was an English stage-designer who used the Japanese Noh techniques such as light, dance and music to upset the realist framework of the proscenium stage.

cultures and over many centuries. In the modern West they often have a resonance of antiquity or cultural alterity, as signs of the primitive or the ancient" (Harper 2007: 58). As Harper suggests, masks are dual in nature: they hide the human faces behind them affording some protection through anonymity or free those faces from "the burden of self" (58). They are used to conceal personality or the intent of the wearer. In doing so, masks allow the performer to transcend their own physical appearance and to literally take on a new identity. According to Dargan, in the plays at Oruro, masks are used in a practical manner by the actors to hide their own personalities and "keep the character intact" throughout the lengthy hours and days of festivities and dancing (Dargan 1950: 69). Indeed, in the colonial past, they were considered so disruptive by the authorities, that when *The Death of Atahualpa* was performed, it was felt that "no Spaniard was safe" (71). The anti-Spanish feeling stirred up by the Indians when these plays were performed on feast days was so threatening to the Spanish authorities that such performances were prohibited (71).[11]

Stylistically, the author documents her journey through historic facts interspersed with political and social commentary in a style which could be described as literary reportage. As David L. Eason states, "they [reporters] make sense out of events by telling stories about them" (Eason 1981: 125). In a review in the Irish Jesuit periodical, *Studies,* Mary Macken describes Dargan's writing as "very skilful" with a "more than usually good blend of report and traveller's tale" (Macken 1950: 232). This literary technique is effectively used by Dargan throughout her book, enhanced by photographic records (many taken by Dargan herself) and anecdotes which foreground the rich cultural traditions, the hazardous voyage and the abundant beauty of her surroundings. Thus, as she descends down the Andes "at break-neck speed", to the valley of the Yungas, she describes her terrifying experience and the beauty of her landscape in elegant prose: "the great surfing mountain-torrents swept past black hunks of rock that stood firm amidst the white froth of foam, and thin trickles of liquid glistened their way down the fresh green slopes like long silver strings" (Dargan 1950: 94). Despite the bad roads, the dearth of available transport, and protests from the British legation, Dargan is rewarded with the sight of the fertile valleys where the coca plant or "green gold of Yungas" has been produced since the days of the Inca (95). Here, the contrast in the lives of the indigenous Yungas community and those on the tableland is most stark. The Yungas landscape is fertile and bursts with foliage and vegetation, "coffee plants abounded, the berries still green for the most part": exotic life, "flamboyant birds, and butterflies the span of your fingers": and sensory experiences such as sampling the apple banana which is "pink inside, tasteless, and as hard as stone"(100). At her hotel, she meets a "colony of refugees, mostly Jewish, from Germany and Czechoslovakia" who are voluntarily "marooned" in the Yungas, away from civilization (104). Here in the hotel, run by the Europeans, a song in German arouses a feeling of nostalgia for Ireland,

[11] It is stated by Dargan (upon consultation with Professor Clemente Hernando Balmori) that these performances were banned sometime after colonisation by the Spaniards. This information is based on the "testimony of a Spanish traveller, Señor Sobrevielo Narcisso y Barcelo" (Dargan, Ena, *The Road to Cuzco: A Journey from Argentina to Peru* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1950), p. 71).

prompting her to reflect upon the circumstances which brought the refugees to this area: "What a strange gathering we made, all of us from far-off Europe drawn together by chance", reminding the reader of the world events which led them to take refuge in this remote corner of Latin America (105).

Her next stop is Sucre, "four times a capital city". Here the city glistens in the sun, as "white, clean and glistening, it looks as if it had been freshly washed and is drying in the sun", and where the viceregal architecture is at its finest (108). Here, too, is where the Spanish Inquisition had its headquarters. Like Oruro, performance rituals are an important part of the yearly calendar, and the most "treasured possession" is the heavily jewelled image of the Virgin of Guadalupe (112). After viewing the visual spectacle of the eight-day festival of the Little Mother of Sucre: "their bowing to and kissing the ground", she questions if "the Indians know whether they are honouring Mary, the mother of God or their own Pacha-mama, Mother Earth, who hides all power in her bosom?" (113). The fascination with Pagan and Christian rituals and the Indian zeal for superstition, is also evident in the nearby town of Potosí, one of the oldest viceregal towns, associated with "big business" (137). Here, Dargan relays the story of Spanish silver and the prosperity which the silver mines once brought to the town. The magnificent churches, monasteries and elaborate mansions, now neglected, prompt her to criticize the greed of the "silver-grabbing spirit" that founded Potosí and continued to exist in modern business: "The mines are owned by foreign capital and the output therefore goes abroad" (142). In Potosí, the "dun-coloured, calcined earth" makes her physically sick, and she continues her journey to its modern counterpart in Catavi (144).

Fig. 5. The Virgin of Sucre (Photographer: Ena Dargan. *From:* Dargan, Ena, *The Road To Cuzco: A Journey from Argentina to Peru* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1950.)

Dargan's journey to the tin mines of Catavi captures a critical moment in the history of the mines in the 1930s; just two decades before nationalisation in 1952. As she enters the mines, she notices the altars dedicated to the Pagan and Christian deities: one a shrine to the Virgin with flower and candles, "rigged up by the men themselves, who stop before them to pray on their way to work": another, hidden away, to the devil Supay, "where candles burn without flowers, and miners give gifts to satisfy the devil" (171–172). Michael Taussig explains the importance of these icons, even to modern-day miners: "they hold the power of life and death over the mines and the lives of miners, who conduct rites of sacrifice and gift exchange to the spirit represented by the icons" (Taussig 2010: 143). To the miners, these rites are essential to ensure their safety conditions and a continuation of the supply of tin (144). Like Oruro, Dargan suggests a sense of timelessness about the place. The sorting room is likened to a "witches hall", with *Cholas* and their white hats, "using their magic skill" to sort out the ore from the mines (Dargan 1950: 172). Even the physical terrain has a sense of the mystical, for Dargan. As she leaves Catavi for the city of Cuzco, she speeds across the depths of a ravine where the mountains are "crowned seemingly with mediaeval turrets and ancient fortress walls, but they were all merely freakish contortions of the Andes" (173). A lake appears flashing "the brilliant green of Irish grass under trees. As a result it looked positively uncanny" (173).

