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For Paulo Eduardo Carvalho

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Introduction

In order to commemorate the centenary of Roger Casement's first voyage to the Amazon, this special issue of *ABEI Journal* No. 12 focuses on one of the most controversial figures of the 1916 Easter Rising.

Roger Casement played an important role during the Amazon rubber boom and his writings about his Brazilian expeditions may be placed in the wider context of antislavery activism. He was British Consul in Santos (September 1906 - January 1908), in Belém do Pará (February 1908 - February 1909) and Consul-General in Rio de Janeiro (March 1909 - August 1913). In 1910, he travelled to the Amazon, commissioned by the British Government to investigate crimes against humanity being committed on the border between Peru, Colombia and Brazil.

The story of the rubber industry connects the Amazon to central Africa during the reign of King Leopold II of Belgium, and to the commercial hubs of the industrialised world at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Rubber belongs to the celebratory narratives of western modernization and was a central issue in the Amazon where it acquired tragic proportions. It has also changed various regions of the world as a result of acts of violence practiced against the indigenous communities inhabiting the tropical rainforests.

In August 2010 the *W. B. Yeats Chair of Irish Studies* at the University of São Paulo, the Brazilian Association of Irish Studies and the Federal University of Amazonas organized the first international interdisciplinary symposium on Roger Casement in Manaus, taking as its focus his 1910 voyage to the Putumayo. Co-organised by Laura Izarra, Angus Mitchell and Luiz Bitton Telles da Rocha, the conference discussed key aspects of Transatlantic and Latin American relations involved in the complicated politics of the Amazon rubber boom, as well as Roger Casement's political and literary legacy.

This issue contains some of the keynote lectures of the symposium, which are centred on five main concerns. Transatlantic history is explored by historian Angus Mitchell, who discusses the link Roger Casement discerned between the plight of the Amazon Indians and that of the peasants of Connemara, stricken by an outbreak of typhoid. The impact of Casement's photography of the Putumayo Indians on the United States Government is recorded by Jordan Goodman. The photographs are held in the National Archives in Washington D.C., and were personally annotated by Casement, in such a way as to form an atrocity narrative which provides a rare insight into the political power of the visual image. Colombian anthropologist Juan Alvaro Echeverri examines the question of memory, focusing on the way in which the scars of the rubber boom, a period referred to by the descendants of the Putumayo Indians as "Basket of Darkness", are being healed. The Brazilian social historian and art critic Otoni Mesquita paints a portrait of the social and political life of the city of Manaus in the 1900s by way of a background to Casement's brief stay in the city on his way to the Putumayo. Finally, American scholar Maureen Murphy looks at the poems written by Nobel laureate William

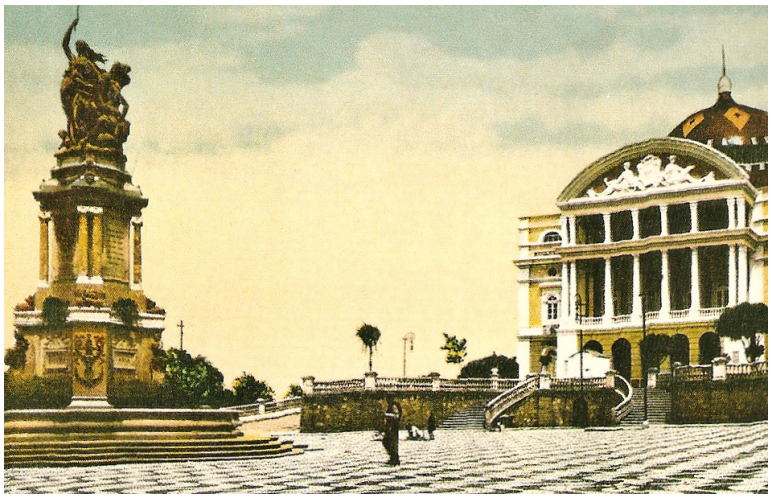
Butler Yeats in honour of Roger Casement, inspired by his reading of William J. Maloney's *The Forged Casement Diaries* (1936), demonstrating how Yeats returns to the ghost tradition in Irish folklore in the poems.

The life and writings of the Irish consul moved many writers, including Joseph Conrad, Arthur Conan Doyle, H. G. Wells and the Colombian novelist José Eustacio Rivera, to seek to represent the atrocities committed in Africa and the Amazon in the name of civilization. A few years ago, the Irish writer John Banville wrote a script on Roger Casement in the Amazon for a Neil Jordan film project, and, in November 2010, Nobel laureate Mario Vargas Llosa published his biographical novel about Casement, *El sueño del celta.*

In addition to these essays, the *ABEI Journal* presents the regular section "Voices from Brazil", in which Walnice Nogueira Galvão discusses Euclides da Cunha's novel, *Os Sertões* (1902), set during the Canudos War which was waged in the hinterland of Bahia in 1896-97. The death of Euclides da Cunha in 1909 was commented on by Roger Casement in his Brazilian writings.

The "Book Reviews" section includes Barbara Brown's review of Maurice Harmon's annotated translation of *The Dialogue of the Ancients of Ireland,* and a review of publications that have established a dialogue between the Caribbean and Ireland, and between Galician and Irish poets. The final review is of *Identidades Reescritas: Figurações da Irlanda no Teatro Português,* by Paulo Eduardo Carvalho, who is sadly missed following his untimely death on 20 May 2010. *ABEI Journal* No. 12 is dedicated to his dear memory.

The Editors



The Amazon Theatre, inaugurated on 31 December 1896, is an opera house built during the *Belle Époque* when fortunes were made in the rubber boom. The dome is covered on the outside with decorated ceramic tiles painted in the colours of the national flag. The monument "Abertura do Rio Amazonas à Navegação das Nações Amigas" (The Opening of the River Amazon to the Navigation of Friend Nations") is in São Sebastião square, in front of the theatre, where the black and white waving colours of the pavement in Portuguese style represent the encounter of the waters of the rivers Negro and Solimões. (Gerodetti, J. E. and C. Cornejo, *Lembranças do Brasil.* São Paulo: Solaris, 2004).

Roger Casement in South America

"Indians, you had life – your white destroyers only possess things": Situating Networks of Indigeneity in the Anti-Colonial Activism of Revolutionary Ireland

Angus Mitchell

Abstract: *In 1910, Roger Casement embarked on a voyage into the upper Amazon to officially investigate reports of crimes against humanity committed by a British-financed, Peruvian rubber company. The official report of his findings, published as a parliamentary* Blue Book*, provoked considerable diplomatic reverberations between Washington, Westminster and Rome. It resulted in a significant shift in international attitudes towards indigenous peoples. The journal kept by Casement during his months in the Amazon demonstrates not merely his own scathing interrogation of the distorting constructs of colonial reality, but a complex recognition of indigenous culture rooted in his own conception of "Irishness." His defense of "savagery" underscored both his critique of "civilization" and the justification of his tragic revolutionary turn. From 1913, he began to connect the fate of the Amazindian with the lot of Connemara "islanders" suffering from an outbreak of typhus. Later, at his treason trial, his own call to transnational resistance is encoded within the logic: "If there be no right of rebellion against a state of things that no savage tribe would endure without resistance, then I am sure that it is a better thing for men to fight and die without right than to live in such a state of things as this." This article will reveal the identification with "indigeneity" and the configurations of power evident in the transnational discourse on "indigenous peoples" which was integral to the intellectual formation of anti-colonialism in revolutionary Ireland. Through the investigations of Casement, and the establishment of the African Society by the historian Alice Stopford Green, this identification expanded into an explicit recognition of indigenous rights and knowledge and the advocating of a responsibility to defend such rights and knowledge, once independence had been achieved.*

On 24 May 1913 an editorial in the *Irish Times* criticised the British consul, Roger Casement for his comparison of an outbreak of typhus in southwest Connemara with the atrocities committed against the Putumayo Indians of the northwest Amazon. A few days later Casement explained that in making the link he wished to draw attention to "the history of these poverty stricken areas . . . [and] a long record of callousness and cruelty."[1] This was his opening shot in what can be identified as his third and final campaign on behalf of the oppressed. His work for Connemara relief knowingly fed back to his earlier crusades in the Congo and the Amazon, where Casement had compiled detailed and coherent investigations exposing the new slaveries of the early twentieth century and the social inequity born of colonial rule. This article considers some transnational relations between his investigation in the upper Amazon and how his emerging sense of "Irishness" was informed by his experience of inhumanity on the colonial periphery.

Centuries of intermittent frontier wars in South America were exacerbated by the race for extractive rubber resources in the late nineteenth century. In the space of two decades, from the mid-1890s, there was a violent scramble for the latex-bearing, forested regions of the tropical belt of Africa and South America. This invasion was most intensely felt by the indigenous people living along the basins of the two largest rivers feeding into the Atlantic: the Congo and the Amazon. Market demand for rubber resulted in the violent invasion and transformation of extensive regions of tropical forest, which were quickly turned into slave kingdoms. The crime was identified at the time as an outrage of incalculable proportions. Modernity has done its best to forget this atrocity and part of that process has required the marginalization and reduction of Roger Casement, who was the principal witness and chronicler of this crime.[2]

By the time of Casement's arrival in Brazil in 1907 his name was closely connected to efforts to bring about reform of King Leopold II's administration in the Congo Free State. He was also deeply immersed in different facets of Irish cultural nationalism. "Remember my address is Consulate of Great Britain and Ireland, Santos – not British Consulate . . ." he scribbled to the historian Alice Stopford Green as he arrived to take up his first post.[3] Over the next few years his correspondences persistently returned to three issues which he consciously interconnected: Irish sovereignty, reform of the Congo Free State and defense of indigenous rights in South America. Key issues to do with Ireland's cultural revival, notably self-determination, language, ownership of land, social conditions, identity and discrimination, were now projected into the Brazilian context. In turn, this was reflected back into the crucible of thinking about cosmopolitan nationalism in Ireland. From the intermingling of these issues sprouted new aspirations for international humanity based upon concepts of social justice, racial equality and respect for cultural diversity. By way of his official position, Casement also infused diplomatic circles and those involved in the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society with an innovative discussion around rights and responsibilities. His investigations into the new slaveries marked the end to another chapter in the history of

anti-slavery and awakened a new age of anti-colonial activism. Ultimately, Casement's treasonable turn towards advanced Irish nationalism and revolutionary socialism, politicised his distinguished consular career in Africa and South America in a manner that continues to provoke discomforting questions about Ireland's postcolonial status. This also helps to explain why his meaning remains occluded and the interpretation of his role in the 1916 rebellion has been persistently diminished and isolated.

In 1910 Roger Casement was officially selected to investigate rumors of atrocities resulting from the extractive rubber industry and to undertake an investigation in the frontier region of the northwest Amazon, bordering Peru, Colombia and Brazil. The investigation had perceptible continuities with his Congo inquiry which was also concerned with forced labour, land-ownership and resource wars. His first significant contact with a South American indigenous community appears to have occurred in July 1909 during a journey from Rio de Janeiro to the district of Espírito Santo. From this encounter with Botocudos living along the Rio Doce, he drew attention to the contradiction at the heart of Brazilian nationalism, observing that although "the Indian in Brazil is the foundation stone of its national citizenship" and Brazilians were proud to assert their Indian ancestry, they did not care about the fate of the Indians themselves. This position he contrasted with the lot of the Australian "aboriginal" who had merely been the object of "hostility, loathing and contempt," by colonial settlers.[4]

Various recent biographies on Casement have avoided measured analysis of his disparaging comments on the social composition of Brazil and used them to suggest a latent racism underpinning his thinking (Ó'Síochain 2008; Sawyer 1984). Certainly his attitudes must be considered with respect to the racial views of his time and his official position as a foreign office representative, but his own experience of the colonial encounter made him repeatedly re-examine his own thoughts on race and empire, which made him challenge the prejudices and preconceptions. His attitude to race was not fixed but shifted as his knowledge of colonial relations evolved. Several first-hand accounts, from those who knew Casement in Africa, speak of his close relationship with Africans, which was uncharacteristic of most white men (Puleston 1930). What almost all biographical analysis of Casement's race politics has misrecognised is the fact that his critique of Brazil and other South American republics derived from his empathy, respect and idealisation of the indigenous population, who were still under siege from the internal colonisation of South American republics.

From various fragments of undated notes held among his Amazon archive it is evident that before beginning his inquiry Casement had read widely the accounts of previous travellers on the Amazon in order to establish a precedent for his own investigation.[5] He combed through the works of the naturalist-explorers such as Louis Agassiz, the Baron de Santa-Anna Nery, Richard Spruce and Henry Bates and the naval intelligence officers, Henry Maw and Louis Herndon, to extract references to mistreatment and abuse. By piecing together earlier references he mapped the mistreatment of indigenous Amazonians over a much longer period and then deployed this evidence to build his own case.

Casement's initial brief from foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, was to investigate the plight of almost two hundred Barbadians, British subjects, who had been recruited by the Peruvian Amazon Company in 1903-04 to work as overseers between the "white" chiefs of section, who headed up the rubber companies, and the enslaved Huitotos, Boras, Andokes and Muinanes (the main indigenous groups affected by the company's activities), who were saddled with the slavish tasks of gathering rubber and running the rubber stations. What he achieved during the course of his investigation was a reorientation of this initial brief towards a detailed analysis of the treatment and condition of the different indigenous communities. The final outcome was an exhaustive analysis of colonial relations. The Putumayo atrocities remain indelibly on the official record as the most comprehensive inquiry ever undertaken of the continuing genocide conducted against the Native American, pre-Colombian people in South America. Encoded into this textual and photographic archive is a transnational discourse which deliberately links it to the grand narrative of Ireland's struggle for sovereign independence and the fight for universal social justice.

Casement travelled through the Putumayo regions from late September to mid November 1910. There are ostensibly three different textual versions of this journey and some associated notebooks, which are unavailable, probably lost. By far the longest version is contained in *The Amazon Journal*,[6] an articulate and in-depth reflective account with thick descriptive analysis of the treatment of the indigenous communities and the systems enabling abuse. It is an authoritative source not merely for understanding the ethnocide lying in the shadow of extractive rubber, but for comprehending the racial politics underlying the structure of colonial reality. The multilayered analysis captures the extent and constitution of the crime and instinctively deconstructs the mechanisms of the system, showing the criminal interdependencies which facilitate the instruments of fear, violence, silence, secrecy and intimidation to subjugate and divide indigenous society. The controlling force of this system was the "white man", equipped with the weapons of modernity and working through a complicit State apparatus empowered to appropriate and re-distribute land without any regard for indigenous rights or life.

Another version, deriving from this account, is contained in the reports he produced for the foreign office and which were eventually published together in the *Blue Book*.[7] These present a toned down case and edit out much of the systemic analysis and expressions of outrage.[8] The explicit disclosure of suffering and abuse might be usefully considered in the light of both Thomas Lacquer's "humanitarian narrative" and Patrick Brantlinger's "extinction discourse." On its publication in 1912 the report caused an outburst of public indignation and briefly helped galvanise public sympathy. This is the source which the anthropologist Michael Taussig used in his own reading of the "culture of terror" in the Putumayo. The narrative, however, is weighted more towards the Barbadian's testimony and a comprehensive critique of the political economy of the region.[9]

In the course of his analysis of the "epistemic murk" Taussig referred to how Casement's own identification with the colonial legacy in Ireland had heightened his

sensibilities to the condition of the indigenous population. He drew attention to Casement's "tendency to equate the sufferings of the Irish with those of the Indians and see in both of their preimperialist histories a culture more humane than that of their civilizing overlords." (57) More recently, this analysis has been expanded. Casement's regularly recycled reference to how his insight into suffering in the Congo extended from his capacity to look at this tragedy

> with the eyes of another race – of a people once hunted themselves, whose hearts were based on affection as the root principle of contact with their fellow men and whose estimate of life was not of something eternally to be praised at its market 'price'

has provoked excavation of earlier episodes of his life for signs of a latent anti-colonial awareness.[10] While Taussig's interpretation prized open the channels for alternative readings of the Putumayo facts and fictions, he was unaware of the *The Amazon Journal* published a decade after the appearance of his own study.[11] This text possesses the emotion, sensibility and feeling, which are largely missing from the official report. It also elaborates more overtly the shared transhistorical space of suffering inhabited by both the indigenous Irish and the indigenous Amazonian.

The beginning of the Putumayo investigation might be traced to a conversation between Casement and a rubber trader, Victor Israel.[12] As they travelled up river together they discussed the extractive rubber industry. The dialogue, as reported by Casement, ended in a stalemate: a realization that the issue ultimately could be reduced to a level of "perception". Israel saw the "Indian" merely in terms of economic value, as part of the property of a land concession. Casement, clearly outraged by this attitude, argued from the high ground of British government policy where "tribal and land rights were recognised" (79). What Israel's position revealed was the centrality of slavery to the system and how, without it, the commercial edifice would collapse. Israel's chilling refusal to extend natural rights to all human life offended Casement's position as both a consular officer and an Irish separatist. The philosophical riddle: "If a tree falls in a forest and no one is around to hear it, does it make a sound" might be appositely applied.[13] Casement's inquiry was motivated by a determination to give voice and visibility to the indigenous condition threatened by the juggernaut of modernity and a Peruvian State policy supporting conquest and slavery. Ethnocide becomes historically meaningful only if it is documented and described. Casement's realisation of the need to witness to this moment of social and cultural ethnocide was visibly informed by Alice Stopford Green's controversial study *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing* (1908), which Casement admired and reviewed.[14] At moments he intentionally applied the language of Gaelic Ireland to the Putumayan situation, comparing the *cacique* to "the chieftainship of a clan" (272) and arguing that the "Amazon Indian" was a "Socialist by temperament" (Casement 1912).

Over the following three years Casement very consciously placed the indigenous at the very core of his narrative in an effort to alter perception from the outside and to change the dominant view from within. In his early interviews with various officials and government representatives in Iquitos, he records how the local people were well aware of the desperate cruelties and inequities of the system, but no one was prepared to respond – the Putumayo was "a sealed book." Gradually, through a process of revelation, testimony and historical recovery, he convinced the other commissioners, then the foreign office, and finally his networks of influence, of the abuse and violence.[15] His decision to bring two Putumayan boys back to England was undertaken with the hope that their presence in the metropolitan centre would awaken minds to the tragedy on the frontier and he briefly entertained the thought of sending one of the boys to Patrick Pearse's Irish language school, St Enda's.

A further point of contact between Casement's investigation and his engagement with cultural nationalism might be understood through his comments on language. After arriving in Iquitos, he searched for a reliable interpreter with extensive knowledge of the various languages spoken by the different communities of the region. He realised that indigenous testimony was vital to any "sincere enquiry" (129).[16] One official criticism of his 1903 report challenged his inclusion of the testimony of young, African girls. In the formal protocols of early twentieth-century diplomacy this contravened the boundaries of both race and gender. In the Putumayo his own reports were based principally on the testimony from the Afro-Caribbean overseers, all of them black and British subjects. But Casement scrupulously scrutinized the word of each witness, cross-checked facts wherever and whenever he could, and followed up all stories in order to establish veracity. Through the cross-examination of the Barbadians he unmasked the hierarchies of violence and oppression structuring the brutalization and the "banalization of evil." "The system of obtaining rubber under terror by flogging and other illegal punishments must cease, and must cease at once" (130), he wrote. From thereon his efforts were devoted to devising strategies to bring about an end to the terror.

His Irish kinship, which allowed him to look "at this tragedy with the eyes of another race," produced its own problems and contradictions. This is evident in his approach to one of the most prominent characters in *The Amazon Journal*, Andrés O'Donnell, the section chief at Entre Rios. Before meeting O'Donnell Casement expressed a sense of shame "That an Irish name of valour, truth, courage and high-mindedness should be borne by a Peruvian bandit, whose aim is to persecute these wretched Indians, his 'fellow citizens,' to rob them of all they possess, in order to make money from their blood." (196). Following their initial meeting, Casement confided in his journal that because of O'Donnell's Irish name he was in some ways better than the other white men involved in the enterprise. He tried to find in O'Donnell's personality and actions any redeeming characteristics and qualities which would somehow set him apart, such as his ability to speak the indigenous languages. However, as the litany of reports about his crimes become clear, he disowned him as an Irishman. This infers that

his notion of Irish identity was founded not upon racial exclusion but rather on specific qualities and characteristics such as humanity, generosity of spirit and kindliness. He comments "if these unhappy, these enormously outraged Indians of the Putumayo, find relief at last from their cruel burden, it shall be through the Irishmen of the earth." (184).[17] He then lists various individuals under the umbrella of "Irishmen," notably the foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey and the anti-slavery campaigner, John Harris, ignoring the likelihood that both Grey and Harris would have felt uncomfortable, and quite probably offended by this identification.

If his view of Irish identity was complex, so too was his representation of indigeneity. As he reconstructed the extent and severity of the crime, he was careful to ascribe agency to the "Indians" and not depict them as mere victims. His descriptions gravitated between graphic imagery of the tragedy he was uncovering: sickly and starving bodies and overworked sufferers of the system of terror, (with clear echoes of the Irish famine). This contrasted with an aesthetic and racialised construction of the "noble savage," to whom physical beauty, strength and resilience were attributed. In the following passage he described Huitoto preparations for a dance:

> The naked and painted men with their fonos (called "agafe" in Huitoto) of white bark tightly clothing their loins, their pale bronze figures elaborately and artistically designed in violet-black stains, with bars of red and yellow . . . their diminutive wives, whose tiny but shapely bodies were beautifully painted, and their calves covered with rubber of some kind . . . (235-6)

He repeatedly refers to the "docile" and "gentle" nature of the "Putumayo Indians" as being the principal reason why they have been so easily conquered. This characteristic is later echoed in his speech from the dock, when he defended the non-aggressive nature of the Irish as one reason why its independence should be granted: "Ireland that has wronged no man, that has injured no land, that has sought no dominion over others."[18] On another level, he was inspired by the story of Katenere, the leader of a brief uprising against the Peruvian Amazon Company. He referred to Katenere as being "'on his keeping' – as we once said in Ireland" (338) – transferring the language of Irish resistance into the Amazon context. Elsewhere, he expressed a wish "to arm … train … and drill them [the Indians] to defend themselves against these ruffians" (310).

