

# Irish Migration Studies in Latin America

Society for Irish Latin American Studies

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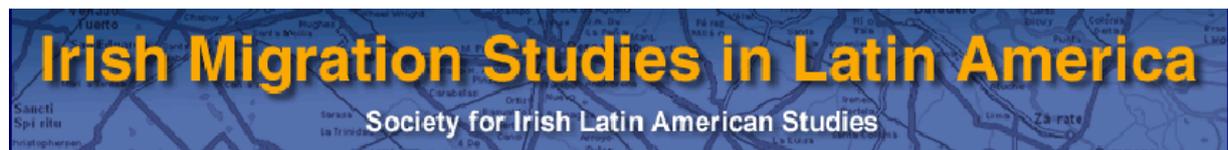
***And I know its radiance calm and pure  
Beams from Hybrasil's shore,  
Where those who to the end endure  
Shall rest for evermore***

*(I.F. Galwey, Hybrasil and Other Verses, 1872)*

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## Brazil and Ireland

By Edmundo Murray

The first Irish settler in Brazil was a missionary, Thomas Field S.J. (1547-1626), born in Limerick, who entered the Jesuit Order in Rome in 1574. Fr. Field arrived in Brazil in late 1577 and spent three years in Piratininga (present-day São Paulo). He then moved to Paraguay in the company of two other Jesuits, and over the next ten years they established missions among the Guaraní people. Thomas Field, who died in Asunción, is credited with being the first priest to celebrate the Roman Catholic rites in the Americas.

Around 1612 the Irish brothers Philip and James Purcell established a colony in Tauregue, at the mouth of the Amazon river, where English, Dutch, and French settlements were also established. Huge profits were made by the colonists from trading in tobacco, dyes, and hardwoods. A second group arrived in 1620 led by Bernardo O'Brien of County Clare. They built a wood and earthen fort on the north bank of the Amazon and named the place Coconut Grove. O'Brien learned the dialect of the Arruan people, and his colleagues became expert navigators of the maze of tributaries, canals and islands that form the mouth of the Amazon. The first recorded Saint Patrick's Day celebration was on 17 March 1770 at a church built in honour of the saint by Lancelot Belfort (1708-1775). The church was located on his estate, known as Kilrue, beside the Itapecurú River in the state of Maranhão in northern Brazil.

Several Irish soldiers served in Brazilian armies, including Diago Nicolau Keating, Diago O'Grady, and Jorge Cowan. Another Irish military man, William Cotter, was sent to Ireland in 1826 to recruit a regiment for service against Argentina. Cotter went to County Cork where he promised the local people that if they enlisted they would be given a grant of land after five years' service. He left for Rio de Janeiro in 1827 with 2,400 men and some of their wives and children, but they were completely neglected when they arrived. The Irish mutinied together with a German regiment, and for a few days there was open warfare on the streets of Rio de Janeiro. While most were ultimately sent home or re-emigrated to Canada or Argentina, some did stay and were sent to form a colony in the province of Bahia.

In the 1850s the Brazilian government was anxious to raise agricultural production and to increase the population of its southern provinces, in particular with northern European immigrants. After German and Swiss governments imposed restrictions on emigration to Brazil as a consequence of the poor conditions that many of these countries' citizens had experienced there, Brazil turned its attention to other possible sources of immigrants. Fr. T. Donovan, an Irish Catholic priest, led up to four hundred people from the County Wexford barony of Forth to Monte Bonito, near Pelotas in the then province of Rio Grande do Sul. The Irish colony rapidly collapsed, and most of the survivors made their way to Argentina or Uruguay, complaining of the lack of preparations for their reception, the lack of agricultural tools, poor land, scarce water, and of the local diet.

Further colonisation schemes in Brazil were also a failure. In 1867 Quintino Bocayuva, a Brazilian newspaper editor and future republican leader, was sent to New York by the Brazilian government to recruit immigrants. His mission was to sign up former Confederates, but to help fill the ships he also dispatched several hundred poverty-stricken Irish. Most of these were sent to Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro, near present-day Brusque in the province of Santa Catarina. Fr. Joseph Lazenby, an Irish Jesuit living in the provincial capital, made his way to Príncipe Dom Pedro and declared that he would develop the village into an Irish Catholic colony. Lazenby soon got in contact with Fr. George Montgomery, an



Holy Ghost Fathers and Brothers in Brazil, 2004  
([The Spiritans](#))

Irish Catholic priest in the English 'Black Country' town of Wednesbury, who arranged in 1868 for some three hundred of his parishioners to be sent to Brazil. Montgomery maintained that the Irish had no future in England and saw in Brazil an opportunity to create Irish Catholic communities. He firmly believed that thousands more Irish living in England would soon be joining the first emigrants. However, within just two years the new Irish colony had failed. It was located far from any possible markets and its land was vulnerable to flooding. Many of the immigrants died, and the survivors moved on to other parts of Brazil, Argentina and the United States, or returned to England.

Irish immigration to Brazil was also the main objective of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* newspaper, published weekly by William Scully in Rio de Janeiro between 1865 and 1884. Scully was also the founder of the 'Sociedade Internacional de Imigração' in 1866, which represented his material support to the Brazilian government.

Irish diplomats served British interests in Brazil. Daniel Robert O'Sullivan (1865-1921), medical doctor, army officer, and diplomat, whose career was largely spent in East Africa and Brazil, served as British consul or consul-general in Bahia (1907), São Paulo (1910), and Rio de Janeiro (1907-1908, 1913-1915, 1919-1921). The Irish patriot Roger Casement (1864-1916) was a British consular official in Brazil in 1906-1911. In 1906 Casement was appointed consul in Santos and in 1908 he became the consul in Pará (Belém). He was promoted to consul-general in Rio de Janeiro in 1909, a position he retained until 1913. In 1910 Casement was directed by the Foreign Office to occupy a commission of enquiry sent to the rubber-producing Putumayo region of the western Amazon, an area straddling the Peruvian-Colombian frontier, to investigate treatment of the local Indian population by the Peruvian Amazon Company. He was knighted in 1911 for this and for similar work in Africa. During the First World War Casement sided with Germany as a tactic to promote Irish independence, and in 1916 he was hanged by the British for treason. To damage his reputation, the British publicised the existence of Casement's diaries, which included numerous graphic and coded accounts of his homosexual activities in Brazil and elsewhere.



Dancing in the streets of Dublin after the football match vs. Ghana, 27 June 2006  
(John O'Reilly)

In 1964 Michael J. Siejes was appointed as the first honorary consul of Ireland in Rio de Janeiro, and later Pádraig de Paor was appointed non-resident Irish ambassador accredited to Brazil. In September 1975 an Irish trade mission led by Robin Bury visited São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. The Irish diplomatic mission was established in Brazil in 1975, and Brazil opened its embassy in Dublin in 1991. The first resident Irish ambassador to Brazil, Martin Greene, arrived in Brasília in December 2001.

In Latin America, Brazil is Ireland's second most important trading partner after Mexico, with an average of US\$154 million in exports and US\$80 million in imports per annum in 1996-2002 (International Monetary Fund, *Direction of Trade Statistics*, Yearbook 2003). In 1999 Kerry do Brasil was the first major Irish company to set up in Brazil with a US\$20 million investment in a production plant in Três Corações.

There are a significant number of missionary undertakings by Irish religious orders in Brazil. The Redemptorists established themselves in Brazil in 1960, the Kiltigans in 1963, and the Holy Ghosts in 1967.

In 2004, John Cribbin O.M.I., of Shanagolden, County Limerick, was awarded honorary citizenship of Rio de Janeiro for his work there since 1962.

Among the academic initiatives in the region, since 1999 the Associação Brasileira de Estudos Irlandeses at the University of São Paulo has been publishing the *ABEI Journal: The Brazilian Journal of Irish Studies*, edited by Munira H. Mutran and Laura P.Z. Izarra. The University of São Paulo has offered a postgraduate course on Irish literature since 1977.

By the end of 2000, it was estimated that 925 Irish citizens were living in Brazil, 64 per cent of them in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Bahia. In Ireland, one of the most significant Latin American communities is that of the Brazilians in counties Galway and Roscommon dating back to 1999. Most hail from the countryside near Anápolis in the state of Goiás and arrived equipped with experience in working in slaughterhouses in Brazil. A large number of Brazilians have also recently settled in Dublin City and in Naas, County Kildare.

Edmundo Murray

Adapted from: Jim Byrne, Philip Coleman and Jason King (eds.), *Ireland and the Americas: Culture, Politics and History* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, forthcoming 2006), with kind permission of the publisher.

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## English and Irish Naval Officers in the War for Brazilian Independence

By Brian Vale



View of Rio de Janeiro 1799  
(Garneray)

*In the literal sense they were mercenaries, but that word acquired distasteful associations in the twentieth century and is best avoided. These men simply sought to earn a living. Since the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had lasted for a generation, there were plenty of people in Europe who knew of no other occupation or had no other expectations.*

### South American Independence and the Sea

The Napoleonic Wars dealt a devastating blow to the Spanish Empire in the Americas. The arrest of the Spanish Royal Family in 1808 and the French occupation of Spain produced a maelstrom of revolution and led to the appointment of local juntas at home and abroad to rule in the name of the absent king. In the Americas, the juntas acquired a taste for self-government and, led by radicals and military strongmen, successively replaced the Royalist administrations with republican regimes. Argentina was in the vanguard of this movement. By 1814 it had formed an independent republic, and in 1818 Argentine troops crossed the Andes and liberated Chile. Peru was then invaded by sea and, in 1821, became an independent republic. When Simón Bolívar secured the territories to the north, in 1825, Spanish South America was free from Spanish rule.

Territorial armies and land campaigns played a vital role in securing independence, but command of the sea was also crucial. While the Spanish Navy ruled the waves it was impossible to expel the Royalists from the River Plate, capture the coastal fortresses of Chile, launch a successful seaborne attack on Peru, or prevent the arrival of reinforcements from Europe. The creation of local navies by the patriot forces was therefore a priority.

Fortunately the River Plate provinces, Chile and Peru each had access to a naval base – Buenos Aires, Valparaíso and Callao, the port of Lima. While suitable ships and equipment were readily available,

manpower was more difficult to come by. In spite of its extensive coastline, South America was a continent of mines, cattle ranches and plantations. There was little in the way of maritime tradition and few people had any knowledge of the sea. The patriot authorities were faced with the dilemma of finding the sailors they needed to man and fight their ships.

The solution was partially to be found in Britain and Ireland. At the close of the Napoleonic Wars, the Royal Navy was effectively demobilised. Within a few years, the number of ships in commission had fallen from 713 to 134 and the number of men from 140,000 to a mere 23,000. Of the navy's 5,264 commissioned officers, 90% were unemployed and eking out a living on half pay, while at the level below there were legions of former Midshipmen and Masters' Mates who received no salary whatsoever. Among these thousands it was not difficult to find officers and men eager for the pay and prize money offered by a foreign war.

In 1818, the newly liberated state of Chile sent a special recruiting mission to London in search of men and materials. This proved a successful undertaking, and within two years, the new Chilean Navy could boast fifty officers and 1,600 men, the majority in each category originating from Britain and Ireland.. The commander-in-chief was one of the naval heroes of the age – a Scottish naval officer, Thomas Lord Cochrane. Cochrane was a political radical; a military genius at sea but a quarrelsome nuisance in port. Within two years, Cochrane and his men had swept the Spanish Navy from the Pacific and had helped to secure the independence of both Chile and Peru. Inspired by the Chilean example, when Argentina went to war with Brazil in 1825 over control of the northern bank of the River Plate, the country also toyed with the idea of recruiting officers and men in London. This proved unnecessary as, from the beginning, cheap, available land, high wages and a temperate climate had made the River Plate ideal for European settlement. The Argentine authorities found, as they had during the war of independence, that there were already enough European immigrants with naval experience to man the new navy it had created under the command of the Irish-born William Brown.



Brazil 1821-6

### The Case of Brazil

Across the Andes in Portuguese Brazil, the impact of the Napoleonic Wars resulted in differing outcomes. In 1807, the timid and corpulent Regent of Portugal, Dom João, had avoided capture by Napoleon by moving his court and government lock, stock and barrel to the Portuguese colony of Brazil. Rio de Janeiro became the capital of the Portuguese Empire and the country boomed as a result. By 1815, Brazil had been raised to the status of a kingdom – equal to Portugal in the Braganza dominions. However as a result of the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, King João VI, as he was now known, had been forced to return to Portugal, leaving his son, the charismatic 23 year-old Prince Pedro, as Regent. As soon as the king had returned to Lisbon, the Portuguese attempted to turn back the clock and reduce Brazil to colonial subservience, provoking anger and widespread resistance throughout the country. A revolt was masterminded by Brazil's Chief Minister, a tough 58 year-old

scientist turned politician called José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva. It was de Andrada who won the impetuous young Prince over to the cause and led the country down the path of independence. On 7 September 1822, Pedro made his historic declaration of 'Independence or Death!' and a fortnight later, he was crowned Emperor of Brazil.

The Brazilian revolt was therefore of quite a different nature from that which had taken place to the southern side of the Andes. In Spanish America, the independence movements had been led by republicans who had swept away the old system and created new institutions run by new men. In Brazil, on the contrary, the independence movement was led by the heir to the House of Braganza and was monarchical from the beginning. The machinery of government therefore remained intact, as did the naval infrastruc-

ture, its personnel and its organisations – the Ministry of Marine, the Navy Board, the Hospital, Academy, and the Dockyard. The Brazilian government promptly provided itself with a fighting force by seizing fourteen warships and fourteen schooners of the Portuguese Navy deployed in Rio de Janeiro and the River Plate.

Independence had not yet conclusively been achieved in Brazil. When Pedro made his declaration in 1822, only the central region around Rio de Janeiro was under Brazilian control; the rest of the country continued to be dominated by Portuguese juntas and troops occupying the towns and the coastal capitals. The most significant of these were Belém, at the mouth of the Amazon; São Luís do Maranhão on the northern coast; and Salvador, capital of the state of Bahia and the site of a great naval arsenal and military garrison. Although under siege by a rag-tag Brazilian army, Salvador was seen as the springboard for reconquest and reinforcements were already en route from Portugal.

In Brazil however, there were two factors in the situation which had a familiar ring. As in the Pacific, maritime dominance was crucial. Only by seizing control of the sea could Brazil cut off the flow of reinforcements from Portugal, blockade and expel the enemy garrisons, and make independence a reality. As in Spanish America, there was a critical shortage of naval manpower. Brazil, like Chile and Peru, was a country with no sea-faring population or maritime tradition. Not only was there a lack of local recruits to man the ships which comprised the new Brazilian Navy, but the officers and men who had worked on the vessels which José Bonifácio's government had commandeered in Rio de Janeiro were Portuguese by birth and of doubtful loyalty.

The Brazilian solution was the familiar one of looking to Britain and Ireland for the men it needed. The first recruits, found in Rio de Janeiro, were two young English Sub-lieutenants, William Eyre and George Manson; and three senior officers - an American captain called David Jewitt, Captain Mathias Welch of the Royal Portuguese Navy and Lieutenant John Taylor of HMS *Blossom* who, to the fury of the Admiralty, resigned his commission to become a Brazilian frigate captain. News had also reached Rio de Janeiro that Lord Cochrane's glorious career in the Pacific had ended in bitter squabbles over pay and prize money, and that the commander was looking for a job. Pedro promptly offered him the post of commander-in-chief of the new Brazilian Navy with the rank of First Admiral. Cochrane accepted, and arrived in Rio in March 1823 accompanied by five officers, all of whom were commissioned into the Brazilian service [1] – an Englishman, John Pascoe Grenfell, a Scot, James Shepherd and two Irishmen - Cochrane's flag captain Thomas Sackville Crosbie and Commander Bartholomew Hayden. The nationality of the fifth officer, Lieutenant Stephen Clewley, was not recorded.

The major Brazilian recruiting initiative was, however, carried out in the ports of London and Liverpool in the winter of 1822-1823. Urged on by Brazil's agent in the British capital, General Felisberto Brant, who was receiving alarming reports of the despatch of Portuguese reinforcements, the Government authorised a recruiting campaign and the purchase of huge quantities of arms and naval stores. [2] On 26 December 1822, Brant appointed a compatriot, Antônio Meirelles Sobrinho, as Vice-Consul in Liverpool, where he hoped to source the bulk of the men. Meirelles was told to offer up to £2.60 a month - a figure which compared favourably with the £1.60 paid to Able Seamen in the Royal Navy - and was ordered to raise 150 sailors in as expeditious and clandestine a manner as possible. In London, Brant employed a former Royal Navy officer, James Thompson, as his agent. Thompson was appointed as a Brazilian frigate captain and authorised to find fifty men and five junior officers. [3]

Recruitment in London and Liverpool presented few problems. There were a sufficient number of hardy souls willing to exchange the chilling fogs of the European winter for service in the sun, good pay and prize money. The salary scales of the Brazilian Navy may have been generous for seamen, but for officers they were less so. £8 a month for lieutenants and £5 for sub-lieutenants were only two-thirds of the rates paid in the Royal Navy, but the comparison meant little to men who had long since abandoned all hope of ever serving again under the British flag. Furthermore, the contracts offered by the Brazilian Agent were attractive. Each officer was to sign on for five years - if at the end of that time he remained in the service he would receive an extra 50 per cent in addition to his normal salary; if he returned to Britain he would receive Brazilian half-pay for the rest of his life. Free passages were provided and pay was to commence from the date of embarkation.



The Emperor Pedro I of Brazil

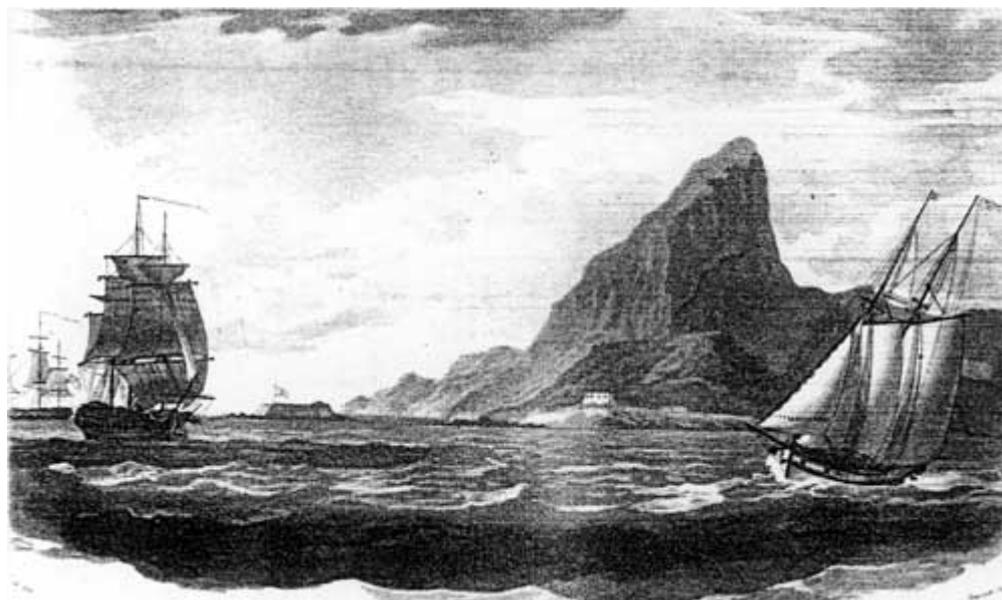
[4] All the officers recruited by Thompson had previously served in the Royal Navy.

Vincent Crofton, Samuel Chester, Francis Clare and Richard Phibbs had been midshipmen but had passed the examination for lieutenant and were appointed as such. The fifth, Benjamin Kelmare, had served with Cochrane in Chile where he had been wounded in the attack on the *Esmeralda*. He was commissioned as a commander. [5]

The first recruiting exercise was a complete success and was conducted in strict secrecy to escape the attentions of the British authorities and the Portuguese consuls. To avoid detection under the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819, Brant maintained the fiction that the recruits were settlers emigrating to Brazil, and carefully described the seamen in official documents as 'farm labourers' and the officers as 'overseers'. The authorities must however have colluded in this deception since in dress, language and gait, seamen were such a distinctive group that they could not have been mistaken!

At the end of January 1823, the first party of 125 men and six officers left Liverpool on the *Lindsays* to be followed three days later by a second group of forty-five seamen who left London on the *Lapwing*. [6] On arrival in Rio, the officers were distributed among the most powerful ships in the squadron [7] while the seamen were signed on and allowed ashore for the first time in six weeks. Within a few hours of exposure to all the pleasures of a foreign port, the majority were gloriously drunk. When some officers complained to the Empress, it is reported that she laughed and said 'Oh, 'tis the custom of the north where brave men come from. The sailors are under my protection; I spread my mantle over them!' [8] Lieutenant Phibbs was found to be medically unfit, but the vacancy was easily filled by the recruitment of John Nicol and William Parker, Mates respectively of the *Lapwing* and the *Lindsays*. [9]

Brant reported on the success of his efforts with undisguised satisfaction. The cost of recruitment in London had been reasonable and the men had accepted monthly pay of just £2. In Liverpool on the other hand, the 'perfidious' Meirelles had ignored his instructions and had not only offered £5.50 a month but, disregarding the need for secrecy, had 'criminally and unnecessarily' signed a contract to that effect. Brant reported hotly that on being reprimanded on the excessive offer of pay, the Vice-Consul had merely retorted that when the men were in Rio and the government could pay what it liked. [10]



The entrance to the Bay of Guanabara showing the Sugar Loaf  
(*Naval Chronical*, 1808)

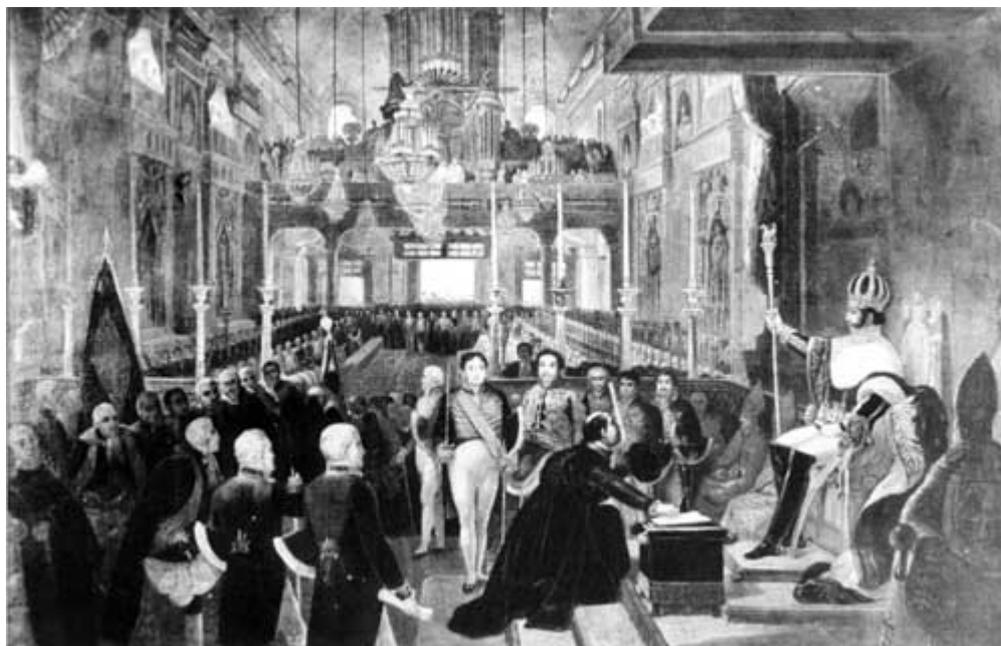
Nevertheless, news of Portuguese reinforcements continued to arrive and when in March, officers of the HMS *Conway*, recently returned from Brazil, reported that the navy was still hampered by a lack of men, Brant determined to launch a second recruiting campaign. [11]

He and Meirelles went into action, and within six weeks had found 265 seamen and fourteen officers, all of whom had previously served in the Royal Navy. This time the officers were engaged through the agency of Captain James Norton, a 34-year-old English officer with aristocratic connections who had fought in the Napoleonic Wars with the Royal Navy and had then served with the East India Company. Norton was commissioned as a frigate captain, while five of his companions - John Rogers Gleddon, George Clarence, Charles Mosselyn, Samuel Gillett and Raphael Wright - became lieutenants. The more junior recruits - Duncan Macreights, George Broom, George Cowan, Ambrose Challes, Charles Watson, William George Inglis, and James Watson - were appointed as sub-lieutenants. [12] Together with officers and seamen, the party also included petty officers and boatswains as well as thirty-one young men who signed on as Master's Mates or Volunteers in the hope of eventually gaining promotion to the quarter deck. They were not disappointed; within a year, almost all had been appointed as sub-lieutenants. [13]

Having staffed and fitted out his ships, in April 1823 Cochrane led the Brazilian Navy out of Rio de Janeiro on a cruise of astonishing audacity and success. In a campaign of only six months he blockaded and expelled a Portuguese army and a greatly superior naval squadron from its base in Bahia, then harried it out of Brazilian waters and across the Atlantic. He then tricked the Portuguese garrisons into evacuating Maranhão and Belém, leaving the northern provinces free to pledge allegiance to the Empire. By the end of the year, the country had rid itself of all Portuguese troops and was, to all intents and purposes, independent. If 1823 was the year of victory for the Brazilian Navy, 1824 was the year of consolidation. Cochrane's men first deployed themselves in preventing any Portuguese counter-invasion, then co-operated with the army in defeating a dangerous north-eastern rebellion known as the Confederation of the Equator. [14]

The War of Independence had also seen a dramatic increase in the size of the Brazilian navy. In 1823, it had comprised just twenty-eight warships and schooners carrying a total of 382 guns. A year later as a result of captures and further purchases it had grown to forty-eight vessels with 620 guns. The expansion was spectacular, but it meant that once again the government was short of junior officers and men. The experience of foreign recruitment in 1823 had however been highly satisfactory. Desertions had been minimal; of the fifty-eight British officers or aspiring officers recruited in England and locally, only thirteen had deserted their posts. Crosbie had left with Cochrane to seek their fortunes in Greece; James Watson and Samuel Gillett had deserted; Joseph Sewell, Thomas Poynton and John Rogers Molloy had been dismissed; Commander Benjamin Kelmare and Sub-lieutenants Blakely and Macreights had quietly

left the service; and Lieutenants Chester, Challes and Mosselyn had died or become invalids, a relatively small proportion in view of the diseases prevalent on overcrowded ships in the tropics.



The Coronation of Pedro I in 1822  
(J.B. Debrett)

Encouraged by its initial success, the Brazilian Government mounted a second recruiting campaign in 1825. General Brant in London was ordered to find eight hundred seamen and eighteen officers below the rank of commander and to buy two frigates and two armed steamships. [15] This time, in spite of

pay increases for both officers and men, the task was more difficult. Brant and his new colleague Gameiro managed to find eleven officers, but this time only two - Lieutenant Thomas Haydon and Midshipman Louis Brown, cousin of the Irish-Austrian General Gustavo Brown who had transferred to the Brazilian service - were British, the rest were French or Scandinavian. [16] Seamen were easier to find, and by the end of 1825, about four hundred were on their way - just in time for Brazil's war with Buenos Aires. [17]

The war between Brazil and the United Provinces of the River Plate was fought out by small squadrons in the channels and mud-flats of the river and by individual warships engaging the Argentine privateers who were unleashed along the Brazilian coast. One of the curiosities of the war - in which British trade was a major victim - was that the navies of both sides were substantially commanded and manned by men from England, Ireland and Scotland. On the Brazilian side Commodore Norton, who lost his arm in the process, commanded the inshore squadron in the river and led it to minor victories, backed by ships commanded by Bartholomew Hayden, Francis Clare and William James Inglis. John Pascoe Grenfell, Thomas Craig and George Broom all distinguished themselves as commanders in single ship actions. Not all survived; Lieutenant John Rogers Gleddon and Sub-lieutenant Charles Yell were killed at sea, while Captain James Shepherd died leading a disastrous attack in Patagonia. The navy quietly dispensed with the services of four more, Sub-lieutenant Gore Whitlock Oudesley and Lieutenant David Carter for being drunk during the capture of their corvette in 1827; Lieutenant Vincent Crofton, graphically described by his commanding officer as 'a madman and a drunkard'; and Commander Alexander Reid for sheer incompetence. In 1827, Sub-lieutenant Robert Mackintosh seized control of the schooner he commanded with the help of Argentine prisoners and sailed it to Buenos Aires. There he sold it to the government and pocketed the proceeds.

The war inevitably served as a powerful stimulant to the growth of the Brazilian Navy. By 1828, it was the biggest in the Americas and had grown to one ship-of-the-line, nine frigates, sixty-six smaller warships and two armed steamships carrying 875 guns. The personnel consisted of about 8,400 officers and men, of whom no less than 1,200 were natives of Britain and Ireland. [18] The advantages of this arrangement were clear, yet so too were the problems. There had been, for example, instances of groups of captured

seamen changing sides rather than face unpaid imprisonment. A minor revolution in 1831 and the abdication of Emperor Pedro brought a government to power in Brazil which believed in economies and retrenchment. The navy which was cut to one-fifth of its former size and was firmly recast in the role it was to play for the rest of the century, that of regional policeman and coastguard. When it eventually went to war, first against the Argentine dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas in 1852, and then against Paraguay as part of the Triple Alliance with Argentina and Uruguay in 1865, its field of glory lay not on the ocean but in seizing control of the great internal rivers of South America.



Lord Cochrane, First Admiral of Brazil  
(From the mezzotint by Meyer showing him in his prime in 1810)

The abrupt change in the navy's role dealt a blow to its personnel. Promotion was frozen and foreign officers who had not fought actively in the War of Independence were discharged. Nevertheless, the Navy List of 1835 still contained the names of twenty-two English, Scottish and Irish veterans, a number of whom stayed on in Brazil to attain the highest ranks in the service. [19] Of the remaining thirty-nine who had been recruited during 1823-5, seventeen had resigned or returned home at the end of their five-year contracts, nine had died or been killed in action, two had become invalids, five had deserted and six had been dismissed for incompetence, frequently the result of excessive drinking. A further twelve junior lieutenants had been recruited specifically for the Argentine war and were discharged immediately afterwards. Their fates are unknown.

Economies may have been made but the navy was still necessary. The simmering regionalism of Brazil and growing economic hardship resulted in a spate of colourfully named rebellions: the 'Cabanos' in Pernambuco 1832-1835 and in Pará 1835-1836; the 'Sabinada' in Bahia in 1837-1838; the 'Balaiaada' in Maranhão in 1839-1840; and the 'Farrapos' in Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina which dragged on for a decade from 1835. These crises caused a partial mobilisation of forces. In 1836, the number of ships in commission was increased to thirty, but a rapid expansion in manpower proved as difficult to achieve as it had been in 1823. This time, the government mounted a recruiting campaign in the Orkneys and Shetland Islands.

The Brazilian Navy was prominent in the suppression of all of these outbreaks, as were its remaining British officers. Captain William James Inglis and Lieutenant Richard Norbert Murphy were killed during the bloody 'Cabanos' rebellion in Pará. Commodore John Taylor led the force which restored order, assisted by Captains William Eyre, George Manson and Bartholomew Hayden. In the south, it was Commodore John Pascoe Grenfell who suppressed the 'Farrapos' rebellion, with Captains William Parker, Richard Hayden and George Broom under his command.

### Reflections

How can one analyse the contributions of these officers who fought for the Independence of Brazil? In the literal sense they were mercenaries, but that word acquired distasteful associations in the twentieth century and is best avoided. These men simply sought to earn a living. Since the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had lasted for a generation, there were plenty of people in Europe who knew of no other occupation or had no other expectations.

As individuals they were certainly a mixed group. Some successfully completed their five-year contracts and returned to Europe. Others died in action or of the diseases that were endemic on overcrowded ships in the tropics, and never saw their homelands again. Some were heroes whose achievements are remembered to this day. Others - to quote Brazilian Admiral Tamandaré's reflections in old age - 'were immensely brave but not very bright.' Some had dubious careers due to drink or incompetence and were quietly retired, while others, though relatively few, were dazzlingly successful as leaders, married locally and stayed on in Brazil to reach the highest ranks in the Imperial Navy. Some officers merged into Brazilian society, but the majority did not come as long-term migrants but as short-term employees with professional skills to sell. This was quite unlike the navy of Buenos Aires, for example, whose officers were immigrants who happened to have naval experience.

Another point which also emerges is that whereas the revolutionary squadrons of Chile and Argentina attracted officers from a number of national backgrounds, notably North American, the Brazilian Navy was dominated by officers of English, Scottish and Irish origins. A possible reason for this is that whereas subjects of King George may have been at ease with the monarchical trappings of Brazil and were happy to become subjects of the Emperor Pedro, Americans preferred to serve in the more familiar atmosphere of republican regimes.

What is also clear is that victory at sea was vital in securing Brazilian independence and that the reliability, leadership and technical skills of officers recruited by the navy from England, Scotland and Ireland were crucial to that success. The decisive effect of Lord Cochrane's incomparable military talents is obvious, yet the presence of the officers who supported him was no less significant, bringing with them professionalism, an aggressive approach and a confidence in victory born of years of unquestioned supremacy at sea. They may not have had the social impact on Brazil of large groups of immigrants, but in qualitative terms their contribution to the country's independence and survival was immense.