Fig. 6. In the Patino tin-mines (Photographer: Ena Dargan *From:* Dargan, Ena, *The Road To Cuzco: A Journey from Argentina to Peru* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1950.)

As she approaches Cuzco, she catches a glimpse of Lake Titicaca and the "slim, graceful boats the Indians make from the reeds that grow around its shores", and wonders if the Incas would recognise the city of the sun, where only traces of the empire remain – in the residences which lie over the hills, in the nearby city of Machu Picchu (178–179). In Cuzco, once the social, political and intellectual centre of the Incan empire, there is much to see of the two traditions. The great cathedral, "the largest and most magnificent in South America", is built upon the site of the Palace of Huiracochoa Inca. The vast Plaza de Armas, with its colourful arcades and seventeenth-century houses, is a "gay motley of blue and coral and yellow and green, with wooden balconies of every known size and kind" (190–191). Both worlds are reflected in the architectures of the churches, in the palaces: "Over great nail-studded doors flanked with stone pillars are their coats-of-arms [*Conquistadores*] adorned many of them with busts of knights, lions' heads, serpents, and exotic animals (Inca influence), monograms of the Virgin and emblems of the Passion" (202). What is left of these two civilisations lingers on the walls and in the foundations of the city, beside and beneath the remains of the viceregal town erected by the Spanish colonisers. The effect, according to Dargan, is a "jarring discord" (207).

Dargan's reflection on the story of the Incas and the Spaniards – "all the failure, all the tragedy, all the glory of Spain's conquest of Peru" – is a revealing document of its time and place. That Dargan took the opportunity to explore the complicated terrain, was, in the words of de Madariaga, "no small trouble" (7). Her experiences along the route, the retrieval of the long-lost manuscript, the hazardous territory, and the melting pot of refugees, scholars, artists and native Indians she met along the way, provide an interesting response to what she encountered. The text remains a testimony to her keen observations and courageous journey as an Irish woman travelling through the vast regions of Latin America to the "navel of the world".

Works Cited

- Ashworth, Lucian M., *Feminism, War and the Prospects of International Government: Helena Swanwick and the Lost Feminists of Interwar International Relations*, Limerick Papers in Politics and Public Administration (Limerick: University of Limerick, 2008).

- Balmori, Hernando Clemente, *La Conquista de Los Españoles. Drama Indígena Bilingüe Quechua-castellano,* Texto proporcionado por la profesora Ena Dargan. (Tucumán, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, 1955).

- Brady, Deirdre, "Literary Coteries and the Irish Women Writers' Club (1933-1958)" (unpublished PhD thesis, Limerick: University of Limerick, 2014).

- Candida [Dickson, Barbara], "An Irishwoman's Diary" in *The Irish Times* (Dublin), 20 October 1950, p.7.

- Candida [Dickson, Barbara], "An Irishwoman's Diary" in *The Irish Times* (Dublin), 17 November 1950, p. 5.

- Candida [Dickson, Barbara], "An Irishwoman's Diary" in *The Irish Times* (Dublin), 30 March 1951, p. 5.

- Cattaui, Georges, *[Saint Bernard de Clairvaux]* Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Translated by Ena Dargan. (London: Burns & Oates, 1966).

- Clay, Catherine, *British Women Writers 1914-1945 – Professional Work and Friendship* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006).

- Dargan, Ena, *The Road To Cuzco: A Journey from Argentina to Peru* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1950).

- Dargan, Ena, "*San Martin the Liberator* by J. C. J. Metford" in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 40:157 (March 1951), pp. 112-113.

- Dargan, Ena, *La Conquista de Los Españoles. Drama Indígena Bilingüe Quechua-castellano* (Tucumán, Argentina: *Universidad Nacional de* Tucumán, 1955).

- Dargan, Ena, *The Holy Ghost. Blessed John of Avila, 1499?-1569,* Translated by Ena Dargan. (Chicago: Scepter, c1959).

- Eason, David L., "Telling Stories and Making Sense" *The Journal of Popular Culture* 15 (September 1981), pp. 125–129. doi: 10.1111/j.0022-3840.1981.1502_125.x.

- Harper, Margaret "'How Else Could the God Have Come to Us?': Yeatsian Masks, Modernity, and the Sacred", *Nordic Irish Studies* 6 (January 2007), pp. 57-72.

- Irish P.E.N. Papers, Dublin P.E.N. Centre minute books, National Library of Ireland (1935-2004), MS 49,143/4 - 49,144/2.

- Le Brocquy Papers, National Library of Ireland, MS 24,231-24,236; MS 24,240-3.

- Macken, Mary, M. "*The Road to Cuzco* by Ena Dargan" in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 39:154 (June 1950), pp. 232-233.

- Roberts, Henry L., "Recent Books on International Relations" in *Foreign Affairs: An American Quarterly Review* 29: 104 (January 1951), pp. 171-336.

- Taussig, Michael T., *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America,* second edition, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). First edition: 1980.

- Vellacott, Jo, "A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory: The Early Work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom" in *Women's History Review* 2:1 (1993), pp. 23-56.