The historical parallels scrutinizing indigenous resistance to Spanish and Portuguese conquest then merged into a more overt analysis of Irish resistance to English power. The political essays he began to write in 1911, and which became a potent instrument in the international propaganda war unleashed by Sinn Féin in 1914, referred back to both the Amazon and the cause of indigenous resistance.[19] Through these essays he deconstructed the mechanics of history, examining how strategies of secrecy and falsification enabled some narratives to dominate over others. He consciously contested the triumphalism of imperial historiography, and interrogated notions of progress and civilization as hollow supports for Anglo-Saxon supremacy. His critique of both the

English conquest of Ireland and the Spanish and Portuguese devastation of the indigenous cosmos was intended to destabilise the foundations of western historical legitimacy by offering a counter-narrative of resistance. Mid-way through his Putumayo investigation in 1910 he wrote how

> the tragedy of the South American Indian is, I verily believe, the greatest in the world to-day, and certainly it has been the greatest human wrong for well-nigh the last 400 years that history records. (312)

This realization of the "tragedy of the South American Indian" was later on expanded in two undated essays.[20] An ethnographic comparison between the African, the North American "Redskin" and the South American "Indian" was woven into a re-evaluation of the historical continuum beginning with the appropriation of territory, and the processes of physical and mental abuse unleashed on the American continent by the 1492 landfall and successive waves of *conquistadores*. This analysis is worthy of more thorough evaluation elsewhere, suffice it to say here that it might be located between a genealogy of European defense of indigenous rights espoused by the Franciscan missionary, Bartolomé de Las Casas, and the Jesuit, Antonio Vieira, and a more overtly radical reading of recent times advocated by intellectuals such as Eduardo Galeano and Ward Churchill.

From his experience of the Putumayo Casement's attention was drawn to other theatres of oppression. In 1911, in the months building up to the Mexican revolution, he wrote sympathetically in support of the Mexican peasantry struggling to overthrow the tyranny of Porfirio Diaz. In early 1913, while stopping over in Tenerife on his last trip to Africa, he made reference to the destruction of the Guanches – the indigenous inhabitants of the Canary Islands – and explained how their history had been first appropriated and then silenced by the coloniser. By then he had lost belief in the reforming hopes of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society and he was making his final transformation into a world revolution, realising that the struggle against imperialism required a global solidarity of the oppressed. This view would be echoed in the following decade by Peru's Jose Mariategui in *Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality*: "Humanitarian teachings have not halted or hampered European imperialism, nor have they reformed its methods. The struggle against imperialism now relies only on the solidarity and strength of the liberation movement of the colonial masses."[21]

To conclude, the Connemara Relief Fund – organised with the help of Alice Stopford Green and the first president of the Irish Free State, Douglas Hyde – was Casement's way of building an Atlantic solidarity of the oppressed, and once more collapsing the indigenous periphery into the centre. His transnational empathy for indigenous people grounded in his inherent respect for cultural diversity, the sanctity of life and his struggle for the universal values of peace, decency, honesty, justice and reverence for the environment – were aspirations informed through an intermingling of

his engagement with Irish cultural nationalism and his observation of indigenous life on the frontier. In short, he defined the divide between "civilization" and the "Indian" as cultural. This is captured in a reflective comment he made in July 1914, after arriving off the boat into Canada from Scotland, as he took the train from Montreal to New York, exhausted from several months recruiting regiments of Irish Volunteers from across the four provinces. During the journey he reflected on the Native American people, the Mohicans and the six nations who had once roamed across this hunter's paradise:

> Poor Indians, you had life – your white destroyers only possess things. That is the vital distinction I take it between the "savage" and the civilized man. The savage is – the white man has. The one lives and moves to be; the other toils and dies to have. From the purely human point of view the savage has the happier and purer life – doubtless the civilized toiler makes the greater world. It is "civilization" versus the personal joy of life. (Curry 25)

Notes

1 Casement's letter appeared in *Irish Independent*, 20 May 1913, under the title "This Irish Putumayo"; the editorial appeared in *Irish Times*, 24 May 1913. Casement's reply appeared in the *Irish Independent* of 26 May 1913. For a comprehensive analysis of the Connemara Relief Fund see "'An Irish Putumayo': Roger Casement's Humanitarian Relief Campaign among the Connemara Islanders, 1913-14." *Irish Economic and Social History*, XXXI (2004): 41-60.

2 For the most comprehensive recent account of the Putumayo atrocities see Jordan Goodman, *The Devil and Mr Casement: One Man's Struggle for Human Rights in South America's Heart of Darkness.* London: Verso, 2009.

3 National Library of Ireland, A. S. Green Papers, 10,464, RC to ASG, 21 September 1906.

4 TNA FO 369/198 Roger Casement to Foreign Office, 20 September 1909

5 See NLI MS 13087 (23) contains notes and extracts from his readings on the Amazon.

6 Angus Mitchell (ed.) *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement* (London: Anaconda Editions & Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1997). All numbers in square brackets refer to page numbers in the *Amazon Journal*.

7 Cd. 6266 *Correspondence respecting the treatment of British Colonial Subjects and Native Indians Employed in the Collection of Rubber in the Putumayo district* (July 1912).

8 These reports have been published by Angus Mitchell (2003).

9 A third version is to be found in the "Black Diary" entries for 1910, which paradigmatically reconfigure the narrative of suffering into an overarching, morally decentered sexual saga. This version functions clandestinely as a counter-narrative to both *The Amazon Journal* and the official reports. See J. Dudgeon, *The Black Diaries* (Belfast: Belfast Press, 2002).

10 See Séamas Ó Síochain & Michael O Sullivan (eds), *The Eyes of Another Race: Roger Casement's Congo Report and the 1903 Diary* (Dublin: University College Dublin, 2003); Margaret O'Callaghan, "'With the Eyes of Another Race, of a People Once Hunted Themselves': Casement, Colonialism and a Remembered Past." M. Daly, ed. *Roger Casement in Irish and World History.* Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2005. 46-63; Robert Burroughs, "Imperial Eyes or 'The Eyes of Another Race'? Roger Casement's Travels in West Africa," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 37, No. 3, (September 2009): 383-397.

11 Taussig (1987) compared Casement to Kurtz in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* although there are aspects of his story which mirror the role of Marlow. The allure of the Casement-Conrad connection is deepened by Conrad's comparison of Casement to Bartolomé de Las Casas, the author of *A short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (1542), whose efforts laid the ground for anti-colonial rule in South America well into the eighteenth century.

12 NLI MS 13087 (26/ii) "Notes of a talk with Mr Victor Israel, a trader of Iquitos, on board the SS Huayna when anchored off mouth of Javari on night of August 24 1910, bound for Iquitos." See *Amazon Journal*, 75-81.

13 This philosophical riddle is generally attributed to George Berkeley, *A Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*.

14 Casement reviewed Green's book in *Freeman's Journal*, 19 December 1908,

15 Casement was also conscious of how the Indians themselves perceived the invasion of their territory and there are various instances when he tries to describe their perception of what was happening.

16 Although his testimonies were gathered entirely from the Barbadians, Casement diligently noted and incorporated the evidence of the Peruvian investigator Dr Paredes, who made a journey through the region the following year and gathered extensive testimony from indigenous witnesses.

17 The quotation continues to list a series of names involved with the case … "– the Edward Greys, the Harris', the Tyrrells, and even the Hardenburgs and the Whiffens . . .'

18 TNA HO 144/1636/311643/33, Rex v. Roger Casement, 226.

19 In his essay "The Elsewhere Empire" Casement (Casement 1915) compared the description of the Sipo Matador (Murderer Liana) by the naturalist-explorer, Henry Bates to the workings of the British Empire. See also "The Keeper of the Seas" for comparisons with conditions in Mexico.

20 These essays were published in the *Amazon Journal*, 497-505 and *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness*, 127-140.

21 This quotation from Mariategui's chapter on "The problem of the Indian" makes reference to Dora Meyer and the Asociación Pro-Indígena, established in Lima 1912 in response to the Putumayo atrocities.

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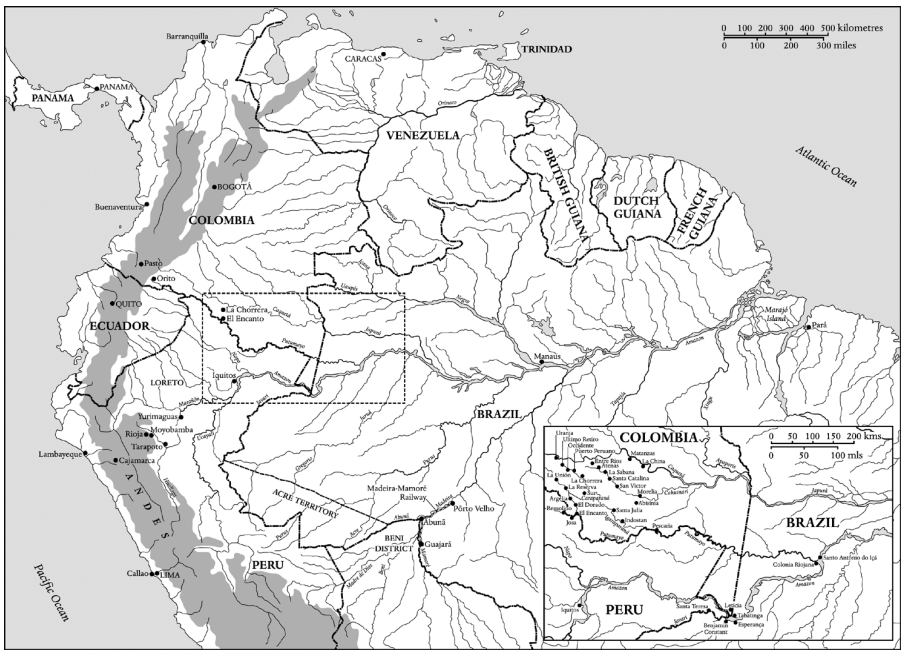
Mr Casement goes to Washington: The Politics of the Putumayo Photographs

Jordan Goodman

Abstract: *It is well-known that when Roger Casement left the Putumayo in November 1910, he took with him several Barbadian men, two Huitoto youths and a bundle of depositions documenting in extraordinary detail the atrocities committed by the Peruvian Amazon Company. What is far less known (and we have to thank Angus Mitchell for directing our attention to it in his publications) is that he also had with him a camera and several rolls of film waiting to be developed. Unfortunately only a handful of the photographs Casement had developed have survived. They lie in a box in the National Photographic Archive in Dublin, dormant and seemingly historically inert. Thankfully, the historicity of these images can be reconstructed, for in March 1912, when it looked as though the American government was backsliding in its promise of putting political pressure on the Peruvian government to protect the Indians and to stop the brutal labour regime in the rubber lands of the Putumayo, Casement posted copies of a number of these photographs to George Young at the British Embassy in Washington to shock the American administration into action. All of these photographs (which are in the National Archives in Washington, DC) were personally annotated by Casement, in the manner of an atrocity narrative, and provide a rare insight into the political possibilities of the visual image.*

Roger Casement was no stranger to Manaus. It was the Amazonian city he visited most. How much he knew about it is not clear but he certainly didn't like it. Indeed, he didn't seem to like any place on the Amazon he visited, all the way from Pará to Iquitos thousands of kilometres up river.

Casement passed through or stayed in Manaus, if even just to change ships, on six occasions: twice in 1908, on his way to and from the site of the Madeira-Mamoré railroad construction; twice again in 1910, on his way to and from the Putumayo and Iquitos, to investigate, on behalf of the British Foreign Office, allegations of violence and brutality in the way a British-based firm, the Peruvian Amazon Company, headed by the Peruvian business man, Julio César Arana, was extracting rubber from the forest – Casement was then a guest of the company's own Commission of Inquiry; and finally, twice in 1911, to and from his second and last visit to Iquitos and the Amazon River.



What Casement did after he left the mouth of the Amazon on 24 December 1911, forms the backdrop to my main in this article, which is the use of photographs not just as the means by which experiences are described and recorded, but more importantly as instruments of political standpoints and action. The Putumayo atrocity, I would contend, was one of the first genocides in which photographs were used in the battle over what really happened, to convince the public to take sides over competing and contradictory facts and interpretations.

The Putumayo as the scene of the interaction between indigenous people, recent outsiders and rubber attracted a short but intense photographic interest. Between 1903 and 1913, six prominent Europeans captured the scene photographically – they were, in order of appearance, the French explorer, Eugène Robuchon, followed by Thomas Whiffen (an English adventurer), Henry Gielgud (Secretary of the Peruvian Amazon Company), Roger Casement, Stuart Fuller (the American Consul in Iquitos) and finally Silvino Santos (the Manaus-based photographer hand-picked and commissioned by Arana). Selections of the photographs were published in a number of places between 1907 and 1914. Robuchon's photographs appeared primarily in his own posthumously published book (1907) and in Sidney Paternoster's *The Lords of the Devil's Paradise* (1913); Whiffen's photographs were reproduced in his own book, published in 1915, and in Walter Hardenburg's *The Putumayo: The Devil's Paradise* (1912). Henry Gielgud's photographs also made it into Hardenburg's book. Silvino Santos was the source of a number of photographs that illustrated a number of books that came out of the Arana camp in 1913 and 1914, especially Carlos Rey de Castro's books in 1913 and 1914. Stuart Fuller's photographs, which were primarily topographical, were never published. And neither, significantly, were Casement's.

Thanks to Angus Mitchell's exemplary research into Casement's time in the Putumayo, we know that Casement had a camera with him (it is now in the National Museum of Ireland) and that he took many rolls of film, some of which were developed, and the photographs disbursed. Of the unknown total of photographs he took, only a small number have survived and these are in the National Photographic Archive in Dublin.

Everything I have said so far is well-known to students of Casement and of the Putumayo atrocity itself. What, to my mind, is not known is that a selection of Casement's Putumayo photographs also made it to Washington, DC, to the State Department. I will refer to them in my paper as the Washington photographs. They are contained in a box at the National Archives in Washington DC, amongst a substantial number of papers, most of which eventually ended up being published as the US government's official response to the Putumayo tragedy under the title *Slavery in Peru*, 1913.

What makes these photographs so valuable is that they give us a unique insight into Casement's humanitarian consciousness in a rather remarkable way. If we take all of the Putumayo photographs that have survived, those that have been published and those that remain in archival and private hands, I think that with the exception of Casement's own, they fall quite neatly into three groups. The first and not surprisingly the largest group is what we could call the ethnographic class, a familiar type of photography from the late nineteenth century onwards, in which the European gaze is on the other and its distinct otherness: photographs of rituals, dances, bodies (particularly tattooing and other forms of body painting, and what the onlooker might call selective mutilation), as well as contextual topography and material culture. There is a lot of this kind of photography in Whiffen, Gielgud, Robuchon, Fuller and Santos. The second group is representative of what has come to be called atrocity photographs, normally associated with the images of the Holocaust during the Second World War, but also evident here. How many such photographs were taken is clearly unknown but a few have survived. Robuchon may have taken many atrocity photographs (certainly rumours in Iquitos at the time was that he had done just that and may have paid for it with his life) but only one or two survive, one especially showing an Indian youth being flogged, which appears as the frontispiece of Paternoster's book. Walter Hardenburg, the American engineer, who first brought the Putumayo atrocity to public attention when he arrived in London from Iquitos in the summer of 1909, made the greatest use of these, using an image of four chained Indian rubber gatherers as his frontispiece.

I should add a word or two about two other atrocity photographs, one of which could have been published at the time and wasn't, but has been reproduced more recently, and another that was published at the time (on at least two occasions) and reproduced on several, and more recent, occasions.

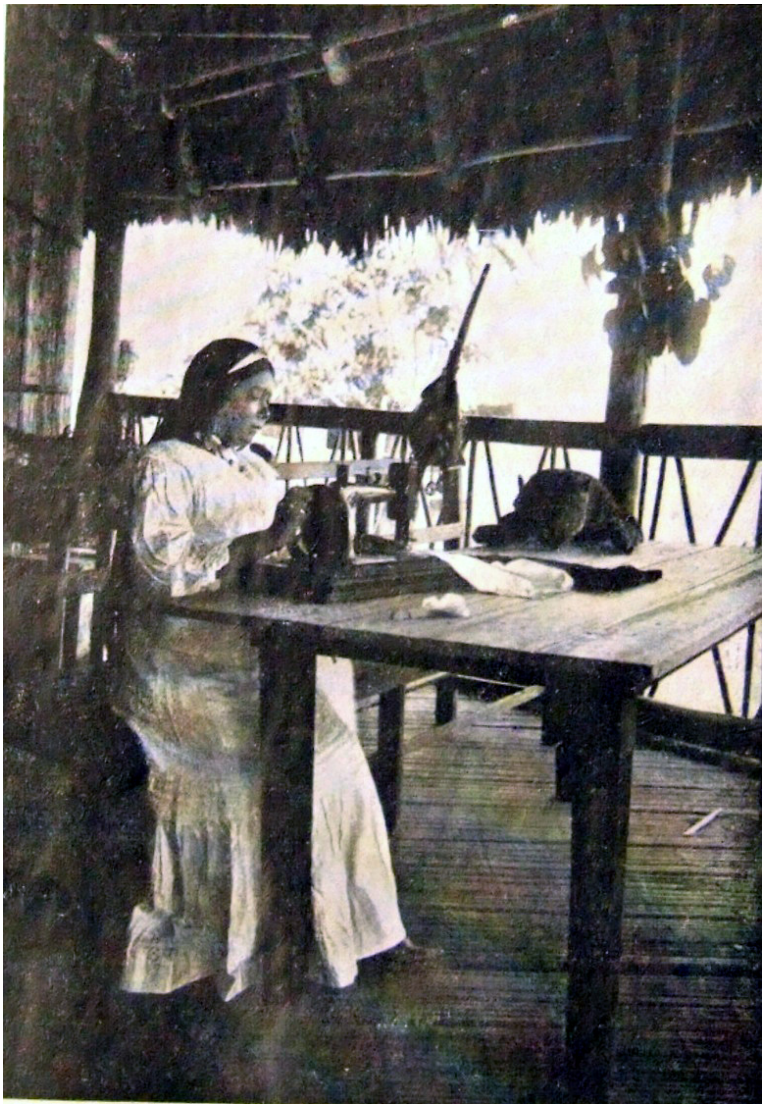
The first photograph, not published at the time, shows the back of a Huitoto youth, with clear signs of scarring from whipping. I would like to quote directly from a letter Casement sent to Alfred Mitchell Innes at the British Embassy in Washington and subsequently forwarded on to Henry Janes at the Division of Latin American Affairs in the US State Department. "It is an enlarged copy of a Kodak photo of a young Indian boy on the Putumayo," writes Casement, "showing some of the scars on his boyish limbs – given with the tapir hide for not bringing in his quota of rubber to the slavers…I want you to show this photo to the President if you can. Give it to him from me, and say it is only one of the hundreds of victims…The boy was climbing a tree when we saw his stern parts first; he was sent up to get an orchid for the botanist and he cried out at the scarred limbs exposed as the little chap went up the tree, and photo'd him when he came down." This photograph, which was actually taken by Henry Gielgud, the Secretary of the Peruvian Amazon Company, who was with Casement in the Putumayo, also went to the Foreign Office in London in the hope that it would be published, as Mitchell Innes in Washington suggested, alongside Casement's reports of his investigation into the Putumayo atrocities, the so-called Blue Book. Despite Mitchell Innes and Casement's own arguments for publication, the Foreign Office, including Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary, took a different view, arguing that "the report speaks sufficiently eloquently without the need of pictorial representation." It was not published.

The second of these atrocity photographs and perhaps the most harrowing one shows an old woman, emaciated, and perhaps dying (a contemporary letter from the British Consul in Iquitos, on the word of the photographer, says that she was already dead) in a hammock. Her vacant gaze stares into an indeterminate space, but the eye of the onlooker, anxious to avert her eyes, is nevertheless drawn into the horror of the scene.

The photograph appeared in a Lima magazine, *Variedades*, at the end of August 1912. The magazine's editor explained that the photograph had been sent to him, anonymously, from Iquitos. We now know, however, that the photograph was widely distributed by the then Prefect of Iquitos, Alejandro Alayza y Paz Soldán, to *Variedades*, to the American and British Consul in Iquitos, who were asked to forward it on to the State Department and the Foreign Office respectively, and to Roger Casement himself. Paz Soldán wanted it to be published in an appropriate English illustrated newspaper, such as the *Illustrated London News*. The memorandum from Paz Soldán, attached to both the American and British despatches, reveals that the captain of a Peruvian expeditionary force sent to investigate rumours of atrocities against Indians committed by Colombian *caucheros* beyond the boundary of the Peruvian Amazon Company had taken the photograph. The woman, according to this same captain, had managed to get word to the Peruvian authority in the Putumayo that her people were being abused, and when the expeditionary force got to the area they found her, after having been starved to

death in revenge, lying dead in the hammock. The photograph, the memorandum continued, was proof that it was Colombians, not Peruvians, who were committing the atrocities. Casement's minute and painful investigation of the Putumayo atrocities, the famous Blue Book, had been published in London three days before Paz Soldán handed the photograph and its explanation over to the two consuls in Iquitos.

The rest of the Putumayo images fall into a final group that I would like to call denial photographs. Silvino Santos, whom Julio César Arana had hired to accompany a tour of the Putumayo in August 1912, took all of them. One example shows an Indian woman making her own clothes on the veranda of a building using a Singer sewing machine. Carlos Rey de Castro, in whose book the image was reproduced, explained that this woman, before the arrival of the Peruvian Amazon Company in the area, was nude and tattooed. The company, Castro went on to say, was a civilizing force and this photograph supported his contention.



Now, as I mentioned before, Casement's Washington photographs do not fit into any of these groups. They are not ethnographic, nor atrocity, and certainly not denial photographs. They are in a class of their own. They are images meant to convey the meaning of what it means to be human, or, to put it another way, what humanity is.

When he was in Pará at the end of 1911, having returned from a second visit to Iquitos, Casement decided and without warning to his superiors in London, that instead of returning directly to Britain he would go to the United States, and particularly to Washington, DC, to press his case for a greater involvement of the American government in the diplomatic process – to force Peru to protect its indigenous population and to stop Arana, including bringing charges against the perpetrators of the crimes Casement had documented.

While he was in Washington, in the early part of January 1912, Casement had productive meetings with officials at the State Department and even managed, with the help of the British Ambassador, to spend some time talking to William Howard Taft, the President of the United States. Casement stayed in the USA for nearly three weeks and left feeling pleased with his decision to go. When he arrived in London and told the Foreign Secretary what he had done, he, too, according to Casement, was delighted.

At some point (it is not clear when this was) Casement started thinking of putting together a portfolio of photographs to strengthen the case he had put to the State Department. All we know for sure is that the portfolio, together with a detailed annotation of each photograph, was sent on 26 January 1912 and that the package arrived at the State Department's Bureau of Latin American Affairs not long after that.