From documents scattered in the Brazilian archives, it is possible to piece together the careers of those of British and Irish origin among these men in South America. A great deal is known about the seven who achieved the rank of commodore or admiral, including their births, marriages and deaths. However, there are few records in Brazil about the origins, nationalities or pre-independence careers of the bulk of the others. Likewise, while it is possible to find some records showing previous service in the Royal Navy, the

Admiralty only kept central records for Lieutenants and superior ranks, rendering it impossible to trace the legions of Midshipmen and Master's Mates whose names are scattered in the muster rolls of a thousand ships. Neither is O'Byrne's usually invaluable 1849 *Biographical Dictionary* of all living officers of the Royal Navy helpful. Entries were written by the individual concerned who, unless they had aristocratic or fashionable connections, tended to say nothing of their origins, apart, of course, for the most flamboyant or self confident. Captain Donat Henchy O'Brien's extensive entry, for example, begins with 'descended from one of the ancient monarchs of Ireland,...' while that of Thomas Sackville Crosbie says nothing of his family or place of origin. It is only Maria Graham's description of him as 'a young, gentleman-like Irishman' that provides a clue.



Cochrane's Flag Captain, Thomas Sackville Crosbie, in Brazilian Uniform, and Bartholomew Hayden in old age wearing the uniform of a Brazilian Commodore.

Neither is anecdotal evidence of nationality easily found in South America. Generally speaking, South Americans did not distinguish between Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen, classifying them all as 'ingleses'. Indeed the men themselves also seemed uninterested in these distinctions and seemed happy to refer to themselves as both 'inglés' and 'Englishman.' When discussing the impact of his campaigns on trade with officers of the Royal Navy, the Scotsman Cochrane frequently reminded them that 'he was conscious of his duty as an Englishman'. [20] It is no surprise that Woodbine Parish, His Majesty's Consul-General and an Englishman, should remark as he surveyed the diverse Brazilian squadron in the River Plate, that 'it appears so formidable to the Buenos Aireans because it is largely commanded and manned by Englishmen.' [21] It was a Scotsman, Robert Gordon, who wrote a furious dispatch from the British Embassy in Rio complaining that the Brazilian-Argentine War, rather than being a conflict between the nationals of two foreign states, was actually 'a War Betwixt Englishmen.' [22] What he meant was a war between English, Irish and Scottish subjects of King George. His colleague in Buenos Aires, the Irish peer Lord Ponsonby, was a little more accurate, portentously ending a dispatch by describing the glorious engagement of Brown's Argentine flotilla by Norton's Brazilian squadron at the Battle of Monte Santiago with the words 'You will observe that all these splendid displays of courage have been made by Britons!' [23]

Brian Vale

### Notes

- [1] Decree of 21 March 1823, reproduced in Theotonio Meirelles da Silva, *Apontamentos para a Historia da Marina de Guerra Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1882) Vol. 2, 67.
- [2] Brant's dispatches reproduced in *Publicações do Arquivo Nacional, Rio*, Vol. VII, 1907.
- [3] Brant to José Bonifácio, 4 January 1823, *Publicações*.
- [4] Brant to José Bonifácio, 12 January 1823, with appendices, *Publicações*. Also Francis Clare's contract in the Dundonald (Cochrane) Papers in the National Archives of Scotland (NAS), GD 233/34/244.
- [5] Decree of 23 August 1823, reproduced in Meirelles da Silva, *Apontamentos*, 69.
- [6] *Diario do Governo*, Rio, Maritime Notices, 24 March 1823.
- [7] Reports of the Real Junta da Fazenda, 10 and 26 April 1823, Arquivo Nacional (AN) Rio, XM80.
- [8] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence there during part of the Years 1821, 1822 and 1823*, (London, 1824), 221.
- [9] Reports of the Real Junta da Fazenda, AN XM80.
- [10] Brant to José Bonifácio, 11 February 1823, *Publicações*.
- [11] Brant to José Bonifácio, 25 March 1823, *Publicações*. Inevitably, the Brazilian Government refused to pay the amounts promised by Meirelles, with the result that after the campaign of independence the seamen began to desert in droves.
- [12] Decree of 23 August 1823, reproduced in Meirelles da Silva, *Apontamentos*, 69.
- [13] At the beginning of 1825, of the 174 officers in the Brazilian Navy List, 49 were British – one Admiral, five Captains, nine Commanders and 34 Lieutenants and Sub-lieutenants - all of whom were serving at sea.
- [14] For the story of the campaigns see, Brian Vale, *Independence or Death! British Sailors and Brazilian Independence 1822-5*, (London, 1996).
- [15] Brant and Gameiro to Carvalho e Mello, 5 November 1824, reproduced in *Arquivo Diplomatico da Independencia*, (Rio, 1922), Vol. 2. Only one frigate was purchased in London – a converted East India-man called the *Surat Castle* – but two armed steamships were purchased in Liverpool. Originally called *Britannia* and *Hibernia*, they were renamed *Correio Brasileiro* and *Correio Imperial* and reached Brazil in 1826. In what is probably the first recorded action between sail and steam, the first found herself in action against the Argentine privateer *Congreso* off Rio de Janeiro in September 1827 and was disabled by a shot in her paddle wheels.
- [16] Gameiro to Vilella Barbosa, 7 May, 27 June, 9 July, 19 December 1815, reproduced in *Arquivo Diplomatico*.
- [17] For an analysis of the war see, Vale, 'A War Betwixt Englishmen', *Brazil versus Argentina in the River Plate 1825-30*, (London, 2000).
- [18] *Relatório da Repartição dos Negócios da Marinha*. (Rio, 1828), Bibliotéca Nacional, Rio.
- [19] See *Almanack da Marinha 1835*, Bibliotéca da Marinha, Rio.
- [20] Captain Hickey to Commodore Bowles, 24 May 1819, Public Records Office (PRO), Kew, Ad 1/1563.
- [21] Parish to Canning, 20 July 1825, PRO Kew, FO 6/9.

[22] Gordon to Dudley, 1 October 1827, PRO Kew, FO 13/39.

[23] Ponsonby to Canning, 20 April 1827, PRO Kew, FO 6/17

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### **Appendix: Irish Officers in the Brazilian Navy 1822-1856**

Below is a list of officers of the Brazilian Navy who were, or may have been, Irishmen. I would welcome information from any reader who recognises a name or can provide details of the origins and previous careers of any of these men.

**William Blakeley:** Acting Sub-lieutenant May 1823. Blockade of Bahia 1823. Sub-lieutenant August 1824.

**Louis Brown:** Cousin of Field Marshal Gustavo Brown, chief of staff of the Brazilian army in the South. Recruited in London as Midshipman November 1825. Sub-lieutenant 12 October 1827. At the River Plate 1827.

**David Carter:** Volunteer 28 March 1823. Blockade of Bahia and capture of Maranhão 1823. Sub-lieutenant 12 October 1823 Promoted Lieutenant October 1825. Battle of Los Pozos and Lara Quilmes, 1826. Drunk during capture of *Itaparica* 1827. In service 1835.

**Ambrose Challes:** Sub-lieutenant 9 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia 1823 and Confederation of the Equator 1824. Frigate service 1825. Died 19 June 1825.

**George Clarence:** Ex-Midshipman Royal Navy and officer of East India Company ships. Brazilian Lieutenant 9 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia and Confederation of the Equator 1823-1824. River Plate 1826-1828 commanding frigates.

**Stephen Clewley:** Born in 1797. Royal Navy Midshipman 1809. Chilean navy. To Brazil with Cochrane. Appointed Lieutenant 21 March 1823. Blockade of Bahia, capture of Maranhão and the Confederation of the Equator 1823-1824. Commander August 1824. 1825-1827 commanding frigates and brigs in the Plate. Captain of Frigate 12 October 1828. In service 1833.

**Francis Clare:** Ex-Royal Navy Midshipman. Appointed Lieutenant 9 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia and Confederation of the Equator. Commander 9 August 1824. Battle of Monte Santiago April 1827, later wrecked at San Blas. Captain of Frigate 12 October 1827. In service 1832.

**George Cowan:** Sub-lieutenant 12 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia and Confederation of the Equator 1823-1824. Lieutenant 9 August 1824. To the River Plate 1826. Commands schooner at Battle of Monte Santiago April 1827. Commander 1828. In service 1832

**Vincent G. Crofton:** Ex-Royal Navy midshipman. Lieutenant 9 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia 1823. Described 1824 as 'a madman and a drunkard'.

**Thomas Sackville Crosbie:** Born in Ireland 1793. Ex-Royal Navy Midshipman 1806-1815 Served at Lisbon, Mediterranean, South America and the West Indies. Lieutenant 21 March 1815. Chilean navy. To Brazil with Cochrane. Captain of Frigate 21 March 1823. Captain 12 October 1823. Flag Captain at Blockade of Bahia, capture of Maranhão and Confederation of the Equator 1823-1825. Resigned November 1825.

**Thomas Craig:** Sub-lieutenant 11 June 1824. On frigates during Confederation of the Equator and the River Plate 1824-1828. Decorated June 1828. In service 1829.

**Samuel Gillett:** Ex-Royal Navy Midshipman. Lieutenant 9 April 1823. Commands schooner in the north-east July 1823 to December 1824. Deserted.

**John Rogers Gleddon:** Ex-Royal Navy Midshipman. Lieutenant 9 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia and Confederation of the Equator 1823-1824. Killed at Battle of Corales 9 February 1826.

**Bartholomew Hayden (1792-1857):** born on 22 February 1792 in county Tipperary, the son of John and Joanna Hayden. Royal Navy Midshipman during the Napoleonic Wars. 1817-1819, Mid and Masters Mate on South America station. 1821 resigned and bought the brig *Colonel Allen* which brought Cochrane to Brazil, January-March 1823. Commander in the Brazilian Navy May 1823. Blockade of Bahia 1823 and off Pernambuco 1824. Successful corvette captain in River Plate 1826-1827. Captain of Frigate 31 January 1826. Battles of Quilmes and Monte Santiago. Commands (Anti-slavery) Division of the East of Angola 1828-1829. Married Anna da Fonseca Costa 2 June 1829, five children. 'Cabanos' rebels in Pará 1835-1836. Captain 22 October 1836. Leave to work in Steam Packet Co. 1839-1840. Retired 1842 as Commodore. Restored to the Active List 1849. Member of Naval Armaments Commission 1851.

**Richard Hayden:** Younger brother of Bartholomew Hayden. Acting Sub-lieutenant February 1824. Confederation of the Equator and River Plate 1824-1827. Captured during raid on Patagonia April 1827. Lieutenant 12 October 1827. In service as a Commander 1842.

**Benjamin Kelmare:** born on 25 June 1790. Royal Navy Service as Midshipman and Lieutenant 1809-1815. In Chile with Cochrane. Invalided home. Commander 9 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia 1823 and the Confederation of the Equator 1824. Sick. Not on 1827 List

**William MacErwing:** Sub-lieutenant 12 October 1826. Commands schooners in the River Plate. Lieutenant 18 Sept 1828. Still in service 1835.

**John Rogers Molloy:** Master's Mate during the blockade of Bahia 1823 and the Confederation of the Equator 1824. Discharged for being drunk during the attack on the rebel capital of Recife.

**Richard N. Murphy:** Volunteer 1823. Acting Sub-lieutenant February 1824. Confederation of the Equator. Frigate service 1825. Commands steamship *Correio Imperial* (originally *Hibernia*) Sept 1825 then schooners in River Plate 1826. Lieutenant 1828. Killed by 'Cabanos' rebels August 1835.

**Thomas Poynton:** Acting Sub-lieutenant. *Atlanta* 1823. Dismissed for insubordination July 1824.

**Joseph Sewell:** Sub-lieutenant 20 July 1823. Blockade of Bahia 1823-4. Court martial and dismissed July 1824.

**George Strickland:** Masters Mate 1823. Blockade of Bahia and Confederation of the Equator 1823-1824. Sub-lieutenant 18 Sept 1824. River Plate 1824-1825. In service 1829.

**Charles F. Yell:** Volunteer May 1823. Off Montevideo 1823. Confederation of the Equator 1824. Sub-lieutenant 9 August 1824. To the River Plate 1826. Killed when brig *Cacique* captured by Argentine privateer September 1827.

## Great Britain, the Paraguayan War and Free Immigration in Brazil, 1862-1875

By Miguel Alexandre de Araujo Neto (\*)

Translation: Claire Healy

*The Irishman, perhaps justly accused of unthriftiness and insubordination at home, for he is hopeless there and has the tradition of a bitter oppression to make him feel discontented, becomes active, industrious, and energetic when abroad; intelligent he always is. He soon rids himself of his peculiarities and prejudices, and assimilates himself so rapidly with the progressive people around him that his children no longer can be distinguished from the American of centuries of descent.*

*The Anglo-Brazilian Times, 23 January 1867*



Downtown Rio de Janeiro (ca. 1865). The *Anglo-Brazilian Times* office was located, formerly, at Rua do Hospício, to the upper left of the picture. The island close to the docks ('Cais Pharoux') is the Ilha das Cobras, that housed the Navy's Arsenal. On the centre, between the two churches, is the Paço, the Imperial Palace.

(Photograph by Georges Leuzinger in 'O Rio de Janeiro do fotógrafo Leuzinger: 1860-1870' by Maria L. David de Sanson et al., *Rio de Janeiro: Sextante*, 1998, p. 21). With kind permission of the publisher.

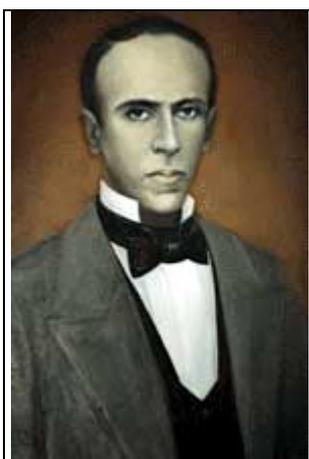
(\*) This article is based on my M.A. dissertation (Latin American Studies, University College London, 1992); another more extensive version, under the title of 'Imagery and arguments pertaining to the issue of free immigration in the Anglo-Irish press in Rio de Janeiro,' was published by the Associação Brasileira de Estudos Irlandeses (ABEI Journal, Ed. Humanitas, São Paulo, no. 5, pp. 111-127. June 2003.) This work is available on: <http://http.gogobrazil.com/angloirishpress.html>, thanks to the kindness of Peter O'Neill, to whom I would like to express my sincere appreciation. The copyright pertains to ABEI, edited

by Dr. Munira Mutran and Dr. Laura Izarra, of the University of São Paulo (USP), and to the author. Any mistakes of interpretation or of any other nature are my sole responsibility.

## Introduction

This article examines the relationship between a British newspaper in Rio de Janeiro and the political elites of the Brazilian Second Empire (1840-1889). The publication of the newspaper in question commenced in February 1865 and continued until 1884, when its owner, for health reasons, ceased his journalistic endeavours and passed away shortly thereafter. The newspaper was called the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*. Its editor and owner was William Scully (1820?-1884), an Irish immigrant.

This analysis does not cover the entire period of the publication of the newspaper, a total of twenty years, but rather concentrates on the initial phase, 1865-1870. Nevertheless, the article will also cover, albeit superficially, the five years of publication until 1875, when England decided to call a halt to the emigration of colonists to Brazil. In respect of those final years, this article does not concentrate on Scully's discourse but rather is based on secondary sources. This restriction is in part imposed by the lack of availability of copies of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* for the years from 1871 to 1877. For the purposes of this research, the collection of editions for the years 1865 to 1870 was used. The collection is stored at the National Library in Rio de Janeiro and is available on microfilm. The library does not hold copies for the period from 1871 to 1877. The series with the editions from 1878 to 1884 is also accessible to the public and microfilmed. They have not however been included in the analysis as they do not relate to the proposed theme of discussion.



Zacarias de Góes e  
Vasconcelos

([Governo do Paraná](#))

The period of study covers the overall causes of the swift extinction of a project of European immigration in which the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* was involved. This was the settlement of Irish people in Santa Catarina, in Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro along the river Itajaí-Mirim, between 1867 and 1869. The article also pays particular attention to the political crisis that resulted in the dissolution of the Third of August Cabinet on 16 July 1868, and of the liberal-progressive majority led by Zacarias de Góes e Vasconcelos (1815-1877), which retained political hegemony in Brazil for some time during the 1860s. Both incidents are inter-related. The removal of Zacarias created the political conditions whereby the initial settlement of the immigrants in Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro was rendered impracticable.

Preparations for the founding of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* date from the final stage of the controversies generated by the actions of the British government, represented by its Minister Plenipotentiary, William Dougall Christie (1816-1874), and the Brazilian government, with respect to the slavery question, in the wake of the end to the trans-Atlantic slave trade between Africa and Brazil.

Even with the extinction of the trade itself in 1850 (*Eusébio de Queirós Law*), Great Britain persisted in its own goal of forcing Brazil to adopt measures conducive to the abolition of slavery. In that way, Britain adopted an intransigent, bellicose posture, which would provoke the breakdown of bilateral relations between the two countries in 1863, despite the fact that this extreme situation had been caused by problems of minor significance. [1]

This argument attempts to demonstrate that Great Britain, at a time when Anglo-Brazilian relations had been severed, contemplated free European immigration as an alternative that might substitute the diplomatic and military pressures which, until 1863, were aimed at forcing Brazil into adopting a policy clearly favourable to the abolition of slavery. The intimidating operations carried out during the first stage, concluded with William Christie, had been frustrated, and so the British government officially adopted a policy of non-interference in relation to the problem of slavery in Brazil. Nonetheless, Westminster would have proceeded to disseminate propaganda aimed at the liberalisation of Brazilian immigration policy. According to this propaganda, the growing numbers of free immigrants in the country, arriving free of the

customary restrictions, would render slavery obsolete or unnecessary. The instrument for this form of persuasion was precisely the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, whose establishment in the year 1865 appears to have been no coincidence. The activities of William Scully were in line with this hypothesis and would have been subsidised, to a certain extent, by the British government.

The strategy thus outlined, however, was short-lived. Yet it seems to have been the underlying cause of the political crisis of January-July of 1868, which not only signalled the initiation of the decline of the power of the monarch, Dom Pedro II (1825-1891), but would also result in a decisive blow dealt to British propaganda promoting mass immigration. From the deposition of Prime Minister Zacarias Góes e Vasconcelos and the consequent dissolution of the Third of August Cabinet, on 16 July 1868, the colonising initiative in which Scully was most directly involved - the settlement of Irish people along the river Itajaí-Mirim in Santa Catarina, found itself deprived of political, material and financial support, and ceased to exist within approximately one year.

This would have been triggered by the identification of connections between that colonisation experience and British propaganda with regard to the promotion of free immigration. In this specific case, the colonists might have been perceived as a real threat to Brazilian sovereignty in solving the slavery problem. That colonisation project, which not only included Irish people of British origin, but also North Americans, French, Italians and others, ended in failure after a further blow to its possibilities of success, represented by the catastrophic rainy season of 1869. [2] Following the dispersal of this first wave of immigrants, Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro would be settled by Polish immigrants, and also Germans and Italians, in a different domestic political context, under Conservative leadership.

Subsequent initiatives aimed at promoting British immigration were restricted to the provinces of Paraná and São Paulo. Colonies located in Assunguy (present-day Cerro Azul, in the vicinity of Curitiba) and in Cananéia, São Paulo, during the first half of the 1870s, also ended in failure, even though a few settlers managed to succeed (Marshall 2005: 137-187). In 1875, Great Britain, along with France, decided to prohibit emigration for colonisation experiments in Brazil, as other European countries had already done, such as Prussia in 1859. [3]

### The Place of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* in Brazilian Political and Socioeconomic Spheres

The date 16 July 1868 was a turning point in the political history of the Brazilian Second Empire, a point of departure from which a process of disintegration of the monarchical regime was initiated. On that day, Joaquim José Rodrigues Torres (1802-1872), Viscount of Itaboraí, of the Conservative Party, was appointed Prime Minister in place of the progressive, Zacarias de Góes e Vasconcelos. It was the third time that Zacarias had led the Cabinet.

Inaugurated on 3 August 1866, the last cabinet of Zacarias had a legitimate Liberal-progressive parliamentary majority. The progressives were a faction of the Conservative Party, which included radical Catholics, known as *Ultramontanes*. The political aspirations of these last were aimed at the extinction of the politico-religious prerogatives of the Emperor, ensured by the '*padroado*' (patronage) and the '*beneplicito*' (approval) systems, which made Dom Pedro II the effective leader of the Brazilian Church. Regulations emanating from the Vatican had validity in the country only with the approval of the monarch. Zacarias was an eloquent politician with an Ultramontane religious background and became the natural leader of that unlikely political majority which united Liberals, ex-Conservatives (*progressives*) and Ultramontanes.

The reason behind that compatibility, as David Gueiros Vieira has well highlighted in his work on the relationship between the freemasonry and the Religious Question of 1872, lay in the free entry of European Catholics loyal to the Vatican (Papists) into the country during the 1860s (Vieria 1980:



Joaquim José Rodrigues  
Torres  
(*Exército Brasileiro*)

245). This might counter-balance, demographically and politically, the religious prerogatives of the Emperor. The idea that a congregation would be expanded by free immigration pleased the Ultramontane clergy and, naturally, Pope Pius IX. Therefore, both the Roman Catholic Church and its legitimate representatives in Brazil supported initiatives aimed at the liberalisation of the immigration policy, provided that Catholics were favoured. Hence the affinities between Liberals and Ultramontanes in the second half of the nineteenth century in Brazil and the composition of the parliamentary majority represented by the Third of August Cabinet. However, this coalition, for the reasons exposed below, did not prosper. [4]

The political commotion of July 1868 was serious enough to provoke the rupture of the equilibrium of the Brazilian political life and national parties. Alfredo Bosi, for example, observes that the Brazilian historiography '[...] is unanimous in pointing to the year 1868 as the great watershed between the most stable period of the Second Empire and the long crisis which would culminate, twenty years later, in the Abolition [of slavery] and the [proclamation of the] Republic' (Bosi 1999: 222). The foundation of the Republican Party would occur just two years after 1868. During the two subsequent decades, the combination of various other movements, among them Abolition and the expansion of Positivism (especially within the Armed Forces), produced the end of the monarchical regime. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to affirm that the removal of the Third of August Cabinet was the historical event that set in motion the forces that led to the birth of the Republic, which occurred on 15 November 1889.



The Duke of Caxias, Patron of the Army. Pinto de Campos, J., *Vida de Luís Alves de Lima e Silva* (Lisboa, 1878)

The events leading up to the crisis of 16 July 1868, for their part, had a direct relationship with the Paraguayan War (1864-1870). The Brazilian command of the military operations of the Triple Alliance (Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay), under the orders of Marshall Luís Alves de Lima e Silva (the then Marquis of Caxias), was, at the beginning of that year, harshly criticised in the Liberal press, most markedly in a series of diatribes by William Scully in the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* of 7 January.

In view of these criticisms, Caxias presented a request for renunciation, in February 1868. Under these circumstances, Dom Pedro II was left to choose between: 1) preserving the supreme leadership of the Brazilian and Allied military forces at war, or 2) conserving the Third of August Cabinet. Caxias ended up forcing the removal of Zacarias, who asked for exoneration on the pretext of the nomination of the Conservative Francisco de Sales Torres Homem (1812-1876), of Rio Grande do Norte, to the Senate (Vieria 1980: 248-250). A new government was subsequently formed, with the leadership of Conservatives. The change, by force, which was widely regarded as a coup d'état, was made possible because the Emperor enjoyed the power of a moderator and thus was constitutionally capable of interfering in the normal political process. The new Conservative leader, Itaboraí, was sworn in without an elected majority. Only then were elections called and of course the Conservatives won most constituencies, thereby lending a veneer of legitimacy to the 16 July Cabinet.

Significant authors, such as Batista Pereira (1975: 36-38), Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1972-2, v. 5: 7-13, 95-104), Brasil Gerson (1975: 127-131), Wilma Peres Costa (1996: 251-254) and, more recently, Francisco Doratioto (2002: 334-339), point to *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* as the principal vehicle for Liberal propaganda against Caxias in 1868. According to the proprietor of that paper, William Scully, the Brazilian marshal was too old to carry out the task conferred upon him, that of defeating Solano López, the Paraguayan head-of-state. In an allusion to Republican Rome, Caxias was, in the Irishman's words, a 'septuagenarian Cincinnatus'. Furthermore - which was even more serious - Scully accused Caxias of forcing 'the war [...] to linger on as long as the country can find the gold to squander.' In his view, the Brazilian marshal's 'favorite weapons' were 'gold bags,' thereby evoking an image of trenches guarded by

such devices. Consequently, the moroseness with which, towards the end of 1867, military operations on the Paraguayan front had actually been conducted was portrayed as intentional.

The accusations made by William Scully were of impropriety and corruption. Yet these aspects of his article have not been appropriately highlighted, in spite of the fact that it has been recognised that his criticisms initiated the crisis that precipitated the decline of the Second Empire. All this said, the majority of the secondary sources, with the exceptions of David Gueiros and Oliver Marshall, do not mention any prior activity in which the Irish editor was involved. The impression given by the analyses of the authors mentioned above is that of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* surging onto the Brazilian political scene of 1868 like a lightning bolt from out of the blue. This newspaper was however founded in early 1865, in Rio de Janeiro. The office was firstly located in Rua do Hospício (present-day Buenos Aires Street). Scully, although a journalist, was also an *empresario* connected with the business of immigration. The paper had support bases on Fleet Street in London, the traditional location of the offices of the newspapers of the English capital, and also in Liverpool. As for the year of Scully's arrival in Rio, it appears to have been 1861, when he established himself in the Brazilian capital as a teacher of calligraphy (Laemmert 1862: 478, and 'Notabilidades' 22). [5]

recentemente inventadas pelo professor Scully, as queres offerem a extraordinária vantagem de obrigar e acostumar para sempre o discípulo a pegar na penna de modo seguro, sendo guardadas estas cannetas de pequenas chapas concavas nos lugares onde se devem collocar os tres dedos, facilitando assim muito a escripta e contribuindo sobremaneira para qualquer pessoa em pouco tempo adquirir uma boa letra. Note-se ainda que servem tanto para adultos como para meninos.

**A VENDA EM CASA DE EDUARDO & HENRIQUE LAEMMERT**  
77 — RUA DA QUITANDA — 77

**X por atacado em casa de William Scully, professor de Calligraphia**  
6 A — Rua da Candelaria — 6 A

**PENNAS DE AÇO E DE OURO**

O. Scully tem para vender nas suas salas de escripta, á rua da Candelaria n. 6 A, pennas de aço applicaveis a todo tamanho de letra; pennas de ouro com ponta de diamante (são de duração infinita e tão brandas como as de ganso); Os segredos de calligraphia, um livro com instruções e modelos; tinteiros de nova invenção ou qualquer objecto de escriptorio.

**CALLIGRAPHIA ENSINADA EM 10 LIÇÕES**

William Scully, professor de calligraphia, admittio alguns discipulos para instrução da calligraphia; para tratar, dirijão-se á rua da Candelaria n. 6 A.

In 1865, diplomatic relations between Brazil and England had been suspended, because of the many disagreements between the Minister Plenipotentiary William Christie and the Brazilian Government. The most important of these related to the destiny of the Africans who had entered Brazil under the protection of agreements between the two countries. These agreements dated back to 1826 and to a Brazilian law of 1831, which actually declared illegal the transatlantic trade in slaves. In practice however, the smuggling of enslaved Africans into Brazil continued to be rampant long after 1831. In legal terms, all Africans forced to immigrate to Brazil after 13 March 1830 were freedmen ('emancipados') and were to be either repatriated or held in custody by the State. Africans legally seized by the military under the bilateral agreements and retained in the custody of the Brazilian authorities were also 'emancipados,' and yet they had been reduced to slavery. Even after the total suspension of the Atlantic slave trade, in 1850, the governmental lists containing the names of the 'emancipados' were kept undisclosed. The tremendous pressures exerted by

Christie to force Brazil to liberate the '*emancipados*' and to produce the lists with their names was the true reason for the suspension of relations.

Ironically, Anglo-Brazilian diplomatic relations broke off after a number of events of minor importance, totally unrelated to the problem of the '*emancipados*': the stolen cargo of a British ship that had sunk on the southern coast of Brazil, and the imprisonment of drunken English sailors following an isolated altercation in Rio de Janeiro. Demanding exorbitant compensation for these minor transgressions, Christie ordered, on 31 December 1862, the blockade of the Port of Rio de Janeiro, and the seizure of Brazilian ships. In May of the following year, official relations between the Brazilian and British governments were cut off (Bethell 1970: 70, 380-383). [6]

It can logically be assumed that the establishment of Scully's newspaper received financial support from the British Crown, at a time when relations between Brazil and England were still suspended. It must be kept in mind that the work of Francisco Otaviano de Almeida Rosa (1825-1889) in the *Correio Mercantil* had been subsidised by the British Legation, a fact highlighted by Leslie Bethell and David Gueiros (Vieira 1980: 90). [7] What would have prevented Britain from supporting financially a newspaper belonging to a British subject established in Brazil? Nothing, one might say. However, much greater attention is given to the fact that the Third of August Cabinet was accused of subsidising Scully's newspaper, which was true and certainly explained by the politico-religious interests connecting one to the other. [8]

Assuming that somehow Britain actually channelled financial resources into the maintenance of a quasi-official newspaper, directed by a British subject, established in Rio and dedicated to the propaganda of free immigration, we have an indication of a radical shift in the country's diplomatic relations with Brazil. The aggressive, aristocratic, Palmerstonian style of implementation of its foreign policy *vis-à-vis* Brazil ('gunboat' or '*canhoneira*' policy) was being abandoned, and the British imperative of the extinction of slave labour would be implemented, right in the capital of the Brazilian Empire, by way of the more subtle pressure of liberal journalistic propaganda. [9] The colonialist features of that propaganda, however, appear to have frustrated the initiative.

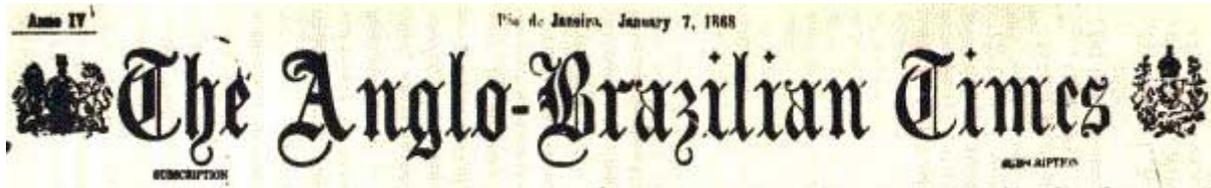
The evidence which justifies these hypotheses is contained in Scully's discourse in the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* between 1865 and 1870. The newspaper openly divulged, from its first edition on 7 February 1865, the promotion of spontaneous mass European immigration as a method of rendering slavery obsolete and boosting demographic growth in Brazil.

The fact that Scully was directly involved in the most significant political crisis of the history of the Second Empire would be sufficient to attest to the extent of the circulation and the influence of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*. Nevertheless in his recent book on this subject, Oliver Marshall maintains that the articles written by Scully were translated and published in the local press in Rio. Therefore, it can be assumed that the editions previous to 1868 had had a significant circulation, being read by members of the Brazilian political and military elites. There were also many subscribers abroad, a circumstance which certainly placed the image of the country permanently under the spotlight (Marshall 2005: 28).

The most characteristically colonialist features of Scully's newspaper, along with his insistent suggestions of the Brazilian governmental adoption of liberal directives in immigration policy, are found precisely in the editions prior to 1868. A quick appraisal of some passages suffices to perceive its authoritarian profile, despite its seeming, in comparison to the gunboat policy, a gentler form of pressure.

### **Scully's Colonialist Discourse**

The aggressiveness and forcefulness of Scully's texts were evident from the first months of his editorial activity. His writings do not sound like those of an independent journalist. Rather, they can be construed as a discourse that was backed up by an interventionist power. Dealing with themes and issues of major relevance for the Brazilian elites, he demonstrated extraordinary impatience. His texts evince, equally, a tremendous disdain for those same elites, although he always praised and attempted to cajole the monarch, Dom Pedro II, and his family. [10]



For instance, in relation to the breaking off of relations between Brazil and Great Britain and to the differences between the two countries, the Irishman derisively condemned the exorbitant demands of William Christie (ABT, 24 March 1865). On the other hand, he soon manifested an even greater arrogance than that displayed by the ex-Minister, filling his articles with threats and warnings about what would befall Brazil if his advice and suggestions were not followed immediately. This can be seen in the ninth issue of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (8 June 1865). Scully's lead article contains a weighing up of the results of Brazilian governmental measures aimed at the promotion of immigration until that point, together with an appreciation of the possible results of the delay in addressing appropriately the problem of manpower scarcity created by the slavery crisis. After beseeching the Brazilian readership not to be afraid or disdainful of the European colonist ('foreign immigrants are not the God-forsaken wretches that Brazilian ignorance and Brazilian prejudice fain would deem them'), Scully reminds them that 'their tenure of the slave population is slipping rapidly from out their grasp' and that 'their lands, though fertile and productive, are valueless without the laborer.'

Demonstrating affinity with the economic theories propounded by Adam Smith (1723-1790), Scully then warns Brazilians that 'they must consider that the laborer is of more value to them than they to him, that he is the true wealth-creator of the world, and the merchant, fazendeiro [rancher], and government are dependent on his labor.' Further, Brazilians should:

remember that with the European immigrant comes progress, wealth, and empire; that he brings with him skill, knowledge, enterprize, and advanced ideas, and has full right to demand, as a condition of his advent, equal consideration with the children of the soil he attaches his fortunes unto.

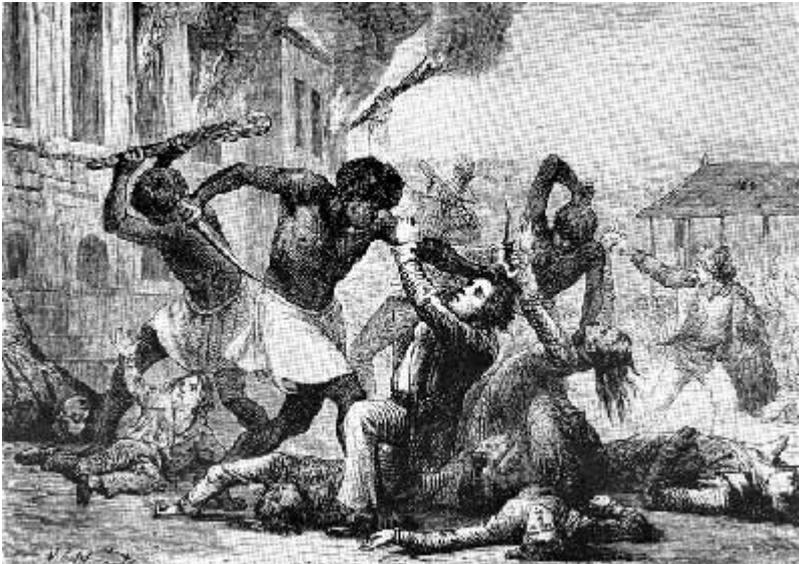
Scully also presents his precise considerations about Brazilian policies regarding the admittance of immigrants:

Brazil 'tis true votes some 600:000\$ annually for the encouragement of immigration - *cui bono?* The general and the provincial governments and individuals have established 'colonies' which they 'direct' and surround with regulations. They waste their money on these exotic plants that barely vegetate beneath the *fostering* care of Directors, Chefs de Policia, and Juizes de Paz, while the independent immigration that asks no subventions, no outlay for religious or profane instructors, no agricultural schools to 'teach the most improved modes of agriculture and grazing,' and no salaried 'directors;' that would bring with it intelligence, enterprize, new ideas, and improved appliances of agriculture, is afforded no facilities, no information, no encouragement.

Scully then plays up the threat of a general slave rebellion:

Do the Brazilians not see that their whole prosperity is in danger; that it now depends solely upon the retention in servitude of some three millions and a half of negro population; [...] that no reliance can be placed upon the uneducated slave when once he is relieved from the stimulus of compulsion [...] that their lines of railways and river navigation, though largely subsidized by the national treasury, are commercial failures from the absence of population along their courses [...] and do they not see [...] the

danger of a second Hayti looming in the future, facile amidst the mountains, forests, and unnavigable rivers of this vast and fertile, but almost roadless region?



'Do they not see the danger of a second Hayti looming in the future?  
([Latin American Studies Resources](#))

largely by her dismemberment, her existence in her integrality requires her to keep far in advance in population, wealth, and material progress; a result attainable only with the concurrence of a large and persistent immigration?

Therefore, he states that

To arrive at this result, let the Brazilian government and the Brazilian *people* extend a welcoming invitation to foreign immigrants. Let them be afforded every possible facility of settlement, and be relieved from the disabilities and irritating surveillance that disgust them and prevent development.

Finally, Scully argues in favour of the North American model of free immigration:

Let [...] government lands be granted, or sold at moderate prices, in tracts of 30,000 to 500,000 *braças*, each, to real settlers only. Let a sufficient quantity of such tracts, of easy access, be always kept surveyed and mapped. [...] Let every encouragement be given [...] to the formation in Brazil of Societies like the St. George in New York, to which immigrants [...] could apply for assistance and advice; and let means be taken to disseminate knowledge of Brazil in British and Continental Europe.

He ends the article with the following assessment:

With these and similar measures, and perhaps, for a time assisted immigration, together with liberality from the government and the people, such a current of immigration might be induced as would place the prosperity of Brazil upon the only sound and safe basis - a *free* and intelligent producing population warmly attached to their country, their constitution, and their Emperor.

In continuation, as well as pledging support for mass immigration, his argumentation has aspects that anticipate the geopolitical strategic thinking that underpinned policies implemented by the Brazilian military during the twentieth century:

in fine, do  
[Brazilians]  
not see that,  
with the  
grasping and  
warlike re-  
publics that  
envelop Bra-  
zil, each hav-  
ing to gain

This line of argument, taken in its totality, suggests the existence of a strategy aiming at the extinction of slavery in Brazil by means of the promotion of mass European immigration. Although it may perhaps have proved historically inapplicable, the greatest obstacle to the implementation of Scully's proposals may have been the man himself. After the first editions of his newspaper, and prior to 8 June of 1865, he published quite disdainful analyses and comments on the political and cultural life of the Brazilian elites. The interpretation of these pieces lends itself to the perception that the aims of his initiatives in relation to immigration were to promote an extensive reform of Brazilian society under the tutelage of the English. This is corroborated by the indications in Scully's discourse of a fundamental inspiration for his proposals: the radical thinker and reformer Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), one of the founders of the utilitarian philosophical movement, also known as Benthamism.

Having in mind the prospect of implementing this supposedly reformist agenda, the practice of *clientelism* (patronage) was emphatically deplored by Scully, since it inverted the priorities of parliamentary and governmental activities. According to him, the working hours of a Brazilian minister were almost totally devoted to the task of finding posts for friends, relatives and party affiliates, while legislative and executive activities were relegated to second place. This was undoubtedly true, and is attested to by diverse sources. [11] Scully, though, used the rough edge of his tongue: addressing the issue of patronage, and how detrimental it was to the development of the country, one reads in the editorial of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* of 24 May 1865 that 'the life of a Brazilian Minister is a life of downright slavery'. In other words, slavery was compared to a cancer that afflicted all of society, from bottom to top, including the elites. The Brazilian elites' Eurocentric self-image of enlightenment, combined with their real, or imagined, ties to the nobility to the Old World and with a romantic ideal of indigenous ancestry, certainly would not admit the perceived insolence inherent in this and other denunciations.

Finally, these charges would not be complete without an appreciation of the underdeveloped condition of education in Brazil. Demonstrating yet again what seems to be a utilitarian academic background, the editor of *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* believed that the Brazilian patronage system unavoidably engendered indolence and low productivity, stemming from the absence of competition for positions within the public administration. If they were to remain inactive, the new generations of the Brazilian elites would be crushed under the wave of progress generated by the arrival of European immigrants.

Scully begins a discussion by stating that 'true, our Brazilian boy is not unlearned [...] still, all his studies are without an aim, his only view in life is towards the *dolce far niente* of a government employment.'

Therefore,

the Brazilian educated classes have through indolence and pride abandoned to the more utilitarian foreigner engineering, mining, trades, commerce, and manufactures, and leave the resources and the riches of their wonderful country undeveloped until the educated science of some enterprising foreigner finds out the treasure and turns it to his own advantage.

Throughout the article, published on 8 April 1865 under the title 'Education', the threat is reiterated from different angles. Scully then resorts to a downright derogatory argument in order to underline the likely outcome:

Again we repeat that mind and body react upon each other and enervate together, and we warn our Brazilian youth that, if they suffer to degenerate and become emasculated through their indolence and contempt for usefulness, they will 'ere long endure the mortification of being ousted even out of their present stronghold of the public service, by those other classes whose pursuits they affect so much to scorn, when once the energies that win for these their wealth be directed to the loaves and fishes of the government employ.

Finally, in defence of the incorporation of physical education into the curriculum of Brazilian schools, Scully argues that it, 'joined with Western utilitarian science, makes two hundred thousand Europeans the arbiters of two hundred millions of the inhabitants of Indian climes'

Brazilians also had to remember that, thanks to discipline and physical exercise, 'Waterloo was won at Eton and Harrow'. Eton and Harrow are two very traditional fee-paying schools for boys in the United Kingdom, founded respectively in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Apparent in the three articles cited is not only a Eurocentric and Benthamist (Utilitarianism) tenor, but above all an uncontained British hegemonic and colonialist vocation. Expressed in these terms, this involves, paradoxically, praising ideas of merit, competitive education, and approval in exams. This naturally clashed with Brazilian social and political customs, then almost exclusively founded on privilege and the formation of clientele. In the articles of 1865 in the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* it is possible to perceive, with an antecedence of almost three years, who was the real antagonist of Caxias.

In Scully's discourse, then, British expansionism is articulated along a liberal politico-economic axis, openly opposed to the slavery system. The destruction of that system, according to the newspaper, should be achieved by means of free European immigration. Brazil, however, would ultimately have affirmed her sovereignty by rejecting both that form of expansionism and its proposals. As a result, an initiative in which Scully was directly involved may have been sabotaged. To this end, the Brazilian elites resorted to a practice similar to the 'spoils' system introduced by president Andrew Jackson (1767-1845) in the United States in 1828, [12] according to which only affiliates to the party in power could occupy public office. In Brazil, that political system was known as '*derrubadas*,' or the wholesale change of occupants of public office, after every general election. As soon as they were sworn in, they were able to prevent their opponents' undertakings from prospering. This was an immediate consequence of the removal of Zacarias in July 1868, which concurred to produce the failure of Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro, in Santa Catarina, to which Irish settlers had been sent (Marshall 2005: 78).

As such, the defence of Brazilian sovereignty was structurally entangled with the defence of the slavery system. At a purely diplomatic level, from 1863 Great Britain had abandoned its efforts aimed at the direct termination of slavery in Brazil. Now, however, Great Britain's attention seems to have turned to undermining the foundations of the Brazilian slave system by means of liberal propaganda and free immigration. [13] It was around this issue that Scully's altercations with Brazilian elites would centre, subsequent to the Christie Affair. They appear to have been the most profound reasons for the events of July 1868 and the failure of British colonisation schemes in Brazil.

### **A Sabotaged Project: The Irish in Santa Catarina (1867-1869)**

In 1866 some advances were made in some of the directions proposed by Scully. The creation in Rio de Janeiro of the International Emigration Society, in February of that year, had the direct participation of the Irish journalist, despite all the criticisms he made of the profile of that entity. [14] The *Third of August Cabinet*, inaugurated that year, showed a disposition towards implementing some type of effective mass immigration programme, reflecting the growing perception that the war effort was bound to intensify the country's labour shortage. Later on, Councillor Zacarias determined, in November 1866, that the slaves owned by the State ('*slaves of the Nation*') be emancipated for military service, prompting the acquisition of slaves from private owners for same purpose (Costa 1996: 244-248).

However, the clearest proof that the slavery question was the object of primary consideration in Brazil at that time is afforded by the Imperial Speech ('*Fala do Trono*') that opened the first session of the Thirteenth Legislature of the General Legislative Assembly on 22 May 1867. Addressing the issue, Dom Pedro II gave the legislators the following message:

The Servile element in the Empire cannot but merit opportunely your consideration, providing in such a manner, that, respecting actual property and without a severe blow to our chief industry - Agriculture - the grand interests which belong to emancipation may be attended to.

Next, the Emperor hinted that 'to promote colonization ought to be the object of your particular solicitude' (Brazil. Federal Senate 1988-1: 264). [15]

It is of significance that the 23 May 1867 issue of *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* featured a very enthusiastic commentary by Scully:

Should Europe pour in here her superabundant population, where employment could be given to 20,000,000 of them, then the Government of Brazil can emancipate the slaves without ruining the production of the country and with some prospect of providing for the future of the freedmen.



Immigrants before landing in Santos, São Paulo  
([Acervo Museu da Imigração, São Paulo](#))

This was preceded by a curious occurrence when, a few months earlier, Scully had apparently been sent to jail. Following the outbreak of a fire in the office of his newspaper, in February 1867, the Irishman had had a heated discussion with Chief of Police Olegario Herculano Aquino de Castro, during the course of investigations on the matter and the policeman arrested him. The Emperor himself seems to have interceded and the Chief of Police was exonerated. His substitute, however, issued an order of imprisonment against Scully, who complained about this with the Emperor's son-in-law, and heir to

the throne, Luís Filipe Maria Fernando Gastão de Orleans, Count d'Eu (1842-1922). The order apparently was not executed. [16]

Meanwhile, since 1866, the immigration of North American Confederates had been on the increase. Having decided to leave the United States after the Union's military victory in the 1861-1865 Civil War, the Southerners encountered in *The Anglo-Brazilian Times*' editor a fervent collaborator and publicist. An example of this can be seen in the editorial of 23 June 1866, when Scully praised the then Minister of Agriculture, Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza (1843-1917), a freemason. Scully noted that:

Brazil needed only to be known to be appreciated as a field of emigration, and, fortunately [...] the dissatisfaction in the Southern States of North America caused Brazil to be visited by various small parties of Americans deputed by various companies of expatriating Southerners to seek homes wherever best for them.

The estimates vary greatly, but, according to Frank Goldman, around 2,000 Confederates settled in Brazil, out of approximately 10,000 people who left Dixie after the war (Goldman 1972: 10).

Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro also figured among the destinations of the Confederates. Situated on the right bank of the Itajaí-Mirim river in Santa Catarina and in proximity to another colony, that of Itajaí (renamed Brusque), settled mostly by Germans. Created by the Imperial Decree of 16 February 1866, Príncipe Dom Pedro colony began to be effectively occupied by southern North American pioneers at the beginning of the following year. Its first director was an American, Barzillar Cottle. The amateur historian from Santa Catarina, Aloisius Carlos Lauth, in his most valuable work about the 'Príncipe Dom Pedro' indicates that, at the end of 1867, the number of Confederates involved in the colonising project had reached 237, that is, 35.5% of the total. The number of Irish coming from New York through the

initiative of Quintino Bocaiuva was 129 (19.5%), and that of English, 108 (16%). There were also, in smaller numbers, French, Germans, Italians and others (Lauth 1987: 35). [17]

In 1866 Scully took the initiative of advertising Brazil as a prospective home for Irish emigrants. As well as writing a book about all of the Brazilian provinces to serve as a guide for immigrants (published for the first time in 1866 and again in 1868), he twice published in the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, in October, a letter addressed to the Anglican Clergy in Ireland, requesting the procurement of colonists to that end. At the same time, in Brazil, the journalist continued to intensify propaganda for Irish immigration:

The Irishman, perhaps justly accused of unthriftiness and insubordination at home, for he is hopeless there and has the tradition of a bitter oppression to make him feel discontented, becomes active, industrious, and energetic when abroad; intelligent he always is. He soon rids himself of his peculiarities and prejudices, and assimilates himself so rapidly with the progressive people around him that his children no longer can be distinguished from the American of centuries of descent (ABT 23 January 1867).

At the end of 1867, around 339 immigrants coming from Wednesbury, England, were ready to embark for Brazil (256 of them Irish) (Marshall 2005: 56). Leaving England on 12 February 1868, and arriving at Rio de Janeiro on 22 April 1868, these immigrants were received in person by Emperor Dom Pedro II. [18] They were subsequently embarked for Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro, where Irish migrants were not well respected because of the problems caused by compatriots of theirs, from New York, who had settled there and were involved in brawls and excessive drinking. Scully, noting the undue interference by another immigration agent (*Chevalier* Francisco de Almeida Portugal) in the undertaking, and informed of the problems that awaited the new arrivals, advised them not to go to the Itajaí-Mirim river valley (ABT 23 March 1868). [19] But it was too late.

When we turn our attention back to Scully's attacks against Caxias in January 1868, we see that the chronology of events is quite suggestive. It can be assumed the imminent embarkation of the Wednesbury immigrants had lifted Scully's spirits, because of his direct interest in the success of the undertaking. Certainly, the apparent moroseness with which war operations were being conducted in Paraguay during the period of the siege of Humaitá irritated him to the extreme, because of the urgency he felt that the proposals put forward by him since 1865 were successful. Therefore, the tone of his diatribes against the Brazilian marshal were not in any way gratuitous or extemporaneous. There was a great deal at stake. The experience in the Itajaí-Mirim valley looked like it constituted the first step towards the formation of a demographic magnet, designed to attract more British immigrants. [20] Therefore the fact that the necessary resources for the promotion of immigration were being spent on the war effort must have been quite exasperating. Actually, after July 1868 and the deposition of Zacarias de Góes e Vasconcelos, the new Conservative Minister of Agriculture imposed severe 'budgetary cuts in the support of state colonies, in part due to the mounting costs of the Paraguayan War' (Marshall 2005: 78).

During the interval between the fateful article in the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* of 7 January 1868 (along with other articles) and the removal of the Third of August Cabinet in July, the recently-arrived Irish people that eventually settled in Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro had to face the adverse conditions anticipated by Scully, even though some preparations for their accommodation had been made. Among them was the appointment, at the end of 1867, of an Irish Catholic Priest, Joseph Lazenby, to be responsible for the spiritual life of the new colonists. Lazenby had been attracted to the colony when he heard of the presence of Irish settlers therein (Marshall 2005: 75), and he even managed to convert the American director Barzillar Cottle to Catholicism (Lauth 1987: 42-46).

The undertaking was frustrated, though, by a combination of factors, that affected all the settlers attracted to it since the foundation of the colony in 1866. A confrontation with the German colonists of the rival colony of Itajaí, on the left bank of the Itajaí-Mirim, resulted in March in the removal of Cottle and in the subsequent nomination of directors hostile to Anglophone settlers. The precariousness of roadways impeded the transport of the produce of the colonists, many of whom alleged not to have received

payments for services rendered for the infrastructure of the colony. The lots of land, all of which were assigned with a considerable delay, were situated in locations subject to flooding and torrents, which indeed later occurred. With the removal of Zacarias' cabinet, from July 1868 the colonists found themselves divested of any political support during the Conservative era inaugurated by Itaboraí. When the Itajaí-Mirim river burst its banks and the colony was flooded, any chances for success for the project were obliterated (Marshall 2005: 78).

The *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, in its editions of June 1869, related the arrival at Rio de Janeiro, in rags, of a group of Irish people who had left Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro. Equally, it gave notice that members of the British community of that city had provided help in purchasing return passages for the immigrants to Britain and Ireland. On 19 June a list of donors was published with their respective contributions, totalling £130, which seems to have been employed in the maintenance of the desperate immigrants. Gradually the colony was evacuated of all English-speaking colonists, while the intervention of British consular representatives in Rio and Santos prevented an even worse outcome for the impoverished settlers, most of whom were relocated in Brazil, Argentina and the United States (Marshall 2005: 80-87). Many had lost relatives during the venture. Finally, the lands where the first settlements failed were subsequently occupied by Polish colonists, whose descendants remained there and contributed to the formation of the present-day city of Brusque, an important textile centre in the state of Santa Catarina.

### Conclusion

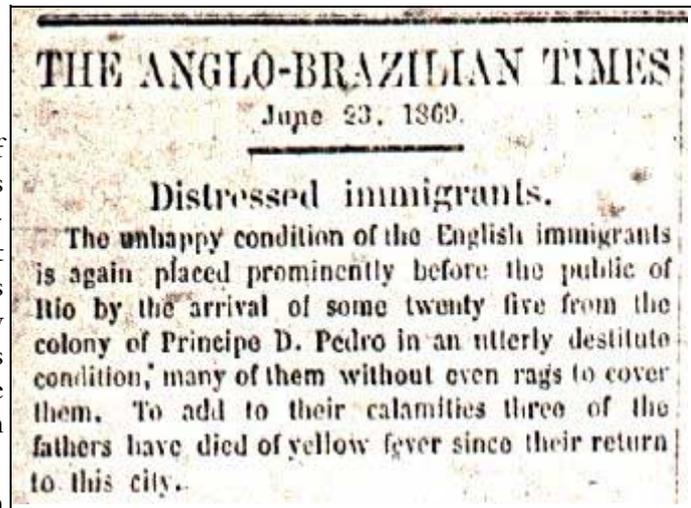
An attentive reading and interpretation of William Scully's editorials and various articles published in his newspaper, *The Anglo-Brazilian Times*, prior to 1868 suggest that there was a redefinition of the guidelines according to which British foreign policy towards Brazil between 1863 and 1870 was conducted. This seems to correspond to the predominance of the Liberal (Whig) Party in British politics in the mid-1860's.

On the other hand, such an interpretation

complements Leslie Bethell and Francisco Doratioto's assertion concerning the non-existence of hard evidence, in primary sources, in support of the idea that England convinced Brazil and her Triple Alliance partners (Argentina and Uruguay) to undertake the eradication of a supposed Paraguayan challenge to British commercial and strategic hegemony in the South American region of La Plata. Scully's political propaganda and the problems caused by it seem to testify to the opposite: the War of the Triple Alliance would have been detrimental to the execution of Britain's anti-slavery policy regarding Brazil.

It is interesting to note that in the same 9 October 1866 issue of *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* that features a letter addressed to the Clergy of Ireland, whereby the recruitment of immigrants was requested, a short article was also published, which decries the outbreak, and continuation, of the war against Paraguay. In that article, having recalled arguments brought forward by the followers of Thomas R. Malthus (1766-1834) to justify the role of wars as inhibitors of excessive population growth, Scully points out that the same theory 'loses all the dreadful force of its argument when applied to the scantily peopled region of the Americas.'

Further on, he considers that 'here at least there should be no shouldering of each other on the paths of life to necessitate a war to clear the way.' As he listed every conflict situation in the Americas, Scully implies that Brazil was responsible for ongoing political problems in Uruguay, a factor that led to the outbreak of the Paraguayan War: 'we see a chronic condition of war in an adjoining state fanned by its powerful neighbor.' And as for the War of the Triple Alliance itself, he laments that Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina



were 'wasting their substance in battling with the little but aggressive State of Paraguay.' The article continues with a vehement plea for a co-ordination of efforts by European world powers and, possibly, the United States, in order to devise a mediation scheme to bring to an end that armed conflict, since 'so many tens of thousands of their sons' had settled in South America and established such 'intimate and extended [...] mercantile relations' with them. Finally, Scully emphasises the need for such a mediation given the prospect of the conflict spreading to the whole of the southern continent 'through that unreasonable jealousy which the American republics display towards the well organized and progressive immense Empire of Brazil, whose peaceful internal condition they feel a continuous slur upon their internecine factions.'

As *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* was the only English-speaking newspaper in Brazil at the time, the foregoing pacifist discourse does not tally with the theory that maintains that the destruction of Paraguay was of paramount importance to British interests. On the contrary, if one accepts that Scully's newspaper was semi-official, partly sponsored by the British Government, and a vehicle for the conveyance of proposals that expressed the wishes of British policy makers in regard to Brazil, the pacifist spirit contained in the article acquires another meaning. It could be, then, associated with efforts aimed at boosting European emigration to Brazil as part of a larger strategy designed to end slavery through massive immigration. It is not mere coincidence that such an article should accompany an open letter asking for the Clergy of Ireland's collaboration in the achievement of that goal. A state of regional conflagration could only jeopardise those plans, just as appears to have happened.

This analysis thus suggests that the Irish immigrants who were brought over from Wednesbury, England, to people the Príncipe Dom Pedro colony in Santa Catarina, Southern Brazil, in 1867-1868, played the role of pawns in a lengthy and cumbersome international chess match opposing Great Britain to Brazil over the question of slavery - a form of labour exploitation that the latter rid herself of as late as 1888. Ireland, in turn, being a British colony at the time, did not have an independent say on the whole matter, although that country supplied the manpower with which British plans were to be carried out.

As for Brazil, domestically, the 1868 Cabinet change, triggered by Scully's editorials, had momentous consequences. The developments that followed seem to constitute an assertion of the country's sovereignty, and absolute stubbornness, as regards the task of addressing the slavery question. Only in 1871 was a Law effectively approved that liberated newborn offspring of slave women. On the other hand, it consecrated and reinforced the Brazilian version of the North American Jacksonian 'spoils system' in the relationship between the Legislature and the Imperial administration. If one takes it that the Príncipe Dom Pedro Colony was regarded as a type of foreign threat, the wholesale substitution of administrative personnel that followed the downfall of the Liberal-Progressive Cabinet headed by Zacarias de Góes e Vasconcelos was of crucial importance to the goal of securing the colony's failure. Newly appointed Conservative authorities, who replaced Liberal office holders, actually refused to help the English-speaking colonists.

Therefore, that pattern of politico-administrative procedures - and related institutions - was consolidated in 1868, as a basis for a lasting framework of social and political relationships. *Derrubadas* are still a prominent feature of Brazilian political life, with everything that they entail: nepotism, patronage, favoritism, partisanship and, last but not least, corruption. Upon every major political change in Brazil, democratic or authoritarian and military-led, the parties and newly sworn-in authorities replace, with party-members, allies, friends and relatives, most occupants of federal administrative entities' leaderships, at nearly all levels. The same occurs in state and municipal spheres. There are a few exceptions to the rule, like the Ministry of Foreign Relations, which is rather immune to partisanship. It looks as though, up to this day, those newly appointed to positions of power in Brazilian politics at any given moment since 1868, were always unwittingly celebrating a small, yet significant, and unacknowledged, clandestine victory over British - and Irish - interests: the dismantling of an English-speaking settlement.

## Notes

[1] Cf. Graham 1979: 79-127 and Conrad 1972: 41-44.

[2] A detailed episodic narrative of these events, very well documented, although dissociated from the main stage of the political history of the empire, can be found in Lauth 1987. The latest, and most comprehensive, work about this subject is Marshall 2005.

[3] On French emigration to Brazil see Silva 2001.

[4] Many other aspects of the affinities between *Ultramontanism* and nineteenth-century progress ideology in Brazil are examined in Neves 1999: 213-226.

[5] Laemmert's famous Almanac kept an annually updated record of virtually all names of merchants, societies, tradesmen of all sorts, authorities, public officials, noblemen and industries established in the capital of the Empire in and the adjacent province of Rio de Janeiro. There are no entries for William Scully prior to 1862. Therefore, it is safe to assume that he came to Brazil in 1861. Initially not only did he teach calligraphy but also sold what must have been expensive calligraphic pens, as shown in the advertisement on page 22 of the 'Notabilities' section of the 1862 almanac.

[6] See also Graham 1979: 79-127.

[7] The author cites Bethell, Leslie, *The abolition of the Brazilian slave trade: Britain, Brazil and the slave trade question, 1807-1869* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970). Cambridge Latin American Studies, N° 6, 313.

[8] This accusation, and somewhat in conflict with the hypothesis of British subsidisation, finds its basis in the correspondence between Zacarias and Caxias, reproduced in Pinho, Wanderley, *Política e políticos no Império: contribuições documentaes* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1930), 86-88. Zacarias, in a letter to Caxias, admits to having supported Scully financially. Caxias most probably had known of this for some time. It is possible that, taking into account the events of 1862 and 1863, the Brazilian military regarded British subjects as potential suspects, therefore keeping at least some of them under surveillance.

[9] For an example of how concerned British diplomacy had become with the hostility displayed by Brazilians towards the question of abolition, see Conrad 1972: 75.

[10] For a different assessment, see Marshall 2005: 24.

[11] A more detailed demonstration of how the *clientelist* system functioned in the Imperial period is presented in: Graham 1990.

[12] Literature on the 'spoils system' instituted legally by President Andrew Jackson appears to be ample. For an introduction to the problem, see Arnold 2002. In the United States of America, the 'spoils system' began to be extinct from the Pendleton Civil Service Act of 1883, which initiated a process by which nominations for the exercise of public office ceased to follow political criteria. This legislation was adopted after the assassination of the Republican president James Garfield (1831-1881) perpetrated by a man suffering from mental illness, who wanted to be named consul in Paris, having voluntarily engaged in political propaganda on behalf of Garfield. In England the taking of exams for admission to public office became law in 1870, which illustrates how well in tune Scully was with institutional advances in Great Britain.

[13] See Graham 1979: 67-68. Richard Graham in this 1966 article, indicates that, after the ending of the trans-Atlantic African slave trade to Brazil 'England continued to exert pressure on the government of Dom Pedro II in the decades of 1850 and 1860, until Brazil manifested a firm decision to put an end to slavery. Although the law that emancipated the children of slaves born after 28 September 1871 is usually considered the first indication of an abolitionist campaign, in reality it was the conclusion of the British phase of a history that had begun forty years earlier.' Unfortunately, Graham does not tell us how this pressure was exerted, after the Christie Affair.

[14] The society was named in that way, using the term *emigration*.

[15] The imperial speech from the throne in 1867 was also published in English by Scully's newspaper. See ABT 23 May 1867.

[16] This can be attested in letters addressed by the count, a Frenchman, to his father. Letter n° 48 Minuit 1/4, 23 April 1867 (Grão-Pará Archive, Brazilian Imperial Museum, Petrópolis) reads "... Scully m'a fait savoir qu'il se voyait obligé de cesser la publication de l'A.B.T.: il offrait même de restituer le prix des abonnements. Il paraît qu'il va s'établir á Buenos Ayres. J'en suis très fâché sous tous les rapports. Ce qui motive cela, c'est que le malheureux s'est vu surpris par une condamnation a trois mois de prison qui lui a été infligée par le Chef de police pour prétendues insultes [contre] l'ex-chef de police que l'avait arrêté lors de son incendie. Dès que j'ai su cela, j'ai demandé à l'Empereur de lui pardonner sa peine. L'Empereur, suivant son usage, ne m'a rien répondu, mais à quelques jours de là, les journaux m'ont appris que le pardon avait été accordé. Seulement, il paraît que cela ne change pas résolution de Scully et moi je suis encore à me demander comment, dans ce pays où l'on a sans cesse à la bouche les préceptes de la Constitution, un Chef de police peut s'ériger en pouvoir judiciaire pour condamner un étranger inoffensif! ...".

[17] An updated and more detailed account of the events is given by Marshall 2005: 63-87.

[18] For a detailed account of the preparations, voyage and arrival of the Wednesbury immigrants, see Marshall 2005: 52-67. Earlier references are Platt 1964: 3-38, 23, and Viera 1980: 245.

[19] See also Marshall 2005: 52-57.

[20] This was indeed, greatly anticipated in England, by the Catholic Father George Montgomery, who took direct part in the recruitment of the Wednesbury colonists. See Marshall 2005: 60-61.

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## Reinventing Brazil New Readings and Renewal in the Narratives of Irish Travellers \*

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Marion McMurrrough, *Between the Amazon and Andes; or Ten Years of a Lady's Travels in the Pampas, Gran Chaco, Paraguay and Mato Grosso* (London: E. Stanford, 1881).

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Brazil is a geographical area that exerts great fascination in the global context of the history of the movement of people. 'A giant by its very nature,' the character of Brazil's people, and the image of its natural wealth, unity and security have for many centuries inspired the imagination of foreigners coming from different corners of the world to fulfil their dreams in these tropical lands. Its territory transforms itself into a 'diaspora space' [1] where the immigrants, who had been part of the most diverse type of diasporas, interact with individuals who are represented as a generous and hospitable people. Marilena Chauí in *Brazil, Founding Myth and Authoritarian Society*, demolishes the internal image of a nation with a unique and indivisible identity, with peaceful and orderly inhabitants, who are happy and hard-working. She delves deep into the heart of these representations that reactivate the founding myth that propagates itself continually, and unmask the paradoxes that make up the identity of the Brazilian people. Chauí affirms that 'the founding myth offers an initial repertoire of representations of reality and, at each moment of historical formation, these elements are reorganised not only from the point of view of the internal

hierarchy (that is, what is the main element that commands the others), but also from the enlarging of its meaning (that is, new elements come to add to the primitive meaning)' (10). Keeping this in mind, how do the narratives of foreign travellers and immigrants interpret and reinvent these representations produced for the foundation myth, and how do they adjust to historical moments and ideologies that contribute to transnational displacements? What images of Brazil do they construct, why, and how do they circulate?

The aim of this essay is to analyse the images of the foundation myth present in the narratives of Irish travellers at the end of the nineteenth century in comparison with the images at the end of the twentieth century constructed by the Irish poet Paul Durcan on his visit to Brazil in 1995. The question arises as to why one should focus on Irish stories and not English stories in general, since the former had dissolved in the language of the latter after more than ten centuries of English domination. When analysing the founding myth, Chauí points to the medieval writings that, on a symbolic level, had consecrated a powerful myth in the history of the great sea voyages, 'the so called Fortunate Islands, promised land, or blessed place, where perpetual spring and eternal youth reign, and where man and animals coexist in peace' (59), according to the Phoenician and Irish traditions. *Braaz*, as designated by the Phoenicians, or *Hy Brazil* as designated by Irish monks, appears on fourteenth- and fifteenth-century maps as an island divided by a great river, *Insulla de Brazil* or *Isola de Brazil*, to the west of Ireland and south of the Azores.

The mention of the Irish origin of the name of Brazil was the subject of a lecture written by Irish diplomat Roger Casement when he was British consul in Belém do Pará in 1907. [2] The text starts with an exposition of the sublime nature of the name Brazil, 'probably the sweetest sounding name that any large race of the Earth possesses' (22), but affirms that he only became interested in its origin after he disembarked in Santos as Consul in 1906. By refuting the theory that Brazil had received its name as a result of the abundance of red dye-wood (Brazil wood or *Pau-brazil*), which soon after the discovery of Brazil became a constituent part of the opening of new markets to European mercantile capitalism, Casement tried to demonstrate how, at that time, every concept associated with Ireland was 'wiped out.' This was due to the preconception generated in the eyes of England of a dominated people, namely, 'a race of senior barbarians liv[ing] in squalid misery without parallel in civilization' (24). He was subsequently to recognise the negative dimension of the direct or indirect participation of Great Britain in the violations committed in Africa and South America, as denounced later in his diaries, and he would eventually rebel against that power, being condemned to death for his participation in the Easter Rising in Dublin in 1916. On the other hand, his writings reveal the elements that contributed to the celebratory image of Brazil. Casement confirmed that Ireland 'was the home of the legend which for centuries had turned men's minds westward in search of that fabled land':

Brazil owes her name to Ireland – to Irish thought and legend – born beyond the dawn of history yet handed down in a hundred forms of narrative and poem and translated throughout all western Europe, until all western Europe knew and dreamed and loved the story, and her cartographers assigned it place upon their universal maps. (28-29).