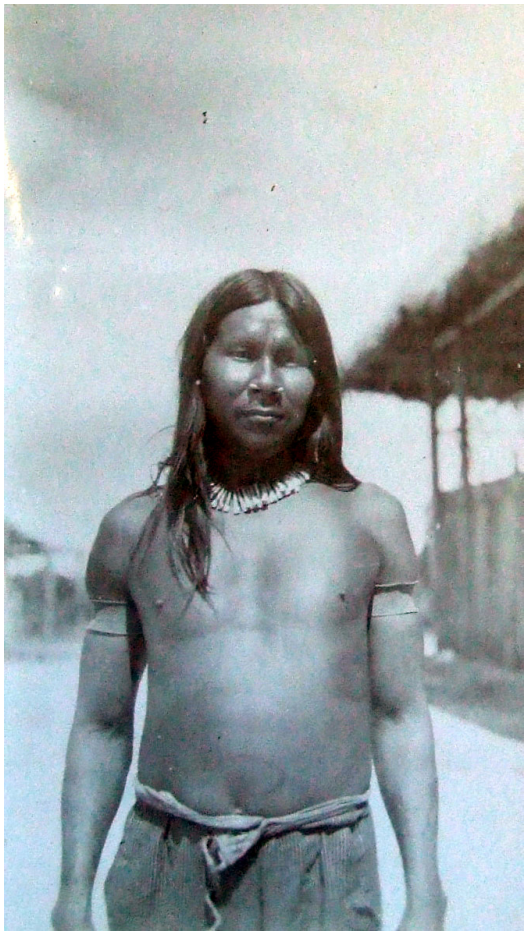
The portfolio consisted of thirty-four photographs, each of which, as I just said, was explained in an accompanying text covering twelve foolscap pages. Anyone who has had the pleasure of reading Casement's voluminous paper trail will not be surprised to learn that the text is anything but scanty. Indeed, over the length of it, Casement produced not so much an explanation as a narrative of events through which he caught the juxtaposition of humanity and inhumanity.

The photographs appear below in the order they were meant to be seen. My comments on them generally take the form of paraphrases of Casement's words; for a small number of the images I have used Casement's words *verbatim*. Casement deliberately and poignantly provides portraits of what are meant to be easily recognizable people with whom one can readily empathize, while narrating a story of abuse, brutality and murder.

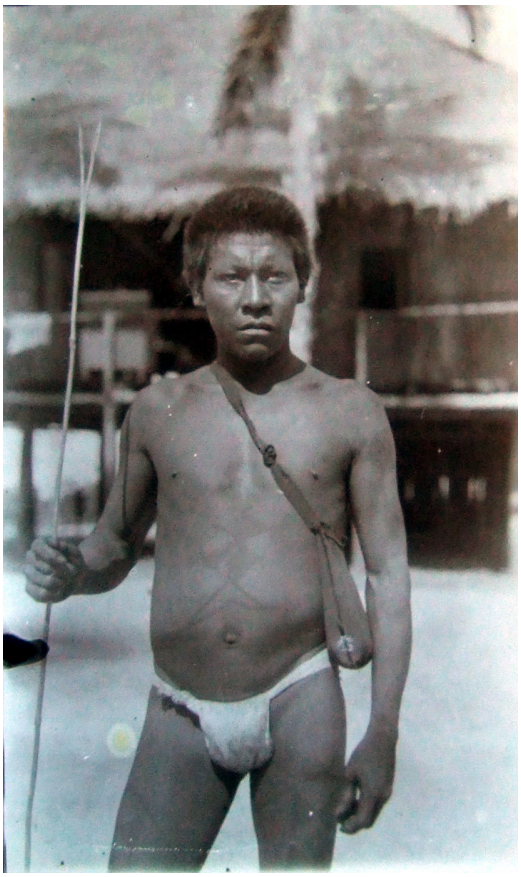
Two Andoke boys. They had just arrived with their loads of rubber. Casement mentions that "this tribe, once numerous, is now reduced all told to probably 150 persons, murdered by Armando Normand (one of the rubber station managers)."

Youth carrying a load of rubber.

Casement weighed the loads that these youths were carrying and estimated their weight at 75 kilos each. The Indians carried them over a distance of 100kms without food being given.

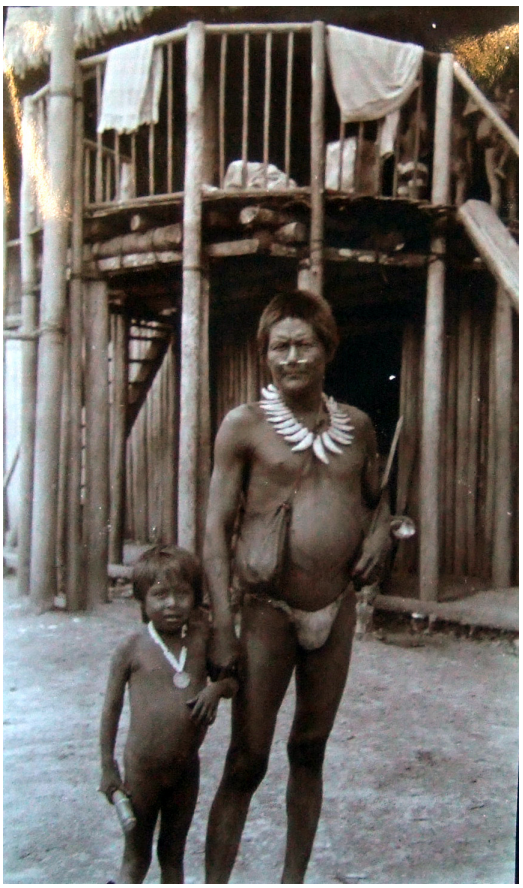


This tribal chief told Casement about the murder of one of his family by a form of water torture (which often ended in death) for not bringing in enough rubber. The murderer was Fidel Velarde, another rubber station manager.



Another tribal chief who was with the previous one. Casement notes here that Velarde has “escaped.”

Casement writes: “Another Chief and his baby girl. This man came at Entre Rios [a rubber station] to denounce the murdering of his people – he was then removed – I never saw him after the day he had the courage to speak out.”



This photo shows another tribal chief beating the MANGUARÉ, used by the indigenous people to send signals through the forest. Casement notes about this man that “he was a great friend of mine and had a fine wit too – and when he found a whiteman who was not a rubber gatherer but one who came to talk and be a friend of the Indians, his opinions poured forth, and revealed a witty mind.”

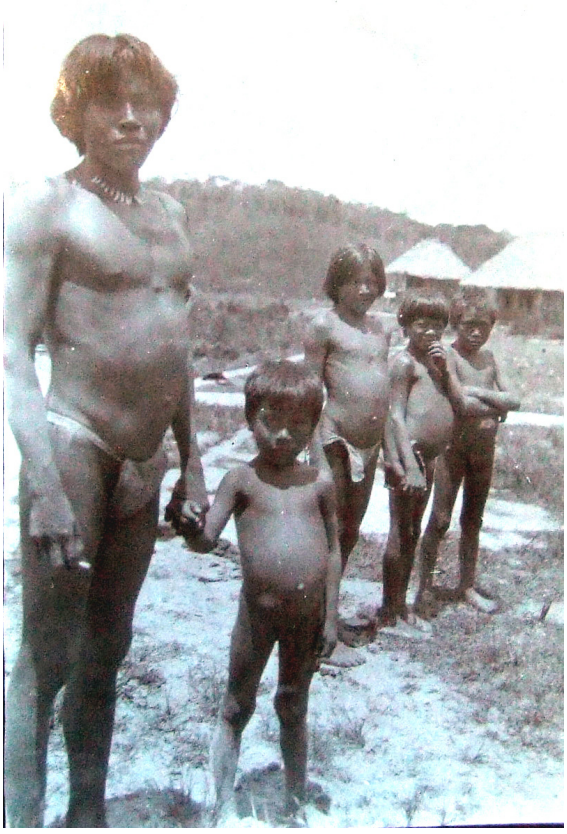
"Three Huitoto Indian men of the district of Ultimo Retiro . . . These are the "last of their tribe." It was once a populous clan – and the whole district of Ultimo Retiro had, some few years back (say 1900), 5000 Indians – it has now less than 600 all told."

An Indian from the Atenas rubber station.

Four youths from the Sur rubber station after bringing in their loads of rubber.

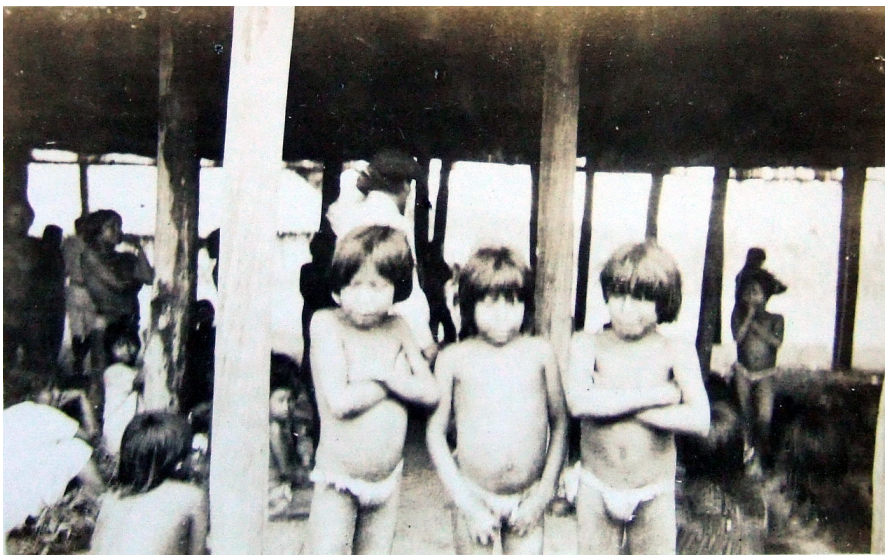
"A Huitoto youth preparing for a dance – all the Indians love dancing but now are rarely permitted to hold one." Casement points out in regards to this photo that this youth carried Casement's baggage through the forest, for which Casement paid him – "the first instance of an Indian of the Putumayo being paid for his work." "They get hideous trousers and skirts – not worth a dime each – in return for months of rubber working." The *caucheros* told Casement that they never paid the Indians because they, that is the *caucheros*, found it demoralizing.

This photo shows an Indian father and son just after they deposited their loads of rubber. The key word here is “their.” Casement continues: “I saw many children this size carrying loads, toddling along beside, their poor sacrificed ‘pappa and mamma’ – with their huge loads. The whole family had to take part in getting [the rubber] down to the station – a trip of 100 kms.”



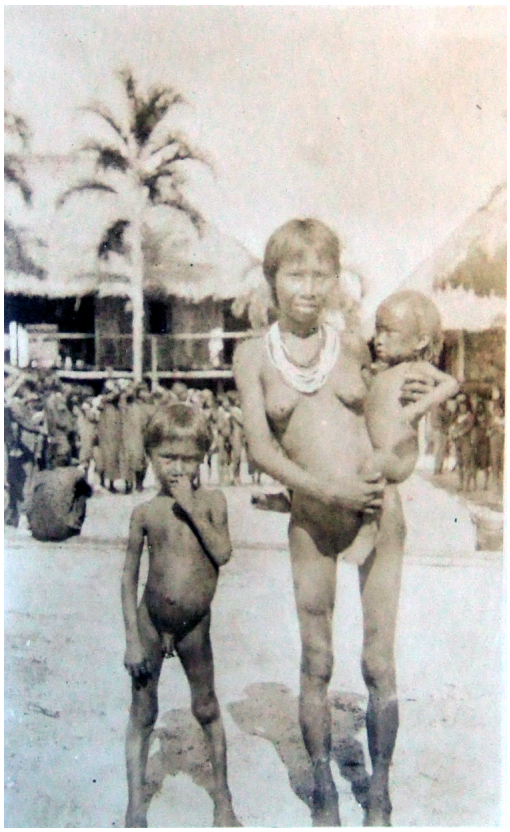
Same parent and child.

Young boys who were with the others carrying down the rubber. Casement notes that "babies must be carried too – because if left behind they would starve to death."



More of the small boys helping to get their parents' loads of rubber to the station. "All had been flogged," Casement writes, "their buttocks and thighs were scarred all over."

Casement entitled this photo "The Last of the Tribe." This was a Huitoto youth, about nineteen years old, and the last member of his clan. Casement goes on to explain that the Indians he met in the Putumayo had exceedingly "clean bodies," (his words), "their skin was radiant and their hair luxuriant"; and then continues "and I would add in their minds until debased or corrupted by the "blancos."



I quote from Casement: "An Indian mother and two children. She has been so worked without food that her limbs have shrunk. I saw far worse specimens than these."

Again Casement's words: "An Atenas [a rubber station] Indian – the whole of the population of this district had been systematically starved to death by Elias Martenengui (this man was in Callao and the Lima government deliberately warned him to 'escape' when the warrant for his arrest came from Iquitos, and then assured our minister he had got away). Martenengui worked his whole district to death, and gave the Indians no time to plant or find food. They had to work rubber or be killed, and to work and die . . . [they are] walking fragments of humanity . . . [I was] filled with rage, indignation and disgust." "This Indian," Casement notes, "in addition to having been denied the right to get food had been ruthlessly flogged. His backside had been cut to pieces. I tried to photograph him backwards but could not get the snapshot, as he went away, turning round upon me a face of anger and hate. No wonder – I was another whiteman, another murderer, another enslaver, to him."

"A man of 35 or 40, flogged and abjectly cowed," writes Casement.

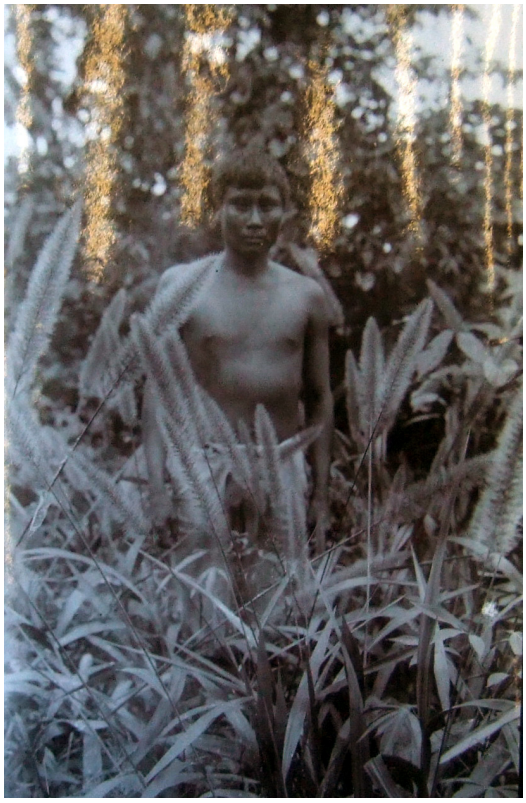
This is a photograph of a 14 or 15 year old Huitoto youth. Casement says that in this image he was wearing his "Sunday best." "What you can't see," Casement adds, "is that his back was scored with broad and deep scars."

These are four youths about the same age as the youth in the previous image. They were part of a group of forty Indians who had been ordered to carry the white visitors' baggage through the forest from one station to another, a distance of almost twenty miles. They were, Casement notes, "the most abject specimens of humanity I have ever seen."

For this photograph, Casement asked the youths to turn around so that their scars from the lash could be seen. This and the previous photograph were taken not by Casement, but by Louis Barnes, the head of the Commission.

The next three photographs are of women dressed for their dance.

By this photograph, Casement means to convey another aspect of the terrorism behind Arana's regime. This is a "muchacho de confianza," Casement explains, "a criminal Indian enrolled and trained as boys for the whiteman. Their primary function was that of terrorists, spies and executioners. This boy has killed many Indians, his own countrymen."



This is a photograph of the rubber station called Matanzas, the name, Casement understood, perfectly suited to the murderous regime of its manager Armando Normand, whom Casement had met and thought the greatest criminal of them all. Casement notes that behind the pleasant setting the most unspeakable acts were carried out against the Indians. I'll spare you the details.

This photograph is, in many ways, one of the most important of the collection. As Casement explains, this is an image of Arédomi, one of the two youths he had taken from the Putumayo and who stayed with him in London for just under two months. The photograph, Casement writes, was taken in Dorset on the estate of the Duke of Hamilton. As one can clearly see, Arédomi is thriving. Casement asks his State Department colleagues to compare this image with the one of the four starving Indian youths, suffering in Atenas in the Putumayo on Arana's land. Casement's point is obvious.

These three photographs are the only ones in the set that are not of people. Casement's purpose in placing them here is to emphasize the peaceful nature of the Amazonian environment in deep contrast to the brutality of the inhumanity that was practised in these majestic forests.

In this photograph you can see two men, the one with the back to us is Andean while the one facing the lens is Huitoto. The latter's name was Julio. According to Casement Julio had been sold as a slave in Iquitos. We learn nothing more of this and Casement ends his note by remarking that he does not know what became of him.

This is the last photograph in the set. This image, of a Campas Indian from the Upper Ucuyali, Casement uses, as he did that of Arédomi, to insist that it is Arana's system that is reducing the Indians to a state of inhumanity, both physically and mentally; by contrast, this youth, "belonged" to a Peruvian Civil Engineer who, according to Casement, was very kind to him, and was in good shape even though he was virtually a slave. Casement ends his annotation with the following words: "Without her Indians, there is no Peru! And yet these people are so criminally shortsighted that they are raiding and murdering wholesale the bulk of those who should be citizens of the Republic. Peru has many people – and very few citizens!"

When Casement was in the Putumayo, seeing for himself the evidence of brutality that he had read in the papers that both the Foreign Office and the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society shared with him, he had difficulty finding the right words to capture the horror. He tried various formulations including "syndicate of crime," "reign of terror," and "piracy and terrorization." On 5 October 1910, after having been in the Putumayo for two weeks, and after having visited the first of several rubber stations, where he first saw the punishment stocks, the regime's favourite weapon of control and submission, in which recalcitrant Indians were imprisoned for as much as months in unbearably painful ways, Casement, in an extended entry in his diary, concluded that it was the system that was the crime, not the criminals who administered it. And then, through this deep analysis, he found the words he was desperately searching for. "This thing we find here," Casement noted in his diary that day, "is a crime against humanity."

Now, that phrase, "crime against humanity" is so familiar today, so used (perhaps even over-used) in the media and in common parlance, that it comes as something of a surprise to learn that one hundred years ago when Casement used it, it had not yet appeared in print.

That is one important point but the other is no less significant. For Casement used the phrase in precisely the way it was enshrined by the International Criminal Court of the United Nations after World War II and is used today: that is, the systematic practice of inhumane acts – murder, enslavement, extermination, torture, and so on – committed against any civilian population.

I would argue that for Casement to have constructed the phrase "a crime against humanity" he must have had a deep understanding and thought a lot of what he meant by humanity. These photographs, together with the running text, I believe, support my contention. Casement's narrative successfully and provocatively, and yet subtly, cuts across and through meanings of humanity and inhumanity. It is a complex, and quite modern, discourse, something we have grown to understand about Casement's intellect.

Notes

Full citations to the archival material on which this article is based, including that of the photographs themselves, can be found in Jordan Goodman, *The Devil and Mr. Casement*. London & New York: Verso, 2009 & 2010.

*To Heal or to Remember: Indian Memory of the Rubber Boom and Roger Casement's "Basket of Life"**

Juan Alvaro Echeverri

Abstract:*This article focuses on the voice of the Muinane group coming to grips with painful memories at the end of the twentieth century. Indians nowadays refer to the memories of the rubber boom as belonging to what they call "Basket of Darkness." In contrast to that obscure basket of bad memories, they speak of a "Basket of Life," where the seeds of the future are placed, looking forward to the growing of new generations and leaving behind the dangerous memories of violence and sorcery of the past.*

The aim of this article is to reveal the condition of the most silenced and muted actor in the reports, narratives and testimonies of the Casa Arana period in the Putumayo region. The executed, mutilated, tortured, raped and exploited bodies of the Putumayo Indians have been documented in horrifying detail by Casement, Valcárcel, Hardenburg, Saldaña Roca and many others. Indians become truly a parenthesis in all those tales; they are not actual subjects but objects of compassion, fear or observation; noble savages for Casement, treacherous and savage for Robuchon, cannibals to be civilized for Casa Arana, and objects of ethnographic description for Robuchon and Whiffen. In any of these cases Indians do not have voice; Indians are the objects of disputes among Whites. I want to give visibility to the Indians' ways of dealing with memory and how they leave the past behind.

Indians nowadays refer to the memories of the rubber boom as belonging to what they call "Basket of Darkness". In contrast to that obscure basket of bad memories, they speak of a "Basket of life", where the seeds of the future are placed, looking forward to the growing of new generations and leaving behind the dangerous memories of violence and sorcery of the past. I explore below this powerful double image of Indians' memory. What does it reveal to the workings of memory and the representation of history? What is the truth to be sought in the past? Is the past to be remembered or healed?

I begin by approaching the Putumayo Indians, in the voice of the Muinane group coming to grips with a painful memory and in face of new changes and challenges at the end of the twentieth century.

Healing Rather than Remembering

On May 1993, a group of Muinane people were getting ready to set off to visit their ancient territories. They were the descendants of one of the peoples that were nearly exterminated by the Casa Arana and the Peruvian Amazon Company at the beginning of the twentieth century. The meager remnants of their formerly numerous population had resettled further north, beyond the edge of what had been their ancestral lands, which remained nearly uninhabited for many decades.

The impact of the rubber industry and the Casa Arana regime on the Putumayo Indians was enormous. The total Indian population was reduced to perhaps less than a tenth between 1900 and 1930, and the surviving ones were forcefully resettled on the Putumayo River and further south. A few managed to escape north or to hide in the forest. Their social, political and ceremonial organization was severely shattered, and their territory was depopulated, as the forest regrew in what had been a densely populated region. In 1908, Thomas Whiffen (1915) calculated 46,000 as the total population of the Putumayo Indians and 2,000 as the population of the Muinane tribe. By 1993, the Muinane census did not reach150; these were the descendants of the barely 20 Muinane men and women who managed to survive the Casa Arana regime. These rough numbers just serve as an indication of the degree of the catastrophe these peoples endured.

In the 1980s, the Colombian government officially granted the indigenous groups of the region – Witoto, Bora, Muinane, Miraña, Ocaina, Nonuya and Andoque Indians, the descendants of the peoples who were Casa Arana's labor force – the legal property of the territories they now occupy as well as their ancestral lands in the hinterland. This huge expanse of land – about six million hectares – coincides with Julio Cesar Arana's rubber territories. This new Indian reserve was named *Resguardo Predio Putumayo.* The Muinane Council of Elders – formed by the chiefs of the four main clans – decided in the early 1990s that the re-appropriation of the ancestral territories was necessary to reassert their political autonomy, now formally recognized, and to work towards their social reconstruction.

The Muinane elders in 1993 were the children of those who had directly suffered the slavery and slaughter under the Casa Arana regime. They were born after the rubber boom had ceased and only the eldest ones had first-hand knowledge of the places where the ancient people used to live. They grew up looking away from those stories and those places, finding a way of life on the banks of the Caquetá River, trading timber and game with White people and sending their children to the Catholic boarding school. They grew old far from their land and from the horrifying stories their own parents told – however they were disturbingly connected to them.

The ancestral territory of the Muinane is located at the center of the *Resguardo Predio Putumayo*. This territory was known to the elders in words and memories, but they had not returned to it since their childhood. In the 1990s times had changed. They had their territories legally titled and a new generation, for whom these stories were distant, had grown up after them. Their children were intelligent and able, had gone to

school, and wanted to know. The banks of the Caquetá River, where they had lived for decades and where they had raised their children, was a foreign land where their ancestors used to go to get fish and stones, but not a place they used to live. The rocky outcrops which mark the Caquetá landscape are the lodges of mythological beings, carriers of evil powers. Further south is the "Land of Coolness," the area where the places of the *malocas* (longhouses) of their forbears rested abandoned, the land that had been destroyed and ravaged, and from where they had been expelled and exiled. It was their *territory*, a word in English (or Spanish or Portuguese) that barely translates the meaning of the Muinane concept: it is not just a tract of land that can be mapped or legally titled; this *territory* is the inscription of life and memory on the land – and this life and this memory had remained amputated since the times of Casa Arana, and the events which Roger Casement and others denounced and publicized, but that for the Indians had remained unhealed.

The children of Casa Arana were now elders and they needed to recover that life and that memory they had been unwilling to face for decades. The necessary step was to revisit the territory and to face its memories. At that time, I did not fully grasp the meaning of the decision they took to go and visit the old places. They stated that *territory* was the basis of their education, their government, and their social and ritual organization, and that they needed to go there with their children to show them and retrieve the thread of their life.

And then, they started off their journey to the ancient land. The group was formed by three elders of three of the surviving clans (Pineapple, Worm and Drum), and nine boys, three of each clan. They headed first to the ancient territory of the Pineapple clan, and Chucho, its elder, led the group. On May 27Th 1993, after five days of trekking into the uninhabited forest, they got to to Manioc creek. It is a small stream, on the Cahuinari River basin, not far from where once stood the Casa Arana section of Matanzas, now covered by forest regrowth. It was in Matanzas where Roger Casement met the notorious Armando Normand: ". . . with a face truly the most repulsive I have ever seen, I think. It was perfectly devilish in its cruelty and evil. I felt as if I were being introduced to a serpent," wrote Casement in his journal (Casement 256). The Muinane remember Normand as "Noroba". Matanzas means literally "slaughters" or "massacres" and the atrocities that happened there are clearly documented in Casement's report, and in both Hardenburg's and Valcárcel's books.

For the Muinane, the place of Matanzas is known as "Hill of the Wild Cacao Tree". Chucho's granduncle, who had the name of Jeevadeka (Flower of Parrot Pineapple), a chief of the Pineapple clan of the Muinane, lived there. The Muinane tell that Jeevadeka died under the hands of Noroba, who hung him from a pole by his ear piercings. The group camped a few hours away from the old, haunted site. At night, Chucho spoke and the youngsters recorded his speech on a tape recorder. In his speech, Chucho did not address his fellow elders or his sons and nephews; he addressed Jeevadeka. He spoke like this:

> We have truly arrived to the place of the ordeals; we arrived to Manioc Creek, to the Hill of the Wild Cacao Creek (Matanzas). Your grandchildren have arrived for you to meet them; you do not have to see them, as if they were other people. Do not be upset, s tay calm. Here are your grandchildren. We know nothing about those who killed you, about those who did all those things to you. You are the ones who know. Now we are a new generation, and here are those who were born after me, and I am guiding them. We came here to heal these children. Here is our chief Jeevadeka. We know nothing of what happened to you. So it is. If we knew, we could speak about that. You came to end your life here. I am showing it to your grandchildren. I am guiding them with my brother. So then, do not take us for strangers. We came here to heal ourselves. This is what we are telling you. That is it.

The next day, by noon, they arrived at the place where Matanzas once stood, now covered with forest. There, Chucho spoke again:

> Here, grandfather Jeevadeka, you lived and you are. We are your grandchildren and we have arrived. Up to this place we have reached and we are stepping on this spot. Are you there?[1] We have arrived well, in good heart. Here we are; we are the bones of your bones. We are coming back, your grandchildren that were born after you. We mourn and remember you, who are here. Then, for that reason, I myself Kigaibo [Sour Pineapple], your grandson, have arrived, together with people of the Drum clan and the Worm clan. We are with these, our young people, for you to meet, and we come in good manner. We come to seek the good words that you have: the word of life, the word of coolness, the word of nurturing. You ought to give us those words. . . . We thought we were alone, but we are not alone, you are here. That is why we came, we have reached to you. This is what I am telling you.

I was very struck when I helped Chucho's brother, Jorge, to transcribe and translate these recordings upon their return from their trip. Chucho's address to Jeevadeka begins by avoiding any reference to violent events of the Casa Arana period: "We know nothing about those who killed you, about those who did all those things to you," he says. Chucho seeks to heal, not to remember, as if invoking the violence of those days may attract danger. He rather focuses straight away to the young people in the party, and takes care that Jeevadeka's wandering spirit will not mistake them for other people. Chucho is well aware that nowadays they all look very much like the Peruvians and Creoles who enslaved and murdered their ancestors. They now wear clothes and boots, carry *machetes* and shotguns, eat salt and "smell of onions," as they say.

Chucho's way of dealing with the past when addressing Jeevadeka in this point of the territory is profoundly historical precisely in the fact that he avoids remembering. Instead of looking *back* he looks forward; not to the dead but to the living – and he addresses Jeevadeka as if he were alive. He acknowledges the past of killings and slavery by avoiding its memory, and he acknowledges the changes that came about afterwards

by stating that no matter what they may look like, they are Jeevadeka's grandchildren who come to pay a visit. Chucho's generation had been unable, so far, to deal with any of this. None of them felt able to go to the old places and cope with the rage, sorcery and powers that were left scattered, unbound and unsolved. They felt ashamed and powerless, unable to reestablish a connection they were painfully aware was necessary to allow them to rebuild their life – after so many years.

That power they lacked in shamanism and magical force to deal with the troubling past, they found again, in an unexpected way, in the new generation. These young people, their own children, gave them meaning and strength to face it. Even though these boys have gone to school, have learnt to read and write in Spanish, and do not resemble much those ancient Indians, they are *alive* and they want to know. Instead of reminding them of the crimes committed against their forebears and claiming revenge for them, he rather chooses to forget. He leaves aside the memory of the ordeals and focuses his discourse on what gives life: "We come to seek the good words that you have: the word of life, the word of coolness, the word of nurturing. You ought to give us those words," he pleads Jeevadeka. It is by virtue of these youngsters that Jeevadeka is now alive: "we are the bones of your bones."

And, paradoxically, it is the artifacts of writing that the young people have learnt from the White people that allows them to close the circle of this operation of the memory. In contrast to the elders, who rely on the oral speech in the Muinane language as their way of recording and giving meaning to their journey, the young ones carry notebooks, pens and color pencils to keep a written record of it. Their notebooks are written in Spanish, and in contrast to the speeches of their parents which deal with spirits and masters of the places, the youngsters compose a very pragmatic and down to earth journal, carefully annotating times, distances, location of places, animals hunted, meals eaten, avoiding any reference to their parents' concerns. They happily trek through the forest with innocent eyes, filling their notebooks with their observations and, most notably, with colorful drawings of the places they visit. In their notebooks they make most succinct and uneventful notes of their elders' speech, as this one by Chucho's nephew about the night when he uttered the speech transcribed above: "For dinner, we ate a woolly monkey we had hunted, and after the conversation of the elders we went to sleep," he writes.

In Matanzas they found the remains of a longhouse or *maloca* and many objects, both Indian and non-Indian: pots, tools, weaponry, glass, etc., in a place which the young people titled "Matanzas' garbage dump." Further ahead, they found two large holes, where rubber patrons used to burn the people that they had killed. They made drawings of the holes in their notebooks. They knew those places existed, where dead people were dumped and burnt; vegetation has not regrown in those holes, and they are still clearly noticeable. In his journal, one of the young boys wrote:

> We arrived at the place called Hill of Wild Cacao (Matanzas). We looked at the port, made drawings, and followed to the hill where once stood a *maloca*, and it looked beautiful and frightening. We found an old pot, and after making observations, continued along the hill and arrived at the garbage dump. We scratched the ground and found some projectiles of fire weapons. Following the hill, we found the holes where dead people were burnt. It looked dreadful to me. After that, we started back.

The youngsters' notebooks matter-of-fact record movements, views and events in a vivid present. Their parents' speeches, in contrast, are painfully aware of the dangers, and in their dealing with them they merge past and future in a timeless present of life.

The two modes of representation – spoken, by the elders, and written, by the young ones – nonetheless are remarkably complementary. When I would ask any of the elders about their journey, he would right away ask for his son's notebook and would exhibit the color drawings; with this in his hands, he would calmly and happily refer to the events of the trip. It is as if by being captured in writing and drawing, those facts would now be contained and manageable. On the other hand, the young ones could confidently devote these facts into writing and deftly design their drawings because they felt that any danger that could exist in their journey would be avoided and dodged by virtue of their elders' speech.

One of the reasons for the extreme precaution of these Indians to leave aside the memory of violence is because it was not only the violence of rubber barons against Indians, but also the violence amongst Indians themselves, which exacerbated a pre-existing condition of intertribal warfare.

We tend to represent the Indians as victims of the violent rubber barons. The dispute among Whites is whether those Indians were ferocious cannibals who had to be subjected by any means to become an industrious and civilized labor force, as Casa Arana alleged, or whether they were noble and pacific people enslaved and abused by "an association of vagabonds, the scum of Peru and Colombia," as Casement claimed in his journal (Goodman 111). In both cases, Indians are represented as a single, unified subject. But, how was it from an Indian perspective?

Certain Indian tribes, and clans and lineages within tribes, profited from the alliance with rubber barons to wage warfare against other tribes and former enemies. Besides, young boys from several tribes were raised and trained to raid other groups and to act as executioners of the worst crimes. This exacerbation of internal warfare had more devastating and long-lasting effects than the violence of Whites against Indians. Whites or non-Indians would eventually leave the region, but the families and relatives of the murderers and the murdered would stay, and with those the memories of pending revenges.

This is one of the key reasons why a person like Chucho is quite circumspect about not bringing back the memory of those events, potentially very destructive on today's life. What these elders aim to do is the reconstruction of the social tissue that

was torn apart. That is what Chucho means when he asks Jeevadeka for the words of life. This journey to the past will allow the Muinane to erect new ceremonial houses (called *malocas* in local Spanish), which so far they had been unable to do. The contact with the territory and the healing of memory was a necessary step, because a ceremonial house implies the reconstruction and re-establishment of a network of ceremonial exchanges which is mapped onto pre-existing networks. This was a tricky issue as those former networks had been severely damaged.

This way of thinking, speaking and relating to memory is in no way a peculiarity of this group or of this elder. It is shared by all the descendants of the Putumayo Indians. What is at stake here is not the reconstruction of the truth of the events, or the demands of justice against the White people, but the reconstruction of society. This implies both particular modes of memory and historical consciousness and the construction of new forms of collective identity.

Basket of Darkness and Basket of Life

These forms of memory speak to the construction of new social and moral identities in the aftermath of the rubber boom. The rubber boom is a foundational event for these Indian groups today. Current native conceptualization does not directly address these episodes but rather seeks to deal with them, either through oblivion or secrecy.

What the literature calls "The Putumayo Indians" encompasses seven ethnolinguistic groups, which belong to the Witoto linguistic family (Witoto, Ocaina and Nonuya), the Bora linguistic family (Bora, Miraña and Muinane), plus a language isolate (Andoque). Although these peoples are linguistically differentiated and in the past waged warfare amongst themselves, they share a number of cultural traits and a common social and ceremonial organization. Today, they designate themselves under the general name of "People of the Center." I do not know whether this self-designation existed from pre-contact times. My hypothesis is that this idiom is the result of a process of ideological construction of a new kind of moral community (see Echeverri 1997). This construction is in part a result of the disruption provoked by traumatic effects of the rubber period, which caused massive demographic loss, the extinction of entire tribes, clans and lineages, and the formation of new mixed communities increasingly dependent on market goods.

This ideology of one People linked by social and ritual exchanges constitutes the basis for a type of ceremonial and political discourse, which emphasizes the common traits of the different groups, putting aside ethnic differences and past conflicts. This ceremonial discourse, called *rafue* in the Witoto language, is based on "The philosophy of multiplication" and "The Word of tobacco and coca". *Rafue* is a very elaborate and formalized form of discourse, of an abstract and ethical character. It is not the narration of mythology – which belongs to another form of discourse, as explained below – but

deals with the creative processes of life, the ethics of horticultural work, the production and food and the growth of population.

In contrast with this ritual and public discourse of *rafue,* which is instrumental in the construction of the ideology of a unified moral community (People of the Center), the conceptual guarding of ethnic differences is maintained in other modes of discourse. Ethnic difference brings about the memory of conflicts from the past – rivalry among clans and tribes, sorcery, cannibalism – and implies dealing with differences in mythological conceptions (territory, hierarchy among tribes and clans). This contrast between a unified moral community and the conceptual guarding of ethnic differences is dealt with in practice through the constitution of a pan-ethnic ethical and political discourse.

There is an increasingly explicit separation between "secret" versus "public" ritual discourse. Ritual discourse takes place in a special setting in the *maloca*, where men sit at night to chew coca leaves. This is the place for the discourse of *rafue*, where political and ritual exchanges are dealt with. Secret discourses, in contrast, are about mythology, sorcery, or certain historical episodes dealing with interethnic conflicts – including the violent events of the rubber boom.

Secret, ethnic discourse is closely linked to mythology. Mythology, for these groups, keeps the record of the events of cannibal, malignant, murderous, revengeful and raging beings who tried to destroy and pervert the true humanity. These stories are kept in what is called the Basket of darkness. These stories do not belong to the public, common discourse of *rafue,* but are kept and maintained by each ethnic group and clan as a defense and source of sorcery and evil power. The stories and events of the rubber boom are but one more layer in this plentiful basket. These baskets of darkness should be kept sealed, because they represent the danger of war – they are, as these people say, their "nuclear arsenals."

In contrast to mythology and the Basket of Darkness, *rafue* belongs to the Basket of Life. This basket contains the ethics of the horticultural work, the raising of children, the production of food, the celebration of rituals. The most accomplished expression of this Basket is the Word of tobacco and coca, with which the elders used to care for and to nurture human life. Mythological narratives and violent historical memories – including those of the rubber boom – do not have a place in this Basket.

These two Baskets thus represent a moral organization of collective memory, and configure a form of historical consciousness. The Basket of Life refers to their history precisely for the fact of refraining to remember anything from the past; on the contrary asserting the maintenance and reproduction of life. The Basket of Darkness keeps secret the memories of dangerous past events. The terror of the rubber boom looms so dangerously that it fills that Basket to the rim. Those memories are not forgotten but kept sealed.

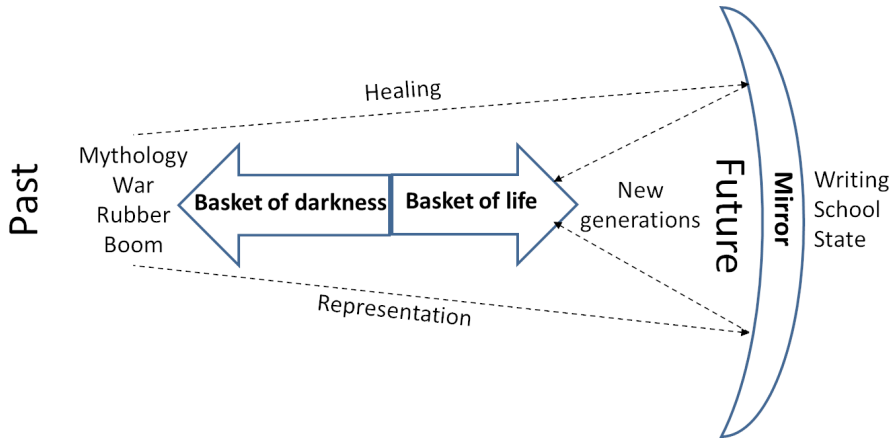
There is certainly an unresolved tension and an impending danger in this organization of memory, because there is always the risk that the contents of the Basket of Darkness be deployed, undermining the collective project of a moral community.

Separating what is secret (Basket of Darkness) from what is public (Basket of Life) has become a task in which the elders invest a remarkable amount of time and effort.

This allows us to better understand Chucho's address to Jeevadeka in the haunted site of Matanzas. In such a dangerous place, he is avoiding the Basket of Darkness and he is pointing to the Basket of Life, through the use of two rhetorical devices: the request of the "good words" from Jeevadeka – that is, the Word of tobacco and coca – and his explicit references to the new generation.

It is as if these two modes of memory move in opposite directions. Mythology and historiographical narratives of violence point in the direction of the past; *rafue,* the Word of tobacco and coca, points in the direction of the future. The memories of the events of the rubber boom are thus left in an apparent oblivion: discarded in the public discourse, secret in the private discourse; and there seems to be no way to represent them or to think about them. This unresolved tension is solved by the new generation, which functions like a mirror – a reflective space that allows them to face the past in an indirect way. This reflective space is configured paradoxically by purely foreign devices: writing, schooling, use of the Spanish language, state recognition, and so forth. (See figure 1)

Figure 1. *The structure of memory*



At a micro-sociological scale, we saw how for the group of Muinane elders journeying with their sons and nephews, their young boys' notebooks and drawings operated as a reflective space which allowed them to face the past. Now, we can perhaps also appreciate the same process in a larger sociological scale. In the 1980s, the ancestral territories of the People of the Center were legally recognized by the Colombian government. With this came a whole set of special rights: language recognition, bicultural education, territorial and political autonomy, etc. The new generation is now growing up in this new environment. It does not matter that they look similar to White people; the issue is that they are safe. They now may look to the past with new eyes and new devices of memory: recording, writing, photographs, books, and so forth. These legal

and formal devices – land titles, schooling, political organizations – operate as a reflective space for the whole project of a collective moral identity.

For these People of the Center, the rubber boom has been a difficult issue to deal with – either in oblivion or in secret. But the scars left on the bodies and the territory need to be read and interpreted. These marks also can turn into mirrors that allow new modes of healing and representing the past. The actual site of the headquarters of Casa Arana in La Chorrera may play that role. This is a remarkable story, which like all things Arana, is made up of deceit and twisted turns.

The headquarters of Arana as a mirror of memory

In 1994, the First Lady of Colombia gave Putumayo Indians the house of the headquarters of Casa Arana in Chorrera to run a secondary school. At that time, the house had been the property of a Colombian official bank, Caja de Crédito Agrario Industrial y Minero, which had rebuilt it back in 1986.[2] The house and surrounding areas, with a total of 800 hectares, had been excluded from the large territory of nearly six million hectares, whose legal title was only granted to the Putumayo Indians by the Colombian government in 1988.

Why was the house rebuilt by a Colombian official bank? And, why was it excluded from the legal title granted to the Indians – and precisely the actual house where the Peruvian Amazon Company had its ominous headquarters?

In 1922, Colombia and Peru signed a border treaty, which ceded Colombia the territories north of the Putumayo River, where Casa Arana had been operating. Arana, and the people of Loreto, vehemently opposed the treaty, which was finally ratified by the two countries in 1927. But Arana was indeed a clever man. In fact, a year before the treaty was signed, Arana secured the legal title to his possessions in Putumayo – nearly six million hectares – and he ensured that under the terms of the treaty he would receive compensation in cash from Colombia.

Arana intended to be paid £2,000,000, but the Colombian government found this amount extortionate. Finally, in 1939, the Banco Agrícola Hipotecario, a Colombian official bank, bought the rights of Arana in the Putumayo for US$200,000, but only paid $40,000 at that current time. In 1954, the Colombian government ordered the termination of the Banco Agricola, and put the newly created Caja de Crédito Agrario Industrial y Minero (Caja Agraria) in charge of its liquidation. In 1964, Caja Agraria ratified the purchase made by Banco Agrícola back in 1939, and paid the heirs of Arana the remaining US$160,000. In this manner Caja Agraria consolidated the full property of the old Arana possessions in Putumayo, which were called *Predio Putumayo* "The Putumayo Estate" (Colombia 1989).

Putumayo Indians were totally unaware of all these moves until, in 1985, Caja Agraria decided to make use of its property and designed a huge plan of development for the Predio Putumayo, with the investment of two million dollars in an 800-hectare

farm in La Chorrera. Caja Agraria erected its main premises on exactly the same spot where Casa Arana had stationed its headquarters and main rubber depot. The news came as a shock, but only a Colombian priest in Chorrera and a few of the schooled Indian teachers understood the meaning of it: Caja Agraria claimed property of the whole Indian Territory on the basis of having purchased it from the heirs of the company that had tortured and enslaved the Indians! "Those titles are stained with blood," claimed the priest in numerous letters he sent to Colombian authorities. These Indians began a vehement protest against the presence of the Caja Agraria and its claims of ownership of the region. This movement among other things allowed the small group of Indian teachers with secondary schooling to establish the first indigenous political organization in this region, which was called Confederación Indígena del Amazonas Medio (COIDAM). The situation gained momentum the following year, 1986, when Virgilio Barco became President and helped cancel Caja Agraria's plans, with additional pressure from international NGOs and human rights organizations. An agreement was reached in 1988: Caja Agraria would sell Predio Putumayo to the Instituto Colombiano de la Reforma Agraria (Incora), which had the attribution to land titles to Indian groups. Incora, in turn, speedily proceeded to constitute the land as a *Resguardo* (Reserve) on April 23 of 1988, in favor of the indigenous groups of the region. Caja Agraria's two-million-dollar farm was excluded from the *resguardo* territory.

In 1993 the Presidency of Colombia acquired the old Casa Arana house from Caja Agraria to lodge a new Indian secondary school, and the Colombian First Lady travelled to Chorrera for its inauguration. *El Tiempo,* the largest Colombian newspaper, headlined the news: "Between 1900 and 1910 violence championed in Casa Arana. About 40,000 Indians were murdered. Today, after eight decades, the house and its bad memories will become an epicenter of education. Last December 21st, the Indians […] erased the ghost of that genocide."[3]

That was the same year the Muinane set off to visit the old places of the rubber boom. And if the "ghost" of that genocide has not actually been "erased," it certainly provides a reflective space for the new generations to represent memory in new ways. It is remarkable that the notorious place, with its dungeons where Indians were kept chained, where dozens of Indians were burned in drunken feasts of horror, now becomes a place for the education of the new generation.