The land 'beyond the sea' was to inspire, in various political contexts, utopian thoughts, especially among those who had suffered the effects of the potato famine and British direct rule in the middle of the nineteenth century. That historical period witnesses the scattering of the Irish Diaspora to English-speaking countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia, the destinations of the majority of those emigrants. However, a smaller number of Irish people, inspired by travel stories and letters from those who had established themselves south of the equator, set off for South America where they had to live side-by-side with other cultures and face the challenge of learning their languages. Some emigrants had probably chosen tropical lands as their destination because the rumours rekindled imagery that had been incorporated into the folklore memory of the Irish people, i.e., the legendary myth of *Hy Brazil* that was associated with holiness and an original Garden of the Eden. Nevertheless, the largest group of this second migratory wave settled in Argentina where they formed a politically, religiously and economically united community, and established their own means of communication, which they consolidated, as for example

in the case of the newspapers, *The Standard* (1861-1959), *The Southern Cross* (1875 up to the present day), *Fianna* (1910-1912), and *The Hibernian-Argentine Review* (1906-1927). In Brazil though, there are some records of Irish immigrants prior to 1827. It was on that date that 2,686 Irish people from counties Cork and Waterford, including women and children, were transported to Rio de Janeiro as mercenary soldiers under the command of an Irish officer, Colonel Cotter, to serve in the new Brazilian imperial armada, and to fight in the war against Argentina for the disputed lands that today form part of the Republic of Uruguay (Basto 1971). Once the war was over, they were supposed to remain on in order to work in the countryside, where manpower was much needed. However, the Brazilian government did not concede the reward as promised – namely, accommodation, food, and land. Many were deported after the failure of the military confrontation, and a bloody riot that lasted three days, which was initiated by 200 soldiers of the Irish regiment unsatisfied with their treatment by the government. One hundred families were sent to Taperoá, State of Bahia, to form a colony know as Saint Januária, while others were settled in an agricultural colony in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, and some spread to the states of Paraná and Santa Catarina.

Approximately four decades after this frustrating experience, Irishman William Scully founded the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* newspaper in Rio de Janeiro (1865-1884), which became a vehicle for spreading a positive image of Brazil in Ireland as the land that offered 'more opportunities' than the other countries chosen by emigrants. Scully negotiated with the government and promised the Irish that they would receive their salaries immediately on landing in Brazil, contrary to what had happened in the past. In his letter to the clergy of Ireland in 1866, [3] he asked them to encourage farm workers to emigrate and compared the benefits of the country to the situation in the United States. Scully reinforced the myth of a paradisaical climate as described in medieval writings (the eternal spring) – that was more moderate, 'the heat of summer never reaching the extremes' and the winters resembling more an Irish summer, 'though somewhat warmer to the north, and cooler in the south and interior, where frosts occasionally occur'. He also affirmed that there was religious tolerance, although Roman Catholicism was the official religion, and he promoted justice and the spirit of progress of the country.

Scully asserted that laws protecting the individual and property were similar to Irish laws, and that immigrants could become naturalised citizen after two years of residence, compared to five in the United States. The editor of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* thus borrowed from the ideologies that accompanied the historic movements in the formation of the Brazilian nation. In addition to the celebration of nature, the romantic nativism of the nineteenth century also established the image of a peaceful people, with no racial or religious discrimination. Scully described the type of people the Irish would find in Brazil and wrote that they would receive much affection and kindness, demonstrated in various forms 'as in their native land', and that they would experience 'nothing of the unconcealed contempt which the native American is apt to show 'raw' Irishmen, until five years residence has entitled them to vote.' The elements that constituted the foundation myth became evident – the grandeur of the country and opportunities for all, without prejudice towards differences. According to Marilena Chauí, the idea of the non-existence of prejudices was part of the effect produced by Brazil-Nature, since this cover up was decisive in the foundation of the myth because 'the natural juridical way of things, being a hierarchy of perfect acts and powers desired by God, indicates that Nature is constituted by human beings who naturally subordinate to each other' - a form of *voluntary servitude* (64-65). Also present is what she called the sacredness of history, that made Brazil 'the country of the future', guaranteed by the presence of an ecclesiastic institution and religious tolerance.

Among the first people to rewrite the imagery of *Hy Brazil* and contribute to the above-mentioned tales were Irish travellers. Hamilton Lindsay-Bucknall's *A Search for Fortune (The autobiography of a younger son. 1878)*, for example, portrayed the author's impressions of Argentina and Brazil in the 1870s. Many works were also written by Michael Mulhall and his wife Marion who lived in Buenos Aires, but who travelled around Brazil on some occasions during their holidays. Michael was editor of the newspaper, *The Standard*, together with his brother Edward Thomas Mulhall, the founder of the publication. Michael and Marion kept diaries of their trips, where they recorded their impressions of the places they visited and the economic progress of the country. Their narratives, published in the form of letters in the newspaper, also

incorporated elements of the foundation myth that had produced historical inventions and cultural constructions about the geographic space and the people who inhabited it. While in *Handbook of Brazil* (1878), Michael Mulhall and his brother Edward showed a 'progressive Brazil', in *Rio Grande do Sul State and its German Colonies* (1873) Michael recommended the city of Porto Alegre for 'its beautiful scenery and kindly people, so little known to the outer world'. The adventurous outlook of Marion as the first 'English' woman [4] to 'penetrate the heart of South America' is evident in her book *Between the Amazon and Andes; or Ten Years of Lady's Travels in the Pampas, Gran Chaco, Paraguay and Mato Grosso*:

the first Englishwoman to penetrate the heart of South America, travelling for thousands of miles through untrodden forests, seeing the Indian tribes in their own hunting-grounds, visiting the ruined shrines of the Jesuit Missions, and ultimately reaching that point whence I beheld the waters flowing down in opposite directions to the Amazon and the La Plata.

She recognised that her narratives had no literary merit as they were 'sketches of her travels and adventures in the countries between the Amazon and the Andes' written with the hope that they 'may call the attention of more learned travellers to a quarter of the world that so well repays the trouble of exploring'. Thus, the pastoral landscapes of Rio de Janeiro, which showed the Bay of Guanabara, contrasted with the exotic land of Mato Grosso, full of adventure. Her descriptions emphasised the natural beauty of the landscape, and despite the difficulties of the trip, 'the interest of exploring this terra incognita would not allow (her) to think of turning back'. She wrote:

It took twenty-four days from here to Cuyabá in canoes manned by tame Indians, the San Lorenzo being so shallow that they cannot row, but have to push up-stream with poles about thirty miles a day. If they come short of provisions they shoot monkeys, for the greater part of the voyage is through swamps and forest, destitute of human habitation. (192)

Marion's meeting with indigenous people reminds one of the paintings of João Maurício Rugendas, who depicts these meetings as being always peaceful, and lacking the tensions provoked by contact with wild nature itself, or by the unknown, and the cultural differences between Europeans and local natives. This mythical vision of Brazil-Paradise, with no history, is visible not only in Marion's narratives but in her drawings as well. When she found some canoes with Guatos Indians fishing in the river, she described them as a 'very pretty race, and neither men nor women have tattoos' – a symbol of primitivism or the demon, from a Eurocentric point of view:



Marion McMurrrough, *Between the Amazon and Andes; or Ten Years of a Lady's Travels in the Pampas, Gran Chaco, Paraguay and Mato Grosso* (London: E. Stanford, 1881).

Each canoe had a man and a woman and sometimes one or two children, the latter so fair that one might take them for English. The women managed the canoes, while the men fished. They were a fine-looking race, and neither men nor women were tattooed. (196)

The drawings show the Guatos in clothes that remind one of a European culture (see opening illustration), beautiful, tall, simple and innocent, always showing exuberant and idyllic nature as a background landscape, without the intrusion of natural vegetation or wild animals from the local environment. However, this elimination of conflicts that Mary Louise Pratt (1992) identified as a result of the asymmetries of power in the contact zones and which contrasted with the image of the pure state of Nature and the beings that inhabited it, became evident in the representation that Marion Mulhall made of the uncivilised and more violent Indians, carrying with it the prejudice of the white man – she described them as addicted to drink and characterised by the wilderness:

We were obliged to keep a good look-out all well armed, because the Coroados might be hid on the banks within arrow shot of us. What we feared most were poisoned arrows. Only a few months before, they surprised some men in a canoe and cut off their heads for trophies. This tribe is very numerous, fearfully addicted to drunkenness, and beyond hope of civilisation at several places we passed deserted huts, the inhabitants of which were killed by these savages.

Many other examples appear in these travel narratives at the turn of the nineteenth century. It will be interesting to analyse how these elements of the foundation myth are interpreted and rewritten, or contested, at the end of the twentieth century. In what way do they transform in the formation of a global imagery within the current context of economic migrations, or of transnational movements or displacements, when the image of a 'giant by its very nature' still remains? What is its impact on dominant global ideologies? How do they become constituent elements in the construction process of hybrid identities or of 'new ethnicities' (Hall 1996)? To answer these questions, this article will analyse the Irish poet Paul Durcan's book *Greetings to our Friends in Brazil* (1999).

Paul Durcan registers his impressions of Brazil as if they were from a travel diary, and portrays daily activities in his poems using colloquial and direct language, making an aesthetic journey to recover his own cultural tradition from a pluralistic perspective. According to Charlie Boland (2001), 'Durcan's poetry may be seen as both inward search and outward journey' (124). In this way, his poems always present a certain level of cultural introspection. On the other hand, however, in these displacements in space and time, Durcan makes use of icons and myths from various cultures to resignify them and to transform the global imaginary. The foundation myths of Brazil, which had been incorporated into the narratives of the travellers in the past, are deconstructed and demystified in his poems – not only the sacredness of nature but also the culture of so-called 'greenyellowism' (*verdeamarelismo*), [5] the sacredness of history and of rulers, and the respective effects that they have on the process of identification of a society, which had been clearly indicated already by Chauí.

Nature is present in several of his poems, as for example, in '*Brazilian Presbyterian*':

(...)  
I sat on the dune  
Under a coconut tree;  
Diving in and out  
Of the South Atlantic;  
At fifty years of age  
A nipper in excelsis.

However, when Nature appears as sublime, what really is really taking place is an internal corrosion of the paradisaical image constructed by the *persona*; for example, young Evandro's answer to the question of how he imagines heaven:

How would you – a young  
Brazilian Presbyterian –  
Imagine heaven?  
(...)  
'Heaven ... is a place ...

That ... would *surprise* you.' (32)

Nature is also an agent in the contexts of the poems 'The Geography of Elizabeth Bishop' and 'Samambaia', where Paul Durcan describes Brazil through the eyes and the voice of Elizabeth Bishop: geographic space is precisely 'life before birth on earth'. It is paradise, however, it is also the country of the painful discovery of the I:

*There is life before birth  
On earth – oh yes, on earth –  
And it is called Brazil.  
Call it paradise, if you will.* (23-24).

This land is not bound up with the image of Eden, but with the pain of passion and with life. Nothing lasts forever: the location is sometimes Brazil, sometimes Ireland, '*Nothing stays the same. / Everything changes/ (...) Nothing should stay the same. / Everything should change*' (22); the choice between love and fame will make the difference: '*I, Elizabeth, / do take you, Lota, / For my lawful, wedded cloud.*' (22). Paradigms are dismantled in the repetitions and in the syncopated rhythm of samba, and cultural and sexual borders are transposed in the counter-rhythm of the metres of the verses:

Reared in New England, Nova Scotia,  
I was orphaned in childhood.  
...  
Until aged forty on a voyage round Cape Horn  
I stepped off in Rio, stayed, discovered  
My mind in Brazil. Became again an *infanta!*  
A thinking monkey's *companero!* (*sic*) (!)  
Fed, cuddled, above all needed.  
...  
At forty I discovered that my voice –  
That cuckoo hymen of mine, mine, mine –  
Was a Darwinian tissue:  
That in God's *cinema vérité*  
I was an authentic *bocadinho*.  
  
Back in Boston, a late-middle-aged lady,  
I became again an orphan,  
... (23)

(!) Misspelling of *companheiro*.

How is the belief that Brazil is a warm-hearted country constantly renewed? To answer this question the origin of the culture of 'green and yellow-ism' will be examined:

*Green and yellow-ism (verdeamarelismo)* was elaborated over a period of years by the Brazilian ruling classes as a commemorative image of an 'essentially agrarian country' and its elaboration coincided with a period during which the 'principle of nationality' was defined by the extension of the territory and demographic density of the country. (Chauí 32)

Representing as it does the ideology of an essentially agrarian country, and associated with the colonial system of mercantile capitalism as being a *colony for exploration/exploitation*, *verdeamarelismo* does not disappear with modernism and its attendant processes of industrialisation and urbanisation, as Chauí effectively delineates. It will remain throughout cultural developments and will represent the bridge between the ideology of national character and that of national identity: 'If in the past the culture of

'*verdeamarelismo*' corresponded to the celebratory self-image of the dominant classes, now it operates as imaginary compensation for the peripheral and subordinate condition of the country' (36), in regard to the Brazilian people. Racial democracy is maintained on the basis of a new image of the 'people' who are 'overall, on one hand, the *bandeirante* [6] or taming *sertanista* [7] of the territory and, on the other hand, the poor, that is, 'the hard workers of Brazil.' (38).

Durcan poetically represents these differences among the people, as in for example, the nine-year-old shoeshine boy, at Congonhas airport, wearing a t-shirt that reads 'Pacific Waves', or the popular wisdom of the native of São Paulo who says that: 'Life is a game of the hips' (*A vida é um jogo de cintura*). [8] The poet deconstructs the bridge between the 'national character' and the identity of the Brazilian people and questions the image that still lasts in relation to the devoted, honest, orderly and gentle family, where there are opportunities for all, as in the soccer myth.

In 'Recife Children's Project, 10 June 1995', the poet shows the determination of the governing social system that does not allow changes in the condition of marginalised people, when he mentions that the day care centre managed by Irish priest Frank Murphy was meant for children whose mothers worked on the streets as prostitutes because they had no other choice. Durcan ironically describes how the Irish priest from Wexford reproduced the Brazilian sign of 'everything's OK' with a thumbs-up gesture when he finished reciting the verses 'Rage for Order' by his fellow poet, Derek Mahon, and stated: 'This is what we do in Brazil.' The aesthetic power of the poetic discourse is completed when it crosses boundaries and associates religious work in the streets of Recife with Che Guevara:

Father Frank Murphy, Founder of the Recife Children's Project,  
Thirty years working in the streets of Recife,  
For whom poetry is reality, reality poetry,  
Who does not carry a gun,  
Who does not prattle about politics or religion,  
Whose sign is the thumbs-up sign of Brazil,  
Who puts his hand on your shoulder saying  
'This is what we do in Brazil.'  
*Che?* Frank!  
No icon he –  
Revolutionary hero of the twentieth century. (16)

Racism and discrimination continue to be erased in the present system as an effect of the foundation myth; and due to this, Marilena Chauí finishes her book, at a time when the country is to commemorate its 500 years of existence, with the question 'Celebrate?, is there in fact anything to celebrate?' She affirms that Brazilian society still retains the marks left by the era of the colonial slave society with its highly hierarchical structure, where 'social and inter-subjective relations always occur in relation to a superior person, who commands, and an inferior person, who obeys' (89). In the poem 'Fernando's Wheelbarrows, Copacabana', Durcan recovers the asymmetries of invisibility and rearranges them using the aesthetic power of irony:

Fernando's forebears were slaves from Senegal.  
Fernando is a free man, proudest of the proud.

I have requested that Fernando  
Be my guide in Copacabana:  
My guide, my governor, my master. (20)

Nevertheless, such inverted hierarchy is just an illusion.

...  
I rejoice in the remote way Fernando shakes my hand.  
I rejoice in the comotose stars of Fernando's eyes.  
I rejoice in the reticence of Fernando's laughter. (20)

All the naturalised portrayals of people as generous, happy and sensual, even in times of suffering, are nullified by the climax of the poem when the major 'silenced' differences feed a utopian desire to emigrate, to escape from misery, 'to make it in America', but the destiny is North America: Phoenix, Arizona.

The only time Fernando breaks his silence  
Is at the midpoint of our giro;  
Fernando reveals to me his dream  
Of emigrating to Phoenix, Arizona.  
Fernando has a young wife and children.  
He explains by means of his hands  
And by two words – Phoenix, Arizona.  
His hands with rhetorical ebullience exhort:  
*Phoenix, Arizona is the good life!* (21)

Sport, the third element of the *verdeamarelismo* cultural tripod, is deconstructed in the poem after which the book is named, 'Greetings to Our Friends in Brazil'. Durcan describes a certain Sunday that could be any ordinary Sunday were it not for an invitation received from his friend Father Patrick O'Brien to watch the Irish football finals between counties Mayo and Kerry. The iconic nature of sport as a symbol for the Brazilian people, unleashed a process of superimposition of two or more cultures when Durcan transcribes in a poetic way the comments made by the [Irish] reporter during the final minutes of the game, 'We haven't had time to send greetings to our friends in Brazil / Proinnsias O Murchu and Rugierio da Costa e Silva'. This greeting bears the hallmark of the popular Brazilian sport, here identified with the Gaelic football finals. The translational effect (Bhabha) of the greeting unites both sports transforming them into a global myth. Durcan, however, in the process of appropriating the myth, debases its intrinsic value and, ironically, the national sport that saves a subservient people from anonymity, is transformed into the last resource of someone in a state of psychological depression who confronts the meaning of life through the smile of an indigent woman, to whom he gives a lift on his way back home:

For the remaining nine miles I held on to the driving wheel  
As if it were the microphone on the bridge of a ship going down;  
Going over the tops of the crests of the blanket bogs;  
Navigating Bunnacurry, Gowlawaum, Bogach Bawn;  
Muttering as if my life depended on it:  
*Greetings to our friends in Brazil.*(10)

The local routes taken on that Sunday intersect the paths of memory that give life to 'others' - to strangeness or the uncanny - throughout the poem; for example, the German soldier who used to live in a house on Achill Island, now his own home; or, George Steiner's autobiography read by the friend who lent him his book *Jerome*. The references to deserted places such as the Sahara, Siberia and Gobi appear side-by-side with the same landscapes of the West Coast of Ireland (Bunnacurry, Gowlawaum, Bogach Bawn), that open up other paths for his interior journey, evoking genocides, ethnic cleansings, improvisations, and exegesis of the word mercy that leads him to pray at the end of the poem 'Greetings to our friends in Brazil': ('Let me pray/*Greetings to our friends in Brazil*').

Boland analyses this poem and concludes that Durcan proposes a global human experience instead of an insular one when he writes about different cultures. He believes that this overlapping of experiences is the global vision of the poet that brings together diverse experiences 'through a shared history of conflict, suffering, and, potentially, friendship' (126). However, I suggest that Durcan in fact transcends this polarity of the local and the global by means of an aesthetics of simultaneity of space and time, disrupting the paradigms of linearity and logical processes of thought. The centrifugal and centripetal movements of his creative mind reflect a process of expansion of the poetic consciousness, of a vision that goes beyond the global experience and promotes a surreal experience of the quotidian, of the daily life of the universe,

of a journey through unknown geographic spaces that provoke the 'transcendence' of experiences of the place of origin, and the realisation of distant roots.

The geographic and intellectual displacements allow a person to better understand themselves, their own culture, their intrinsic differences and their inter-relations. Brazil is a country of immigrants, formed by miscegenation; it is exotic and sensual (in 'Jack Lynch', the father who comes from Ballinasloe, 'was devoured by a mulatto working-class goddess'), and in the overlapping of cultures and genders it is defined in the global and the local. These new hybrid identities that appear from the intersection of several regional and foreign cultural expressions are also a product of cultural diasporas, as expressed in 'The Daring Middle-Aged Man on the Flying Trapeze' where Dublin and São Paulo each intersect with the 'other' in the celebration of Bloomsday at Finnegans Pub in São Paulo:

However, when I heard that on June 16  
In Finnegans Pub in São Paulo  
A Japanese actor would be declaiming in Portuguese  
Extracts from *Ulysses*  
My wife persuaded me to fly with her to Dublin.  
I remonstrated with her: 'Fly?'  
She insisted: 'Dublin is a gas,  
Dirty, ordinary, transcendental city – just like São Paulo!' (30)

In this poem, Durcan tries to give voice to the hybrid native in a process that the cultural critic Homi Bhabha (1995) calls *transnational* and *translational*. Brazil at the turn of the twenty-first century is a diaspora space, whose culture is transnational because it is anchored in specific stories of decolonisation and displacements: 'Myself, I am Brazilian Armenian Orthodox'. The poet narrates how Brazilian culture builds its own meanings from the perspective of the 'other'. Ireland and Brazil become one in the voice of the *persona*: the presence of a Brazilian couple in a garden of red, white and yellow roses at midnight in Dublin converges tangentially with the Japanese actor in São Paulo at Finnegans at nine in the evening; James Joyce is the intersection point. *Ulysses* revisited provokes the circularity of signs that are resignified or translated into different forms in contexts and systems of multiple cultural values, thus forming cultural hybridism. It must be questioned, then, as to how the production and reproduction of transnational social and cultural phenomena reveal external socio-cultural references that incorporate and transform the 'original' alterity into new dislocated structures that allow *different* cultural practices:

I thought  
James Joyce is the only man in the world who comprehends  
women;  
Who comprehends that a woman can never be adumbrated,  
Properly praised  
Except by a Japanese actor  
In Finnegans Pub in São Paulo  
Declaiming extracts from *Ulysses*. (31)

What happens then to the notion of 'authenticity' of a symbol when it appears in a new cultural context? How can one 'authenticate' hybridism in new cultural practices? The syncretic, creolised, translated and hybrid cultural forms represent the energy in the resignification of cultures in intersection, of identities in the process of decentralisation and reinvention/*construction* of themselves; they also represent the translational movement of symbols and myths of a culture, in signs that are expanded into new meanings, that always refer to the heterogeneity of their origins.

In my view, it is this transnational and translational process that is the high point of Paul Durcan's poetry: How does one 'authenticate' the multifarious cultural reality as seen through the various reflections of a prism? I believe that Durcan's poetry represents this value and multi-axial intrinsic power of cultures, by transforming and giving new meaning to its symbols, and attributing to poetry the function and meaning that Seamus Heaney (1995) has claimed **of the poetic art**. On receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature, Heaney said that poetry was necessary as an order, 'true to the impact of external reality and [...] sensi-

tive to the inner laws of the poet's being' (16). Heaney insists that a poem should surprise and that this surprise should be transitive; and that the representation of the external world should be 'a returning of the world itself' (16). Paul Durcan's poetry, inserted in the representation of the quotidian, suggests a 'new' means of constructing cultural identities that give life and meaning to the world itself through its multiple re-readings of the past.

Laura Izarra

### Notes

[1] I appropriate Avtar Brah's concept of diaspora space. It is a site of immanence that marks the intersectionality of 'diaspora', 'border' and the 'politics of location'. Thus, it addresses the 'contemporary conditions of transmigration of people, capital, commodities and culture'; the effects of crossing/transgressing 'the construction and metaphorisation of territorial, political, cultural, economic and psychic borders'; the way 'contemporary forms of transcultural identities are constituted', and how 'belonging and otherness is appropriated and contested' (1996:242).

[2] The text of the lecture can be found at the National Library of Ireland. Angus Mitchell and Geraldo Cantarino published it in the form of a bilingual pamphlet entitled *Origins of Brazil: A search for the origins of the name Brazil*, with the support of the Brazilian Embassy in London as part of the commemoration of the 'Festival Brazil 500'. As a defender of the rights of subjected peoples, Roger Casement (1864-1916) was British consul in Africa (1895-1904), and Brazil: Santos (1906), Belém do Pará (1907) and Rio de Janeiro (1908). After many years of dedication to the British diplomatic service, he started to defend the cause of Irish nationalism. In 1916 he was condemned and hanged for high treason against the British Crown.

[3] Published in *The Anglo-Brazilian Times*, n° 41, Vol. 2, Rio de Janeiro, 09 October 1866.

[4] The Mulhalls were of the Anglican religion and Anglo-Irish. They would not have identified with the Irish nationalist movement.

[5] Green and yellow are colours that represent the spirit of the country, as they are the colours of the Brazilian flag and represent its forests and its gold.

[6] Name given to the first explorers leaving from São Paulo in order to expand the country's territory westwards.

[7] Similar to bandeirantes: member of an armed band of early explorers in Brazil; person travelling into the hinterland of the country

[8] 'The Last Shuttle to Rio'. In *Greetings to Our Friends in Brazil*. 17-19.

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## From the Putumayo to Connemara Roger Casement's Amazonian Voyage of Discovery \*

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Roger Casement in his Brazilian Period  
([Pádraig Ó Cuanacháin Irish History](#))

This article examines the evidence provided by Roger Casement's accounts of his voyage to the Putumayo in the Amazon rain forest in 1910 in order to reveal the Odyssean complexity of his personality, and to suggest that, in a metaphorical sense at least, this journey represented the beginnings of an Irish homecoming for Casement, just as the wanderings of Homer's hero led him to the recovery of his house and kingdom in Ithaca.

The hanging of Roger Casement as a traitor at Pentonville prison, London, on 3 August 1916 placed him amongst the most prominent martyrs to the Irish nationalist cause. Yet just five years previously he had received a knighthood from the British government for his investigations into the methods of white rubber traders in the Peruvian jungle. The dichotomy in his character represented by these two moments has been charted as a life-long series of ambivalences and paradoxes in Roger Sawyer's biography *Casement: The Flawed Hero* (1984), and was judged to be of paramount significance by the prosecution in his trial for treason. A compulsive journal-writer, Casement was to find his diaries used at the time of his trial to sully his reputation and to ensure that he was denied the chance of a reprieve.

To this day, opinion continues to be divided between those who believe that his 'Black' diaries are a genuine, albeit clandestine, account of his homosexual activities, written at a time when such activities were a prisonable offence, and those who claim that they were the calumnious work of the British Secret Service. [1] The controversy which began at time of the trial was not settled by the publication of extracts from the diaries in 1959, and it was shown to be still very much alive in 1997. In that year Angus Mitchell published *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, introducing the text of the 'White' diary for 1910 with a lengthy commentary in which he sets forth the arguments justifying his conviction that the 'Black' diary is a forgery. In the very same year Roger Sawyer published *Roger Casement's Diaries – 1910: The Black and*

*the White*, referring to much the same evidence as that utilised by Angus Mitchell in order to draw the opposite conclusion and attest to his certainty that the diary is genuine.

On the basis that Roger Sawyer's line of argument is the more convincing, this article works from the premise that the 'Black' diary is genuine and, as such, reflects aspects of Casement's complex personality. It is my intention, therefore, to examine the text of both the diaries covering the period of Casement's 1910 journey to the Putumayo in order to demonstrate that the months spent in the South American rain forest represent a crucial stage in the process of Casement's recognition of his Irishness and may therefore be seen as a form of homecoming. Some 3,000 years previously, one of the very first works of European literature was also concerned with a homecoming. In *The Odyssey*, Homer depicts his eponymous hero as a man of exceptional courage, eloquence, endurance, resourcefulness and wisdom. Yet he also shows him to be a wily master of disguise and deceit, prepared to be lashed as a beggar in order to enter Troy unseen, [2] able, with Athena's aid, to approach the palace of King Alcinoös unnoticed by the citizens of Scheria, [3] and, of course, capable of concealing his identity from his own wife Penelope and her suitors when he returns to Ithaca. According to Virgil's *Aeneid*, it was Ulysses who gave the order for the Trojan Horse to be built, which has provided an abiding metaphor for undercover action, so much so that it has even been incorporated into the nomenclature of computing as a term for a programme designed to breach the security of a computer system while ostensibly performing an innocuous function. It therefore seems appropriate to describe Casement's voyage to the Putumayo as an odyssey, for it combines the elements of the heroic, the homecoming and the duplicitous in equal measure.

There is much in Roger Casement's background that serves to explain the ambivalence that characterised his life. Born on 1 September 1864 in Kingstown (present-day Dún Laoghaire), his parents embodied the schism that continues to bedevil Ireland in present times. His father was descended from an Ulster family of landed gentry of that particularly Puritanical strain known as 'Black Protestants,' while his mother's maiden name was Jephson, from a well-established Roman Catholic family. In the



Casa Arana on the Putumayo, founded 1903  
([eltiempo.com](http://eltiempo.com))

course of genealogical research that he himself undertook, Casement was to discover that the Jephsons were, in fact, descended from a Protestant family, two of whose members had been charged with treason at the time of King James II's Catholic parliament in 1688 and had lost their estates, although not their lives, for having joined forces with the Prince of Orange. Despite the fact that Casement's mother died when he was only nine years old, and was therefore to affect his life more through her absence than her presence, she took one action which, by its very subterfuge, made a significant contribution to her son's ambivalence. Whilst on holiday without her husband in Rhyl in North Wales, in a ceremony of the utmost secrecy, she had her three-year-old son baptised as a Catholic. Casement affirmed himself to be Protestant throughout his life but he was to return to the church of the majority of his countrymen shortly before his execution, being received into the Catholic church *in articulo mortis* and receiving his first Catholic Holy Communion shortly before he was hanged. As Roger Sawyer points out, 'in a remarkable number of ways Casement was Ireland in microcosm.' [4] He argues that, 'particularly when seen in terms of familial, religious and political influences, and even, though less obviously, on a physical level, throughout much of his life there appears an interesting parallel between his own divided loyalties and those of his nation.' [5] Indeed, Casement's life can be interpreted as the progressive resolution of his divided loyalties, so that his

last-minute 'conversion' to the Catholic church may be seen as all of a piece with the magnificent speech he had made on the final day of his trial just over a month previously, in which he had spoken eloquently of his loyalty to Ireland and of the ineligibility of the English court to try him.

Following in a family tradition Roger Casement was a compulsive traveller. In 1883 he became ship's purser on the SS *Bonny*, which traded with West Africa and, by the time he was twenty, when he went out to work in the Congo, he had already made three trips to the African continent. Roger Sawyer suggests that his work 'was to lead to a life-long belief in the virtue of travel as a means to improving relations between peoples.' [6] After eight years of varied activities in Africa he obtained his first official British Government position, in the Survey Department in the Oil Rivers Protectorate, later to become Nigeria. Three years later, in 1895, he obtained his first consular posting, to Lorenzo Marques in Portuguese East Africa, and was to remain in Foreign Office service until his resignation at the end of June 1913. During his eighteen years of consular service, Roger Casement went on to serve the British Government in Portuguese West Africa, South Africa, the Congo State, Portugal and Brazil – where he occupied consular positions in Santos, Pará (present-day Belém), and finally rose to the post of Consul-General in the then capital, Rio de Janeiro. Although he was periodically frustrated by the limitations imposed by the Foreign Office upon the Consular Service, always seen as a poor relation of the Diplomatic Service, Casement suffered no conflict of loyalty provoked by his Irish nationality and his duty to his British employer. For the most part, his Irish identity manifested itself in such matters as adherence to an early form of 'buy-Irish' campaigns when equipping himself for his many expeditions, with the result that he was able to offer Irish whiskey to ailing indigenous people in the middle of the Amazon jungle, [7] as well as trying somewhat ineffectually to protect himself from a tropical storm with 'a Dublin "brolley"' (umbrella). [8] It was as a result of his experience and competence, particularly as demonstrated in his investigation of the enslavement and torture of native rubber-gatherers in the Congo in 1903, that he was called upon, in 1910, to accompany the commission investigating the alleged atrocities of the British-owned Peruvian Amazon Company, which collected rubber in the region of the River Putumayo.

The territory in question is an area of some 12,000 square miles which is largely confined to a triangle of land formed by the Putumayo and two of its tributaries, the Cara-Paraná and the Caquetá (known in Brazil as the Japura). The easternmost point of this triangle lies some 400 miles up the Putumayo from that river's confluence with the Amazon. It is the Putumayo which now delimits the frontier between Peru and Colombia. This region of tropical rain forest was inhabited by native peoples who were coerced into harvesting the local second-grade rubber known as 'sernambi,' whose commercial value depended on the virtually free labour of the gatherers. The system had been set up by Julio Cesar Arana at the turn of the century and in 1907 he took advantage of the rubber speculation on the London stock market to set up a limited company with a capital of £1,000,000. (The 12,000 square miles of forest that he had acquired by 1906 had cost him a total of £116,700.) The first English-language news of the atrocities perpetrated by the Peruvian Amazon Company was published in the magazine *Truth* in September 1909 and it was these accounts by the American railway engineer Walter Hardenburg, who had been held prisoner by the company, that prompted the British Foreign Office to request that Casement accompany the investigating commission sent to Peru by the London board of directors the following year.

Thus it was, then, that Wednesday, 21 September 1910, found Roger Casement on board the *Liberal*, steaming rapidly up the River Igara-Paraná, one week after leaving Iquitos, and almost exactly two months after setting sail from Southampton on the *Edinburgh Castle*. The 'White Diary,' which records his findings in harrowing detail, covers the period from 23 September to 6 December, when he left Iquitos again, this time on his way downstream to Manaus and thence to Europe. The parallel 'Black Diary,' which includes details of Casement's sexual encounters, covers almost the whole of 1910, from 13 January to 31 December. Those in search of prurient titillation will almost certainly be disappointed with the content of the 'Black Diary,' whose sexual information is largely limited to reports of penis sizes and shapes and accounts of associated financial transactions. Given that Casement's homosexual preferences no longer arouse the horror expressed by his contemporaries, the diary is far more interesting for the light that it sheds upon the thought processes that are set down in its companion volume. According to Angus Mitchell, 'Casement's

1911 Amazon voyage has been rather briefly passed over by biographers as little more than a sexual odyssey – an officially sanctioned cruise along the harbour-fronts of Amazonia.’ [9] In fact, even the ‘Black Diary’ makes it clear that, during the period of the investigation itself, Casement not only refrained from sexual activity himself but urged his companions to do the same.