Furthermore, in May 2008, the Colombian Ministry of Culture declared the house as a *Bien de interés cultural del ámbito nacional*, and the Minister of Culture – Paula Moreno, a Black woman – traveled to Chorrera to announce the news. On that visit, a 48 year-old Bora Indian commented: "Casa Arana is like bereavement. The school covers that image we have of the past, and I want that [the government] support it because it gives us solace."[4] Afterwards a respected leader in local and governmental communities, Fany Kuiru, remarked: "We have our hopes placed here. Even though Chorrera does not receive many visitors, we want to refurbish the rooms to function as a hotel in Casa Arana. This may be the opportunity for Chorrera to become a tourist site" (Ministerio de Cultura 2008).[5]

The symbolic act had soothing and encouraging effects – mild ones in any case. For the Bora man, it is the education of children that brings solace, not the fact of the house being declared of "cultural interest" for the nation. For the woman leader, it is the hope that the house will attract tourists, and with them income for the people; much needed income for raising and educating the children – the house is thought as a patrimony *for the future,* not a memory of the past.

Declaring the rebuilt premises of Casa Arana as an object of public cultural interest for the nation is still an opaque mirror. The well-intentioned or politically convenient reasons of the Ministry of Culture in that declaration fall short of accomplishing a reappraisal of the events that building evokes – both for the Indians who suffered its direct impact and for the country, Colombia, that gave them its nationality and that was also accomplice and witness to those events.

Indians are still unable to deal with that. The bereavement is long-lasting. For Indian elders, like Chucho, that memory is not to be recalled in order to be able to live on, or is a source of evil power that should be kept in secrecy. The survivors of the catastrophe managed to rebuild a new society over the fragments and pieces of a former social order that was irretrievably lost. It is the philosophy of multiplication, the ethics of horticultural work and the Word of tobacco and coca which guides the moral agenda of this social project. Memory is thus subordinated to the imperative of life. Writing, schooling and the State provide an anchor that perhaps will allow new modes of memory in the younger generations. Even though we still do not hear voices from that generation that make sense of all that in new ways, those devices and institutions – utterly alien to the Indian world – do indeed provide a possibility of reflecting and seeing beyond the muted pain and raging revenge.

For Colombian nationals, these Indians and those regions are remote and unknown. Colombian people are quite unaware of the events of that time, as if it were news of things that happened elsewhere. Jose Eustasio Rivera's *La Vorágine,* a novel in which he denounces the atrocities committed in the Amazonian jungles, was a success when it appeared in 1924. But Rivera himself bitterly complained that he had written the novel to denounce true facts, but in Colombia the people read and appreciated it simply as a wonderful novel, not as a testimony of a dramatic situation. There is a sort of disengagement in the common attitude of Colombians towards the events of the rubber boom in the Putumayo region – "It was the Peruvians who did all that," they may say. When you read the reports and accusations of Colombian officers and rubber gatherers of that time, the most common complaints about Casa Arana is not so much that it killed Indians, but that it killed or threatened Colombians, or that it stole "their" Indians or rubber trees.

The rebuilt headquarters of Arana in Chorrera now lodge the young men and women descendants of the Indians that saw that same house as a place of exactions and fear. That house-turned-school also holds a library where the books, reports and documents written about that time begin to pile up: translations of Hardenburg's book,

of Casement's report, new editions of Valcárcel, and what has been written by Colombian and Peruvian historians. Among the various sources, the name of Roger Casement stands as symbolizing a turning point, as a torch of truth and justice in the middle of the blackest night. Those young boys and girls do not fully understand what it means that he was Irish or why he was hung. No matter his background or circumstances, the sheer truth is that his voyage up to Putumayo one hundred years ago did make a difference.

This opaque mirror can perhaps be polished and perfected to be able to shine in full. Like Chucho, I myself do not see, do not understand when looking straight back – I just feel fear, pain and rage. I need to look forward into this new generation, and it is to them we owe truth and true justice. They are our actual true mirrors of memory.

Truth and Justice

Roger Casement was an outstanding personality, a man ahead of his time. He championed in the defense of human rights of the disenfranchised Congo Blacks and Putumayo Indians, and later he himself paid with his life in his own search for justice. Casement is a pioneer in the development of a notion of universal human rights, in which truth and justice are posed as common standards for everyone (as Mitchell 2008 clearly states in his review of Goodman's book).

Truth and justice is what Casement sought. But, then, we need to look at these two concepts in culturally relative terms – that is, what they mean for each of the actors involved in this drama. What truth and for whom? Who is the arbiter of justice?

The "truth" about the rubber boom for the Putumayo Indians is not contained in reports or documents, it is not established by judgment, it does not pertain to the logic of proofs and checks. The real truth of the rubber boom is written and verified on dismembered, tortured, raped, burned and discarded bodies. There is nothing to prove, nothing to allege. As the elder Chucho wisely said, "Of what happened to you, we know nothing." Indians' truth does not belong to a past of facts and accusations; their truth is the present and future of living bodies, of children to be born. To remember is no option. Years ago I attempted to collect memories and narratives about the rubber boom from older Indians; I was struck by what appeared to be total oblivion, an amnesia, a forgetfulness and secrecy. They were not interested at all in recalling or establishing facts. Once, I read excerpts of Peruvian Judge Carlos Valcárcel's book (2004 [1915]) to some Andoque elders, and I felt ashamed by the endless string of atrocities minutely documented by the judge. The elders suspended judgment on all, and were much more interested in recognizing the names of chiefs and clans and linking those to actual living people (as those names are, in a way, reborn in new generations). If you do insist in finding "the truth," then you will get to what we may call "justice" in the Indian way. But, in this void of true facts, how can we conceive of justice? It has nothing to do with the truth: justice is sorcery and revenge – if you are seeking to know it is because you are seeking revenge. It belongs to the basket of darkness.

Truth and justice – these two key concepts in Casement's action – seem to be utterly absent and distorted in what we can identify as the Putumayo Indians' cultural outlook on those events. Casement admired the Indians so much – "those poor, hunted, gentle beings up there in the forest" (Goodman 120) – but he knew them so little. He attributed the Indians he assumed as noble and passive to his moral standards and felt "more than sympathy" for them: "I would dearly love to arm them, to train them, and drill them to defend themselves against these ruffians," he wrote in his journal (Casement 310).

In contrast, Casement attributed the lowest moral standards – in stark opposition to his own ones – to those "ruffians" and "scoundrels," the Arana gang: from Arana himself all the way down to the chiefs of sections.

Everybody, including the Indians, agree in this qualification: Arana and his gang were bad and became worse with time. They were responsible for countless murders and abuse – that is *true* – to an overwhelming degree. The truth for Arana and his fellows – and in this he shares with the mestizo culture of the lowlands – is something that can be fabricated by means of books, photographs, films and propaganda; that can be bargained, bought and used as a currency. The truth is merchandise, as is justice – both are indeed quite material things. Casement knew that very well: that Arana and his gang fabricated truths, twisted facts and bribed judges and officers to reach Arana's goals at any cost. This is a war of information and misinformation that the good guys apparently won – at least in the face of international public opinion. In Peru, and particularly in Loreto, Arana stood as an influential figure, even a hero, who had been the object of defamatory attacks by foreign interest.

How are we to understand the motives and reasons of these men and their cruelty? I turn here to Michael Taussig's reading of the stories of the Putumayo rubber boom: "If terror thrives on the production of epistemic murk and metamorphosis, it nevertheless requires the hermeneutic violence that creates feeble fictions in the guise of realism, objectivity, and the like, flattening contradiction and systematizing chaos," writes Taussig in his hallucinatory prose (132). Casement's authoritarian realism or Hardenburg's melodramatic tone, continues Taussig, were selected by the political culture as the true representations of what happened: "They were deemed truth, factual, reportage, nonfictional" (133), but, lashes out Taussig, "in their imaginative heart these critiques were complicit with what they opposed" (133). I do not mean to dismiss Casement's and Hardenburg's brave and selfless efforts against all odds. Taussig's critique of the realist and melodramatic modes of representation – which may well encompass all of us – is perhaps ratified by the even more radical critique of Indians themselves in not talking at all or turning the memories of terror into secret sorcery – and not into public document or scholarly theses.

Even though Casa Arana produced its own counter representations, they were written by the higher officers of the company or by his close allies, like Carlos Rey de Castro. Section chiefs remain almost as muted as the Indians. The core relationship of

this story, that between the torturer and victim, inextricably bound, remain as objects of rejection or compassion, but not of communication. Both are alien for Casement: Indians in their cultural and linguistic alterity, section chiefs in their reputed animality and immorality – Casement wants to leave Matanzas as soon as possible, for instance, not to have to stand Normand's closeness for too long. Casement's sympathy for the Indians is matched by his utter disdain for the section chiefs, which he articulates in moral and racial terms – or in a collusion of race and morality, which leaves little room to understand these people, the true bad guys of the story. Casement's racist comments abound in his journal: "cut-throat half-castes," "Latin American scoundrels," etc.

Final remark on Casement

Angus Mitchell (2010, 52) knowingly comments about the Casement's Black Diaries: "A satisfactory resolution is maybe impossible because of the prioritising of politics over history." But from a Latin American and Amerindian point of view this issue is irrelevant. We care about Casement's legacy not because or despite of what may transpire of those suspicion-ridden Diaries. They indeed belong to the ever present Basket of Darkness. To be direct: we do not care about it. What we do care and treasure are Casement's untiring efforts to defend human life and the rights of the disenfranchised – which fill up his long-lasting Basket of Life to the rim.

Notes

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1 "Are you there?" *(diika'i)* is the customary greeting in the Muinane language.

2 I wrote a piece about a set of photographs taken on the ruins of the ruins of Casa Arana in Chorrera in 1977 (see Echeverri 2009).

3 "De casa histórica a salón de clases," *El Tiempo*, Bogotá, 29 XII 1993: "Entre 1900 y 1910 en la Casa Arana la violencia fue protagonista. Cerca de 40 mil indígenas fueron asesinados. Hoy, después de ocho décadas, la casona y sus malos recuerdos se transformaron en un enorme epicentro de educación. El pasado 21 de diciembre, indígenas de las veredas de Monochua, Aduche, Villa Azul, Peñas Rojas, Puerto Santander, Araracuara y La Chorrera (en donde está la Casa) borraron el fantasma de esos genocidios."

4 "La Casa Arana, de lugar de muerte a sitio para la cultura indígena," *El Tiempo*, Bogotá, 24 V 2008: "La Casa Arana es como un duelo. El colegio tapa esa imagen que tenemos del pasado y queremos que lo apoyen porque nos da un consuelo."

5 "Aquí tenemos puestas nuestras esperanzas. A pesar de que a La Chorrera vienen pocos visitantes, queremos adecuar habitaciones que funcionen como hotel en la Casa Arana. Esta puede ser la oportunidad para que se interesen en La Chorrera como sitio turístico."

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A View of Manaus 1910 – A Historical Portrait

Otoni Mesquita

Abstract: The city of *Manáos* in 1910 was the centre of transformation due to the boom years of the extractive rubber industry; both Manaus and Belém do Pará were the two most modern tropical metropolises of that time. This is a portrait of the economic and social structure of the city.

An Irishman lands at Manaus, more than a thousand miles up the Amazon River, deep into the heart of the Brazilian state of Amazonas, in 1910. This Irishman is Roger Casement (*Ruairí Mac Easmainn*), the man who would later die after being tried for high treason against the British Empire – at the height of the Great War that would consume Europe – after, indeed, being knighted by King George V of England for his work on behalf of the oppressed Amazon Indians.

This, indeed, was the task for which he came to *Manáos*: a mission from the British Foreign Ministry, to investigate irregularities in the *Peruvian Amazon Company,* an English-registered firm, represented locally by the notorious Peruvian "rubber baron" Júlio César Arana, and headquartered in Manaus – although most of its properties and rubber plantations were in the Putumayo area of the Amazon region in Peru.

Casement was sent as an experienced, successful investigator and campaigner: he had been British Consul in various African colonies – and indeed also in Rio de Janeiro, in the previous year – and his career included decisive roles in various human rights issues. His report was expected to seal the fate of the Peruvian Amazon Company, after its activities had been questioned in London following accusations of atrocities against the Huitoto Indians, who worked as its rubber tappers.

The aim of this article is not to speak about Roger Casement's important consequences of his presence in this region but to paint the portrait of the city of Manaus in his times. Decades earlier, the arrival of a foreigner in the bucolic settlement of *Manáos* would have been a notable event, exciting great local interest and gossip among the city's population; but by 1910 a foreigner's arrival aroused little curiosity – and this reflected the huge changes in the region, all caused by the development of rubber.

What was effectively a new city had emerged in less than ten years, maintained and peopled by a social structure comprising large landowners, traders, government

employees, technicians, adventurers from various regions of the world, and a large contingent of workers who had migrated to the region. Economy based exclusively on the collection and sale of rubber had created a level of prosperity that was able to finance a most varied range of products. Part of the surplus was put into urban improvements; the apparent ease of gain attracted investors, workers, artists and adventurers to the region. There were substantial changes in the city's appearance, in its population's habits, and in the pace of local life – activity in general had speeded up, in tune with the modernity of the time.

Motivated by the desire to be part of the "civilized" world, and stirred by speeches on progress, the city tried to create safe and beautified spaces, duly equipped with public services and the facilities demanded by the requirements of public health. At the same time, stimulated by a sense of competition, it tried to build the idealized image of a modern city, in the middle of the jungle, disputing sought-after foreign investment –and that precious commodity, manpower – with Belém, the other tropical Brazilian state capital of Pará on the Amazon river, near its estuary.

Manaus was consciously investing in creating a shop-window city, an image to seduce and attract investment, and workers. To disguise its mercantile intentions, it was decked out with squares, theatres, and luxurious buildings to meet various demands: for safety, the desire for easy consumption, and up-to-date forms of leisure for a population that was avid to show off its newly-acquired status.

The aim was a very different image from the somewhat pejorative descriptions that had characterized Manaus up to the end of the 1880s. From the coarse, unsophisticated, and provincial settlement, a city with European features – safe, modern and beautiful – emerged. By that time, the majority of its population was no longer native: the wide variety of its origins was one of the causes of its cosmopolitan nature, and there was an intense flow of visitors.

The architecture of Manaus was one of the elements that most impressed travellers. An eclectic conjunction of public buildings, some of them extremely luxurious –including the Amazonas Theatre, the Palace of Justice, The Benjamin Constant Institute, the Public Library, the *Ginásio Amazonense* college, the government palace, the Treasury, the Customs House – and garden-landscaped squares, bridges, tree-lined avenues and public schools – all blended with private houses and mansions, major commercial establishments (shops, ateliers, tearooms, hotels, restaurants and many other services) to make up the fabric that was the background to the city's daily life.

The impact of finding a modern and vitally active city in the middle of the jungle impressed most of its visitors. Almost all of them would report on its rare cosmopolitanism, classifying it as one of the three most exciting cities in Brazil. However, the very diversity of its cosmopolitanism gave rise to other, less conventional, contacts and experiences. In the early years of the twentieth century, cultural statements emerging from the recently-arrived populations began to provoke reactions in the established structure. On February 23, 1900, a report in the republican newspaper *Federação* called

for police intervention in the *forrós* – the name refers to a popular dance of Brazil's Northeast – on the basis that they were "a source of shame, and moral degradation for the social class."

Questions of order and security had been part of the Municipal Codes of Behaviour since the 1860s, governing the use of public spaces. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, moral prohibitions began to be included, reflecting more concern by the city's administrators. In the *Municipal Codes of Behaviour of the City of Manaus, for the Year 1901*, certain prohibitions stand out, specifically the type of activities most enjoyed by the lower-income population. As well as the traditional prohibition on bathing naked in the city's creeks and on its shoreline, "in the full light of day, in public places such as might offend moral decency" (23), or hanging out clothes to dry in public places. It was also prohibited to play "rhythmic drum music and sambas" or any other events which might disturb "public tranquillity."[1]

As from 1904, reports by the Public Security Authority on issues affecting public order and customs, such as vagrancy by minors, begging, gambling, drunkenness and prostitution, became increasingly frequent. The authorities expressed concern about "young men/boys" [*rapazes* in Portuguese has an imprecise age range] "without occupation, and with no domestic education, some abandoned, and some completely perverted" (Nery 210-11). The Governor, Silvério José Nery, recognized the inappropriateness of keeping them in jail, due to the risk of promiscuity with criminals, "some of them completely degenerated," which would further increase the youths' degree of perversion – and requested creation of a Correctional School for young people between the ages of 14 and 21.

In spite of the changes caused by the crisis, the city enjoyed a certain calm compared to other centres, said the Governor, Raymundo Affonso de Carvalho, in a report of 1908. While recognizing that Manaus "was visited by people coming from all sorts of places, and has a more lively night life than many cities with a larger population" (31), he reported that in that year, although public order and tranquillity had not been disturbed, he did however lament that "vagrancy" by minors, and begging, were on the increase.

In spite of the social problems and a growing financial crisis, the city maintained a prosperous appearance, with its trade maintaining vitality, and an effervescent social life. Landing in Manaus in 1908, Duque Estrada – author of the Brazilian National Anthem – was impressed with what he saw:

> A person arriving has an extremely pleasant impression, not only due to the beauty of everything in sight, but also due to the ease with which the landing takes place, with the ship simply moored up to the warehouse. Wide streets, broad avenues, superb buildings stand majestically before the visitor, who penetrates into the heart of the city in two minutes, after passing through the Market and a very pretty square crossed by various electrical tramways. (5)

Estrada noted that the city was undergoing a "calamitous crisis as a result not only of the devaluation of rubber, but also because of the lamentable condition of the State's finances." However, he noted that there was "great vitality everywhere," and every corner of the city was alive with activity. The city was to keep up its frenetic rhythm for several more years, but its days were numbered.

Some years previously, the city's state of crisis had become a recurrent subject in the city's cafes, newspapers and brothels, but a major part of the players in the scenario appeared not to believe in the evidence, and continued to spend recent fortunes, surrounded by others who tried to pick up as much as they could. At that moment, it would have been surprising to find anyone in that far-away state capital city who was not looking for some financial gain –nor indeed anyone who had remained unaffected by a certain Amazon disease.

The source of this malady was not the feared yellow-fever mosquito, whose eradication would be announced only in 1913, ending a controversy begun some years before in Brazil's capital. It was not *beribéri*, nor the "bad-character fever," outbreaks of which were frequently announced in local newspapers. According to Anníbal Amorim, poet and soldier of the state of Bahia, it was the "Amazon orgy virus," a contagion which completely transformed the conduct of men who in Rio de Janeiro were "examples of private austerity and morals, though on arrival in the capital of Amazonas, they were completely transformed" (158). Faced with so many attractions, it was natural that Amorim almost forgave the attitudes that he so much criticized, with the justification that only a person with extremely strong character and immense determination and capacity for achievement would succeed in surviving the social life of Manaus unscathed.

Those who did not resist, and gave into the pleasures offered, became part of a group that Amorim classified as "a society of debauched men and women, whose main meeting point was the *Praça da República*, where they delivered themselves up to an unrestrained life in the company of *coquettes with foreign accents*, consuming German *chopp* beer and French *champagne* in the *cafés-chantants* that were multiplying throughout the city. Outstanding in this category were the *Chalet Jardim* and the *Café dos Terríveis,* which never closed" (157). As well as the Amazonas Theatre, the *Juliet* and the *Alhambra* presented ever-changing shows, and every night the city's leading hotel's offered concerts – something that had not yet developed in Rio de Janeiro.

It was not only the "debauched" society with its bars and cafes that gave vitality to the *Praça da República*, but also the politicians, government officials, members of the military and visitors that frequented the government palace, the barracks of the military police, the *Hotel Cassina* and other places in the area. The *Praça* had also become one of the city's most frequented places since the end of the previous century, when the military police band began to present a musical program that attracted a large public.

Speeches by governors promised to offer great attractions and leisure options to attenuate the hard life of most of the region and undo negative reports of the region as an unsafe and savage place. Urban excitement played an important role as one of the fundamental attractions in the construction of a new image for the capital of Amazonas.

One of the first official examples of the attractions of worldly city life on offer in the region is a text in the book of photographs *Álbum do Amazonas – Manaus 1901/ 1902*, widely published outside Brazil as promotional material for the State of Amazonas. Alongside images of a modern, beautified city, the introductory text invited the visitor to make the most of the seductive offers available:

> As well as the Amazonas Theatre, Manaus has another theatre, in the form of a tent, situated in the *Praça da República*. This is the Eden – a theatre for the people, where the companies of a lower order operate; a bullfighting circus or coliseum, in the *Bosque da Cachoeirinha* [Little Waterfall Wood], and the *Cassino Amazonense*, in Eduardo Ribeiro Avenue, which offers singing and dancing shows, etc., by artists of a range of nationalities, with different programs each night, in the "café chantant" style. Various breweries hold small concerts in the afternoon and at night, to attract visitors and provide them with distraction, and finally, to complete the chapter on public entertainments, on Sundays, Thursdays and public holidays, in the Municipal Garden of the *Praça da República* one of the magnificent bands of the Military Regiment of the State plays a selected program, from six to nine p.m., attracting a very large public to this small but elegant little garden. (5)

The flexible hours of functioning of these establishments were totally supported by the *Code of Public Behaviour* of 1910 which states: "Theatres, variety theatres, casinos, cafés-concertos or *cafés-chantants*, and other houses of public entertainment… may remain open on any day or night until their respective functions terminate." (45).

If, on the one hand, the public administration had, in the name of the new civilization and trade, assumed a flexible position on functioning of the new leisure facilities –which were, without a doubt, one of the local attractions – on the other hand, in the same *Municipal Code of Public Behaviour* there are clear examples of commitment to morals and good customs. Rules, fines and imprisonments were frequently imposed, aiming to regulate the use of public spaces and the individual's behaviour in them.

For example, in the chapter "Public Behaviour and Morals," there were prohibitions on popular dances such as *cordões*, other than at Carnival time, and also drum sessions (39). It was widely known that prostitution was increasing in Manaus, and this was frequently referred to in official reports. One of the more curious prohibitions related to this practice is referred to in Article 148: "Women of easy life are not allowed to make conversation at their windows with passers-by, on pain of a fine of 50$00" (42). Article 164 laid down that "hotels, guest houses and inns that accept prostitutes and disorderly persons will be closed." (46).

The introduction of the electric "tramway" with its tram cars, in 1896, brought a considerable change in the speed of activity in the city, together with the arrival of electric lighting. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the arrival of automobiles, known as *Landaus*, which paraded, roofless, through the central streets of Manaus, added another material feature of the modernity aspired to. Today's reader will be

surprised to discover that the maximum speed allowed inside the city limits was 10km per hour, while the speed limit in the suburban and rural areas was 20km/hour.