This is not to say that he did not conceive of his journey as an odyssey. On 6 October, just two weeks into the investigation, but at a time when Casement had had ample opportunity to observe the harems of indigenous women visited by the Peruvian Amazon Company’s slavemasters, Casement warned his three Barbadian witnesses that ‘there must be no tampering with the morals of the Indian girls,’ since this might subsequently invalidate their testimony. He goes on to say that he had been ‘talking of the dangers of sleeping *en garçon* in these halls of Circe!’ [10] It is not unreasonable, then, to argue that Casement cast himself in the role of Odysseus, protecting his men from the wiles of Circe and her four handmaidens. Since Circe refers to Odysseus as ‘the man who is never at a loss [...] never at fault [...] never baffled,’ [11] we may perhaps gain an impression of the way in which Casement saw himself on this journey, an impression which he himself confirms when, towards the end of the investigation, he writes that the employees of the Peruvian Amazon Company had come to look upon him as ‘a sort of Enquirer Extraordinary, who has got to the bottom of things.’ [12]



Putumayo people in chains  
([Pádraig Ó Cuanacháin Irish History](#))

Within the period of the investigation itself both diaries give us some insight into the Puritan standpoint from which Casement viewed the decadence and horror in this heart of darkness. A much-quoted and indeed much-misinterpreted passage from both diaries is that for 4 October, when Casement observed three serving boys involved in a homosexual frolic in a hammock at nine o’clock in the morning. It has been argued that the comment in the ‘Black Diary’ for that day, ‘A fine beastly morality for a Christian Coy,’ [13] is evidence of the supposed forger of the diary making a mistake and forgetting the homosexual character that he was ‘creating’ for Casement. However, a reading of the ‘White Diary’ for the same day reveals that Casement was not shocked by *what* the three boys were doing in the hammock so much as by *when* they were doing it, at a time when they should have been working. This is consistent with his repeated observations of the hypocrisy of the slavemasters at the various rubber-collecting colonies that he visited, who did no work themselves, yet utilised the most barbaric forms of torture to extract superhuman effort from their indigenous slaves. In this sense, the Protestant work ethic that was instilled in him in his youth is clearly informing his revulsion, which is directed in equal measure at the Peruvian villains, whose barbarity he uncovers, and at the so-called civilisation of the English company and its shareholders, whose complacent complicity underpins and authorises the entire corrupt system.

As Casement’s journey progresses, we find him setting Ireland against England as a point of reference, its purity contrasted with the rotten workings of the Imperial system into which he is plunging, as can be seen in this central passage:

But this thing I find here is slavery without law, where the slavers are personally cowardly ruffians, jail-birds, and there is no Authority within 1200 miles . . . And, yet, here are two kindly Englishmen not defending it – that I will not say – but seeking to excuse it to some extent, and actually unable to see its full enormity or to understand its atrocious meaning. . . The world I am beginning to think – that is the white man’s world – is made up of two categories of men – compromisers and – Irishmen. I might add and Blackmen. Thank God that I am an Irishman ... [14]

Although he does not go as far as to equate the situation of his oppressed countrymen with that of the tortured indigenous people that he is investigating there are a number of indications that he perceives a parallel between the two. Thus, for example, when he visits the ‘Nation’ of the Meretas, whom he greets with his customary present of cigarettes, he is struck by the word that they use to express their gratitude, ‘Bigara.’ To his ear this is strongly reminiscent of the Irish ‘begorrah,’ so he writes that he christened his hosts ‘the Begorrahs.’ [15] A couple of weeks later, when he comes across a rubber-carrying party of Andokes and Boras, all of whom have been badly flogged, he describes the wounds suffered by ‘one big splendid-looking Boras young man – with a broad good-humoured face like an Irishman.’ [16] His revulsion at what he sees is such that he states that he ‘would dearly love to arm [the indigenous people], to train them, and drill them to defend themselves against these ruffians,’ [17] going on to reiterate his readiness, which almost serves as a *leitmotif* in the diaries, to hang many of the Company’s staff, if necessary with his own hands.



It is no surprise that Casement was to find that the nightmarish images of this expedition had been seared indelibly into his mind and, almost three years later, as Roger Sawyer records, ‘he witnessed physical resemblances to the Putumayo in Connemara, where starvation and squalor caused an outbreak of typhus.’ [18] The fate of the indigenous people that he had seen in Peru and that of the Irish peasants seemed to him to be so similar that he described the region as the ‘Irish Putumayo’ and wrote that ‘The “white Indians” of Ireland are heavier on my heart than all the Indians of the rest of the earth.’ [19] Seventy-five years later, in Roddy Doyle’s novel *The Commitments*, Jimmy Rabbitte was to echo this idea, with his affirmation that ‘The Irish are the niggers of Europe [...] An’ Dubliners are the niggers of Ireland [...] An’ the northside Dubliners are the niggers o’ Dublin.’ [20]

On 15 October 1914, just over a year after he had described the typhus-stricken Connemara peasants as 'white Indians,' Roger Casement and his treacherous manservant Adler Christensen set sail for Norway on the *Oskar II*, en route for Germany and the ill-conceived, ill-fated attempt to enlist support for the Irish independence struggle from amongst Irish prisoners-of-war who had been captured by the German army. In April 1916 he was to return to Ireland with a token member of his Irish Brigade and a donation from the Germans of 20,000 elderly Russian rifles [21] and 50 rounds of ammunition for each gun, all lost when the *Aud* was scuttled in Tralee Bay. [22] As his Amazon diaries suggest, Roger Casement's German excursion was not the result of an inexplicable, schizophrenic personality shift – from loyal British diplomat to treacherous Irish rebel. It is better seen as the logical end-product of a long and gradual process in which his investigations of slavery in the African and South American jungles enabled him to understand the extent to which Irish enthrallment to the English was actually not so different from that of peoples in the more distant parts of the Empire, and that armed rebellion might be the only path to freedom. Although his treachery, as defined by an Act drawn up in 1351, resulted in the death of no British subjects, he nonetheless paid for it with his own life.

At the time of Casement's arrest in 1916, Julio Cesar Arana, the man whose greed had caused the suffering and death of thousands of indigenous people at the hands of the British-owned Peruvian Amazon Company, was living a life of luxurious impunity in Peru. To ensure that the irony of the situation was not lost on Casement, Arana sent him a long telegram in his prison cell, urging the erstwhile investigator of his company to recant. History does not record Casement's reaction but, if there is any justice to be found in this story, it may derive from the fact that Casement's name, like that of Odysseus, has acquired heroic status, whereas that of Arana has been committed to oblivion.

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### Notes

[1] Although Roger Casement has not generated quite so much attention of late as Michael Collins, it is certain that Neil Jordan's forthcoming film, scripted by John Banville, will rekindle the controversy surrounding his life and death.

[2] Homer, *The Odyssey*, W.H.D. Rouse (trans.) (New York: New American Library, 1937), 49.

[3] Homer, *The Odyssey*, 81.

[4] Roger Sawyer, *Casement: The Flawed Hero* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 1.

[5] Sawyer, *Casement*, xi.

[6] Sawyer, *Casement*, 21.

[7] Roger Casement, 'White Diary,' 22 October 1910, *Roger Casement's Diaries – 1910: The Black & the White*, Roger Sawyer (ed.) (London: Pimlico, 1997), 204.

[8] Casement, 'White Diary,' 17 October 1910, 183.

[9] Angus Mitchell, 'The Diaries Controversy,' in Roger Casement, *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, Angus Mitchell (ed.) (London: Anaconda, 1997), 35.

[10] Casement, 'White Diary,' 6 October 1910, 153.

[11] Homer, *The Odyssey*, 119-22.

[12] Casement, 'White Diary,' 18 November 1910, p. 238

[13] Casement, 'Black Diary,' 4 October 1910, *Roger Casement's Diaries – 1910: The Black & the White*, Roger Sawyer (ed.) (London: Pimlico, 1997), 91.

[14] Casement, 'White Diary,' 6 October 1910, pp. 159-60.

[15] Casement, 'White Diary,' 9 October 1910, p. 169.

[16] Casement, 'White Diary,' 21 October 1910, p. 195.

[17] Casement, 'White Diary,' 25 October 1910, p. 213.

[18] Sawyer, *Casement*, 92.

[19] These comments were jotted down by Casement on a letter, dated 6 June 1913, which had been sent to him by Charles Roberts, the chairman of the Select Committee on the Putumayo. (National Library of Ireland, Casement (Misc.) Papers, NLI 13073).

[20] Roddy Doyle, *The Commitments* (1988), in: *The Barrytown Trilogy*, (London: Minerva, 1993), 13.

[21] At Casement's trial, Colonel Nicolai Belaiew, of the Imperial Guard, identified the rifles as having been manufactured in Russia in 1905. See: Peter Singleton-Gates and Maurice Girodias, *The Black Diaries* (New York: Grove Press, 1959), 477.

[22] It is interesting to note that Roddy Doyle's fictional account of the Easter Rising refers to the loss of the *Aud*, but makes no mention of Casement as being responsible for the shipment of arms. See Roddy Doyle, *A Star Called Henry* (London: Vintage, 2000), 110.

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# Irish Migration Studies in Latin America

Society for Irish Latin American Studies

## Carnaval do Galway The Brazilian Community in Gort, 1999-2006

By Claire Healy

*Gort Inse Guaire*, or Gort, lies just north of the border with County Clare in south County Galway in the West of Ireland, and has a population of about three thousand people. It is situated between the Slieve Aughty mountains and the unique karstic limestone landscape of the Burren, in the heartland of the countryside made famous by Lady Augusta Gregory and the poet W.B. Yeats in nearby Coole Park and Thoor Ballylee. Nineteenth-century Gort was a thriving market town providing a commercial centre for its fertile agricultural hinterland. A market was held in the market square every Saturday, and



*Sabor Brasil shop on Georges St., Gort  
(Claire Healy 2006)*

sheep, cattle and pig fairs were held regularly. A cavalry barracks accommodating eight British officers and eighty-eight soldiers was situated near the town and the Dublin and Limerick mail coaches trundled along the main street. [1] Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, day labourers congregated on the market square in the centre of town hoping for a day's seasonal work on a farm.

By the 1990s, the town had become a quiet and sparsely populated shadow of its former self. Many of the shops along the main street, Georges Street, were shutting their doors for the last time, and the town was familiar to most Irish people only as a brief stop on the bus route from Galway to the southern cities of Cork and Limerick. Driving south from the city of Galway to the approaches to Gort, the bus passes by Labane Graveyard, fronted by a life-size golden statue of Jesus Christ with his arms outstretched, reminiscent of the iconic thirty-metre high statue of Christ the Redeemer on Corcovado Mountain in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

In 1999, a poultry factory in County Roscommon applied to the Irish government for work permits and hired a number of people from Vila Fabril, just outside the city of Anápolis in the state of Goiás in Central Brazil. Shortly thereafter, Seán Duffy Meat Exports Ltd. in the outskirts of Gort followed suit and about six people made the journey from Goiás to Connacht. The migrant workers to whom the permits were issued were skilled in meat processing, yet received low wages for their labours in Brazil. The young workers were both male and female, and had worked for a large factory in Vila Fabril that recently closed down.



*Bilingual Community Newsletter*, Issue 2 (cover illustration)

Initially the migrants spoke very little English, but those who have remained in Gort for the last seven years have become fluent in the language. The later arrivals still have many difficulties in communicating with the Gort locals and this leads to a myriad of problems in relation access to health services, education and other social facilities. While most of the Brazilians who have set up families in Gort have married within their own community, there is a small but growing level of intermarriage between Brazilian and Irish people in the town.

Many travelled to Gort intending to stay for a few years, work hard and earn enough money to return to Goiás to build a house, start their own business or send their children to school. Though many came as single people, or left their spouses and children behind, members of their families have since joined them in Gort. Those among the community who hail from urban areas in Brazil

such as Anápolis and São Paulo value the relative safety that rural Ireland offers for their children. The ensuing seven years have resulted in a demographic revolution in the small Galway town, the population of which is currently estimated to be between 25 and 30 per cent Brazilian-born. There are signs that, as is the case in most migrant communities, some of the Brazilians in Gort are there to stay.

By Autumn 2004, when Duffy's was seriously damaged by a fire, at least fifty Brazilian people were working at the plant. Fortunately no-one was injured. [2] Still today a significant proportion of the staff of Duffy's are Brazilian and signs in the factory are printed in both English and Portuguese. Seán Duffy considers them to be reliable, diligent workers and he provides English classes to his Portuguese-speaking employees. [3] A conflagration was again the reason for a tragedy among Gort's Brazilian community in early December 2005. Two young Brazilian men, Roberto Perna Ramos, aged 27, and his uncle Erli Rodrigues da Silva, aged 43, died in their sleep when the building in which they were living burnt down. The local Gort community of Irish and Brazilian people collected enough money in the wake of the tragedy to repatriate the men's remains, and to contribute to the purchase of a house in Brazil for each of their families. [4]

A large community of Brazilians now live, work and attend school in Gort, gradually altering the appearance and the character of the town. A Pentecostal congregation, the *Assembléia de Deus*, has set up a church in the area and the community holds their own *carnaval* every Summer. There is also a Brazilian Catholic community in the town, ministered to by a Limerick-based priest Fr. Seán Lawler, who says mass in Portuguese every Sunday in Gort Catholic Church. The local football team has naturally benefited from Brazilian talent and experience, while the main thoroughfare now boasts two Brazilian shops, "Sabor Brasil" on Georges Street and "Real Brazil" on Crowe Street, where Brazilians and other customers can purchase Guaraná drinks, palm hearts, Brazilian coffee, *feijão* and other necessities. The local fruit and vegetable shop, "Gort Country Market," run by Paul Walsh, stocks a wide variety of reasonably priced Brazilian fruit and vegetables, such as pinto beans and *mandioca* (cassava) and advertises its discount prices in both English and Portuguese. The shop also imports refrigerated products from Brazil, via London, including *pão de queijo* (cheese bread) and *polpas de frutas* (fruit pulps). Recently local chain supermarkets have also begun to stock Brazilian products.

The occupational distribution of the community has now diversified, with a number of Brazilians working in the retail, catering, construction and transport sectors, as well as in Duffy's. They currently account for about 40% of the rental market in Gort. Many are on temporary one-year employment permits and their

continuing right to live and work in Ireland is not assured, particularly in view of the large numbers of Eastern European migrants with unlimited residence competing for similar jobs.

The combined efforts of the Irish and Brazilian communities in Gort have resulted in the publication of a bilingual community newsletter which published its first issue in February 2006. The newsletter provides advertising, news of events and general news to the town and surrounding parishes in English, Portuguese, and often with a smattering of Irish thrown in. The community has been the subject of documentaries by the German television station ARD for its *Weltspiegel* programme and the *Financial Times Deutschland*, and has featured on the Irish station RTE's programmes *Ear to the Ground* and *No Place Like Home*.



Gort Country Market, Georges St,  
(Claire Healy 2006)

The Associação Brasileira de Gort, founded in October 2005, provides assistance, advice, health promotion and translation services to the community two days per week in the Family Resource Centre, and is staffed by seven volunteers - four Brazilians and three Irish people. [5] A Brazilian Women's Group, "Amizade em Ação" (Friendship in Action) also meets once a week with a programme of talks, art, aerobics and group dynamics. [6] The local community school provides both courses in English as a foreign language for the Brazilian community, and Portuguese courses for the local community.

Very few Brazilians intend to remain and settle in Gort, yet one has a sense that the community is there to stay and many may change their mind as they build a life for themselves in the small market town, the population of which is finally beginning to return to its 1830s levels. At the market square people are again beginning to congregate in the mornings in the hope of a day's work, though they speak in Brazilian Portuguese rather than in Irish or English. According to journalist Kathy Sheridan, some Brazilians in Roscommon are now 'doing what the Irish emigrants used to do: scouting out jobs for siblings and in-laws in places such as Athenry, Gort and Roscommon and advancing their fares if necessary.' [7] By now some of Gort's Brazilians have lived and worked in Ireland long enough to obtain a permanent residence permit and it is clear that many of them will join the ranks of the 'New Irish' of the twenty-first century.

Claire Healy

## Notes

[1] Galway Rural Development, 'Local History, Gort, County Galway' on:  
<http://www.gortononline.com/TouristGuide/GortLocalHistory/Gort+Local+History.htm>.

[2] Ferrie, Liam (ed.). *The Irish Emigrant* Issue No. 922 (Oct 2004). Available online at:

<http://www.emigrant.ie/article.asp?iCategoryID=177&iArticleID=35928>

[3] O'Brien, Carl. "All this will enrich the culture" in 'The New Irish,' *The Irish Times*, 10 May 2004, p15.

[4] 'News' in: *Bilingual Community Newsletter/Jornal Bilingue da Comunidade*, Issue 1, February 2006, p4.

[5] 'The Brazilian Association of Gort - "Helping Brazilians to help themselves"' in *Bilingual Community Newsletter/Jornal Bilingue da Comunidade*, Issue 1, February 2006, pp12-13; Vieira, Nilton, 'Imigração na Europa: Entre a Necessidade e o Medo' in *Bilingual Community Newsletter/Jornal Bilingue da Comunidade*, Issue 3, April 2006, p5.

[6] 'Grupo para Mulheres: "Amizade em Ação" Brazilian Women's Friendship Group' in *Bilingual Community Newsletter/Jornal Bilingue da Comunidade*, Issue 1, February 2006, p13; Enech, Monica, 'Fique por dentro do que está acontecendo em nossa comunidade!!' in *Bilingual Community Newsletter/Jornal Bilingue da Comunidade*, Issue 2, March 2006, p14.

[7] Sheridan, Kathy. 'Grateful to God and Roscommon' in 'The New Irish,' *The Irish Times*, 10 May 2004, p15.

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# Irish Migration Studies in Latin America

Society for Irish Latin American Studies

## Phil Lynott: Famous For Many Reasons

By John Horan



Bronze statue of Phil Lynott on Harry Street, Dublin  
(by Paul Daly, cast by Leo Higgins, plinth hand-carved by Tom Glendon)

In view of the unique and colourful history of the ties between Ireland and Brazil that date back centuries, it is perhaps surprising that the most famous Irish-Brazilian was a mixed-race rock star from Dublin. Phil Lynott was one of Ireland's first world-famous rock stars, and definitely the most famous black Irishman in the island's history, long before the advent of a new era in the Republic that facilitated the immigration of people from various African nations from the 1990s. Lynott's band, Thin Lizzy, was the first internationally successful Irish rock band, and Lynott himself was considered the biggest black rock star since Jimmy Hendrix.

*Phil Lynott: THE ROCKER*, a 2002 biography by Mark Putterford, begins with the sentence, "Phil Lynott was one of the most colorful and charismatic characters in the history of rock 'n' roll." This sentence would be considered an understatement by those who knew him through all stages of his life. His family history was typical in some ways, but his mother's personal history was anything but typical for Ireland in 1949, the year he was born.

Philomena Lynott was born in Dublin in 1930 to Frank and Sarah Lynott. She was the fourth of nine children, all of whom grew up in the working-class Crumlin district on the south side of Dublin. Economic hardships in the Republic prompted her to choose to move across the Irish Sea to Manchester to find work, while many of her friends went to Liverpool. Shortly after her arrival in Manchester, she was courted by a black Brazilian immigrant whose surname was Parris. To this very day, Philomena Lynott has never spoken publicly about her son's father, so as to protect his privacy. She once said, "He was a fine,

fine man, who did the decent thing and proposed marriage to me when I told him I was pregnant.” Philomena and her former boyfriend stayed in contact for five years after their son was born. However, when it became clear that marriage was no longer a possibility between the two, they drifted apart. It is said that Philip Lynott’s father returned to live in Brazil and started another family, which has always been the reason given for Philomena’s refusal to provide any information about the “tall, dark stranger” who was her son’s father, as she never wanted to disrupt his life with his new family. Several sources cite that the Brazilian made some level of financial contribution towards supporting his Irish son in the early years.

On discovering she was pregnant, Philomena returned home to break the news to her family, who were not pleased. However, her parents and siblings rallied behind Philomena to support her. As Mark Putterford writes in his biography, “At first the shock was considerable, as it would have been for any God-fearing Catholic family faced with the shame of an 18 year-old unmarried mother.” Philip Parris Lynott was born on 20 August 1949. His mother left him to be raised by her parents and sent home part of her wages from her work in Manchester, though she came home to visit her son regularly. Young Philip was raised alongside some aunts and uncles who were close to him in age. Throughout his childhood, many people in the area mistakenly thought that Phil had been adopted by the Lynott family from a foreign country. Even when Phil became famous with his band Thin Lizzy, nothing was known about his background other than that his father had been a black Brazilian.

While young Philip did endure some racist taunts at school, he was for the most part accepted by his peers. At a young age, he was fascinated by his uncle Timothy’s record collection and accompanied him every Sunday when Timothy went to record stores in Dublin to buy new records. Phil especially liked The Mamas & The Papas, as well as most artists on the Motown label. Later on, he became entranced by more progressive rock bands from England, such as The Who and Cream.

As a teenager, Lynott concentrated on singing, and was especially partial to the voice and onstage antics of Rod Stewart, then the lead singer of The Jeff Beck Group, and later The Faces. It was not until attending the Christian Brothers School in Crumlin that Lynott formally joined a group upon cementing a friendship with fellow student Brian Downey. Both became part of a group called The Black Eagles. At the age of 18, Lynott joined Skid Row, the Dublin-based band that served to cultivate a following for Lynott throughout Ireland. Upon joining Skid Row, Lynott became serious about playing one instrument, the bass. He abandoned his infrequent guitar-playing because he thought that the bass would be more practical. Some years later, after Thin Lizzy had experienced international success, Lynott became part of the small category of singer-bass-players, which includes Paul McCartney, Brian Wilson, Sting, and Randy Meisner of The Eagles.

Brian Downey was ecstatic when his long-time friend Phil Lynott parted ways with Skid Row because he was also unemployed and looking to start up a new band. Downey had long hoped to form a band with Lynott and he was given his chance. In interviews, Downey recalled how taken he was with Lynott’s determination, resolve and conviction that he would be immensely successful. In Putterford’s 2002 biography of Lynott, Downey was quoted as having said: “The only other two people to come out of Ireland with that attitude were [Bob] Geldof and Bono. We used to laugh at Geldof when he said he was going to make it, and I used to have many chats with Bono about whether U2 were going to do anything. It was only after their [*sic*] second U2 album that we started to take U2 seriously. But with Philip you definitely had a gut feeling that he was destined for greatness. Philip believed it and we believed it.”

Thin Lizzy was thus formed in 1969. Besides Lynott and Downey, it included guitarist Eric Bell. A few minor line-up changes would occur before their leap to stardom. Their first record was “The Farmer”, on the Parlophone label. To recount the career of Thin Lizzy is beyond the remit of this article. The band released critically acclaimed albums, and had a hit in Ireland with “Whiskey in a Jar”. Later, in 1976, the band scored an international hit with “The Boys Are Back in Town”. The song was released in the United Kingdom in April 1976, reaching number 8 in the charts, and topped the charts in Ireland for several weeks. In the United States it reached only number 12 on the Billboard Hot 100 charts, but became a

highly-played song on FM stations at the time. Similarly, “Jailbreak” was a hit in the charts both in the United Kingdom and in Ireland, and received wide play on FM stations in the United States.

When Thin Lizzy was at the height of their popularity in Ireland and had become the first internationally successful Irish rock band, Jim Fitzpatrick, an artist who designed many of the band’s album covers, made an interesting observation of that era: “Of course, I’d seen Philip around Dublin before. I’d always noted his charisma, his presence, and I found him an exciting person to be with. I was always into Celtic mythology, and as one of the five races which make up the Celtic race is a Black North African race, the idea of this Black Irishman floating around intrigued me immensely.”

Thin Lizzy had countless notable hits in both Ireland and the United Kingdom. They toured all over the world. In the midst of his success, on 14 February 1980, Lynott married Caroline Crowther, the mother of his daughter Sarah, then fourteen years old. Two months after the wedding, he announced that he was buying an estate in the North Dublin fishing village of Howth, with the intention of fortifying his daughter’s Irish roots. The couple had one more daughter, Cathleen.

The band continued to tour and release records until their break-up in 1983. In addition, Lynott released two solo albums in the three years prior to the band’s demise. Thin Lizzy never reunited. There was brief speculation that there would be a reunion of the band for an appearance at the July 1985 Live Aid concert that never materialised.

In many respects, Philip Parris Lynott led the destructive lifestyle typical of some rock stars. He died on 4 January 1986 of heart failure and pneumonia as a result of years of various types of drug abuse, most notably heroin, which caused his body to be riddled with hepatitis and internal abscesses. Contrary to widespread speculation, the rock star did not suffer from AIDS.

Needless to say, Phil Lynott, as the lead singer of the first internationally successful Irish rock band, helped to pave the way for artists like Bob Geldof and U2. On 19 August 2005, a life-size bronze statue of Phil Lynott was unveiled on Harry Street in Dublin, just off Grafton Street in the centre of the city. Lynott’s mother, Philomena, was in attendance, as was the Lord Mayor of Dublin Catherine Byrne. More than 5,000 fans, from Ireland and around the world, also witnessed the event. News coverage of the unveiling made scant mention of the fact that Lynott’s father was from Brazil. To this day, the rock star’s Brazilian father remains an anonymous enigma.

Thin Lizzy’s music will continue to be a staple of “classic rock” on radio stations around the world, and it will always be noted as unusual that the first Irish rock star was black. However, in view of the multitudinous historical ties between Ireland and Brazil over the centuries, it is regrettable that the most famous Irish-Brazilian is not recognised in history for having that unique distinction.

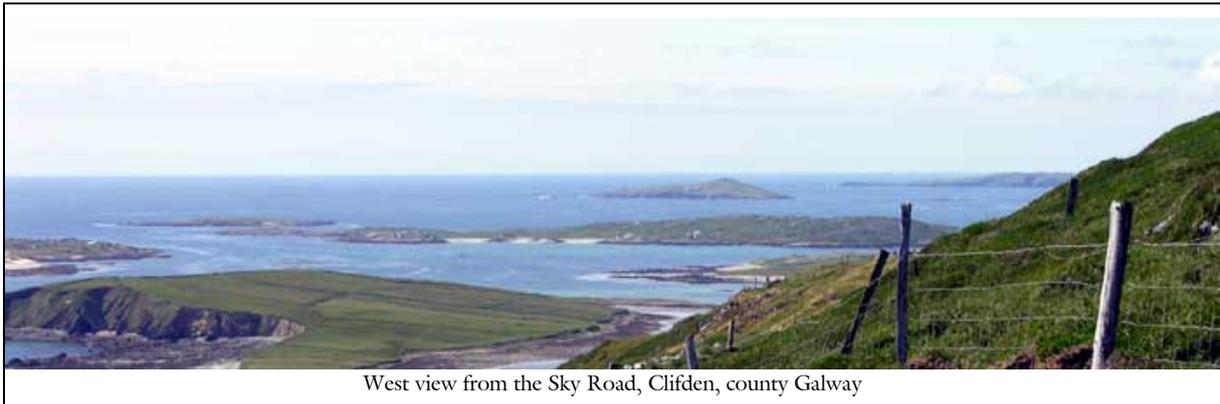
John Horan

John Horan lives in the US and is a frequent contributor of articles about the Irish in the Americas.

## Hy-Brasil: Irish origins of Brazil

By Roger Casement (1 September 1864 - 3 August 1916) \*

Edited by Angus Mitchell



West view from the Sky Road, Clifden, county Galway

*The name Brazil could only have come to the Portuguese from the Celtic legendary name applied to the 'islands of the blessed', the Tír na nÓg of the land of the setting sun, which the Galway and Mayo peasant still sees in the sunset just as the Galician and Lusitanian wayfarers in Cabral's day dreamt of it before their eyes had actually fallen on the peaks of Porto Seguro rising from the western waves.*

### Introduction



Catalan Atlas by Abraham Cresques,  
showing Hy-Brasil west of Ireland, 1375  
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

This lecture, held in the National Library of Ireland Ms. 13,087(31), was written by Roger Casement during his time as a British consul in Belém do Pará at the mouth of the Amazon sometime during 1907-1908. [1] In broad terms it puts forward an argument that the origins of the name Brazil derive from the mythical Hy-Brasil. This imagined island, located to the west of Ireland, is variously described as a 'promised land', the island of the blessed - Tír na nÓg - the land of the setting sun, and features most largely in the voyages of St Brendan. [2]

In arguing such a root, Casement was current with Irish historical study of the day. He believed that Hy-Brasil was a name derived from the legends of the Atlantic sea-board, with Celto-Iberian origins dating from 'Atlantis and the submerged mother-land of the early Irish, Iberians and possibly Phoenicians'.

The name Brazil as a surname is current and common to both Ireland and Portugal today and in Irish place names such as Clanbrassil. Certainly 'Brazil', in a number of variant spellings, can be found in several ancient Irish manuscripts. 'Breasail' is the name used for a pagan demigod in Hardiman's History of Galway. Another possible derivation is from St Breacan, who

shared the Aran islands with St Enda about 480 or 500 and was originally called Bresal. The name appears to have been built upon two Gaelic syllables 'breas' and 'ail'.

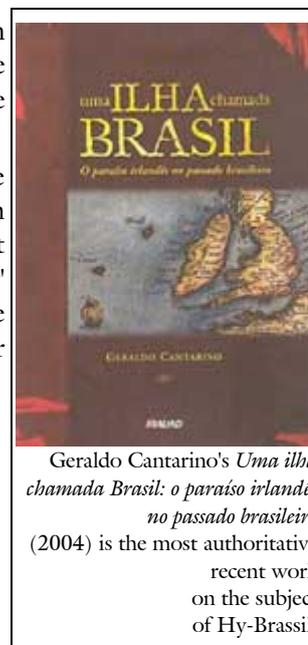
On a number of medieval maps Brazil also appears as the name for a land south west of the Skelligs. Elsewhere, it is one of the islands of the Azores, possibly Terceira. The earliest map is one drawn by Angellinus Dalorto of Genoa in 1325, where Brazil appears as a large disk of land to the south of Ireland. But on many later Italian and Catalan maps the name frequently reappears. [3]

Before setting out for America in 1492, Columbus is alleged to have said, when pointing at the Isle of St Brendan on Toscanelli's map: 'I am convinced that the Earthly Paradise is on the isle of St. Brendan, which nobody can reach save by the will of God.'

In looking at how the Irish origins of Brazil had been written out of the history books, Casement was able to show how the Anglo-Saxon interpretation of history had obscured and corrupted the history rooted in a more ancient Irish origin. It gave him the chance to analyse the orthodox view of 'discovery' history and a group of historians who, he felt, had neglected the Irish influence in Atlantic culture through their ignorance of the Irish language and their denial of a more ancient and mystical source of knowledge.

Angus Mitchell

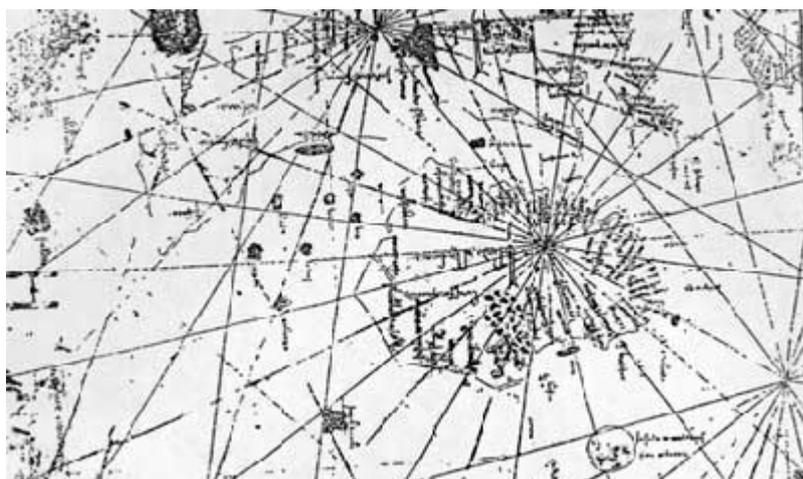
\* Anyone wishing to quote from this document should seek permission from the Department of Manuscripts, National Library of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin.



Geraldo Cantarino's *Uma ilha chamada Brasil: o paraíso irlandês no passado brasileiro* (2004) is the most authoritative recent work on the subject of Hy-Brasil.

The name Brazil is probably the sweetest sounding name that any large race of the Earth possesses. How this musical name came to be assigned to the great country of South America did not interest me until after I had landed at Santos [4] in the autumn of 1906. We accept the names of countries and of places as we find them on maps without question taking them as a matter of course just as we accept the Atlantic Ocean or Asia. The name seems a part of the country and if a very inquisitive mind should ask the origin of the name itself, reference is made to a school geography, where the new-comer may find a probable commonplace origin.

Thus it is with the name Brazil.



Map by Dalorto (1325), including Hy-Brasil and Daculi islands

The beautiful name that we are told came from a dye-wood used in the commerce of the middle ages. Whether it be the individual Brazilian we ask, the school book we turn to or the encyclopaedia we appeal to, the answer is the same - brief, unexplanatory and precise - the country was named from the abundance of the dye-wood that was soon exported from its shores after the discovery. It was first called *Terra de Santa Cruz* - Land of the Holy Cross - by Cabral, [5] its

discoverer, a baptism that the King of Portugal his master confirmed. But in spite of official and royal recognition the dye-wood prevailed over the wood of the true cross. Such, in brief, is the universal reason assigned to the naming of Brazil. No writer has even got beyond this: altho' a few have been on the threshold of the truth without knowing it. For there is no doubt at all that in so deriving the name Brazil the country from the dye-wood of medieval commerce, the school book, the individual Brazilian, the encyclopaedia and the dictionary are astray.

They have been satisfied from the first with a half truth only, and not seeking further, or not knowing where to seek they have stopped short with a reason that not only gives no meaning, but leads the mind astray.

One or two of the writers who have dealt with the origin of the name have been quite in sight of the truth, but the limitations of European learning which had been shut off for centuries from the one literature that could have made things more clear.

Strange as it may seem, Brazil owes her name not to her abundance of a certain dye-wood but to Ireland. The distinction of naming the great South American country, I believe, belongs as surely to Ireland and to an ancient Irish belief old as the Celtic mind itself.

It may be asked how it is that none of the standard works upon the discovery of the two Americas contain an inkling of the truth. How comes it that authors, who are claimed as classics, have all failed to trace the origin of a name that covers one of the greatest dominions of the two continents to whose history and professional development they have devoted the genius of their pens and the erudition of great minds.

The answer can only be that the name of those who have undertaken the task have realised that Ireland played a more important part in the life of medieval Europe than later day records assign her, and that her influence on the minds of men was not confined to religious questions, but extended very largely into the commercial and intellectual life of the times. Far from being a remote "island beyond an island" she had fleets on many seas and her speech and shipping penetrated the western and southern seaboard of Europe from Antwerp to Genoa. Her mariners were in every port and while her traders had collected at Lisbon and along the coasts of Spain in numerous and important communities her own ports were for centuries the rendez-vous of Spanish, French and Italian shipping, as in earlier days they had been of Roman.

Some of the evidence on their head has lately been given an abiding place in literature by Mrs J.R. Green [6] in her *Ireland from 1200-1600*. A writer to whom Mrs Green has accorded her grateful recognition, Mr J.R. Kenny, has also in a series of articles, which have appeared in the columns of the Irish press, given us a glimpse of the vast field of international activity - whereon Ireland played so large a part. None of these things were known to the modern authors Washington Irving, [7] or Prescott, [8] or Robertson, [9] or Southey, [10] who have dealt with American discoveries for the English-speaking world. To them Ireland was a name that denoted a land steeped in poverty and ignorance - the back woods of Europe, a

reproach to England it might be, but a people having nothing to offer the scholar. Her only language was unwritten, untaught, unknown beyond the confines of the cabins where a race of senior barbarians lived in squalid misery without parallel in civilization, and of such repute that the great world of thought and culture might deplore. With a vicarious sympathy it dismissed from serious consideration the people and the country where such a condition was known to prevail.

When these scholars came across some reference to Ireland in their researches through Peninsular records their minds were blank by reason of prevailing prejudice, the child of ignorance, their very knowledge of their Ireland of their own day but broadened already a wide range of misunderstanding. What could Ireland possibly offer the scholars who sought the beginning of European thought in its western striving quest for a New World? Clearly nothing. It is thus that we find so delighted an author as Washington Irving confronted by the record which, had he known it, would have unlocked much to his imagination, passing over with contemptuous misreading the story of St Brendan. [11] So ignorant indeed was he of the origin of the story, while admitting that Columbus [12] must have been acquainted with it that he speaks of St Brendan as "a Scottish monk" with no perception of the meaning that attached to the word "Scot" or "Scotia" in the early middle ages. In this he doubtless sinned unwittingly not as Hallam [13] who, with that true quality of British meekness which seeks to inherit the Earth, writes of Duns Scotus [14] as an Englishman.

The Hallams indeed we have always with us.

It is sufficient for an Irishman to be distinguished in any walk of life for him to be at once annexed.

When Washington Irving wrote his history of Columbus the Anglo-Saxon theory of mankind was being invented. Its cult has widened from a variety of motives; its rise synchronised with a far less laudable minor cult which today finds frequent expression in American historical records. I refer to the term "Scotch-Irish" to designate the pioneers who, in the early days of Indian border fighting, or later revolutionary strife, did so much to build up the fabric of America. I am



St. Brendan's search for Paradise  
([West to the Garden](#))

not sure if Washington Irving may not be held largely responsible for the term Scotch-Irish. In his later literary development of the "Scotch-Irish" ancestor of the innumerable Murphys, Sullivans, MacDonaldis or O'Tooles, he assigns their ancestry to a hybrid whom neither Ireland nor Scotland claims. Certain it is that his Scotch monks allusion to St Brendan has been amplified by American ignorance until in a work published in 1892 to commemorate as "an absolutely complete Colombian memorial (1492-1892)" the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America; we find the Bishop of Clonfert, born and bred in Kerry taking his place among the legendary Scotch-Irish of the revolution.

I refer to a monumental work issued by the Syndicate Publishing Co of Philadelphia entitled *The Discovery and Conquest of the New World*, which among other gifts to the American people, offers them in Chapter II "the fable of St Brendan, a Scotch-Irish priest who was accredited with first having discovered America in the sixth century". On turning to the body of the work dealing with the episode it becomes clear that the compilers of the modern work have merely copied from Washington Irving's pages the scanty references wherein he dismisses the Brendan legend. This modern American work was offered to the American people with an "Introduction by the Hon. Murat Halstead. Most Renowned Journalist and Colombian student of Both Americas" and in this gentleman's introduction we are told that to "properly introduce to

the multitudinous readers of this book the subjects, authors and illustrations seemed a task of such gigantic proportions as to create a feeling of awe in the breast of the most intrepid."



Mercator Terrestrial Globe, 1541 (detail)  
([Harvard Map Collection](#))

It must assuredly create regret in the minds of the most sympathetic that the multitudinous descendants of illustrious Irishmen in the United States should have offered to them as history in 1892, the statement that the Bishop of Clonfert in 563 "was a Scotch-Irish abbot who flourished in the sixth century and who is called sometimes by the foregoing appellations (St Brandon or Borondon) sometimes St Blandanns or St Blandanus."

Moreover England assiduously spread the tale. Just as when she first began her civilizing mission to Ireland in Tudor times, the Lord Deputies of Elizabeth were careful to provide that those "German Earls", who had come from the Courts of Christendom to visit Ireland, should "see as little as might be" of the great Queen's regenerated kingdom beyond the walls of Dublin. So to the modern European questions England had turned a face of firm benevolence, with uplifted deploring hands, and regretted while she double-barred the door, that the condition of her turbulent patient still precluded the visits of enquiring or possibly sympathetic minds. The Irish of the early nineteenth century were as effectually beyond the pale of cultured thought as their language was beyond the ken of the scholar.

Speaking, as Young wrote a generation earlier, "a despised language", with no school wherein their tongue was taught, with no printed book of their language, with no means to make their thought known save in the half-speech of their conquerors; the oldest people in Western Europe, whose unknown literature in truth revealed a character of lofty consistency and high ideal, were ranked with the African slave and at best could offer nothing but a "kitchen midden" to research. The shafts of wilful ignorance that was then a part of English international statecraft flashed wherever the pen of the writer or the soul of the scholar might for a moment have been drawn to Ireland. These shafts indeed are still often bared, but while today impotent to daunt or blind the gaze of the Continent, they play their malicious part in English party strife and in the columns of the English Press. It was but four years ago in 1904 that the *Morning Post*, certainly one of the most cultured and generally best informed of the English journals permitted its leader writer to liken the study of Irish in the schools of Ireland to the teaching of "kitchen kaffir" in South Africa.

The Statute Book of Ireland still makes it a punishable offence in 1908 to report in any newspaper in Ireland, any proceedings in an English Law Court in any language but English. When this Act was passed in 1740, the language of the whole of Ireland, outside a colonist aristocracy and their immediate depend-

ants was Irish - and no proceeding in a Court of Law could have been carried to an issue save by a continuous appeal to that language in which there must on no account be made public or recorded.

The thing was not tomfoolery - it was all part of the great plan for wiping out the Irish mind. It had nearly succeeded.

The scholar today is beginning to realise that the Irish mind has something to reveal in the only tongue that ever gave it expression, or can give it expression. No historical student today would dream of writing a history of Ireland without reference to Irish records. In years to come international scholars will not dream of a complete scholarship which ignored the Irish language.

But when Washington Irving wrote his history of Columbus few scholars knew that there was an Irish language and very few Irishmen themselves believe that their language, although the language of our childhood and of all their fore fathers, has anything to offer even to Ireland that was worth recording or preserving. An ignorance more complete, more dastardly, more debasing never assailed a whole people - and its baneful fruit has been the bread on our school-boys lips for how many generations? If this was the condition of Ireland in say, 1820, what wonder that the student of European records took no thought of her when he turned to medieval times, or if when he found her name recorded, he passed it over as of no import or even, as Irving did, assigned the very name itself to another country and another people. Brendan the Kerryman in quest of Hy-Brassil, is to Washington Irving and millions who have read him, a Scottish monk.

For Washington Irving's ignorance of the true significance of the Brendan legend he had found Columbus studying there is every excuse. He wrote, as Prescott wrote, at a time when much that later research has given to the world was still withheld from the scholar or locked up in the archives of Continental libraries. Just as Prescott knew nothing of the gigantic discoveries in Yucatan and elsewhere in Central America which have since revealed so much to our historical gaze of the past of the Indian peoples, so when Irving compiled his delightful works upon Columbus no historian dreamed that Ireland could offer anything worthy the contemplation of scholars, seeking mid-Continental records to throw light upon that medieval mind which first invented and then discovered a New World. And yet nothing is more certain than that Ireland was the home of the legend which for centuries had turned men's minds westward in search of that fabled land, and that the very name by which the earliest Irish records, called that region St Brendan set out to find, was the very name by which, when the discovery came, the discovering people themselves decided by popular will and all pervading prior use to confer upon this new found possession. That Brazil owes her name to Ireland - to Irish thought and legend - born beyond the dawn of history yet handed down in a hundred forms of narrative and poem and translated throughout all western Europe, until all western Europe knew and dreamed and loved the story, and her cartographers assigned it place upon their universal maps, I think has been made clear enough in the forgoing article.



Roger Casement (1864-1916)

Legends die hard - and doubtless the legends of the dye-wood's origin of the name Brazil, resting as we have seen on no historical proof and abundantly disproved by antecedent application of the name no less than by the clear and continuous Irish record of the land, the locality, the search and the name, will die slowly. The "Scotch-Irish" origin of so many of the American people already shows signs of failing vitality. As the study of Irish records becomes more general those who today are still ashamed to claim descent

from the "mere Irish" will discover that a truly Irish origin may even be fashionable. That it has always carried with it a storied value to the discerning, an inspiration to the brave, and an immemorial claim upon the generous and high souled has been hidden from men's minds, not by the faults of Irish character so much, as by the wanton obscurity in which the home of that people has been plunged.

That darkness was not a chance cloud, and now that it is lifting others besides Irishmen and their multitudinous descendants in the western world, may learn from the enduring legend of Hy-Brassil, to prize the records of a race who have given much to mankind, besides the historic facts of ancient fable and who are destined, if they will still honour their own past, to discover fields of thought and action for "the dauntless far-aspiring spirit of the Gael."

Roger Casement

Belém do Pará, Amazon River, c. 1908

### Editor's Notes

[1] One of the three double paged folios contains: "Brazil - at Bathsheba 7 September 1907"

[2] There is further scribbled material on this subject to be found in NLI MS 13,087 (23/ii) - which contains a more scholarly essay on possible Irish manuscripts that contain information on the etymological origins of Brazil and the legend of Atlantis. Casement questions Alexander von Humboldt's belief that Brazil originated in Asiatic culture before entering the parlance of European trade. He also attacks as vague the idea of a Norman-Breton discovery of America by drawing attention to Bergerson *Histoire de la Navigation* (Paris, 1630), p.107. Bergerson argued for a French explanation of the name Brazil, which Casement felt was "grotesque."

[3] See William H. Babcock - *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic: A Study in Medieval Geography* (1922); T.J. Westropp, *Brazil and the Legendary Islands of the West Atlantic* (1912); Donald Johnson, *Phantom Islands of the Atlantic - Legends of Seven Lands that never were* (1994).

[4] Santos is the coffee port on the South Atlantic coast below São Paulo where Casement took up his first consular position in Brazil in 1906. The following year he moved to Belem do Pará, at the mouth of the Amazon, and the following year he was promoted to consul general in the former Brazilian capital of Rio de Janeiro. In 1910 he was recruited for a "special mission" by the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, to investigate rumours of atrocities in the disputed frontier region bordering Peru, Ecuador, Brazil and Colombia. Casement stayed on the case until his resignation from the Foreign Office in the summer of 1913.

[5] Pedro Alvarez Cabral (c.1467-c.1520) - Portuguese navigator, in 1500 he embarked from Lisbon with a fleet of thirteen ships bound for the East Indies. His first landfall was in Brazil in southern Bahia, where he claimed the land for the Portuguese crown. In April 2000 Brazil marked 500 years of official history.

[6] Alice Stopford Green (1847-1929). Historian. Born in County Meath, she was one of the closest of Casement's friends and they travelled together through many areas of Ireland and collaborated in much work. After the death of her husband, the historian J.R. Green in 1883, she became increasingly radical, sympathising with much of the intellectual discontent. She was the force behind the founding of the The Mary Kingsley Society of West Africa, founded in 1900. The Society tried to give African culture a fairer status in the public mind. Among its General Committee members: H.H. Asquith; Rev. Dr Butler, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; Viscount Cromer, Dr. J.G. Frazer, John Holt, Sir Alfred Lyall, George Macmillan, Major Matthew Nathan C.M.G. Mrs. Green subsequently became a force behind the Congo reform movement and along with Roger Casement and Arthur Conan Doyle helped organise the Morel Testimonial Luncheon on 29 May 1911. In 1908 she published *The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing*, a work on early Irish history which Casement did much to promote. They also co-operated on *Irish Nation-*

ality (1911) and both shared the platform with Captain J.R. White and the Rev. Armour on Casement's entry onto the political stage at Ballymoney in October 1913. This event, known as the Protestant Protest, was a meeting held by Protestants that hoped to explain to the wider Protestant community of the North how they might better live at peace inside a United Ireland. The recent release of KV files at Kew Public Record Office in London shows how Mrs. Green was branded a "red hot revolutionist" by British Intelligence as a result of her close connection with some of the rebel leaders. After the executions she returned to Ireland and to St. Stephen's Green to live. Her house continued to be a hive of discussion on several matter including how the Irish spirit might be better enlightened. She will remain as one of the most outstanding Irish scholars of her age. Casement's correspondence with Green held in the National Library of Ireland is evidence of how important their discussion was in the construction of a new attitude to Irish history and a counter-history that opposed the Imperial version.

[7] Washington Irving (1783-1859). Historian and man of letters. Irving was born in New York and began his literary career writing satirical history such as *A History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker* (1809). For health reasons he lived in Spain from 1826-29 and produced a series of studies including *The History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828) and *Voyages of the Companions of Columbus* (1831) and *Tales of the Alhambra*. He was appointed Ambassador to Spain (1842-1846).

[8] William Hickling Prescott (1796-1859). American historian. Prescott was born in Massachusetts into a wealthy legal family. He studied at Harvard where he was half-blinded by a piece of bread thrown accidentally in his eye. He devoted most of his life to the study of Spanish and Spanish-American history. His most well-known works were translated into French, German and Spanish, including *History of Ferdinand and Isabella* (1838); *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843); *The Conquest of Peru* (1847); and an unfinished three volume *History of Philip II* (1855-58). More than any historian Prescott had the most widespread influence on the shaping of Europe's understanding of Ibero-American history until relatively recently.

[9] William Robertson (1721-1793). Scottish historian. Studied at Edinburgh University. He volunteered for the defence of Edinburgh against the Jacobite rebels in 1745 and in 1751 took up a prominent role in the General Assembly and soon became leader of the "Moderates". In 1761 he became a royal chaplain; in 1762 principle of Edinburgh University and in 1764 the Royal historiographer. His most far-reaching work was his *History of Charles V* (1769) which was widely praised by figures such as Voltaire and Gibbon. In 1777 he published his *History of America*, mainly concerned with early Spanish conquest in the New World.

[10] Robert Southey (1774-1843). Historian and Poet Laureate. Born in Bristol. After expulsion from Westminster school for writing an article showing sympathy for the Jacobites, Southey went up to Balliol College Oxford. With the poet Samuel Coleridge he planned to form a communist society in the West Country that came to nothing. He became an authority on the Anglo-Portuguese world following trips there in 1795 and 1800 and wrote an extensive three volume *History of Brazil* and another *History of Portugal*.

[11] St. Brendan (483-577). Navigator, mystic, Bishop of Clonfert. Born Fenit peninsula. The *Navigatio Brendani* relates his legendary voyage to a land of saints far to the west and north, possibly the Hebrides. He founded a number of monasteries in Ireland and Scotland including a monastery-museum at Ardfert and the Church of Ireland cathedral at Clonfert. Brendan, it is said, was buried beside the Romanesque pyramid-tympanum, archway door. His voyage to the Americas was re-enacted by Tim Severin, leaving Brandon Creek on 17 May 1976 showing a proven possibility that by tracing the north west Atlantic sea-board through the Western Islands of Scotland beyond the Faroes to Iceland and thence past Greenland to the north Atlantic shores of America.

[12] Christopher Columbus (1451-1506). Genoese explorer. In 1470 he was shipwrecked on the coast of Portugal. As early as 1474 he had conceived the design of reaching India by sailing westward - a design in which he was encouraged by a Florentine astronomer, Paolo Toscanelli. In 1477 he sailed 100 leagues beyond Thule, probably to or beyond Iceland; with other journeys to the Cape Verde Islands and Sierra

Leone. After seven years of searching for a patron his plans were accepted by Ferdinand and Isabella. On Friday 3 August 1492 Columbus set sail in command of the small Santa Maria, with fifty men and attended by two little caravels the *Pinta* and *Niña*. After landfall in Caribbean he returned to Iberia and reached Palos on 15 March 1493. He made a further three voyages before dying in austere poverty in Valladolid.

[13] Henry Hallam (1777-1859). English historian, born in Windsor and educated Eton and Christchurch College, Oxford. Helped by a private income, he was able to leave his study of law to pay for a life of letters and the writing of Whig history. His work includes: *Europe during the Middle Ages* (1818); *The Constitutional History of England from Henry VII to George II* (1827)

[14] Duns Scotus (c.1265-1308) Scottish scholar-philosopher and rival of Thomas Aquinas as the leading medieval theologian. His life is something of a mystery compared to his philosophy which was widely understood. He believed in the primacy of the individual and the freedom of the individual will and considered faith to be an act of the will, a practical issue and not speculative or theoretical. The Franciscan Order followed Duns Scotus.

# Irish Migration Studies in Latin America

Society for Irish Latin American Studies

## 'When they persecute you in one state, flee ye to another' Petition to Pope Pius the Ninth by potential Irish emigrants to Brazil

Introduced and edited by Oliver Marshall

A topic that has somehow been largely neglected by historians of the Irish Diaspora is that of onward, or third country, migration (Marshall 2005: 270, n. 7; 274, n. 8; 276, n. 50). During most of the nineteenth century North America was the main destination for Irish migrants with, of course, many of those heading across the Atlantic travelling via Liverpool. But with employment opportunities available closer to home, it is hardly surprising that many Irish migrants avoided the greater expense, time and hardship of an Atlantic crossing and instead sought work in the towns and cities of industrial England. But what remains entirely unknown is how many of these migrants hoped or expected that their stay in England would only be as long as needed to raise enough money for an onward passage to the United States or elsewhere nor what proportion were successful in re-migrating to third countries.

Conditions for Irish immigrants in nineteenth-century England were generally grim, with some of the worst experienced by the community in Wednesbury, in the industrial Midlands. With a population in 1861 of 22,000, Wednesbury was one of a string of 'horrid manufacturing towns' (*RMR*, Vol. 1, No. 5, 28 September 1867) linked together by chains of metal works and furnaces merging into virtually a single conurbation to form the iron and coal producing district



Blast Furnaces at Cradley, in the British Midlands Black Country

[\*\(Revolutionary Players\)\*](#)

known as the 'Black Country'. The area - described by the American consul in Birmingham as 'black by day and red by night' (Burritt 1868: 3) - both impressed observers for the vast concentration of its heavy industries within a relatively small area, and also shocked for the environmental brutality that had been committed. 'The landscape, if landscape it can be called,' wrote an anonymous visitor in the 1860s, 'bristles with stunted towers capped with flame, and with tall chimneys vomiting forth clouds of black smoke, which literally roofs the whole region' (SPCK 1864: 12). The soil too was contaminated, long having been turned 'ink-black' by slurry and other waste, while the air was 'hot and stifling and poisoned with mephitic odours' (SPCK 1864: 12). Industrial noise was constant, often deafening, with an incessant bang and clang and roar and boom of ponderous hammers thundering without the pause of a single moment.

It was to this environment that Father George Montgomery entered in 1850 when he was sent to Wednesbury to establish a Roman Catholic mission. Born in Dublin in 1818, the son of a former Lord Mayor of Dublin, Montgomery grew up in wealthy, staunchly Protestant, family, an unlikely background for one who would spend much of his life serving a Catholic community in one of the harshest corners of industrial England. After taking Holy Orders in the Church of Ireland and then a period caring for parishes in Sligo and Dublin, Montgomery was one of many Anglican priests to convert to Roman Catholicism during the 1840s and 1850s. Admitted to Oscott College, a Catholic seminary in Birmingham, Montgomery was ordained as a priest in 1849. After a period of study in Rome, Montgomery returned to England,

lecturing to Catholics in Bilston, a south Staffordshire coal mining community, from where he was sent to neighbouring Wednesbury (Marshall 2005: 46).

During the 1840s, Wednesbury's approximately 3,000 Catholic (overwhelmingly Irish) residents had been left virtually ignored by church authorities. Due to the flood of immigrants to England fleeing the famine in Ireland, combined with an increase in self-confidence amongst English Catholics, the Roman Catholic Church was stretched beyond its capacity to meet the spiritual needs of a rapidly growing population. On arrival in Wednesbury, Montgomery immediately set about raising money for building work, with St. Mary's Church, positioned astride a hill-top overlooking the town, opening in 1852. Eager to win local trust, Montgomery saw himself as both the spiritual and moral protector of the town's Catholic - and specifically Irish Catholic - community. Shocked by what he considered to be the miserable and amoral state to which his parishioners had descended in England, Montgomery felt obliged, as a missionary priest, to play a central role in the community to which he had been sent to serve. One of his first campaigns was to bring a halt to the 'deadly melees' that were a regular feature of Wednesbury Irish life, the police having dismissed the community as too 'depraved' to make intervention worthwhile. Montgomery soon won considerable respect and affection from his parishioners and, financially forever in debt and surviving on the barest of necessities, he was admired, both locally and further a field, for living extremely modestly (*WWBA*, 18 March 1871; *WRCS*, 19 March 1871).

As the Wednesbury mission became secure, Montgomery concentrated his attention on education and emigration, expounding his views of these subjects in *The Rev. G. Montgomery's Register*. [\[1\]](#) Published on an occasional basis from August 1867 and circulated both within the parish and to friends beyond, the four-page newsheet featured a mix of local church news, passionate declarations concerning the position in England of poor Catholics and extracts from letters that he had received from former parishioners emigrants living in the United States. Montgomery was convinced that the British state was utterly untrustworthy and was possessed with an irreconcilable hatred of the Catholic religion. Certain that the state's recent interest in subsidising Catholic schools was to exert control through financial means, Montgomery called for self-reliance, urging priests and laity to establish and maintain schools on a strictly independent basis, setting an example with the Wednesbury mission school. But while education remained a major concern, it was to emigration that Montgomery dedicated much of his energy.

Soon after taking up his position in Wednesbury, Montgomery began receiving letters from Irish former residents of the town who had emigrated to the United States, hundreds of whom had settled in New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania. These letters frequently contained paid passages for emigrants' friends and relations who had been left behind in Wednesbury, a fact that caused Montgomery to observe that his mission was in effect serving as a depot for United States-bound emigrants. Recognizing this reality, Montgomery felt justified in directly intervening in the migration process, taking it upon himself to investigate possible new destinations and to enter into negotiations with their agents. Indeed, given the conditions that prevailed in Wednesbury, not only did he feel that it was appropriate to assist his parishioners to emigrate, he felt that it was his duty to do so, declaring: 'We hear our divine Saviour saying, *'When they persecute you in one state, flee ye to another,'* and we look whither we may flee to obey this precept' (*RMR*, Vol. 1, No. 6, 19 October 1867).

Montgomery argued that if the Irish were to remain in England, it was vital that they improve their position economically as 'without temporal prosperity - speaking of the run of mankind, and taking people in masses - there can be no *spiritual* prosperity' (*RMR*, Vol. 1, No. 5, 28 September 1867). He felt, however, even a modest standard of living in England was an unrealistic goal, with the best that he might achieve would be 'to dress the wounds of the perishing wayfarer' (*RMR*, Vol. 1, No. 5, 28 September 1867). For there to be a hope of eternal salvation, Montgomery concluded that the Irish must escape England, to be 'conveyed to a place where [they] may be thoroughly taken care of' (*RMR*, Vol. 1, No. 5, 28 September 1867). Acknowledging, however, the Church's ambivalent attitude with regard to emigration from Ireland itself, Montgomery was at pains to point out that the situation of the Irish in England was entirely different:

I am not disturbing a people who are at home contented and settled, but I am trying to direct their migrations people who are on the move in search of a home. To my view the Irish in England, considered as a body, are like the traveller in the Gospel, who lay in the way 'stripped and wounded and half dead'. The poor people are wounded with five grievous wounds. They are suffering compulsory and extreme poverty; they are strangers in the land; they are expatriated strangers, who have neither country nor home; their progeny is becoming extinct in the cities and great towns of England; and their children are apostatising from the Catholic faith (*RMR*, Vol. 1, No. 5, 28 September 1867).

Montgomery first considered an Oregon settlement scheme, and in 1853 he unsuccessfully sought funds to visit the United States where he hoped to find wealthy Irish-American patrons willing to finance agricultural settlements in the western territory. Of his motives behind this plan, Montgomery later recalled, 'it seemed to me a pity that the expatriated Catholic peasants of Ireland should die out in the English towns - a miserable proletarian population without religion or patriotism.' (*RMR*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 31 August 1867). Although he believed that the spiritual condition of Catholics in the United States was slightly better than was the case of those in England, he lamented the danger to faith and morals that Catholics continuously faced in both of these Protestant-dominated countries. Considering the negative influences in both England and the United States, Montgomery was keen to encourage migration to a Catholic country, one where the Irish would enjoy protection, security of faith and morals, impossible, agreed Henry Formby, a fellow Catholic priest and admirer of Montgomery, either in England or in 'the mixed and often godless society of the United States' (Formby 1871: 10-11).

Rejecting the United States, Montgomery instead looked towards South America as a possible destination for the Irish poor in England. How exactly he became such a fervent proponent of Brazil is not entirely clear but he was clearly attracted by the Brazilian government's land colonisation programmes that sought to encourage independent family farms. Montgomery maintained that agriculture, rather than manufacturing or industry, was the more 'eligible' way of life, and was convinced that 'as God had given the earth to the children of men', it was the necessary work of both 'enlightened statesmanship' and 'Christian Charity' to assist families of destitute workers to migrate overseas where they could take possession of uninhabited fertile lands that were awaiting exploitation (Formby 1871: 11-14). Montgomery himself recorded that he began to seriously consider the practical possibility of Brazil as a destination for emigrants from the British Isles in 1866 after reading an article in the *Standard* (6 April 1866), a London newspaper. 'In no latitude,' the article extolled, 'can there be discovered greater national wealth. The surface is enormous, the soil exuberant, the seaports are magnificent, the navigable rivers unparalleled, the mines inexhaustible; and yet Brazil pines for people.' With such a country apparently yearning for immigrants, Montgomery entered into correspondence with the article's author, said to be an Englishman who had lived in Brazil for fifteen years. Encouraged by all that he heard, Montgomery went on to canvass the opinions of others who had first-hand experience of the country. Amongst these was Joseph Lazenby, an Irish Jesuit at the Colégio do Santissimo Salvador in Desterro, the capital of Santa Catarina, who told him of an apparently successful agricultural colony in the southern province largely inhabited by Irish men and families from New York. Having satisfied himself that Brazil (and in particular Santa Catarina) was 'a fit place for the settlement of poor Catholics astray in England' (*RMR*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 28 September 1867), with support growing for the emigration scheme - with some going so far as to believe that Brazil offered the best hope of an Irish cultural renaissance, with the Irish language being the future language of the settlement (*UN*, 15 February 1868) - Montgomery began to take practical measures to assist his parishioners to emigrate.

Oliver Marshall

[1] The first issue (Vol. 1, No. 1) of *The Rev. G. Montgomery's Register* is dated 31 August 1867. The only known surviving copies of the newsheet are held by the Birmingham Archdiocesan Archives, St. Chad's Cathedral (ref. P303/6/2). The last issue in the collection is Vol. 1, No. 13, dated 4 July 1868; issue No. 7 is missing.

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- RMR - *The Rev. Montgomery's Register* (Wednesbury).
- SPCK - Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, *Birmingham and the Black Country* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1864).
- *The Standard* (London).
- WRCS - *The Weekly Register & Catholic Standard* (London).
- WWBA - *The Wednesbury and West Country Advertiser* (Wednesbury).

### **The petition**

Addressed to Pope Pius the Ninth, the petition reproduced below was published in *The Rev. G. Montgomery's Register* on 19 October 1867 (Vol. 1, No. 6). [2] In his introduction, Montgomery explained that only men whose 'upright and unblemished character' he felt able to vouch for personally and with confidence did he permit to sign the petition. Clearly written by Montgomery, the priest claimed that he read the entire text to all who were invited to sign the petition, explaining the contents to every individual until he was certain that it was fully understood (most of those committing their names to the petition would have been illiterate). All told, the ninety-six signatories - 'all heads of families' - would have represented several hundred potential emigrants, although it is unknown how many in fact proceeded to Brazil.

The petition vividly describes the poverty, insecurity, religious and ethnic strife prevalent in Wednesbury, conditions that offered a fertile recruitment ground for agents seeking emigrants for distant parts of the world that were invariably portrayed as a mirror image of the place being left behind. Montgomery imagined that he would be assisting tens of thousand of people to emigrate to Brazil and, with the blessing of the Bishop of Birmingham, organised the first party of 339 men, women and children who set off from Wednesbury on 3 February 1868. Although most members of the party arrived safely in Rio de Janeiro on 22 April 1868 and were soon transferred to agricultural colonies in the south of the country (mainly Príncipe Dom Pedro in Santa Catarina, but also to Cananéia in São Paulo), the scheme rapidly collapsed, along with the health of Montgomery, who died on 7 March 1871, unable to realise his own dream of travelling to Brazil (Marshall 2005: 63-87).

[2] The petition was first reproduced as Appendix 1 in Oliver Marshall, *English, Irish and Irish-American Pioneer Settlers in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Centre for Brazilian Studies, University of Oxford, 2005).

### ***The Humble Memorial & Petition of Certain Irish Catholics who Sojourn in England, to Our Apostolic Lord, His Holiness Pope Pius the Ninth.***

We are fathers, heads of families, natives of Ireland; who, pressed by poverty, have left the land of our birth, and sojourn in England. We support ourselves by manual labour, for most part of the rudest sort, and depend for employment chiefly on the great manufacturing industry of this country. When the trade of England languishes, there is little or no need of our services, and we are frequently altogether deprived of employment for many weeks together. In short, our temporal condition is entirely at the disposal of

persons who have no relation to us but that of employers, who, so far as we are concerned, using their money only to make more money, hire us to work, or dismiss us to idleness, as their interests require.

When we are dismissed or suspended from employment, we must leave our families, and wander about "looking for work"; or live in a half-naked, half-famished state, getting miserably in debt; or, breaking up such homes as we have, we must seek shelter in *Poorhouses*.

If we travel about looking for work, we are in danger of departing far from our neighbourhood of priest and altar, and thus of seeming, like Cain, "*to go out from the face of the Lord, and dwell as fugitives on the earth.*" If we enter the poor-houses, we go to imprisonment, to forceful companionship with persons not Catholics, who may be hateful to us; we must submit to the yoke of rules which are oppressive, because they were not framed with our consent; and too often are not administered with kindness, but are, in some instances, repugnant to the laws of the Catholic Church; and are, at best, but regulations for the orderly dispensing of relief, grudgingly and of necessity given to the poor. How dreadful the thought that we might die in these places, or that our young children may be immured to them to grow up listless, faithless parish paupers, having in after-life to struggle for a place in the lowest grade of the social scale, though we had hoped to rear our children to be in all respects better off in this life than we ourselves have been!

We are told by some persons that we are improvident, and that in prosperous seasons we might lay up something for the time of distress. Some of us do indeed strive to provide for periods of want, by reserving a portion of our earning as contributions to a fund out of which we may receive some aid when sickness or any bodily accident befalls us. But we cannot do this and provide for the times when we are out of work; and many of us have helpless children to support, and aged parents, and other necessitous relatives, whom we must aid. It is but seldom that we commit any wasteful excess; and if we are not duly economical, perhaps it is because we have not had the good fortune to be taught how to be so. Do our best, we suffer that extreme and compulsory poverty against which we are taught by the Holy Scriptures to pray.