Most of the travellers and writers referring to the Manaus of this period speak positively of the progressive aspects of its prosperous, civilized and beautiful appearance. However, the critical position taken by Euclides da Cunha, even though of a personal nature, in a letter sent to Domício da Gama, in 1905, sounds a discordant note from this chorus:

> I stopped at the place that was the entry point for my mysterious journey into the desert of the Purus river. And more unhappily, after walking about three miles, I came upon the **vulgarity of a great and strictly commercial city** – of sly insects, aggressive bees, and Englishmen with white shoes. **Commercial, and unbearable.** Its sudden growth from nothing has brought to this place, mixed in with the civilizing outer clothing, the remains of the tattered thong-skirts of Tapúia Indians. A city that is half bumpkin, half European, where slum buildings stand low beside palaces, and the exaggerated cosmopolitanism places the tall-as-a-beanpole Yankee side by side with… the coarse rubber tapper. The impression that it gives is of a crude native cabin transformed into Ghent. (312)

Cunha's criticism may even have sounded like praise to some of those who earned a living in Manaus, at that time: traders, workers, public employees and adventurers, but almost all temporarily favoured by the contrasting conditions of this scenario of change –a field propitious for greedy traders and consumers of less demanding tastes who flirted with the novelties of the time.

A large part of the population was fuelled by the sense of opportunity and of profit, and doubted that anyone would go to such a faraway and inhospitable region for any other reason. Seduced by false proposals of easy enrichment, a vast contingent of workers was attracted, and then submitted to a rough and unjust system of work that kept them isolated in remote locations in the Amazon jungle. Brazilian Northeasterners, Indians and mixed-race cowboys suffered under the hard working conditions, and tapped and collected from the rubber trees (*Hévea Brasiliensis*) the latex that was the lifeblood of this whole empire. The latex, smoked in a precarious and unhealthy system, was exported, in the form of large balls, to the major industries of Europe and North America.

Far from the eyes of those who enjoyed the benefits of their work, these workers were kept in precarious living conditions, daily confronting the rigidity of the semi-slave work system, while coming face-to-face with the adverse conditions of nature at its most grandiose, confronting savage animals, evasive Indians, and diseases which affected, and extinguished, them with no help or assistance.

Under this exhausting work routine, the rubber tappers were not notified that all their efforts had been in vain, when decisions and changes taking place in Manaus did not succeed to hide the evidence of the crisis that ushered in a new phase of the city's history and habits. On July 10, 1913, the governor, Jonathas Pedrosa remarked that "the outlook for our situation, in the world rubber market, in the near future" (31) was very

discouraging, and explained that in 1911 Amazonas had lost its status as practically the world's sole producer, and now supplied only 11.6% of world production – falling in 1912 to 9.9%. The evidence of the new situation led the governor to predict: "I am sorry to say that this percentage will progressively diminish as oriental production expands." This was his justification for the precarious financial situation – which already made it impossible even to repaint the *Teatro Amazonas*, the capital's main building.

On June 15, 1913, a popular demonstration in Manaus practically demolished the head office of *Manáos Improvement Limited*, in reaction to an exorbitant increase in the charge for water distribution services made by that English company. The next year, after a long lawsuit, the *Peruvian Amazon Company* applied for bankruptcy – with no significant punishment – but the news was overshadowed by headlines about the First World War.

This, then, was what had become of the Manaus where Roger David Casement, the visitor whom we saw arriving, had landed in 1910; and he who, with his reputation and motivation as a defender of the oppressed, was later, under this regime of war, accused of high treason against the British Empire, stripped of his prerogatives, and hanged in 1916.

Notes

1 In the Code of 1901, this prohibition was still in the Manaus Municipal Code of Public Behavior of 1910 – Law 639 of September 13, 1910, printed at Manaus by the Public Printing Office, 1910, page 39.

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Ghosts and Roger Casement in the Work of W.B. Yeats: A Paper and a Post-Script

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Abstract: *W.B. Yeats first summoned the 1916 patriot Roger Casement as one of the unnamed heroes in his poem "Sixteen Dead Men" which appeared in his collection* Michael Robartes and the Dancer *(1921). He returned to Casement late in his career when, having read with sympathy William J. Maloney's* The Forged Casement Diaries *(1936), the poet returned to Casement in three poems in his late* New Poems *(1938): "Roger Casement," "The Ghost of Roger Casement" and "The Municipal Gallery Revisited." Yeats makes his case that Casement was libeled in "Roger Casement"; he describes the figure of Casement in Sir John Lavery's painting of the trial. "The Ghost of Roger Casement," Yeats's most dramatic Casement poem, describes Casement's ghost's return to beat on the door and to indict John Bull. The image of the returned ghost of Roger Casement made the poem popular with fellow Dubliners after it was published in* The Irish Press *(February 2, 1937). This essay will examine Yeats's use of ghost tradition in Irish folklore in his early poems and plays and his return to that ghost lore in the Casement poems in* New Poems.

In the winter of 1881, John Butler Yeats moved his family to Howth, the fishing village north of Dublin. John Butler Yeats had a studio in Dublin and his son William Butler Yeats went in with him each day on his way to the Erasmus Smith High School. Yeats remembered the two years the family spent in Howth as happy ones for his mother. The location overlooking the Irish Sea reminded her on her home in Sligo, and she enjoyed talking to the wives of local fishermen. Their stories included ghost stories because they were a lively presence in Howth: sighted in the laneways, on the steps, on the quay and by the churchyard.

Yeats's writing career began with editing anthologies of folklore from printed sources. He edited *Irish Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry* (1888) and *Irish Fairy Tales* (1892).[1]

When he produced his own collection of folklore, *The Celtic Twilight* in 1888 (rev. 1902), he added his mother's ghost stories to his own ghost stories from the west

of Ireland in his essay "Village Ghosts."[2] He describes the ubiquitous, benign ghosts of H (Howth) and then the ghosts of the west ". . . who have a gloomy matter-of-fact way with them." Yeats lists some of the reasons they return: to announce a death ("The Phantom Ship"); to fulfill an obligation – the woman who returned to a neighbor to ask that her children be taken from the workhouse and that three masses be said for the repose of her soul. The workhouse story is closest to the stories of ghosts that were told in the Irish countryside down through the first six decades of the twentieth century. People were told to speak to a ghost because it had returned for a reason: to settle a debt, to keep a promise, or to help a family member.

In "Irish Fairies, Ghosts, Witches etc.," an article for the Theosophic magazine *Lucifer* (1889), Yeats offered some theory and a typology of the supernatural that included ghosts. He defined the ghost or *taibhse* as "merely an earth-bound shell fading and whimpering in the places it loved" and linked it to theosophical beliefs suggesting that ghosts were part of a world-wide tradition about the unquiet dead. Less frequently, there are ghost stories about other spirits who have been condemned to haunt the site of her/his earthly crime. Yeats's haunted play, his best-known Noh Play, "Purgatory" is based on this ghost tradition.[3] This play, like "The Dreaming of the Bones," about which I will refer a little later, turned on Yeats's belief, a belief that he attributed to the *Anima Mundi*, that spirits after death live on – not in the flesh, of course. In "Purgatory" the ruined house is haunted by the souls in purgatory: the old man, the mother and the father on the evening of the old man's conception, the most awful moment of this soul's transgression, the mother must live through – once again – the actions and feelings of that night and feel remorse, once again. The "purgatory" is that the souls have to relive the moment over and over.

Finally, there is still another ghost tradition, the avenging ghost of a murder victim who identifies her/his killer. For example, in "The Two Sisters" (Child 10), a king's daughter drowns her younger sister in a pond. She thinks she has committed a perfect crime until a musician appears at court. The first song the musician plays ends with a version of the line, "You'll drown my sister as she did me." Sometimes the harper has an instrument made of the breastbone of the drowned girl; in other versions, the musician is a fiddler whose fiddle is strung with the hair of the drowned girl. [4]

Roger Casement is one of the avenging ghosts. Like Yeats, Casement was born in a village south of Dublin: Casement in Sandycove in 1864 and Yeats in Sandymount in 1865. The son of a Protestant father and a Catholic mother, Casement was orphaned young. At the age of fifteen, he went into the Ender Dempster Shipping Company, a job that took him to the Congo in 1884; he stayed until 1891. When he became the British Consul in the Congo, he was charged with investigating reports of the abuse of rubber workers. It was the transforming experience that established his reputation as a crusading humanitarian whose reports were objective, meticulous and compassionate; the British government recognized his efforts with a CMG (Companion of the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George). His efforts in the Congo led to a physical breakdown in 1904. Casement took a medical leave that he spent partly in Ireland.

While Yeats was collecting and swapping ghost stories during his 1904 lecture tour to the United States, Casement was visiting family in Cushendall in the Glens of Antrim. Like Yeats, Casement became interested in the Irish language. Both men believed the nationalist Thomas Davis who wrote in his essay "Our National Language" (1843) that a national language was essential to a national identity. While speaking with a local man, a Mr. Clarke, Casement expressed an interest in an upcoming *feis*, a festival of Irish language culture: singing, dance, storytelling, and he gave Clarke a couple of his verses on the Irish language and a generous £5 subscription for the feis. Clarke told his neighbor Annie McGavock about Casement saying that he could hardly believe that he was a Casement of Ballycastle as they were considered to be tyrants in the old days and hardly held such nationalist views (Tierney 84). As it happened, Mrs. McGavock was a sister of Eoin MacNeill, Casement's fellow Glensman who called the meeting that led to the founding of the Gaelic League in Dublin on July 31, 1893.

Casement and MacNeill became close friends, and he was a welcome visitor to the MacNeill household in Herbert Park in the decade between 1904 and 1914. MacNeill's children spoke affectionately of Casement in the 1970s. Mac Neill and Casement also shared the friendship of the nationalist historian Alice Stopford Green. Casement's letter to Mrs. Green spoke of the loss of the Irish language, a loss that the Gaelic League was designed to restore. He wrote, "The Congo will revive and flourish; the black millions will again overflow the land, but who shall restore the destroyed Irish tongue?" (Noyes 41).

After Casement's African assignments, he was posted to South America. In 1906, he arrived to investigate and expose the exploitation of Putumayo indigenous people working on rubber plantations in the Amazon. Six years later, in 1912, Casement testified before a British Parliamentary Inquiry about Brazilian conditions. They concluded that his charges against the Peruvian Amazon Company were valid, and they urged Peru, Brazil and the United States to close down the rubber operations; however, with the onset of the First World War in 1914, the need for rubber outweighed human rights concerns.

When Casement retired from the British Civil Service in 1910, he devoted the rest of his life to the cause of Irish nationalism. By 1911, both Casement and Yeats were disillusioned with the Gaelic League. Casement wrote to Mrs. Green, "I have <u>really</u> in my heart no hope for the language" (Inglis 222). One problem for both was that they failed to make much progress in Irish though Casement was generally a good linguist who spoke fluent French and some Spanish and Portuguese. In addition, Casement thought that League policy was confining, and Yeats found the League repudiated the Abbey during the 1911 riots in New York over their production of *Playboy of the Western World*. Casement turned from cultural nationalism to a more militant, physical force nationalism. Casement was not present at Dublin's Rotunda on November 25, 1913, when MacNeill founded the Irish Volunteers, but he threw himself into the movement travelling around the country with MacNeill to recruit new members and to raise money

for the organization. He was appointed to the Volunteer Executive in April 1914, the year that Casement organized the Howth gun-running, a shipment of 1500 rifles purchased in Germany by Darrell Figgis and Erskine Childers that were brought into Howth Harbor on July 26th aboard the Childers' yacht the *Asgard*.[5]

While Casement organized the Howth gun-running and took credit for its success, by the time the actual rifles arrived, Casement was in the United States trying to raise money for the Irish Volunteers. He was an excellent choice to send to America at that moment. The hard line Irish American nationalists like John Devoy lionized Casement for the audacious Howth episode. He wrote to Casement saying, "You've done more than anyone else for Ireland in the last 100 years" (Carroll 35). The wealthy and influential moderate Irish Americans found him a very attractive figure. His knighthood gave him a certain cachet. While Casement was dismissive of it, others found it was emblematic of his character.[6]

Yeats's friend and patron the Irish-American lawyer and collector John Quinn hosted Casement when he came to New York, and he introduced him to his circle of influential Irish-Americans who were John Redmondite Home Rulers: New York State Supreme Court judges James F. Byrne, Daniel Patrick Cohalan, Martin Jerome Keogh and Victor J. Dowling and New York Congressman: the gifted orator W. Bourke Cockran who was Winston Churchill's cousin. Quinn and Casement's biographer B.L. Reid described Quinn's circle as, ". . . men of modest wealth who could still be depended on to put their hands in their pockets for a hundred or five hundred dollars for almost any good cause…[and] theirs was an Americanized generation, a qualified Irishry" (Reid 110).

Casement had arrived in New York on the 4th of July, 1914. Just a month later, the British declared war on Germany. The same day, August 4, 1914, John Redmond called on the Irish Volunteers to support the British war effort. The Irish Volunteers split over Redmond's proposal. The majority, some 150,000 followed Redmond; they called themselves the Irish National Volunteers. A small minority, perhaps, 2000-3000, stayed with MacNeill's wing of the Volunteers. They did not disagree with Redmond about Home Rule; it had passed both houses of Parliament and only awaited the King's signature. They objected to the war. MacNeill said the Irish Volunteers would fight only if Ireland were invaded, if the British government were to try to suppress the Volunteers or if the British tried to enforce conscription into the British Army.

Casement saw the Volunteer split as an opportunity to enlist German support for Irish independence and sailed for Germany in the autumn of 1914 to pursue his own plans to secure a German intervention. This was not a new idea for him. In 1913, he had published an article titled "Ireland, Germany and the Next War" in *The Irish Review*. It was republished in 1918 as a pamphlet titled *The Crime against Europe: a Possible Outcome of the War of 1914*. He had proposed that he seek German cooperation to secure Irish independence. His friend MacNeill differed from Casement about Germany writing later in his unpublished Memoir, "I would see little to choose from between one

imperialism and another" (Tierney 159). Quinn broke with Casement over Casement's German initiative. Even before the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1917 brought America into the war, Quinn was anti-German. He could not accept Casement's dealings with the Germans even if, as he argued, he was acting for Ireland.

Quinn found that Devoy and his Clan na Gael associates were sympathetic to Casement's German initiative. Casement drafted a declaration of Irish-American support for Germany which was signed by the Clan na Gael executive in August 1914. He and John Devoy met with the German Ambassador to the United States Count Johann von Bernstorff to propose that they recruit an Irish brigade from Irish soldiers in German prisoner of war camps. The Clan financed Casement's trip to Berlin. Casement's plan for an Irish Brigade had met with no success. By December 1914, having only recruited fifty or so prisoners of war, he said, "in my heart I am very sorry I came" (Tierney 172).

Unbeknownst to Casement, Devoy was negotiating separately with the Germans on behalf of the Irish Republican Brotherhood who sent Joseph Mary Plunkett to Berlin in spring, 1915 to establish direct contact with the Kaiser's government and to keep Casement occupied. Plunkett had an interview with the German Chancellor, von Bethmann Hollweg, and secured from him a promise that the Germans would send arms to Ireland in the spring of 1916. Plunkett also tried Casement's plan of recruiting Irish prisoners. It too was unsuccessful, but it served its purpose by distracting Casement. Just a week before the Dublin Rising, Devoy had also contacted the Germans on behalf of the American Clan na Gael to send them instructions about landing arms and men in Ireland.

The IRB effort to negotiate for German arms was part of their plan for an armed uprising before the end of the War. They did not divulge their plans to MacNeill, their commandant. They knew the conditions under which he would call up the Volunteers. They knew he would not send his men into a rebellion that was doomed to fail. Like MacNeill, Casement believed that the Rising had no chance to succeed without significant German help, help that was not forthcoming. He decided that his only recourse was to try to stop the Rising scheduled for Easter Sunday, 1916. The Germans sent him back to Ireland by submarine that was meant to coordinate with the promised shipment of arms arriving on another ship heading for Tralee Bay.

When MacNeill discovered, on the Holy Thursday evening, 1916, that a Rising had been planned secretly, he responded by threatening to cancel the orders for the Rising. He was persuaded to wait to cancel the Rising because Casement was en route with German arms. When he learned that the guns had been scuttled and Casement had been captured, MacNeill cancelled the Volunteer order to gather. As things turned out, the Rising was not canceled but only delayed by one day. MacNeill took it for granted that Casement was involved in the plan for a rebellion; Casement equally assumed that MacNeill was at its head.

Casement was captured on Friday morning, April 21, 1916, shortly after he came ashore on a small boat on Banna's Strand, County Kerry. His actions were regarded

as treason and he was arrested and escorted through Dublin during the week of the Rising, taken to London and imprisoned in the Tower of London till his trial at Old Bailey began. He was charged with high treason.[7] Inevitably Casement was found guilty sentenced to death on June 29th. His legal counsel appealed the sentence. Partly due to his counsel Alexander Martin "Sergeant" Sullivan's collapse during the trial, an appeal was granted. It was heard over two days in July 1916.

Support for Casement had been building –George Bernard Shaw, who didn't approve of the Rising, urged that Casement be spared. In New York, Quinn, who had not approved of Casement's actions, believed he was honest and honorable. Struck by the irony that Casement had returned to Ireland to stop the Rising only to be the first rebel captured moved Quinn to begin efforts to save Casement. He believed that Casement had a chance writing to Joseph Conrad confidently on June 29, 1916, "Casement won't swing" (Reid 233).[8] Yeats's sisters Susan Mary (Lily) and Elizabeth Corbett (Lolly) also believed that Casement's death sentence would be commuted. Lily wrote her father John Butler Yeats on June 30, 1916, "There is no special news except for the verdict from Sir Roger. I hope they won't hang him – surely the sentence will be commuted."

William Butler and the Quinn circle worked on Casement's behalf during the period leading up to Casement's appeal trial. With some pressure from Maud Gonne, Yeats signed a petition on Casement's behalf. It was the only political petition he ever signed (Foster 2, 519).[9] He also wrote a long memorandum to the Home Secretary and cabled the Prime Minister Herbert Henry Asquith urging clemency (Foster 2, 52). Quinn wrote to the press, composed memoranda to the British Foreign Office Sir Edward Grey asking that Casement be spared on humanitarian grounds and collected the signatures of twenty-five prominent Americans to send to Grey (Carroll 77-78). Quinn cautioned the British that it was tactically dangerous to make Casement into a martyr. In the end, the interventions on Casement's behalf were unsuccessful; he was hanged at Pentonville Jail on August 3, 1916.

After Casement was hanged, his supporters continued to rally round. Rumors continued to circulate about the diaries recovered from Casement's flat. Since he had no reason to believe that Casement was a homosexual, Quinn assumed that the diaries were forgeries produced like the Piggot forgeries were to discredit Parnell. Four years later, Lolly Yeats wrote to her father with some satisfaction that the "cocoa Magnate" William Cadbury and his family believed absolutely in him and said, "someday his name will be cleared."

Casement was slow to appear in Yeats's poems, but of all those executed for their part in the Rising, Casement was ultimately Yeats's most persistent ghost. W.J. McCormack has pointed out that after World War I, there was a growth of interest in the occult and in séances on the part of the bereaved trying to contact their loved ones (50). The idea that the living and the dead could communicate was consistent with Yeats's ghost beliefs. To the folk tradition of ghosts, Yeats added the influence of the Japanese Noh theatre. One might argue that Yeats prepared for Casement's ghosts with his ghost/Noh play "The Dreaming of the Bones."

"The Dreaming of the Bones" is a ghost story. A young man fleeing from the General Post Office in Dublin, the headquarters of the rebels during the 1916 rebellion, takes shelter in Corcomroe Abbey, the 12th century (1182) Cistercian abbey in the Burren of North Clare. According to tradition, Devorgilla left her husband Tiernan O'Rourke, King of Breifne, and ran off with Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster. Dermot was banished and sought help from Henry II to recover his Leinster kingdom. His request provided Henry with the pretext to undertake the conquest of Ireland in 1169. Yeats built his "Dreaming of the Bones" on the tradition that Dermot and Devorgilla, the two people responsible for the English invasion and occupation of Ireland, will not rest until people of their own race forgive them. In the play, the ghost of Devorgilla haunts Corcomore seeking that forgiveness. The young man declares his feelings about those who commit Dermot and Devorgilla's offence:

> *Young man:* In the late Rising
> I think there was no man of us but hated
> To fire at soldiers who but did their duty
> And were not of our race, but when a man
> Is born in Ireland and of Irish stock ,
> When he takes part against us….

Unable to forgive them, (the young man says, "O never, never/Shall Diarmuid and Devorgilla be forgiven"), so the lovers are condemned to continue to wander, whirling around like Paolo and Francesca in Dante's *Inferno* until they are forgiven. Speaking of his treatment of the Dermot and Grainne story in his book *Plays and Controversies* (1923), Yeats wrote:

> In making the penance of Dermot and Devorgilla last so many centuries, I have done something for which I had no warrant in these papers or from that source but warrant there certainly is in the folklore of all countries. At certain moments the Spiritual Being, or rather that part of it which Robartes call 'the Spirit' is said to enter into the Shade, and during those moments, it can converse with living men, though within the narrow limits of its dream (458).

So Yeats was thinking about ghosts and history in 1919.

Casement does not appear in Yeats's iconic "Easter 1916"; instead, he is the unnamed sixteenth man in Yeats's ballad "Sixteen Dead Men," a poem about the ghosts of Padraic Pearse and Thomas MacDonagh.[10] In her chapter "Tales, Feelings, Farewells: Three Stages of the Yeatsian Ballad," in *Our Secret Discipline, Yeats and Lyric Form*, Helen Vendler points out that in his effort to avoid the clichés that were gathering around the executed heroes, Yeats ". . . visualized a literal afterlife gathering of the sixteen dead men, still 'loitering,' as ghosts are wont to do, around the place where they died. Having set the cauldron of rebellion boiling, they linger (or rather as newly homeless men, 'loiter') to keep the pot active by stirring it." (Vendler 121).

The "you" of the second stanza lines, "You say that we should still the land/Till Germany's overcome," speaks for the poet who believed that the rebels should have waited to see whether the King's promise to sign off on Home Rule after the War. Home Rule had been passed by the British Parliament in 1913 but delayed for the duration in 1914. Remember the lines from "Easter 1916": "For England may keep faith/For all that is done and said." Yeats ends the poem by uniting the 1916 heroes Pearse and MacDonagh with Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Wolfe Tone, heroes of the earlier and unsuccessful revolution of 1798. (While neither was executed, Fitzgerald died of gunshot wounds received when he was captured. Wolfe Tone committed suicide while awaiting execution).