To the evil of our extreme poverty there is added this other, - that we are strangers in the land, disliked by the people amongst whom we live, because of our nationality, because of our religion, and because we are in competition with them for employment. During the hours of our work, we have to associate with persons who assail us with blasphemy against the most sacred doctrines of the Catholic religion, with defamation of the clergy and female religious persons, and with obscene discourse. We know also that those around us attribute our poverty, our faults, our follies, and our crimes to the influence of the Catholic faith. This terrible storm of persecution, of calumny, is sufficient to overwhelm persons more steadfast than we are; and we tremble when we think of the effect which it has on our children. At all times this tempest is felt by the poor Irish in England, but just now - excited by the fraud and malice of certain fanatics and apostates - it rages with fury against us. So we, who are sociably inclined, are forced to keep aloof as much as possible from the people of the land, lest we be terrified or seduced from our attachment to the faith.

We must complain, too, that the conditions under which we live, as mere labourers in the places where we get employment, and only as a minority of the general population, prevent us from separating ourselves and our children from the neighbourhood and companionship of certain Catholics - our countrymen too - who openly and constantly violate divine and human laws; persons who neglect all religious duties, and abandon themselves to drunkenness, and the squalor and shameful habits consequent upon irreligion and intemperance. In the places where most of us reside, there are many such Catholics; but there is not one Catholic employer, nor one who occupies high social position, - not one to afford us patronage.

Another evil in the natural order which afflicts us is, that our children, who are born and grow up in England, must grow up without patriotism; for we cannot teach them to love a country which has departed from the Church and is hostile to it, and which used its power for many ages to oppress our native land, and to extinguish in it the light of faith. We continually hear our fellow-Catholics - the English - proclaiming their love of their country, and their great loyalty to its Government, though that Government is alien to the Church, and treats the Vicar of God with contempt; and account it hard that we should be called on and expect to think and speak like English Catholics. The mere fact that we came to

this country to labour for a living, and that poverty compels us to remain in it, is not sufficient to make us love it, nor cause us to teach our children to love it.

We do *not* complain that the cost to us of the maintenance of our religion is, in proportion to our means, very considerable; but we complain that, except in our churches, - which we cannot frequent daily, - we scarcely see or hear anything to remind us that that the Catholic religion exists; and we complain that we, an illiterate people, have not the moral and religious support which, in the conversation and usages of every-day life, is afforded in other lands of similar social conditions to our own. By continual contradictions and blasphemies and ridicule directed against Catholic doctrines and practices, we are indeed reminded of the religion we profess. But if these things do not detach us, natives of Ireland, from the Church, they tend not a little to cause the crowning evil of our present state; that is, a too well-grounded fear that our children, or our children's children, will apostatise. We have seen many children, born in England of Irish-Catholic parents, make shipwreck of faith and morality; and some of our clergy confidently assert that the children of Irish in Great Britain who fall away from the faith far exceed in number the natives of the land who are converted to the Catholic Church.

We are painfully conscious of the evils which afflict us; we groan and look up to God; we groan as a people persecuted, - persecuted by the pressure of poverty, which has made us exiles, which keeps us always strangers, and often wanderers, in a land where we are degraded, insulted, calumniated, importunately tempted to vice and heresy, plunged in tribulation, "*pressed out of measure above our strength, so that we are weary even of life.*"

What shall we do? Some of our friends tell us to be pious, to be patient, and hope for better times in this land. But our sense of the evils which encompass us is too keen to allow us to be tranquil. Speaking with others similarly placed as ourselves, we say, - doubtless the prelates and pastors and missionary clergy of the Church in England do for us what they can, labouring for us zealously, patiently, and with tender compassion. But we cannot help hearing that these, our loved and honoured friends, say, or hint, that we cannot remain in the land, and refuse to become English; that we are a wayward and troublesome people; that the number and greatness of our necessities far exceed their means to relieve them adequately; and that we seem to be a doomed race, that rapidly tends to extinction. We cannot help hearing that these things are said of us by our friends, and we hang our heads in shame and sorrow; but we despair not. We refuse to be absorbed in the English nation; we shrink from the prospect of the extinction of our race; we shudder with horror at the idea of our children becoming apostates, and deriding the faith and the birth-place of their fathers; and we look with dread and dismay upon the land in which an enormous proportion of our people, old and young, are numbered as paupers and criminals.

We confess that all that has come upon us has happened by the permission and the just judgement of God. We hear our divine Saviour saying, "*When they persecute you in one state, flee ye to another,*" and we look whither we may flee to obey this precept, follow this counsel, or avail ourselves of this permission - whichever it may be in our regard. To the United States of America many of our kindred and friends have recently gone, and there they are, in comparison with us, in temporal prosperity, and religiously they are better circumstanced than we are. We look wistfully after them. We cannot follow them; we contemplate our misery sojourning here, but we despair not of ourselves. We have cried to the divine Jesus for mercy, to our Lady for help, to the Vicar of God for his blessing; and the brightness of hope has illuminated our path. Our hope is that we may be received into the empire of Brazil, where such persons as we are, are wanted and would be welcomed; there to find a home - a dwelling-place whence we cannot be expelled at the mere will of others - and means to be on our own lands constantly employed, and no longer the sport of the fluctuations of trade; there to find a people the vast majority of whom are Catholics - a sovereign who recognises the divine Jesus in the Sacrament of the altar, and who bows before mysteries which are here made the butt of the unbelieving of scoff and ridicule; there to find a Government Catholic by law.

Signed,

Thomas MacGeoghegan, John Shannahan, William Farrell, Miles Kirby, John Kirby, John Connolly, John Gallagher, Patrick Kavanah, Martin Morrin, Patrick Swift, Edward Baxter, Mathew Burns, John Hopkins,

Michael Lee, Thomas Walsh, Timothy Holahan, William Fitzgerald, John A. Slater, Patrick Madican, Stephen Collins, John Brennan, Patrick Lyndon, Peter Costello, John Grady, Patrick Biggins, Patrick Joyce, Martin M'Tighe, Michael Jordon, Patrick Lynch, Thomas Clark, John Driscoll, Michael Mylott, Patrick Butler, Michael Walsh, Hugh Brady, David Harris, John Joyce, Martin Cohen, John Brannigan, Patrick O'Brien, John Byrne, Patrick Cuninghame, Thomas Connell, John Walsh, Patrick Connelly, Patrick Kenny, Michael Corless, John M'Donald, Martin Flaherty, John Carroll, John Cavanah, Timothy Kelly, Patrick Hegarty, James Craddock, James O'Neal, Thomas Cavanah, Jerimiah Monghan, Roger Loyden, Martin Moran, John M'Grath, Patrick Shereden, Patrick Grelly, Patrick Hopkins, Patrick Joyce, Anthony Nolan, Michael M'Farlin, Thomas Walsh, Michael Colleran, Thomas Morrin, Patrick Walsh, Michael Gilmore, Patrick M'Farlin, Patrick Cregan, Patrick Geraghty, John Flaherty, Patrick Jennings, John Cuninghame, John Naughton, Michael Varley, Martin Tracy, John M'Donough, John Flynn, John Brannigan, John Burns, James Grimes, John Cavanagh, Thomas Ronan, John Halloran, Luke Joyce, William Feehan, Patrick Jennings, Martin Collins, James Shannahan, Patrick Kelly, Charles Connor.

## William Cotter

### Irish officer in Dom Pedro's army of imperial Brazil

Within the ambit of the Brazilian scheme to encourage European immigration, mercenaries and colonists were recruited in the 1820s in Germany and Ireland. In 1823 the German governments banned emigration to Brazil to thwart the enterprises of Gregor von Schäffer, a colonel in Brazil who had enlisted as many as 2,000 soldiers and 5,000 colonists from the northern and western German regions. Dom Pedro then turned to Ireland, with equally poor results.

William Cotter, an Irish-born colonel in the service of the Brazilian army, proved as unscrupulous as Schäffer. He was sent to Ireland in October 1826 and on arrival in Cork he hired between 2,400 and 2,800 Irish farmers with no military experience of any kind. The number of immigrants who sailed from Cork to Brazil (Rio, Espírito Santo, and São Paulo) in ten ships totalled 3,169 passengers, comprising 2,450 men, 335 women, 123 young men and women, and 230 children. Most were army recruits who enlisted because the contract promised them pay and allowances equal to one shilling per day plus victuals, as well as a grant of fifty acres of land after five years of service in the army.

They arrived in Rio de Janeiro between December 1827 and January 1828. Learning that the men would be press-ganged into the Imperial army and realising that Cotter's promises were a bunch of lies, they complained to the British ambassador, Robert Gordon, who lodged a strongly-worded protest but to no avail. Fortunately the diplomat did not give up and continued to apply pressure on the Brazilian government on the Irishmen's behalf. This resulted in minor improvements in their situation and allowed most to refuse enlistment. Eventually, less than four hundred of them joined the Imperial army and any plans for creating an Irish Legion had to be abandoned. Too few to become a separate unit, the Irishmen were integrated into the Third (German) Battalion of Grenadiers. They were thus integrated with a band of men who were equally unhappy with their lot.

War with Argentina over the 'Banda Oriental' (present-day Uruguay) had broken out in 1826 but the Irishmen never made it to the front. In 1827 Argentina and the rebellious province of Banda Oriental defeated the Brazilian forces. The British mediated the conclusion of the conflict, and the province became the independent state of Uruguay. The Irish remained in Rio de Janeiro on garrison duty, but living conditions were precarious and many died of diseases. Applications for medicines directed to the Brazilian officials fell on deaf ears. Doctors Dixon and Coates of the British Legation provided medicines for the sick, largely at their own expense.

Enslaved Africans, - called *moleques* - who formed the majority of the population of the Imperial capital, profoundly disliked the German and Irish mercenaries. As they were themselves the poorest class of people in Brazil, they took a fiendish delight in tormenting the Irish at every opportunity, calling them 'escravos brancos (white slaves)'. There were constant scuffles and brawls in the streets. The Irish were unarmed, and when they were attacked by the slaves they had only sticks and their fists with which to defend themselves.

On 15 March 1828, men, women, and children, 101 families in all of the Cork emigrants, left Rio on the *Victoria* for Salvador, a town on the Atlantic coast. They arrived on 28 March and on 3 August settled as farm labourers in Taperoa, near Valença. For those who remained in Rio, the sorry saga came to an end when in June 1828 seventy or eighty Irishmen serving in the Third Grenadier Battalion mutinied. The mutineers took to the streets, where many Irish civilians swelled their ranks. Alcohol was flowing freely in a matter of minutes and there was an orgy of destruction in the centre of Rio, where enslaved Africans took advantage of the chaos to settle scores with the hated foreigners. In desperation, the authorities issued arms to the civilian population, including the slaves. Ferocious street combat followed and lasted for a whole day and a night. Eventually, the mutineers withdrew to their barracks. Brazilian troops were rushed to the capital and the authorities asked the British and French naval commanders to land sailors and marines to help them. On 12 and 13 June the rebel barracks were put under siege. The episode ended in carnage, with as many as 150 soldiers of fortune, both German and Irish, killed during the mutiny.

Many of the military and civilian Irish recruited by William Cotter were repatriated in July 1828 and at least 1,400 of them returned to Britain and Ireland. The voyage home was organised at the insistence of Robert Gordon and was paid for by the Brazilian government. Perhaps as many as four hundred others remained in Brazil as farmers and eventually settled in the southern provinces of Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. This leaves some six hundred Irish immigrants unaccounted for, most of whom probably met their death in South America.

The emperor Dom Pedro blamed the entire incident on the minister for war, Barbozo, whom he accused of inciting the mutiny and doing nothing to suppress it. Barbozo was dismissed from office. There were no further accounts of Colonel William Cotter.

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## William Scully (d. 1885) Irish Journalist and Businessman in Rio de Janeiro

**Scully, William** (d. 1885), Irish journalist and businessman, owner and editor of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* of Rio de Janeiro, and founder of the 'Sociedade Internacional de Imigração'. According to genealogical sources in Ireland William Scully was born in Buolick, South County Tipperary, into a family of minor Catholic landlords. The family hit hard times during the potato famine of 1846-1849 and William arrived in Brazil in the 1850s or early 1860s. In Rio de Janeiro he made his living as a calligraphy teacher. He married into an English Anglican family in Rio and then worked as a shipping agent for British lines. In 1872 he was the agent for the National Bolivian Navigation Company, which held a majority share in the Madeira-Mamoré Railway Company.

Scully's most important undertaking was the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, which was published weekly from 7 February 1865 to 24 September 1884. The masthead described the *Times* as being a 'Political, Literary, and Commercial' newspaper, and among its intentions were 'to point out, and seek remedies for grievances and defects in the commercial and political intercourse of England and Brazil, and to promote a good understanding between the two countries' (from the first issue). The editor argued that Irish immigration to Brazil was a potentially viable means of upgrading the country's levels of economic productivity. As immigration and shipping businesses were complementary and beneficial to his interests, Scully both advertised Irish immigration in Brazil and promoted it in Great Britain.

The *Times* contained general Brazilian news and political comment, commercial reports, market prices, and maritime and immigration news. Although the paper received a subsidy from the Brazilian government, it was capable of criticism of the establishment. When the local aristocracy – of which Scully was disdainful – promoted restrictions on the immigration of Protestants, the editor of the *Times* spoke out in opposition. Scully's newspaper was also critical of the British Consul, claiming that he failed to assist destitute British subjects. However, the Legation believed that Scully had influence with the Emperor and noted that Brazilian newspapers reprinted articles from the *Times*, believing it to be free of political bias. Foreign papers, including the influential London monthly *Brazil and River Plate Mail*, reproduced articles from the *Times*.

The International Society for Immigration represented William Scully's material support to the Brazilian government. The first meeting was held in February 1866, and Scully strongly recommended that the society be independent of the government. The society was active for the next two years.

Although Great Britain forced Brazil to reduce their enslaved labour force from Africa, the Brazilian economy depended heavily on slaves. Arrangements were made for the slaves employed in the northeastern provinces to be transferred to the burgeoning coffee production zones, especially São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Plans for an increase in the employment of European immigrants began to multiply. However, Irish immigration was in Scully's words 'nipped in the bud' and was never successful in Brazil. The episode that marked its failure was the collapse of the Irish colony Príncipe Dom Pedro in Santa Catarina, which was suddenly deprived of funds and support between 1868 and 1869.

When the British minister William D. Christie published in London his *Notes on Brazilian Questions* (London & Cambridge: Macmillan, 1865), Scully had to appease most Brazilian leaders, and the Emperor in particular, by strongly criticising the way in which Christie expressed his views on the issue of slavery. The Irish newspaperman apparently considered it his mission to attempt to mend the badly damaged relationship between England and Brazil, to the point of verging on a pro-slavery stance, so as to dismiss the charges made public by Christie and thereby appease the Brazilian political establishment.

William Scully also published the guide *Brazil: Its Provinces and Chief Cities; the Manners and Customs of the People; Agricultural, Commercial and other Statistics, etc.* (Rio de Janeiro 1865; other editions in London, 1866 and 1868), as well as *A New Map of Brazil* in 1866 (drawn and engraved by George Philip & Son,

Liverpool and London). The *Anglo-Brazilian Times* was published until September 1884, and William Scully died in Pau, France on 14 February 1885.

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## Bartholomew Hayden (1792-1857) Navy Officer in Brazil



Bartholomew Hayden (1792-1857),  
navy officer in Brazil

**Hayden, Bartholomew** (1792-1857), navy officer in Brazil, was born in County Tipperary on 22 February 1792, the son of John and Joanna Hayden. Like many young men of his age, Hayden joined the armed forces of King George III of Great Britain during the Napoleonic Wars and served in the Royal Navy as a Midshipman for twelve years, from 1803 to 1815. Following the British victory over Napoleon, the Royal Navy was demobilised and reduced to a fraction of its former strength. There were jobs available for just 15 per cent of its former officers, but Hayden was one of the fortunate ones. In 1817, he was appointed senior Midshipman to the frigate *HMS Andromache* which was sent to South America as part of the squadron defending British interests during the wars of independence from Spain which were commencing in the Pacific.

In February 1821, Hayden moved to the *HMS Conway*, commanded by Captain Basil Hall FRS, as Second Master (that is, Assistant Navigating Officer) when the two ships were in Peru. Hall was an enterprising and scientifically minded officer who on his return published a popular two-volume book detailing the *Conway's* activities in South America. Hayden never did return home. Knowing that he lacked the necessary 'pull' to secure a further appointment in the navy, he resigned and, with the help of friends, purchased a brig called the *Colonel Allen* to pursue a career as a trader. Fortuitously, when Admiral Lord Thomas Cochrane, following his victories over the Spanish as Vice Admiral of Chile, was looking for a ship to take him to Brazil, *Colonel Allen* was the vessel he chose. The Brazilian war of independence against Portugal was then reaching a climax. The Prince Regent, Dom Pedro, had raised the standard of revolt against Portugal and been proclaimed Emperor a year earlier, but enemy garrisons still occupied half of the country, and unless Brazil's newly formed navy could seize command of the sea, chances of success looked bleak. The Brazilian Government was desperately seeking ships and experienced officers and Hayden offered his services. His ship was purchased, converted into a man-of-war and renamed *Bahia*, while Hayden himself was appointed to the Brazilian Navy with the rank of Commander (Capitão-Tenente).

In that capacity, Hayden served with Cochrane, by now commander-in-chief of the Brazilian Navy, in his successful campaign against Portugal. Hayden was present when the enemy were driven from their principal base of Bahia in 1823 and back to Portugal, and he was active in the suppression of the dangerous republican rebellion in the north-east the following year. In command of the brig *Pirajá* during Brazil's two year war against Buenos Aires from 1826 to 1828, Hayden captured the Argentine privateer *Libertad del Sur* and was promoted to Captain of Frigate as a consequence. Then, transferring to the corvette

*Liberal* in the inshore squadron blockading Buenos Aires, he took part in the minor battles of Quilmes and Monte Santiago, both of which inflicted serious damage on the Argentine naval forces led by a fellow Irishman, Commodore William Brown. With the termination of the War, Hayden was posted to the corvette *Animo Grande* as commander of the Brazilian Naval Division of the East, which was deployed off Angola with orders to help suppress the slave trade.

In June 1829, Hayden married Anna da Fonseca Costa in Rio de Janeiro, a marriage which produced five children. However the achievement of external peace was balanced by a sequence of internal rebellions within Brazil. In an optimistic moment following independence, the power of the central government had been deliberately weakened. Now, only the loyalty of the armed forces kept the country united. As commander of the frigates *Imperatriz* and *Campista*, Hayden was prominent in the suppression of the 'Cabanos' rebellion which afflicted Pará in 1835-1836. As a reward, he was promoted to full Captain (Capitão-de-Mar-e-Guerra) in October 1836. In 1839, Hayden was given leave of absence from the navy to join a steam packet company as commander of the paddle steamer *Maranhão*. He returned to the navy in 1840 in command of the training ship *Campista*. He formally retired from service in 1842. The spat of regional rebellions which had afflicted Brazil during the 1830s had, however, convinced the young Emperor Pedro II that a strong central government was needed and that an efficient and modern navy was vital to Brazil's internal security. Hayden's technical expertise was obviously valuable at a time when the Brazilian navy was taking on the challenges of steam power and new advances in weaponry. In 1849, he was therefore restored to the Active List in the rank of Commodore (Chef-de-Divisão) and in 1851 became a member of the influential Naval Armaments Commission. Now aged sixty-six, Hayden's health began to deteriorate. He was granted sick leave to return to Europe temporarily in 1856 but was unable to return, dying at Portsmouth in southern England on 17 September 1857.

Brian Vale

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# Irish Migration Studies in Latin America

Society for Irish Latin American Studies

## John De Courcy Ireland (1911-2006) Maritime Historian



John De Courcy Ireland (1911-2006),  
maritime historian  
([The Marine Times](#))

**De Courcy Ireland, John** (1911-2006), maritime historian, sailor, teacher, peace activist, humanist and linguist, was born on 19 October 1911 in Lucknow (Lakhnau), the capital city of the province of Uttar Pradesh in northern India. He was born to an Irish Catholic mother and an Irish Anglican father from County Kildare, who was serving the British Army. His father died of typhoid in China on the eve of the First World War, just three years after John was born. De Courcy Ireland was educated at Marlborough High School in London, but spent much of his childhood with his grandparents in Galway, Ireland, developing a lasting attachment to the country.

Despite receiving a history scholarship to New College, Oxford, shortly before his seventeenth birthday, he decided to travel to Brittany, France, to work on a Dutch merchant ship. De Courcy Ireland's travels and travails on this ship bound for Argentina also took him to Spain, Brazil and Uruguay, among other destinations, instilling in him a lifelong interest in maritime affairs. The young man was said to have been 'deeply distressed' by the poverty and inequalities of wealth that he witnessed in Brazil (*Dr John de Courcy Ireland*, Obituaries, *The Irish Times*, 8 April 2006, p. 14).

On his return from the high seas, de Courcy Ireland did finally attend university in Oxford, where he met his wife, Beatrice Haigh from Dún Laoghaire in Dublin. The couple married and moved to Manchester, where they both joined the Labour Party. One year prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, de Courcy Ireland and his wife left England and moved to Ireland. Together with Betty, he spent time on the Aran Islands, off the west coast of Ireland, and in Donegal in the Northwest of the country, learning the Irish language, which he added to his repertoire of European languages. In 1942, he accepted a teaching post at St. Patrick's Cathedral School in Dublin and a year later joined the Maritime Institute of Ireland, an organisation of which he was Honorary Research Officer when he passed away.

In the late forties, de Courcy Ireland became involved in the Vocational Education Committee and it was during the years 1949 to 1950 that he considered emigrating to Argentina and teaching in South America. These plans never came to fruition and in 1950 Trinity College Dublin awarded him a PhD for his research on Irish maritime history. In 1959, he was one of the founders of the National Maritime Museum in Dún Laoghaire and in 1966, he published the first of many historical works, entitled *The Sea and the Easter Rising*.

From 1968 to 1986 de Courcy Ireland worked as a teacher at Newpark Comprehensive School in Blackrock, Dublin, and in 1984 he ran in the elections for the European Parliament as a Democratic Socialist, winning 5,350 votes. He served as voluntary secretary of the Dún Laoghaire lifeboat station for over twenty-five years, was a founding member of the Campaign against Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in Ireland and a member of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement. The historian's attachment to China,

stemming from his father's death and his mother's brief residence in Beijing, led him to foster links between Ireland and the Asian country. In recognition of this work, the Chinese government appointed de Courcy Ireland honorary ambassador to China.

According to Desmond Branigan, the President of the Maritime Institute, de Courcy Ireland 'worked tirelessly to spread at home and abroad the story of the huge contribution made by Irish men and women down the years to international maritime affairs' (Branigan, Desmond. 'Message from the President' in *Iris na Mara - Journal of the Sea*. Journal of the Maritime Institute of Ireland. 1:1, Winter 2002, p. 3). One of these stories was that of William Brown from Foxford, County Mayo. In 1995, de Courcy Ireland published a biography of Brown, the founder of the Argentine navy, entitled *The Admiral from Mayo*. Thereafter, the historian was appointed a member of the Instituto Browniano in Buenos Aires. His major contributions to historical research centred around Irish people serving in foreign navies and merchant lines. His 1986 publication, *Ireland and the Irish in Maritime History*, chronicles the exploits of, among others, Irish seamen in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela and includes an account of the life of Admiral Patricio Lynch of Chile.

John de Courcy Ireland was a tirelessly enthusiastic man, travelling the world throughout the ninety-four years of his life, always making a point of arriving by ship. He was a family and community man, active in many local organisations in south Dublin, as well as in national and international ones. He dedicated his life in Ireland to, in his own words, making successive Irish governments 'realise that they lived on an island and needed the sea.' In the area of links between Ireland and Latin America, the maritime historian's many works of research contributed to the recognition of widespread Irish involvement in independence movements in nineteenth-century South America.

His wife Betty died in late 1999 and John de Courcy Ireland died just over six years later in Clonskeagh Hospital in Dublin, on 4 April 2006, after a long illness. He is survived by his three children, seven grandchildren and eight great-grandchildren.

Claire Healy

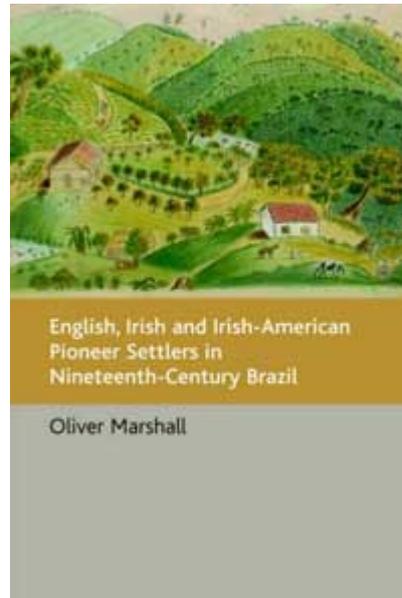
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## Review of Oliver Marshall's *English, Irish and Irish-American Pioneer Settlers in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*

By Edmundo Murray



Oxford: Centre for Brazilian Studies, University of Oxford, 2005  
ISBN 0-9544070-4-0 (£20)

Apparent in any bibliography of the Irish in Latin America is the disproportionate number of works on the Irish in Argentina compared to the very meagre amount of research on Irish people in other Latin American countries. With the exception of some topics that continue to attract the attention of authors - such as the San Patricio battalion in Mexico and Eliza Lynch in Paraguay - an overwhelming number of books and articles are dedicated to the Irish on the Argentine pampas. [1] This is the first book ever to study British and Irish emigrants to Brazil and is, therefore, a valuable addition to the reference books and articles already published in this area.

Above and beyond its pioneering characteristics, Marshall's book represents an important piece of research for which a wide array of primary sources was consulted in several archives in Brazil, England and the United States. In publishing *English, Irish and Irish-American Pioneer Settlers*, Marshall is adding a new title to his already prolific list: *The English-Language Press in Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1996), *Brazil in British and Irish Archives* (Centre for Brazilian Studies, University of Oxford, 2002), and (as editor), *English-Speaking Communities in Latin America* (London: Macmillan, 2000).



A Chamberlain-family wedding gathering, Cêrro Azul, c. 1927  
(Margarida Chamberlain), p. 209.

The author opens his study with a discussion of emigration from Britain and Ireland to Brazil. 'Before an immigrant-based community can assert its identity, be it influential or assimilate' he says, 'it has to be established. Before it can be established, it has to be imagined' (p. 7). The ways in which the Brazilian government, agents, priests, trade union leaders and emigrants imagined the possibility of starting a new life in Brazil are analysed in detail in the chapters that follow. In this analysis, the living conditions of the English and Irish people in England and the United States are studied in the context of the complexity of the migration process, which 'often involves more than a simple one-way passage' (9). This complexity and the multiple migration waves and actors, in spite of the author's rigorous and meticulous writing, sometimes make the book difficult to follow as a coherent narrative, and render it more of a work of reference than a single story of settlement in a foreign country.

Before proceeding to a detailed description of the colonies, the complete background of Brazilian immigration policy is analysed for the reader, including a brief account of William Cotter's recruitment of soldiers in Cork in 1826 and Fr. T. Donovan's settlement of Wexford immigrants in Monte Bonito (Rio Grande do Sul) in 1852. The key role of Tipperary-born journalist William Scully, founder of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* and co-founder of the International Immigration Society, is also discussed in relation to the establishment of new colonies in Brazil.

The Irish emigrated to Brazil from New York City, Birmingham and Wednesbury in the Black Country of England. They were 'desperate to believe that a better life could be found in far-off South America' (38). It was a migration scheme conceived by promoters of agricultural colonisation in Brazil who worked in England, and United States agents who were paid a commission for each person sent. In Wednesbury, Father George Montgomery was wont to preach to his poor Irish parishioners: 'We hear our divine Saviour saying, "When they persecute you in one state, flee ye to another," and we look whither we may flee to obey this precept' (50). Fr. Montgomery, together with Brazilian agents in London, imagined 'a network of New Irelands' in South America, that is, colonies that would appeal to 'single men and lads, free, healthy, brave, strong, generous, and disposed to live as becomes good Catholics' (61).

There was a stark contrast between the mid-nineteenth-century Irish and English colonies in Brazil and the Mexican settlements of the Irish *empresarios* in Texas in the 1820s, but notorious similarities between the situation in Brazil and the Argentine immigration policy of the 1870s-1880s. [2] This comparison is only mentioned in Marshall's book and offers an opportunity for further studies evaluating the three government initiatives in the broader context of Latin American immigration policy in relation to other regions in Europe. [3]

Between 1867 and 1870, many hundreds of Irish and English emigrants were sent to Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro, near Brusque, in the province of Santa Catarina. Initial enthusiasm swiftly dissolved due to ethnic conflict with German and other settlers, lack of official support, mismanagement by the government-appointed directors and, more than anything else, the poor agricultural and transport facilities of the settlement. The colony did not take too much time in collapsing completely. By 1870, all of the Irish

'colonos' of Príncipe Dom Pedro had left the colony. Many travelled north to Rio de Janeiro and from there on to the United States, where the majority settled in Pennsylvania. The English and Irish colonists of Cananéia (São Paulo) and Assunguy (Paraná) barely met a more fortunate fate than those in Príncipe Dom Pedro. Their ignorance of the conditions in Brazil and the lies of the immigration agents are best epitomised by a mother who lost her children in appalling conditions: 'We would not have come here for all the world if we had known' (123). These letters also included stories of some of the immigrants' children who were 'sold ... at 5 mil reis apiece' and girls who resorted to prostitution in order to survive (131).



Luiza da Conceição Blane and  
Ernesto Fitz (Gerald).  
(Oliver Marshall), p. 211.

In the closing chapters, Marshall offers a thorough study of the colonies Príncipe Dom Pedro, Cananéia and Assunguy. Among other themes, he analyses land, produce and market, population, administration, social life, immigrant settlement, agriculture, employment and debts, and health.

The author's presentation of his research does not end with a conventional conclusion. In a practical version of Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire*, this book proposes an epilogue which effectively links the past with the present. [4] Tracing the diverse destinations of the migrants and their families, Marshall managed to locate some of their descendants and interview them. The photographs of three generations of the Chamberlain family, Luiza de Conceição and Ernesto Fitz(Gerald) and João and David Davies (210-215) are a testimony of the living presence of the English and Irish 'colonos' in present-day Brazil, as well as of their complete assimilation into the larger Brazilian society. Dona Luiza 'recalls her father speaking with her grandparents in a "foreign language"'. None of the bearers of English and Irish names today in Cêro Azul 'have more than the faintest knowledge (or interest) in their immigrant origins' (210). In the appendices, the author includes a petition addressed to Pope Pius IX by families representing several hundred of the emigrants, a final appeal for assistance in 1898, and a list of British immigrants in Príncipe Dom Pedro, Cananéia and Assunguy. These documents exemplify the author's commitment to offering primary sources together with a consistent and helpful interpretation.

Oliver Marshall's book is an important contribution to the study of British and Irish diasporas, and to the research of migrations in Latin America. Its strongest points are its inclusive perspective that covers English, Irish and Irish-American migrants - a point of view frequently absent from often narrowly focused Irish historiography - as well as the analytical tools borrowed from social, economic and family history, together with a careful coverage of several types of primary sources. Students of identities will find this book extremely valuable, if somewhat arduous for beginners, in illustrating on the basis of new examples the interesting phenomenon of nation-building using collective imagery.

Edmundo Murray

[1] For general and country-specific bibliographies of the Irish in Latin America see *The Irish in Latin America and Iberia: A Bibliography*. Website ([www.irlandeses.org](http://www.irlandeses.org)), accessed 24 March 2006.

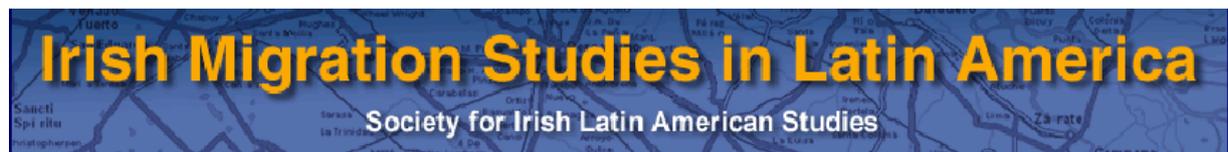
[2] See Davis, Graham, *Land! Irish Pioneers in Mexican and Revolutionary Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002).

[3] For a general reference of English-speaking colonies in Latin America, see Platt, D.C.M. 'British Agricultural Colonization in Latin America' in *Inter-American Economic Affairs* 18:3 (1964), pp. 3-38.

[4] Nora, Pierre, 'Between Memory and History' and 'The Era of Commemoration' in Nora, Pierre (ed.), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* (New York, 1996-1998), 3 Vols.

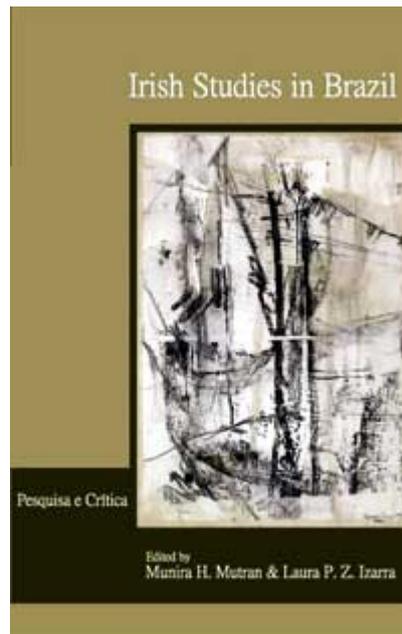
### **Author's Reply**

The author accepts this review and does not wish to comment further.