What brought Casement from the margin, from his place as an unnamed "dead man"? The matter of Casement's diaries had surfaced again with the publication of *The Forged Casement Diaries* (1936) by the Scottish physician W.P. Maloney. The book argued that the forged diaries were used to impugn Casement's character so that he was guilty not just of treason but of sodomy.[11] Yeats's involvement began in March 1933, when Patrick McCartan, the American physician, asked Yeats to help obtain a prominent author's introduction to Maloney's book. Yeats suggested Shaw and that was the end of his activity until Nov 1936 when the book appeared without an introduction from Shaw. The book prompted Yeats to write a ballad based on the matter of the Casement diaries. He wrote to Dorothy Wellesley on Nov 28, 1936 from Riversdale:

> I sent off a ferocious ballad written to a popular tune, to a newspaper. It is on 'The Forged Diaries of Roger Casement,' a book published here, and denounces by name - and for their shares in abetting the forgeries.[12] I shall not be happy until I hear that it is sung by Irish undergraduates at Oxford. I wrote to the editor saying I had not hitherto sent him a poem because almost [all] my poems were unsuitable because they came out of rage or lust. I heard my ballad sung last night. It is a stirring thing. (*Letters* 868)

[PS] My 'Casement' is better written than my 'Parnell' because I passed things when I had to find three thymes and did not pass when I had to find two. (ibid. 869)

The popular tune Yeats mentioned was the air to the song "Glen of Aherlow" a ballad written by Charles Kickham, author of *Knocknagow*, a novel of the land war, the most popular novel of the late nineteenth century. Kickham's ballad of Patrick Sheehan describes the soldier from the Glen of Aherlow who was blinded at the Siege of Sevastopol. After Sheehan returned home, he was arrested and jailed for begging on Grafton Street. The treatment of a disabled veteran and the tropes of eviction and the workhouse in the ballad shamed the British into giving Sheehan a pension of a shilling a day. The "Glen of Aherlow," published first in the *Kilkenny Journal* on 7 October 1857, was reprinted by Yeats, in 1890, under the title "Patrick Sheehan" in his anthology *A Book of Irish Verse*. Yeats knew his own ballad would marry public sympathy for a nationalist martyr with a familiar song with its own national grievance.

Yeats sent a copy of his poem from Riversdale to Ethel Mannin on November 30, 1936:

> My dear Ethel,
> Here is my Casement poem-the daily press will have it in a day or two –it is now with the editor of the *Irish Times* and if he funks it will go to the *Irish Press*.[13] If my rage lasts, I may go on and in still more savage mood. . . . Some day you will understand what I see in the Irish National movement and why I can be no other sort of revolutionist. . . . I remember O'Leary saying, 'No gentleman can be a socialist, though he might be an anarchist.' (*Letters* 869)

When Dorothy Wellesley wrote to Yeats urging him not to publish the poem, he responded on December 4, 1936:

> I could not stop that ballad if I would, people have copies, & I don't want to . . . But the Casement evidence was not true as we know – it was one of a number of acts of forgery committed at the time. I can only repeat words spoken to me by the old head of the Fenians years ago. "There are things a man must not do even to save a nation." By the by, my ballad should begin
>
> I say that Roger Casement
> Did what he had to do
> But died upon the scaffold
> But that is nothing new.
>
> I feel that one's verse must be as direct & natural as spoken words. The opening I sent you was not quite natural.
> No I shall not get the ballad sung in Oxford, that was but a "passing" thought, because I happened to know a certain wild student who would have been made quite happy by the talk – the idea amused me. (Wellesley 119-120)

Yeats wrote again to Wellesley on December 23rd about a second Casement ballad, "The Ghost of Roger Casement":

> I will send that ballad but will not be able to do so for a few days. My last typed copies went off to America on Monday & and it is always difficult to get a typist here who can read my writing or take my dictation. Then you might as well have the two Casement ballads together, they are meant to support each other. I am fighting in those ballads for what I have been fighting all my life, it is our Irish fight though it has nothing to do with this or that country. Bernard Shaw fights with the same object. (Wellesley 126).

He wrote Wellesley once more on February 8, 1937, about the reception of "Roger Casement" as he had worked to bring the poem to the attention of the public. It was sung at the Abbey on February 1st and broadcasted on Radio Éireann the following day when it was published in *The Irish Press* (Foster 573):

> On Feb. 2 my wife went to Dublin shopping & was surprised at the deference everybody showed her in buses & shops. Then she found what it was –the Casement poem was in the morning paper. Next day I was publicly thanked by the vice-president of the Executive Council, by DeValera's political secretary, by our chief antiquarian & an old revolutionist, Count Plunkett, who called my poem 'a ballad the people much needed.' DeValera's newspaper gave me a long leader saying that for generations to come my poem will pour scorn on the forgers & their backers. The only English comment is in *The Evening Standard* which points out my bad rhymes & says that after so many years it is impossible to discuss the authenticity of the diaries. (The British Government has hidden them for years.). (Wellesley 138-9)

Yeats's final letter to Wellesley about his Casement poems refers to his letter to *The Irish Press* on February 12, 1937 which acknowledged Alfred Noyes's "noble letter" calling for an impartial tribunal to examine the Casement letters. Yeats explained that Noyes's name did not appear in the second version of "Roger Casement." He wrote Wellesley on February 18th :

> I told you that my Casement ballad came out in DeValera's paper some three weeks ago – it has stirred up no end of a commotion. Shaw has written a long, rambling, vegetarian, sexless letter, disturbed by my causing 'bad blood' between the nations; & strange to say Alfred Noyes has done what I asked him in the ballad – spoken 'his bit in public' in a noble letter – I have called it that in my reply – various ferocious Irish patriots have picked off some of the nobility but not all. Public opinion is excited and there is a demand for a production of the documents & their submission to some impartial tribunal. It would be a great relief to me if they were so submitted & proved genuine. If Casement were a homosexual, what matter! But if the British government can with impunity forge evidence to prove him so, no unpopular man with a cause will ever be safe. Henceforth he will be denied his last refuge –Martyrdom. (Wellesley 141)

Yeats assuaged his conscience about writing a political ballad that he sent to the public press by sending the payment for his poem to Ethel Mannin "for your labour poor box –not for politics" (*Letters* 884).

"The Ghost of Roger Casement," Yeats's second Casement poem, was more memorable, less controversial. It has the haunting refrain line, "The ghost of Roger Casement is beating on the door." Casement arrives as an accusing ghost who is not a singing bone but a door rapper who has returned to haunt his accuser (ballad drafted in Dec 1936 RF 575). While opera devotee Roy Foster links Casement's ghost with the avenging ghost in *Don Giovanni*, it is more likely that the line was informed by Yeats's knowledge of the traditional folk belief about the unquiet dead, and that Casement's ghost returns to clear his name and to warn the forgers that:

And there's no luck about a house
If it lacks honesty.

Casement's last appearance in a Yeats poem was in "The Municipal Gallery Revisited." By then, one could say that the British government had its own ghost of Roger Casement, Sir John Lavery's two paintings of the trial appealing Casement's sentence of death. The trial was captured for history by Sir John Lavery's paintings "High Treason" and the earlier oil study for the "High Treason," called "The Court of Criminal Appeal. The Trial of Sir Roger Casement. London, 1916" that hangs in Dublin's Hugh Lane Gallery. Casement's expression is intent, and he sits framed, top and bottom, by bars, with his arms folded watching his barrister.

The larger finished painting "High Treason" is far more dramatic. The court room is darker and Casement's small, white face appears out of the darkness staring straight ahead. Asked to paint the trial by his former patron, the presiding Judge Mr. Justice Darling, Lavery occupied the empty jury box with his painting kit on the seat beside him well out of sight.[14] The mood of concentration was such that Lavery's sketching was detected only by Casement who stood in the prisoner's dock facing him. Casement sent notes to his cousin Gertrude Bannister Parry inquiring "who was the painter in the jury box?" and who was the "beautiful" and "sad-faced" lady who sat near him?[15] (McConkey 132).

The focal point of the picture is Casement's barrister Alexander Martin "Sergeant" Sullivan who is addressing the court. Attorney General Sir Frederick Smith who prosecuted for the Crown sits in the front row at the Inner Bar. Casement and Smith had been named on the same 1911 Honours List. Later, as Lord Birkenhead, Smith was a member of the British delegation that negotiated the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1921 that ended the hostilities between Ireland and Great Britain and created the Irish Free State.

Thinking about the trial, Lavery later wrote in his autobiography *Life*:

> It was difficult to realize that a man's life was at stake in the drowsy monotony of the talk that went on for two days or even at the end when Judge Darling, in the most casual manner, said, 'the appeal is dismissed.' Casement stood up and looked round the Court, waved to someone in the gallery, turned his back and disappeared down the stairs that would lead to the scaffold. (99)

In a letter to his cousin Gertrude, Casement said he was grateful that it was an Irishman who painted the picture (McConkey 132).

Though the idea for the painting was Judge Darling's, Lavery was criticized for taking to commission. Cuttings in Lady Lavery's scrapbooks include comments like, "Girls in White, Girls on the sand in full sun or girls on horseback – such used to be Lavery's themes. But the penalty of fame has brought him other subjects including a Coronation and a trial. Of all the trials not to paint, the Casement trial I should have

thought would have had first place. But Lavery, the debonair, had gone right through with the painful task . . ." (McCoole 65-66). The *Weekly Dispatch* (22 October 1916) cautioned that Lavery should not paint the picture without knowing the contents of the two diaries "from all of which it follows that the forthcoming picture is sure to attract immense attention but scarcely the kind of notice that so popular an artist is seeking" (McCoole 131, n66).[16]

It took Lavery into the 1930s to complete "High Treason," because he had to paint all of the individual faces in the courtroom. When the painting was finished, Lavery offered it to the National Portrait Gallery who turned it down (Dunne 9). The last thing England wanted was a permanent reminder of what happened to Casement. The solution was to give the painting, officially part of the United Kingdom's Government Art Collection, to the Dublin King's Inns on permanent loan.[17] The Sir John Lavery painting of the Casement trial that Yeats actually saw at the Municipal Gallery, the painting to which he refers in the poem, was probably the study for the larger painting, "High Treason –the Court of Criminal Appeal" which Lavery bequeathed to the Royal Courts of Justice and which has been on loan to the King's Inn, Dublin, since 1951.[18]

Post-Script

At one level, Casement's ghost was settled in Ireland in 1965. Before his execution he asked that his remains not remain "in this dreadful place"; however, it took nearly fifty years of negotiations to bring him back to Ireland. It was Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of Great Britain from 1964-70, who permitted Casement's remains to be returned to Dublin in March, 1965. He lay in state at the military Chapel of the Sacred Heart, was given a State funeral and buried with other national heroes in Glasnevin Cemetery.

That was not the end of the ghost of Roger Casement. He became, inadvertently, the poster boy for organizations like the New York ILGO, the Irish Gay and Lesbian Organization, who has had a long-running feud with the Ancient Order of Hibernians about their right to march behind their organization banner at the annual New York St. Patrick's Day Parade. Casement is not about openly gay people who have same sex relationships with consenting adults. The ghost of Roger Casement continues to haunt the twenty-first century Irish psyche – a noise in the plumbing: persistent and reproachful – because, if the diaries are authentic, there is the matter of Casement's choice of native boys and young men, some under age, as his sexual objects. It would be an ironic choice for a man honored for his humanitarianism and known for his deep antipathy to imperialism.[19] (In Ireland, cases of clerical abuse detailed in *The Murphy Report* involve the same exploitation of boys, often underage boys also involve the additional vulnerability of class.)

The Casement ghost reappeared again in 2009 with the recent allegations that the openly gay, Irish language poet Cathal O'Searcaigh sexually exploited young

Nepalese boys over the twelve years that he has visited his adopted village in the place he calls his "spiritual home." His gifts to the village have included sponsoring the education of several young people in the village. Protesting that he was not a "sex tourist," Ó Searcaigh blurted out, "I had hardly any sex with anybody of 16" (Holly). The matter came to light when Nessa Ní Chianain produced *Fairytale of Kathmandu,* a documentary about Ó Searcaigh's charitable work in Nepal, raised questions about the poet's relationship with the boys and also about the attendant issues of sex, money and power.[20]

Shifting the lens from the dominating figures of the 1916 leaders, what Roy Foster named as "the distorting prism of 1916" a figure like Roger Casement has much to say to twenty-first-century Ireland, where Irish identity seems to have fragmented from the tight triangle of nationalism, Irish language and Catholicism to a period of confusion when Irish society is forced to deal with human rights, equality and a sexual revolution that has no clear guidelines. Perhaps, we are now more understanding of Casement's human flaws and more mindful of the principles that shone through his frailties.

Notes

1 Horace Reynolds has suggested that Yeats's early uncollected poem "The Phantom Ship" was based on the story that Yeats used in the Introduction to "Ghosts" and that he repeated in his review of D.R. McAnally's *Irish Wonders* (1888) about the man who saw the dead of his village one night while he was sitting in a rath. Another ghostly premonition appears in Padraic Colum's "She Moved Through the Fair," a song that has passed into folklore. The song was used in the film *Michael Collins* in the scene where Collins's fiancé Kitty Kiernan is shopping for her wedding clothes while Collins drives toward his death at Beal na Blath, Co. Cork on 22 August 1922.

2 The essay was published first in *The Scots Observer* (May 11,1889)..

3 Yeats's last public appearance was at a performance of "Purgatory" in 1939.

4 In another Child ballad, "The Unquiet Grave" (78), the tranquility of the grave is disturbed by the excessive grief of mourners.

5 Like Casement, Childers had been in the British service: the civil service and the armed services; however, he became increasingly attracted to Irish nationalism. He took the Republican side during the Civil War and was one of the first Republicans to be executed by the Free State government. Childer's wife Molly thought Casement was "crazed."

6 When the Irish writer Molly Colum met Casement in New York, she called him "chivalrous." Casement himself valued the trait; he later wrote a chapter titled "Chivalry" for the Handbook that the Countess Markiewicz edited for the Fianna Éireann, her Irish boy scouts.

7 The capture of Casement, however, and the attempt at an arms-landing had given the Castle the opportunity it needed to prove connection between the Volunteer movement and the German enemy and nothing can be more certain than that if the "military council" had not struck on Monday, action by the government would have taken place by the middle of the week (Tierney 218).

8 While Conrad did not add his name to the public list of Casement supporters, he wrote to Quinn about his memories of his meeting with Casement into the Congo. He had gotten to know

Casement when they shared a room for three weeks. Conrad described Casement as having a "tragic personality" who seemed to be on the one hand to be "all emotion"; and at the same time, "strangely austere" (Reid 234).

9 A copy of WBY's letter to Asquith is in the NLI MS 10,564, 14 July 1916 : "the evil has been done, it cannot be undone, but it need not be aggravated weeks afterwards with every circumstance of deliberation." (Foster 683, n. 28)

10 "Sixteen Dead Men" was published first in *The Dial* in November, 1920.

11 Maloney argued that the British had interpolated into Casement's innocent consular diaries those on one of the Peruvian criminal he had been investigating in 1910. All the homosexual acts, then, were those of Armando Normand, a rubber agent of the Peruvian Amazon Company.

12 Yeats denounced the poet Alfred Noyes and the Oxford classicist Gilbert Murray. The original fifth stanza of the poem read:

Come Alfred Noyes and all the troup
No matter what names they wear
A 'dog must have his day'
And whether a man be rich or poor,
He takes the devil's pay (*Variorum* 582).

13 "Roger Casement" was published in *The Irish Press* on February 2, 1937 (IP [1]); a second version was published in *The Irish Press* on February 13, 1937 (IP[2}). *The Irish Press* was DeValera's paper.

14 Sir Frederick Smith objected to Darling's invitation to Lavery to paint the trial; however, later Smith, as Lord Birkenhead, thought of having the painting purchased as a historical record of the trial for the Law Court. Lavery said that he did not complete the painting in time and Smith lost interest. John Lavery to J.H. Morgan, 14 December 1931 (Tate Archives 7245.5). McCoole 63, n. 127.

15 The "sad-faced lady" was Lavery's American wife Hazel. Kenneth McConkey suggests that listening to the Casement proceedings affected her. She became increasingly sympathetic to the cause of Irish nationalism. McConkey's footnote notes that much was made of Casement's attitude toward the proceedings. He wondered, for example, if the painter did not come "dangerously close" to "aiding and comforting" the judge. This was an amusing reference to the legal wrangling over the Treason Act which dated to 1351 in which it was considered treasonable to "aid and comfort" the king's enemies. 232 McConkey refers to H. Montgomery Hyde's *Famous Trials* and John McGuiggan, "A Rare Document of Irish History: 'High Treason' by Sir John Lavery." *Irish Arts Review Yearbook, 1999*, 15 (1999): 157-9.

16 The following year, 1917, Lavery became an official war artist with a Special Joint Military Permit for the Home Front. After the War, his commission for two paintings of women's work for the Imperial War Museum took him to the Continent.

17 Aidan Dunne, "A passion for the political," *The Irish Times* 26 July 2010, 9.

18 W.J. McCormack includes a list of visual images of Casement including Lavery's paintings, Kernoff's woodcuts and Fanto's lithograph (108-29).

19 W. J. Mc Cormack points to Casement's photographs of young males as an instance of further eroticism of the boys with whom he had sexual contacts (193).

20 While the age of consent in Nepal is sixteen, a sixteen year old is not a consenting adult in Ireland, and, under Irish law O'Searcaigh can be prosecuted. So far no charges have been filed. O'Searcaigh has an informally adopted son who is now married and living back in Nepal.

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Voices from Brazil

*Rebellion in the Backlands: Landscape with Figures**

Walnice Nogueira Galvão

Abstract: *Brazil's historical situation in the period immediately preceding the writing of* Os Sertões[1] *informs the very conception of the book. The Republic was proclaimed in 1889, one year after the abolition of slavery, and the early years of republican period were marked by a number of more or less serious and protracted insurrections, as well as small local uprisings. It took some time for the new regime to consolidate and begin to function properly. The Canudos War, which took place in the hinterland of Bahia in 1896-1897, is just one among the various revolts that punctuated the period of transition.* Os Sertões *is a chronicle of this historical event, to which the author was an eyewitness.*

Euclides da Cunha first came into contact with his subject matter when he was sent to Bahia by the daily *O Estado de São Paulo* as a special correspondent to cover the Canudos War. The series of reports he sent from the battlefield made him famous. But his journalistic writings now interest us mostly because they can be read as the origins of *Os Sertões.*

The tremendous impact of the war made it a turning point in the history of the Brazilian press: for the first time ever in the country, a large number of newspapers sent reporters to the scene of the events themselves. Throughout the duration of the war, the major dailies of Rio, São Paulo and Bahia kept a special column – simply titled "Canudos" in most of them – that was exclusively dedicated to the topic. Everything and anything related to Canudos was published: outright fabrications, dogmatic statements by party stalwarts, forged documents, faked letters. All these publications had the purpose of reinforcing the idea of an imminent restoration of monarchy. The importance of the press in this context cannot be underestimated: at a time when audiovisual resources had not yet been invented, the newspaper was the mass medium *par excellence.*

*

* Translated by Paulo Henrique Britto.

Returning from the war, Euclides da Cunha dedicated himself to the task of massing a broad range of knowledge in order to work on his book, which was published only five years later, in 1902. It was met with overwhelming praise. Like a majestic portico, the opening section of *Os Sertões,* entitled "The Land," provides a splendid description of the spatial context of the war.

The author describes the region of Canudos from three points of view – the topographic, the geological and the meteorological – in a passionate language that creates imposing natural vistas. Rivers rush onward, waterfalls cascade; the land itself appears to mimic the flow of the rivers in the contortions of its features and the clashes between the different geological layers that underlie it. It is an extraordinary landscape, which seems to be man-made on a monumental scale, reminding one of colossal *menhirs* or the ruins of a cyclopean colosseum.

All of this, however, is seen from a great distance, providing a sort of God's-eye view of an immemorial desert, parched by an unforgiving sun. The cosmic forces themselves can only be referred to by means of antitheses.

To convey to the reader a sense of the unfamiliarity of the *sertão*, the author relies on shock tactics: he presents a soldier who seems to be asleep, only to disclose that in fact he has been dead for months, his intact body having been naturally mummified by the dry air.

The scourge of chronic droughts is analyzed at length; a number of explanations are proposed for their occurrence, ranging from the influence of sunspots to the region's peculiar wind patterns. Later on, the author will move on from hypotheses to actual proposals for solutions.

The vegetation of the *caatinga* must face two unfavorable conditions: the aridity of the land and the heat of the sun. Thus, its adaptive mutations all involve protection against death caused by a lack of water or by overexposure to the sun. The defensive strategies are varied: some plants turn into dwarfs in order to expose as little surface as possible to the harshness of the elements; other species bury themselves so that only a small portion of them appears above ground; yet others join together to form social plants, developing common roots that retain a maximum of water and topsoil, in addition to reinforcing mutual security.

Euclides da Cunha concludes that the *sertão* environment of Canudos is unique, since its characteristics do not coincide exactly with any pre-existing category, emphasizing that "nature here rejoices in a play of antitheses" (Chap. V).

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Having examined the physical environment, the author proceeds to analyze the ethnic groups of the region. He believes that the fundamental and most complex question in the study of Brazil's population is the issue of miscegenation, a thorny issue that engaged the attention of all the nation's intellectuals of the time. The mixture of races

had given rise to the *sertanejo*, a racial type with unique physical and spiritual characteristics inherited from the three ethnic groups from which it originated. These characteristics, Euclides da Cunha believed, had advantages as well as disadvantages. Their positive qualities were adaptability to a hostile environment, resistance and a stoic attitude. The handicaps were religious fanaticism, superstitiousness, a precarious psychological balance and a marked backwardness in relation to the progress of civilization.

The deterministic reasoning applied to the analyses of the physical environment and ethnic components is also applied to the examination of the personality of Antonio Vicente Mendes Maciel, the Pilgrim, also known as Antonio Conselheiro. Euclides da Cunha sees him as a synthesis of the historical process that resulted from the different populations that settled the land, shaped by miscegenation and isolation.

The author's diagnosis of Antonio Conselheiro is contradictory: the reader realizes that Cunha hesitates between admiring his greatness and branding him "a very sick man" suffering from paranoia. This leader of men, who concentrates in his person "the obscurantism of three separate races," "grew in stature until he was projected into History" (Chap. IV).

Antonio Conselheiro, a mystical Catholic leader, wandered through the *sertão* accompanied by his followers, leading a life of penitence, preaching and presiding over the building and rebuilding of churches, cemeteries and dams. He lived this way for thirty years with his following growing continuously.