Review of Munira H. Mutran and Laura P.Z. Izarra's (eds.),  
*Irish Studies in Brazil*

By Rosa González



São Paulo: Associação Editorial Humanitas, 2005  
ISBN 85-98292-86-9  
408 pp.

A quick glance at the multi-authored and diverse table of contents of *Irish Studies in Brazil* might initially disconcert the prospective reader as to the rationale behind the inclusion of the thirty miscellaneous contributions that make up the collection. A careful perusal, though, will reveal that the book charts the fruitful cultural dialogue established by the University of São Paulo (USP), and other Brazilian universities, with Irish Studies in the widest sense of the term. The articles cover Ireland's cultural heritage as well as the long list of living writers and academic scholars from Ireland and abroad that have visited Brazil and lectured on the subject over the last twenty-five years.

Originally emanating from the centre of the Postgraduate Programme of Estudos Lingüísticos e Literários em Inglês at USP set up in 1980, interest and research in Irish Studies have developed exponentially, as testified to by the establishment of the Associação Brasileira de Estudos Irlandeses (ABEI) in 1988, the publication of the *ABEI Journal – The Brazilian Journal of Irish Studies* since 1999, the organisation of the 2002 conference of the International Association for the Study of Irish Literatures (IASIL) and a solid corpus of academic research including books on George Bernard Shaw, William Butler Yeats, Sean O'Casey, Sean O'Faolain and John Banville. There have also been a large number of PhD and MA Dissertations on both canonical and recent Irish drama and fiction.

The first part of the volume *Irish Studies in Brazil* contains contributions by four creative writers. It opens with John Banville's "Fiction and the Dream" (21-28), a reflection on the process of writing a novel where

the writer traces his own evolution from a “convinced rationalist” who saw himself as “the scientist-like manipulator of [his] material” to the increasing awareness that sometimes “things happen on the page” that fall outside the control of the conscious, waking mind, and that although “the writer is not a priest, not a shaman, not a holy dreamer [...] yet his work is dragged up out of that darksome well where the essential self cowers, in fear of the light” (24-26). Banville concludes by saying that “the writing of fiction is far more than the telling of stories. It is an ancient, an elemental, urge which springs, like the dream, from a desperate imperative to encode and preserve things that are buried in us deep beyond words. This is its significance, its danger and its glory” (28). Then come two poems, Paul Durcan’s record of an epiphanic moment at Congonhas airport in “The Last Shuttle to Rio”, from his collection *Greetings to Our Friends in Brazil* (1999) and Michael Longley’s “The Leveret” which captures the poet’s measured excitement on the occasion of his grandson Benjamin’s first night in his beloved Carrigskeewaun. Part One ends with the short story “Maggie Angre” by playwright Billy Roche, a tale about an overweight and graceless girl who only forgets her freakiness when she dives into the Rainwater Pond and “her arched body resemble[s] a bird in flight” (38), the very pond that had swallowed up her brother Stephen, the only person who had ever cared and stood up for her.

Part Two, the longest and most outstanding contribution in the volume in terms of scholarly input, includes fifteen essays, organised around generic clusters –Drama, Fiction, Poetry, and Culture and Translation. Each is written by a leading specialist in the area, and arranged in alphabetical order. Though the lack of a unifying topic means that the discussion is somewhat scattered in focus, the fact that many of the contributions come from their authors’ current research work renders the book an excellent showcase of the range of interests guiding present scholarship in Irish Studies. Two of the essays devoted to drama dwell on the potential of recent plays to move beyond the burden of the country’s colonial and post-colonial past. Dawn Duncan (“Compassionate Contact: When Irish Playwrights Reach out for Others”, 49-67) discusses the work of two female dramatists – Anne Le Marquand Hartigan’s *La Corbière* and Delores Walsh’s *In the Talking Dark* – that make tactical use of voices outside Ireland. Believing that dramatists are particularly equipped to respond to and shape changing times, Duncan wistfully wonders whether the move from internal examination to external vision, and from isolated solidarity to global union in these plays might point towards the next phase in post-colonial writing. In this phase, the opposition between the self as victim, and the oppressor as evil, gives way to a “concentrat[ion] on people in all their humanity, their wickedness and their virtues.” (65). In “The Easter Rising versus the Battle of the Somme: Irish Plays about the First World War as Documents of a Post-colonial Condition” (89-101), Heinz Kosok traces the reaction of Irish society, and in particular of Irish playwrights to the two key and divisive events of 1916: the much mythologised Easter Rising and the often overlooked Battle of the Somme. In recent plays such as Sebastian Barry’s *White Woman Street* (1995), Kosok sees a sign that “the ghosts of the country’s colonial past are perhaps at last being laid to rest” (99) in that the contribution of Irishmen to other colonialist measures is included.

In an absorbing and wide-ranging essay Nicholas Grene (“Reality Check: Authenticity from Synge to McDonagh”, 69-88) uses his well-known dislike of Martin McDonagh’s *The Beauty Queen of Leenane* (1996) – a reaction he has qualified elsewhere by dubbing it a black comedy playing with its own artificiality (Grene 2000) – as a starting point to ponder on the authenticity that Irish audiences have traditionally expected of their drama. By considering contemporary reactions to Synge’s *The Playboy of the Western World*, O’Casey’s *The Plough and the Stars* and Friel’s *Translations*, Grene traces this expectation of reality from the commitment of the Irish national theatre movement to challenge the colonialist misrepresentation of Irish country people to the post-Independence period: the past is never past but “a continually unfinished present” (84), national validation and self-conviction still depend on faith in the reality of the way history is represented, a “generic and absolute [reality], prototype of what [the] Irish people really are or aspire to be” (87). The section on drama concludes with Ann Saddlemyer’s “Shaw’s Playboy: *Man and Superman* (103-126), an enlightening reading of Shaw’s multi-faceted 1903 play which he had described as “a modern religion [providing] a body of doctrine, a poesy, and a political and industrial system”. (104-5)

The section on fiction begins with essays on the radically disparate work of two female novelists in the 1960s. In “Beasts in the Province’: The Fiction of Janet McNeill” (127-142) John Cronin regrets the way McNeill, who, though born in Dublin, spent thirty-five years in Northern Ireland, thereby restricted her own formidable narrative gifts. Cronin ascribes McNeill’s muted quality and concern with the restricted sphere of middle-class, middle-aged Protestants on whose joyless creed and “hysteria of spawning mission hall” (130) she casts a critical eye without ever engaging with the Province’s sectarianism and violence, to a calculated response to what Cronin considers to be her unwarranted fear of being considered a regional writer. In “Growing up Absurd: Edna O’Brien and *The Country Girls*” (143-161) Declan Kiberd offers an entertaining assessment of O’Brien’s 1960 controversial portrayal of lack of innocence in the self-proclaimed Holy Ireland of De Valera. Kiberd draws attention to the novel’s fairy-tale elements and argues that by challenging the notion of innocent childhood *The Country Girls* also questions the colonial stereotype of a childlike Hibernian peasantry. Maureen Murphy, who has published on female immigration to the USA, is the author of the article entitled “The Literature of Post-1965. Indian and Irish Immigration to the United States” (163-173). Here Murphy undertakes a comparative analysis of the experiences of Irish and Indian immigrants who have recently settled the New York borough of Queens, and briefly considers their process of assimilation as reflected in the work of contemporary Irish-American and Indian-American writers. Murphy notes that the texts share some version of the American dream of success, though there is violence, or the shadow of violence, pervading the realisation of the dream.

The Poetry section contains three essays that range from nuanced close readings of particular texts to reflections on the intersection between poetry and political violence. In “Personal Helicons. Irish Poets and Tradition” (185-210) academic-cum-poet Maurice Harmon offers a personal survey of how Irish poets such as W.B. Yeats, Thomas Kinsella, Seamus Heaney and Michael Longley have negotiated the use of indigenous sources with literary and intellectual traditions from European and other cultures, in particular the classics. Confident in their own tradition, which they have helped to fashion, concludes Harmon, contemporary poets are free from the anxiety of influence and “relate at will to tradition and achievement elsewhere” (210). Terence Brown (“John Hewitt and Memory: A Reflection”, 175-184) offers an insightful reading of the persistence and significance of memory in Hewitt’s poetry. Far from mere nostalgia, regret or romantic longing for what is gone, memory, argues Brown, gives Hewitt both pleasure and pain. Furthermore, memory embraces the personal and the public level, as seen in the poet’s awareness of death – which he felt naturally drawn to, and at the same time saw as a duty incumbent on responsible citizenship – or in those familial memories that are intimately intertwined with Irish history and which allow the poet to claim his identity as an Ulsterman of Planter stock. Edna Longley (“Poetry & Peace”, 211-222) revisits a long-time concern of hers: the notion that in the Northern Ireland context, where language has become highly politicised, poetry has no direct influence on politics and is not *ipso facto* pacifist but “carries symbolic weight as the most distinctive creative achievement from NI since the mid 1960s” insofar as it “both manifests and explores cultural complexities simplified by political enmities” (213). Despite the writer’s pessimistic view of the current political impasse, she believes poetry can undertake a more beneficial conversation about peace “than most versions of politics, whether in the academy or the street” (214). After considering poems of the past decade by Seamus Heaney, Paul Muldoon, Michael Longley, Sinead Morrissey and Medbh McGuckian she concludes that “‘peace’ not only entails real conversation, pragmatic negotiation and the slow dismantling of civil-war mindsets: like poetry, it must also be imagined” (222).

The section on Culture and Translation includes a series of miscellaneous texts. In “Northern Ireland: Politics and Regional Identity” (223-233), geographer R.H. Buchanan of Queen’s University Belfast maps out the background to the sectarian violence in Northern Ireland, stressing the regional distinctiveness of the province in terms of environment and spatial relations, tracing the differing traditions and contrasting aspirations of the population, and advancing the contentious assertion that the “island of Ireland, a natural unit in terms of physical geography, is not necessarily a cultural or political entity” (229). In “Meanderings” (235-241) historian David Harkness provides an enthusiastic account of the many signs of the sophisticated interest and detailed appreciation in Irish literature and culture that he has come across during his visits to academic institutions round the world over a period of thirty years. The translation

section, which begins with “Nausicaa”, Episode 13 of Joyce’s *Ulysses*, and its transcreation into Brazilian Portuguese by the late poet and critic Harold de Campos (45-46), includes two further essays on Joyce’s latest fiction. In “A Alquimia da Tradução” (247-260) Donaldo Schüler, the Brazilian translator of James Joyce’s *Finnegan’s Wake*, ponders on the challenge of writing and translating such a text. He considers the problem of translating a non-lexical text. Invention and translation, he says, compete at the moment of re-educating our senses to perceive the non-understandable; the truth of *Finnegan’s Wake* is in the alchemy of its flow, transition and translation. Maria Tymoczko’s “Joyce’s Postpositivist Prose. Cultural Translation and Transculturation” (261-294), is an extended theoretical essay that elaborates on her previous work on textual heterogeneity in *Ulysses* (1994) and cultural translation (2003). The essay makes a series of nuanced points about the function of the stylistic variations in the second half of Joyce’s text, the part that most reflects the Irish half of Joyce’s dual culture. That section of the book displays a postpositivist approach to knowledge and to narrative on account of its emphasis on and validation of subjective, and even meta-physical orientations to experience.

Throughout the one hundred odd pages making up Part Three, entitled *Irish Studies in Brazil: A Backward Glance* (295-408), witness is borne to the development of Irish Studies since the inception of the post-graduate programme in Irish literature in 1980 under Professor Munira Mutran. The section begins with the abstracts of the twenty-three postdoctoral, doctoral and masters theses submitted at USP, with subjects ranging from the short stories of Sean O’Faolain (Mutran 1977), John Banville’s aesthetic synthesis (Izarra 1995), Sean O’Casey’s letters and autobiographies (Harris 1999), feminine identity in the novels of Kate O’Brien (Araújo 2003) and the fiction of Flann O’Brien (Sousa 2004), to a large number of studies of playwrights Dion Boucicault, Bernard Shaw, J.M. Synge, Lady Gregory, W.B. Yeats, Lennox Robinson, Denis Johnston, Brian Friel, Stuart Parker, and Billy Roche. This is followed by the seven publications emanating from academic research, each of which is reviewed by a different author, and which due to lack of space we can do no more than list here:

Mutran, Munira H. ed. *Sean O’Faolain’s Letters to Brazil*. São Paulo: Editora Humanitas, 2005, 174 pp. ISBN 85-98292-44-3. Reviewed by Marie Arndt (315-318).

Sepa, Fernanda Mendonça. *O Teatro de William Butler Yeats: Teoria e Prática*. São Paulo: Olavobrás/ABEI, 1999, 136 pp. Reviewed by Beatriz Kopschitz Xavier Bastos (319-323).

Harris, Peter James. *Sean O’Casey’s Letters and Autobiographies: Reflections of a Radical Ambivalence*. Trier: WWT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2004, 194 pp. ISBN 3-88476-687-2. Reviewer Richard Allen Cave (324-330).

Haddad, Rosalie Rahal. *George Bernard Shaw e a Renovação do Teatro Inglês*. São Paulo: Olavobrás/ABEI, 1997, 136 pp. Reviewed by Peter James Harris (331-335).

Haddad, Rosalie Rahal. *Bernard Shaw’s Novels: His Drama of Ideas in Embryo*. Trier: WWT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2004, 165 pp. ISBN 3-88476-654-6. Reviewed by Peter James Harris (336-340).

Izarra, Laura P.Z., *Mirrors and Holographic Labyrinths. The Process of a “New” Aesthetic Synthesis in the Novels of John Banville*. San Francisco-London-Bethesda: International Scholars Publications, 1999, 82 pp. ISBN 1-57309-258-4. Reviewed by Hedwig Schwall (343-348).

The volume concludes with a bibliographical list of Irish literature translated into Brazilian Portuguese since 1888, the date that *Gulliver’s Travels* by Jonathan Swift was first published in Brazil, and a list of Irish plays performed on the Brazilian stage since 1940. The lists were compiled by freelance researcher Peter O’Neill, who keeps the information updated on the web site “Links between Brazil and Ireland” at <http://www.visiteirlanda.com>. The books most widely translated are those of Oscar Wilde, followed by James Joyce, Jonathan Swift, Bernard Shaw, Bram Stoker and Samuel Beckett, while the plays most frequently performed have been those by Beckett, followed by Shaw, Wilde and Synge.

While this book will be particularly useful to anyone wishing to follow the progress of Irish Studies in Brazil, the overall high standard of its contributions makes it also recommended for readers interested in the diversity of approaches within the discipline at the opening of the twenty-first century. Munira Mutran and Laura Izarra, the editors of the volume, are to be commended for having wisely promoted, and nurtured, such an active and fruitful national and international network of Irish Studies. The nineteenth-century flow of Irish migration to Brazil, a country which was advertised as Paradise on Earth, did not result, as the editors point out (16), in substantial Irish settlement in the south of this tropical country. Nevertheless, as attested to by *Irish Studies in Brazil*, the cultural flow between the two countries has broadened incessantly during recent decades.

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- Tymoczko, Maria, *The Irish 'Ulysses'*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Cultural Translation in Twentieth-Century Irish Literature" in *Kaleidoscopic Views of Ireland*. Munira H. Mutran and Laura P.Z. Izarra (eds.). São Paulo: Editora Humanitas/USP, 2003, pp.189-223.

### Authors' Reply

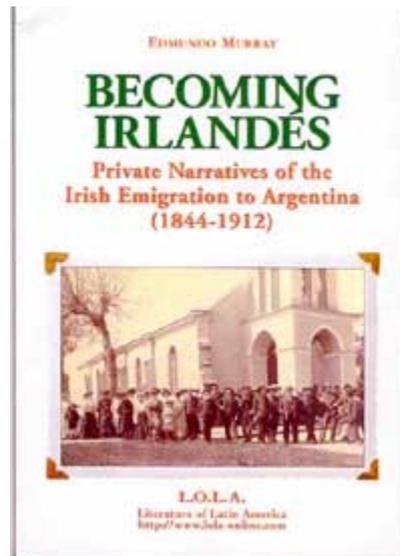
It is a great honour to have Rosa González reviewing *Irish Studies in Brazil*. Her critical review emphasizes the progress of Irish Studies highlighting the importance of the contributions of writers and critics who have visited Brazil opening new fields of research. They have generously contributed to the volume, which commemorates twenty-five years of Irish Studies at the University of São Paulo.

# Irish Migration Studies in Latin America

Society for Irish Latin American Studies

## Review of Edmundo Murray's Becoming Irlandés: Private Narratives of the Irish Emigration to Argentina, 1844-1912

By José C. Moya



Buenos Aires: L.O.L.A., 2006  
ISBN 950-97-2571-4  
210 pages

This revised English version of the author's 2004 *Devenir Irlandés* offers some advantages over the original Spanish edition. It abridges some of the documents that make up the bulk of the volume: two memoirs and two sets of family letters from Irish immigrants in Argentina, without losing any substance. The documents are now presented in their original language. Murray has also added a fuller discussion of the notion, conveyed in the title of the book, that social identities represent processes rather than fixed entities.

In this becoming or *devenir*, Murray identifies three stages that defy linear concepts of assimilation. Early arrivals were identified generically as English and seem to have done little to contest the rubric. Murray's contention that they came to "an informal colony of the British Empire in which everything, except probably meat and hide came from the British Isles" is — perhaps intentionally — exaggerated. Fashion and elite culture, from architectural styles to literary forms, were more likely to originate from continental Europe than from England. Most immigrants came from Italy and Spain, as did deeper cultural traits ranging from language and music to pasta and anarchism. Yet beneath the hyperbole, there is a valid point. The Irish may not have exactly evolved "from colonized to colonizers," but Argentina's ethno-racial totem pole supplied new material for identity construction.





John Murphy's estancia *La Flor del Uncalito*, Salto

The documents, of course, may not be entirely representative. As Murray notes, the family papers that survive tend to be those that families consider important, normally meaning that they present the family's history in a positive light. Positive or not, the documents here shed much light on the process of migration from the bottom up. Edward Robbins' memoirs basically list, chronologically, family events: an uncle's military campaign with Simón Bolívar in 1819 and his death soon after in Bolivia, the building of a farm house back home, the birth of children and death of parents, the emigration of thirteen family members to Argentina in 1849, rural work, business deals and so on. The letters to the Murphy family in Wexford start from Liverpool in 1844 with the promise that others would arrive as soon as the ship docked in Buenos Aires. However the first letter from Argentina in the volume comes nine years later, perhaps because early correspondence was not preserved. This collection is particularly illuminating of the immigrant experience. It includes requests for pre-paid passages and remittances, observations about foreigners' lack of involvement in local politics, descriptions of the workings of a sheep farm, news of the Paraguayan War, details about family feuds and duties, and the assertion that Argentina is not "a half civilized, half savage desert wilderness such as we read in *Sin-Bad the Sailor* and other like fairy tales," but a sophisticated country with greater opportunities than Ireland. The third collection includes letters from three young women in Buenos Aires to their relative John James Pettit, who had been born there in 1841, ten years after his parents had arrived from Ireland, but moved to Australia with his son in 1852. The last document, as the first, is a memoir but written much later (in the 1920s), and in a more literary style, by a third-generation Irish-Argentine who remembered, among many other delightful tidbits, a creole *gaucho* who "spoke English with as good a brogue as any Irishman." That this writer was born in 1864 and was the grandson of immigrants highlights the pioneering role that the Irish - along with the Basques - played in Argentine immigration and the settling of the Pampas.

This, however, is not a book written in the hagiographic genre of "immigrant contributions." It does not celebrate great deeds and exceptional accomplishments. It does something more difficult and intellectually satisfying. It rescues from obscurity the stories of people who toiled, lived, loved, and dreamt beyond the spotlight of official histories. These are stories of everyday life, of home, as Murray's interesting discourse analysis demonstrates, rather than nation. Yet these seemingly mundane narratives are often more captivating than national epics and, in their simplicity, at times poetic. Murray's introduction, epilogue, and notes place these stories in their broader historical context and over fifty photographs and illustrations offer a complimentary visual component to the text.

José C. Moya  
Barnard College  
Department of History  
Director, Forum on Migration

### Authors' Reply

I would like to thank Professor Moya for his thoughtful reading of my book and for a generous review. When I started working with the documents of an obscure group of rural settlers in Argentina, I did not imagine that a leading historian of migrations in Latin America would be interested in drawing connections between the cases included in my book and those of other migrations. There is little with which I disagree in this review, and I will therefore deliberate further on some of José's thoughts.

On the issue of hyperbole, I would like to quote *Five Years in Buenos Ayres 1820-1825* (generally attributed to George Thomas Love, the editor of the *British Packet* newspaper): 'en la ropa del gaucho - salvo el cuero - todo viene de Inglaterra. Los vestidos de las chinas salen de los telares de Manchester. La olla de la comida, las espuelas, los cuchillos.' Indeed this book was published in London in 1825, so the author refers to that specific period after independence, when pioneering Irish (and Scottish) sheep farmers were exploring the southern districts of Buenos Aires province. Perhaps the metonymy can be extended to the second phase, when the Irish moved their flocks to the western and northern *partidos*, probably up to the fall of Juan Manuel de Rosas in 1852. At that time, the dominant presence of English-manufactured products in Argentine every-day life, particularly in the cities, is unquestionable. Even if overstated, my assertion points to the remarkable Anglophile society that received the Irish, especially in the early stages of migration. The other point is about mortality. I based my estimation on the number of settlers provided by the thesis (1994) and articles of Patrick McKenna, who elaborates on Sabato and Korol's study of 1981. Not only was mortality unusually high during the 1860s and 1870s due to outbreaks of epidemics - the letters to John J. Pettit provide tragic examples of the cholera epidemic of 1868 - but it is also important to note that numbers of male Irish settlers remained unmarried. Therefore, the size of the Irish community decreased significantly owing to return migration, mortality and lack of offspring.

I would also like to add here that some of my thinking changed after the first edition of this book in Spanish was published by Eudeba. This was not totally unrelated to the human nature of *devenir*, but it was also part of my own learning process in the study of emigrants' identities. Some rather personal aspects changed radically. For instance, nowadays I do not seek an Irish passport as I once did, in a somewhat Romantic fashion, a few years ago. I must acknowledge the significant influence of the referendum of 11 June 2004, when an overwhelming majority of the Irish voters denied *jus soli* to children born in Ireland of foreign parents. In contrast, I am currently trying to obtain Colombian nationality (if the consulates in Bern and Buenos Aires agree on a less bureaucratic method)! My interest in the larger, and richer, aspects of the Irish in Latin America was prompted by a myriad of stories that I found in rare books or other sources, and that are leading my present writing.

I wish to thank Prof. Moya for what is, in overall terms, a very generous review. To him I am truly indebted.

Edmundo Murray

# Irish Migration Studies in Latin America

Society for Irish Latin American Studies

## Web Site Review

### Ligações entre o Brasil e a Irlanda - Links between Brazil and Ireland

www.visiteirlanda.com



This web site may be characterised by blog-style design, journalistic writing and wealth of information on diverse subjects. The main goal is to document the growing number of links between Brazil and Ireland. There are sections that focus on news, politics, travel, trade, investments, research, academic and humanitarian links, culture, literature, and history, as well as upcoming events in the two countries. Another section deals with the Irish in Brazil and Brazilians in Ireland. There is an archive section and a chance to read today's news from some leading Brazilian and Irish newspapers. Various links are included to facilitate trade, travel and communications. Of particular interest is the bibliography *Irish Literature in Brazil since 1888*. In the section on literary links there are details, including press clippings, of the Bloomsday celebrations held in seven Brazilian cities each year, as well as digital images of James Joyce by Brazilian artist João Roth. In addition to this, the site provides useful links in Portuguese with opportunities for Brazilian students to study English in Ireland. The section on historic links publishes articles by selected scholars, including a description of the riot provoked by Irish mercenaries in Rio in 1828. It also lists Brazilian archives that contain papers on Irish immigration. The section on Brazilians in Ireland includes contacts for the samba and capoeira groups who performed on the streets of Dublin during the 2006 World Cup Soccer matches, as well as links to the web sites of support organisations, such as the newly formed *Centro de Apoio de Brasileiros na Irlanda - CABI* (Assistance Centre for Brazilians in Ireland), and web sites set up by Brazilians in Dublin.

Title: Ligações entre o Brasil e a Irlanda - Links between Brazil and Ireland

Web Address (URL): [www.visiteirlanda.com](http://www.visiteirlanda.com)

Date Created: August 2004

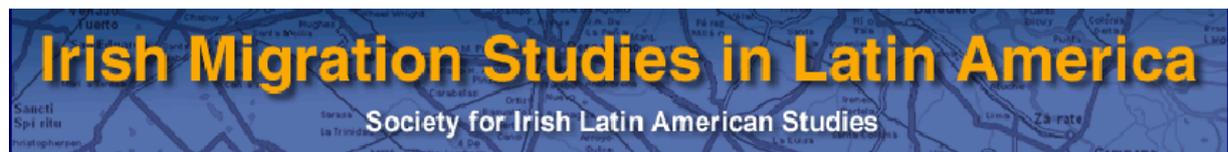
Language: English (links in Portuguese)

Intended Audience: General public

Editor: Peter O'Neill (travel consultant, Rio de Janeiro)

Contact: [peter.links@gmail.com](mailto:peter.links@gmail.com)

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## Books Received

Hanon, Maxine, *Diccionario de Británicos en Buenos Aires: primera época* (Buenos Aires: author's edition, 2005). Hardback, 196 x 280 mms, 891 pages. ISBN 987-545-339-0. US\$ 95.00.

Skinner, Jonathan, *Before the Volcano: Reverberations of Identity in Montserrat* (Kingston, Jamaica: Arawak, 2004). Paperback, 15.25cm x 22.9cm, 192 pages. ISBN 976-8189-21-5. US\$ 25.00.

Fitzpatrick, Colleen. *Forensic Genealogy* (Huntington Beach, CA: Rice Book Press, 2005). Paperback, 220 pages. ISBN 0-9767160-0-3. US\$ 26.50.

Rodríguez, Moises Enrique. *Freedom's Mercenaries: British Volunteers in the Wars of Independence of Latin America* (Lanham MD: University Press of America, 2006). Paperback. Volume I: Northern South America, 426 pages. ISBN 0-7618-3437-0. US\$ 58.00. Volume II: Southern South America, 524 pages. ISBN 0-7618-3438-9. US\$ 58.



## SILAS News

### The Irish Latin American Research Fund: Grant Recipients 2006-2007

The Society for Irish Latin American Studies has announced its third completed cycle of Irish Latin American Research Fund grants awarded to exceptionally promising students, faculty members or independent scholars from all across universities and institutions in several countries.

Irish Latin American Research Fund grant recipients 2006-2007:

**Andrés Bisso and Paula L. Migo** (Universidad de La Plata, Buenos Aires). 1,000 Euros. *Los procesos de construcción de la identidad en las asociaciones irlandesas de la Provincia de Buenos Aires durante el siglo XX*. We are very glad to have been selected for a research grant. This will facilitate our research possibilities in an underdeveloped field of Argentinean history. We are sincerely grateful to SILAS for this opportunity. Thank you very much!

**Igor Pérez Tostado** (Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Seville). 1,000 Euros. *The Irish Experience in the Spanish Caribbean Frontier: migration, identity formation and political participation in the island of Hispaniola (c.1640-1660)*. I am very grateful to SILAS members and friends for their work supporting research related to the history of Ireland and Latin America. In my case, this financial assistance will be very valuable in allowing me to directly research original sources in the Caribbean region and complete the information I am collecting from European repositories. I hope to repay SILAS's generosity with the results of the research.

**Fiona Clark** (St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra, Dublin). 700 Euros. *Daniel O'Sullivan: an Irish military physician in the Spanish colonial world (late eighteenth century)*. I would like to thank all those who have been involved in the provision of this valuable financial assistance for researchers in Latin American and Irish history. The funding will enable me to travel to Mexico to undertake an extensive period of research in the archives, investigating an as yet much unstudied area of trans-Atlantic medical history. I am very grateful for this opportunity and look forward to sharing the end results of project.

Three prestigious scholars sat on this year's Selection Committee: [Laura P.Z. Izarra](#), Chair (University of São Paulo), [Kerby Miller](#) (University of Missouri-Columbia) and [Angus Mitchell](#) (University of Limerick). They assessed the research proposals and awarded grants to the best projects. According to Laura Izarra 'the proposals were of high quality and it was very challenging to evaluate them. The subjects were of great relevance for the study of the Irish in Latin America and all the proposals give an idea of how much has to be done and accomplished yet. SILAS grant programme is responsible for placing this field of research on the Irish diaspora map and it is possible thanks to the generosity of many people who believe in its importance and in the process of construction of new knowledge for understanding the present and what is to come. I look forward to seeing the results of the three selected projects.' Kerby Miller added that 'it's a very good program, and the level of most applications was very high. We favored original research [...]. All in all, very worthwhile program and experience.' For Angus Mitchell 'the standard was very high and all the applications together showed the potential for a wealth of fascinating original research to be made into Irish Latin American Studies.'

The Irish Latin American Research Fund is open to faculty, advanced university students, and independent scholars throughout the world. Applicants from previous academic years who were not awarded a grant may apply again and submit the same project in the future ([Previous Grant Recipients](#)).

These grants were possible thanks to the generosity the following SILAS members and friends: Herman and Maria Ana Beuk, Harry Dunleavy, Jim Geoghegan, Cathal McGoey, Bill Mulligan, Peter Mulvany, Edmundo Murray, Hugh Fitzgerald Ryan.

Conference in conjunction with the Fifth Galway Conference on Colonialism: Adventurers, Emissaries and Settlers, Ireland and Latin America. 27-30 June 2007, National University of Ireland, Galway

### **Call for Papers**

The Society for Irish Latin American Studies was founded in July 2003 to promote the study of relations between Ireland and Latin America. The range of interest of the Society spans the settlement, lives and achievements of Irish migrants to Latin America and their descendants, the contemporary presence of Ireland in the life and culture of Latin America and the presence of Latin Americans in Ireland.

From the mythical visit of Saint Brendan the Navigator to Mexico in the sixth century and the migration of tens of thousands of people from the Irish midlands to Buenos Aires province in the nineteenth, to the conviction of three Irishmen with alleged IRA connections in Colombia and the settlement of a community of Brazilians in South County Galway in the twenty-first century, the pattern of relations between Ireland and Latin America has been heterogeneous, fragmentary, and erratic.

The Society invites papers on any aspect of the multitudinous connections between Latin America and Ireland from academics and the general public in disciplines such as history, geography, politics, literature and linguistics. The aim of the conference is to promote the exchange of views and research findings on a diverse range of issues and on an inter-disciplinary basis. The SILAS conference will take place concurrently and in conjunction with the Fifth Galway Conference on Colonialism. For details on accommodation, please see [www.corribvillage.com](http://www.corribvillage.com), or phone +353-(0)91-527112, for campus accommodation. Alternatively, see [www.irelandwest.ie/accomodation.asp](http://www.irelandwest.ie/accomodation.asp), or phone Ireland West Reservations Centre +353-(0)91-537777, for private accommodation in Galway City.

Abstracts (c.500 words) should be sent by email to the conference organisers, to arrive no later than 1 November 2006. Should you wish to attend the conference without presenting a paper, please register by sending your details to the organisers by 1 April 2007.

Organisers: Oliver Marshall ([oliver.marshall@brazil.ox.ac.uk](mailto:oliver.marshall@brazil.ox.ac.uk)) and Claire Healy ([clairedhealy@yahoo.com](mailto:clairedhealy@yahoo.com)).

(posted in June 2006 through this website and email lists).

### **Executive Committee Members and Auditor**

*President:* [Laura P.Z. Izarra](#) (São Paulo). Senior lecturer in English and Irish Literatures at University of São Paulo.

*Vice-President:* [Oliver Marshall](#) (London). Research associate at the University of Oxford's Centre for Brazilian Studies.

*Secretary:* [Edmundo Murray](#) (Geneva). Editor at the World Trade Organization. PhD candidate at University of Zurich.

*Treasurer:* [Edward Walsh](#) (London). MSc in architecture from University College London, interested in migration history, currently assembling a book of Irish letters from Argentina.

*Director:* [Hilda Sabato](#) (Buenos Aires). Professor of history at University of Buenos Aires.

*Director:* [Sharon Newman](#) (Mullingar, Co. Westmeath). Journalist, author of articles on the Irish in Latin America.

*Director:* [Bill Mulligan](#) (Murray KY, USA). Professor of history at Murray State University in Kentucky.

*Director:* [Claire Healy](#) (Dublin). Graduated as PhD in history at NUI Galway, researcher at the Immigrant Council of Ireland.

*Director:* [Guillermo MacLoughlin](#) (Buenos Aires). Genealogist and accountant based in Buenos Aires.

**Auditor:** [John Kennedy](#) (London). Economist specialising in area of utility regulation.

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**Honorary President:** David Barnwell, National University of Ireland, Maynooth.

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**Founding Members**

David Barnwell, Oliver Marshall, Edmundo Murray, Christina O'Shaughnessy, Gonzalo Cané, Thomas Ganly, Andrew Graham-Yooll, Jeremy Howat, Laura Izarra, Guillermo MacLoughlin, Cathal McGoey, Patrick McKenna, Hilda Sabato, Sharon Newman, Juan Pablo Alvarez, Mónica Barry, Josephine Birkbeck, Santiago Boland, Michael Bulfin, Claire Healy, Sheila Kearney, Helen Kelly, John Kennedy, Brian McGinn, Peter Mulvany, Vivian Sheridan, and Emer Singleton.