In an attempt to elucidate the origins of the Canudos War, Cunha shows how the advent of the Republic brought about changes that disturbed the *conselheiristas*: new taxes, the separation of church and state, religious freedom and civil marriage, which was felt to be a flagrant rejection of a Catholic sacrament.

Shunned by all, around 1893 the pilgrims finally found refuge in the ruins of an abandoned farm known as Canudos, deep in the hinterland of Bahia. Gradually they erected the wattle houses that were constituted by what Cunha referred to as the oxymoronic "mud-walled Troy" (Chap. II).

There is no wood in the *sertão*, where the typical vegetation, the *caatinga*, is a stunted growth of a gnarled brush, twigs and cacti. The people of Canudos had, therefore, bought a certain amount of planks for the New Church they were building. The purchase was made, and paid for in advance, in the city of Juazeiro. But the goods were not delivered, and Conselheiro's followers marched unarmed toward Juazeiro, singing religious hymns. They were met by an ambush of state troopers whom the local authorities in Uauá had summoned. The soldiers decimated them but were then forced to retreat.

In January 1897, a new offensive was mounted with more and better equipped soldiers. Once again, the government forces were defeated.

The third expedition was to be commanded by Colonel Moreira César, who had recently crushed another insurrection in the South. His method of repression there had been so violent that he had earned the nickname "Cutthroat." After the two earlier losses,

Canudos was now perceived as a national threat that was too serious to be left to the responsability of state troops. A major attack was prepared, with federal troops convoked from all over the country and with modern weaponry that included cannon, accompanied by a nationwide campaign to win over public opinion. Excitement was in the air, the buzz of patriotic demagoguery; some began to suggest that the events in the remote *sertão* indicated an attempt to restore the monarchy.

The whole nation was watching when the third expedition gathered in Salvador had departed for Canudos. The government forces attacked the settlement; however, a few hours later, having suffered heavy losses, including that of their commander, they fled in retreat. In order to run faster, soldiers abandoned their weapons and ammunition – collected and treasured by the rebels – and even parts of their uniforms, such as jackets and boots.

Euclides describes in vivid imagery the uproar that followed the third defeat. In Rio and São Paulo, the country's largest cities, there were demonstrations in the streets that culminated in riots; the crowd's fury turned against the most obvious targets – the few remaining monarchist newspapers. Four newspaper offices were destroyed, and the owner of one of them was lynched. There was a general demand that the threat to the newborn Republic be quashed. Students signed a petition calling for the extermination of the followers of the "degenerate." Congress spoke of nothing else. The press described the defeat as a national disaster, disseminating a sense of insecurity and alarm throughout the country, publishing false information and forged letters, and speaking of domestic and even international conspiracies.

A fourth expedition was planned, this headed by an even higher-ranking officer than the previous one: the commander was to be General Artur Oscar de Andrade Guimarães, assisted by four other generals. The expedition even included a marshal, for the Minister of War, Marshal Machado Bittencourt, went to Canudos with his entire staff, effectively moving his ministry to the theater of operations. Troops were mobilized around the country. It was as a member of this expedition, in the double position of reporter and aide to the Minister's general staff, that Euclides da Cunha became an eyewitness of the war.

The fourth expedition headed for Canudos in June 1897. The rebel town was entirely surrounded so that no reinforcements or support parties could reach it. Most of all, the siege deprived the town of water, a precious commodity in the drough-ridden *caatinga*, laboriously fetched by the townspeople from water holes dug in the dry bed of the Varza-Barris, a seasonal stream.

Meanwhile, the people of Canudos, who previously had possessed no more than a few ancient muzzle-loading firearms such as harquebuses and blunderbusses, now owned some of the most advanced weapons of the time – including highly valued repeating rifles like the Austrian Mannlicher and the Belgian Comblains – which had been discarded during the rout of the third expedition.

As the siege began to have an effect and some sectors of Canudos fell into government hands, the obstinate resistance of the rebels began to defy understanding

and to be seen as something of an enigma. A few days before the end, a surrender was negociated. However, to the chagrin of the army, the only insurrectionists who actually surrendered were about three hundred women, who had been reduced to walking skeletons by extreme hunger, accompanied by their children and a few old men; freed of this dead weight, the resistance became even more intense. Finally, after several days of heavy bombing, including the unprecedented use of a sort of improvised napalm (gasoline was poured on houses that were still occupied and ignited with thrown sticks of dynamite), Canudos was silenced on October 5, 1897, without having surrendered. Of the final four resisters, whose burned bodies were found in a pit on the central square surrounded by churches, one was an old man and the other a young boy.

According to the army's official report, there were 5,200 houses in the settlement. If we estimate conservatively that there were five people living in each house – in the *sertão* the figure was usually higher – the population of the rebel town was 26,000. This would have meant that Canudos was the second largest city in Bahia. (At that time, São Paulo had no more than 200,000 inhabitants). Antonio Conselheiro had died a few days before the final collapse of the resistance; his body was exhumed and beheaded, and the head was taken to the Bahia Faculty of Medicine for an autopsy. The purpose was to discover what had been wrong with him. According to Cesare Lombroso's theories, widely accepted at the time, measurements of the skull and dissection of the brain might provide an asnwer. Unfortunalety, however, the results of the studies proved inconclusive.

This, in short, is the tragic plot of *Os Sertões*.

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After a war that turned out to have been an inglorious massacre of destitute wretches, it became clear that there had been no conspiracy; the desperately poor peasants had had no connection whatsoever with real monarchists – white, upper-class urbanites, who were horrified at the very thought of associating with such a "riffraff" of "fanatics" – and had enjoyed no logistical support from anyone in Brazil or abroad.

Public opinion underwent a striking about-face; the war began to be seen as a regrettable massacre of brave Brazilians engaged in a fratricidal struggle. In addition, it was no longer a secret that the army's conduct had been far from irreproachable. A few war correspondents had already disclosed that it had been common practice – approved by the commanders – to tie up prisoners and behead them in public.

Another important consequence of the Canudos War, the importance of which should not be underestimated, is the fact that it completed the solidification of the republican regime and finally exorcised the specter of monarchical restoration. On the basis of contemporary witnesses, it seems clear now that public opinion had been manipulated and that the "rebels" in Canudos were the scapegoats of this process. They were forced into the role of an internal enemy of the nation, an enemy that had to be faced in a common effort promoted national unity.

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The transformation of the newspaper stories into book form required five years of work and intense ambition. The body of information contained in the reports was unified by a naturalist style, the dominant trend in Brazilian literature at the time, with additional Parnassian touches in the evocation of the landscape. The typically Naturalist combination of impersonal description and generic concern – in the widest sense of "genetic" – is here put to use to chronicle a war in which the dramatic genre is necessarily concentrated.

However, as if by means of a process of contamination, the first and second sections, concerning the land and the people, are also treated dramatically. In the first, the components of nature are anthropomorphized and endowed with feelings and even purpose. In the second, the central theme is the fierce clash between three races in a struggle for hegemony. But, as often occurs in Naturalistic works, at each moment ideas and theories are advanced and acquire individual voices of their own. Determinism, scientism, evolucionism, the notion of ineluctable linearity of progress, heredity, all play major roles in the narrative. The polyphonic character of the book as a whole is the first element of its composition that should be underscored.

The second element is intertextuality. Throughout *Os Sertões*, a variety of texts and authors are quoted and discussed and provide the book with an encyclopedic texture. In the section titled "The Rebellion," the author relies not only on his own dispatches and notebooks but also on news stories by other correspondents, the army's orders of the day, and government reports. The opening section, "The land," draws on geology, meteorology, botany, zoology, physics and chemistry. In "Man," the most polemic part of the book and rife with conjectures of all kinds, Euclides da Cunha reviews works on ethnology, the history of Brazilian colonization, folklore, psychiatry, neurology and sociology.

The coexistence of polyphony with intertextuality, complementing each other without coming into conflict, poses the obvious problem of having to deal with an excessive body of knowledge and results in a succession of discordant paraphrases. Unable to reach a synthesis, or even a number of partial syntheses, the text advances through all kinds of antitheses, which often amount to oxymorons – thus Canudos is a "mud-walled Troy," and the *sertanejo*, the inhabitant of the *sertão*, is a "Hercules-Quasimodo" – and a series of contradictions.

These are, in general terms, the complex issues surrounding the composition of *Os Sertões.* The complexity of the subject-matter is dealt with in the text by means such as polyphony and intertextuality that are in no way simplistic or linear. To confer unity on his material, the author relies on an eschatological view borrowed from the millenialists and messianists who gathered in Canudos, their Promised Land; they were waiting, praying constantly for the salvation of their souls and the Final Judgment that the end of the century heralded. By so doing, Cunha shows how it is possible, by a demonic inversion of the Biblical imagery of a salvationist myth, to get a glimpse of the insurrectionists' own viewpoint. Their world had become disenchanted. "Belo Monte"

– "Mount Beautiful," as they had renamed the town, their New Jerusalem – had been changed into its opposite: Hell. The river of the City of God, the river of eternal life, was embodied in the dry bed of the Vaza-Barris. The gold walls promised to the just are made of mud and twigs. The luxuriant vegetation of the Garden of Delights they long for decays into the dry and bare *caatinga*. And so on.

In this way, through mimesis of the great syntagmatic narrative of the Bible, which begins with Genesis and ends with Apocalypse, *Os Sertões* covers the full span of the story of Canudos, from the foundation of the town to its destruction by fire, in accordance with Biblical prophecy.

Notes

1 The quotes are taken from Samuel Putnam's translation *Rebellion in the Backlands*. (Translator's note). This text was first published in *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies 4/5*. BRAZIL 2001. A Revisionary History of Brazilian Literature and Culture by the Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth.

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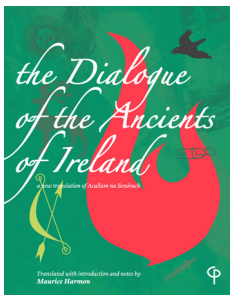
Book Reviews



Harmon, Maurice. *The Dialogue of the Ancients of Ireland.* (Translated with introduction and notes). Dublin: Carysfort Press,2009. 188 pp.

Maurice Harmon, the leading Irish scholar of his generation, has for many years been internationally recognised as a pioneering figure in the field of Irish Studies. He organised international conferences and developed and directed the M. Phil programme in Irish Studies at University College Dublin. This inter-disciplinary programme with its varied disciplines –archaeology, folklore, history, and early Irish– reflected the range of Harmon's intellectual and cultural interests and expertise, as well as his own studies of writers. Realising that there was no guide to Irish Studies, he prepared *Modern Irish Literature*: *A Reader's Guide*, *1800-1967*; a subsequent publication was the *Select Bibliography for the Study of Anglo-Irish Literature and its Backgrounds*, 1977. Recognising the need for a reliable history of the literature, he wrote with Roger McHugh *A History of Anglo-Irish Literature from Its Origins to the Present Day*, 1984. Noting that there was no journal specifically for articles on Anglo-Irish Literature, he founded and edited the *Irish University Review* for sixteen years, 1970-86, establishing it as the preeminent journal for Irish Studies. Aware that most attention went to major figures, he advocated that Irish writers be seen in contexts and that lesser figures should not be overlooked. It was significant of his approach that from the mid-1960s he included the work of contemporary writers in his lectures and conducted seminars in contemporary fiction, drama, and poetry. It was he who edited with introduction and notes the hugely influential anthology *Irish Poetry after Yeats*: *Seven Poets*, which showed the developments in poetry. Throughout his distinguished career he has written studies of Irish writers, including Seán O' Faoláin, Patrick Kavanagh, Austin Clarke, Mary Lavin, Francis Stuart, Benedict Kiely, John Montague, Richard Murphy, Thomas Kinsella, and Seamus Heaney, among others. His *Selected Essays* was published in 2006 and the definitive study, *Thomas Kinsella*: *Designing for the Exact Needs* in 2008. Harmon is also a poet. *The Mischievous Boy and other poems*, his third major collection, also was published in 2008.

Now he has turned his attention to medieval Irish literature with this translation, *The Dialogue of the Ancients of Ireland*, of the *Acallam na Senórach*, medieval Ireland's greatest compendium of heroic tales and poems. The *Acallam na Senórach* [literally the Colloquy of the Old Men], dated around A.D. 1200 and probably early thirteenth century, is the most important text of the Fenian Cycle and is, after the *Táin Bó Cuilgne* (The Cattle Raid of Cooley), the longest surviving work of original medieval Irish literature. The original text, about 8,000 lines, employs the conceit of Caílte and Oisin, survivors

of Finn Mac Cumhaill's third-century warriors called the Fianna Éireann, meeting and journeying with a fifth-century Christianising Saint Patrick. Patrick's mission is to convert the provincial kings, their nobles and followers; Caílte wants to revisit places associated with former comrades. How third-century Caílte and fifth-century Saint Patrick meet and travel together through Ireland's four provinces is never queried nor explained. Within this peripatetic frame-story are more than 200 other tales told mainly by Caílte about people, places, and events in Ireland's legendary past.

The *Acallam* was edited and translated by Standish Hayes O'Grady in *Silva Gadelica* (1892), vols. 1-11, 1892, and by Whitley Stokes in *Irische Texte*, 1900; the O'Grady translation left out some of the material, gave prose versions of the poems, and left a number of these untranslated. Harmon's new version, based on the Stokes edition and published in April 2009, is a free rendering and not a work of textual scholarship. It transfers the medieval text into a contemporary idiom; and this is not only a matter of bringing it alive in contemporary language but of creating an easy relationship between its various parts, its multiple voices, and its different rhythms of speech. In the case of the prose he has changed the original text from long paragraphs incorporating both narrative and dialogue to the conventions of modern fiction which many times separates dialogue from description and narration. In the case of some of the poetry that is written in an older form of the language than the prose, he often provides a literal translation. An experienced scholar, a poet of deep literary taste, Harmon is able to respond to the many poetic forms of the text with sensitivity and skill.

The scale of the *Dialogue's* imaginative narrative whole is remarkable: depictions of the gigantic and diminutive, the ugly and beautiful, people of different shapes and sizes (dwarfs and giants), the strange and the ordinary, the Otherworld where the ancient gods and goddesses reside. It is told with large comedic elements: a dog who vomits treasure, another who blows destructive fire from his arse; the woman from The Land of Women so big she must lie down on the side of a hill in order for the Fian to hear what she has to say; another, who won't drink from a vessel unless the rim is gold or silver; and a beautiful queen, who comes to Finn to offer him her entire wealth and kingdom if he will grant her his sole sexual activity for one year and his quick response: 'I do not give that to any woman in the world.'

Equally remarkable is the huge diversity of stories, over 200, reflecting many genres – romances, mythological tales, enticements, elopements, intrigues, transmorgrifications, sea tales, tales of revenge, of fierce battles and single combats, wonder tales – and equally varied kinds of poems – elegies, prophecies, eulogies, genealogical poems, poems of praise, laments, commemorations, nature poems, formulaic listings, love poems.

As a literary invention, nothing quite like it had appeared before in Irish literary tradition. Behind its evocation of an imaginary landscape lies not only the world of the Fianna and of early Christianity but figures and events in Irish sagas, such as the heroic world of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* and the legend of Suibne Geilt (Mad Sweeney). There

are associations with people, places, and events in the *Fianaigecht* (*Adventures of the Fian*), with Patrician hagiography, and with European romances.

Although its shape follows the traditional alternating of prose and poetry, the *Acallam* is an overwhelmingly new creation. The story-cycle form itself ensures creative interaction among the various narrative levels and between the pagan, oral world of the Fianna and the literate, Christian world of Patrick. The contrast between Christian values and pagan permeates the entire work, Patrick's miraculous deeds and blessings on the one hand and Caílte's accounts of heroic adventures and romance on the other. Heroic and Christian values are finely balanced. The potential conflict arising between the two cultures is never an issue, as it often appears to be in other works of this period. Over and over the *Dialogue* stresses the supremacy of Christianity. For the author, storytelling itself is an important value; the poet-minstrel-storyteller, proficient in both music and poetry, is praised and liberally rewarded. In addition to Caílte, one of the most attractive and mysterious figures in the entire work is the poet-minstrel Cas Corach, whom the King of Ireland appoints Poet of Ireland at the *Feis Temrach* [Festival of Tara].

One of the oldest and most deeply persistent strands in all Irish literature is the *Dinn-shenchus* (place-lore writings). As the old men travel about the countryside, the interest always is on the naming of places, a hill, a fort, a stone, a ford, a dwelling. Stories are introduced with formulaic patterns of questions and answers which also connect the frame story to place-lore. Saint Patrick asks 'Tell me, Caílte, why is this cairn called the Cairn of Fratricide?' or 'Why is this place called Rough Washing?' Caílte replies with a story that gives the answer required. Obviously, the question and answer style would be congenial to the author. He chooses the method which he would have known from ecclesiastical texts, whose intent was instructive or didactic. One of the significant effects of these informative narratives is a narrowing of the gap between past and present.

In a listing of Fianna leaders for Patrick, for example, Caílte associates each with a specific quality such as bravery, loyalty, wisdom, generosity, which is always praised, but Finn remains the ideal. When Patrick asks Caílte, 'Was Finn Mac Cumaill, whom you served, a good lord?' Caílte responds with a little praise poem:

> Were but the brown leaf gold
> that the wood sheds,
> were but the white wave silver
> Finn had given all away.

This response prompts Patrick to ask, 'What values did you live by?' Caílte makes the famous reply: 'Truth in our hearts, strength in our hands, and fulfilment in our tongues.'

Often Caílte, in response to a query, recites a poem celebrating a memorable place. One of the loveliest lyrics in the book, beautifully rendered in Harmon's translation, is 'Arran of many stags':

Arran of many stags
The sea beats against her cliffs
Island feeder of hunting bands
Ridges red with steely spears.

Restless stags on the summits
Ripe bilberries in thickets
Cool water in her streams
Mast in her red oaks.
. . .
Pleasant in fine weather
Trout below the river banks
Gulls circling the white cliff
Arran always beautiful.

One of the most attractive aspects of the *Dialogue* is the connection between the visible and the invisible worlds, between the landscape in which Patrick and Caílte travel and the places under fairy mounds where the Tuatha Dé Danann live. Créde may be a creature of the Otherworld but lines from her lament for her drowned husband, Cael, at the Battle of Finntrága are as moving as any human elegy:

Sad is the cry the thrush makes in Druim Caín,
no less sad the blackbird's voice in Leitir Laíg.

Sad the sound the stag makes in Druim dá Léis,
for the dead doe of Druim Sílenn the stag roars.

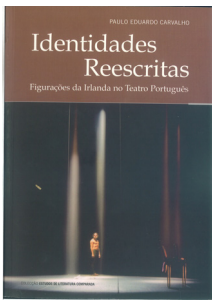
Sad the sound the wave makes to the north,
hammering the hard rocks, lamenting Cael's death.

Sad the sound the wave makes to the south,
my time is done as my appearance reveals.

Sad the sound made by Tulcha's dragging wave.
I have no future, since its tidings reached me.

The rich diversity of poetic forms and types of stories, its literary, social and political implications, and the civilising values it espouses make the *Dialogue* in Maurice Harmon's superb translation an entertaining and compelling work for readers of all ages.

Barbara Brown



Carvalho, Paulo Eduardo. *Identidades Reescritas. Figurações da Irlanda no Teatro Português*. Lisboa: Instituto de Literatura, 2009.

> From afar, from somewhere beyond the river, echoes of lingering voices
> And the unhurried sounds of a hammer gave joy not only to me.
> ("Study of Loneliness", Czeslaw Milosz)

In one of the most dazzling compositions of the *Human Chain*, 'Death of a Painter,' the Nobel Prize winner Seamus Heaney discreetely examines the ongoing metamorphosis, which is present in the very core of human experience. Paying a posthumous homage to the Welsh painter Nancy Wynne Jones, Heaney translates her hypnotic impulse to 'possess and to be possessed' by the Irish landscape (*The Guardian* 29 Nov. 2006). As Heaney states, from her 'coign of vantage in the studio' the reader, through the voice of the poet, is able to observe how the glare of the artist is capable of bracing the landscape, while re-signifying it privately and publically. While this is a truth irrevocably acknowledged in Ms. Jones' case, it is also a truth irrevocably acknowledged in Paulo Eduardo Carvalho's case. As a literary critic, translator and theatre director he has, throughout his life, been in possession of and possessed by the Irish theatre. *Identidades Reescritas: Figurações da Irlanda no Teatro Português* represents a life-time enterprise: making the globally acclaimed Irish theatre tread Portuguese boards concomitantly reflecting the Irish and the Portuguese's dramatic experiments.

Not only does the book present the reader with a thorough theoretical debate as regards translation for the specific genre of theatre, but also a critical and enthusiastic scrutiny of the Portuguese productions of the most important twentieth-century Irish playwrights. The book is organized in two parts: 'Aproximações' (Approximations) and '(Des)encontros' ([Dis]encounters). The author defends the hypothesis that the Portuguese appropriation of the Irish theatre is not simply a literary exercise which dismisses its cultural and historical background. Rather, it is a continuous process of re-discovering of myths and abstractions made by writers in order to comprehend how the conflicting Irish identity has been staged.

On the account of a political and cultural search, which is specifically characteristic of the Irish theatre as Nicholas Grene first pointed out, the first two chapters are concerned with a theoretical debate which is aligned with Cristine Zurbach's plea that translation for theatre ought to be performative. In addition to that, Carvalho believes that translation should take on board intercultural aspects of society, including its fetishistic status in a globalised world. Historicising and interconnecting different critical approaches, the critic reaches the conclusion that there are two different types of

translation: one that is basically linguistic and the other that is intersemiotic and involved in a process called dramatic movement. Drawing on Patrice Pavis' systematization, the author believes there are four phases in a stage translation. The first is linguistic, the second is dramatic, the third is scenic and the fourth is receptive. More than a sterile classification, those steps prove to be of upmost importance because they provide the translator with tools to understand theatre as the linguistic laboratory of a nation. Thus, moral, ethical, political and historical values are portrayed against the backdrop of language.

Complementing the first chapter of the first part, the second chapter offers an overview of the actual state of affairs in Portuguese theatre. Weighing on the legacy of the twentieth century, the author highlights the centrality of the figure of Jorge de Sena, whose intake on translation helped Portugal and its playwrights to renew and advance their dramatic procedures. For him, translation was not purely a matter of national denial, but of national renewal and assertion. Since Portuguese society had to cope with a gruesome dictatorship which lasted for forty-eight years, starting from 1926 with the implementation of the Novo Estado, Portuguese stages had also to muddle through a grievous censorship. For Diniz Jacinto and Luiz Franscisco fascism and despotism were not only responsible for artistic stagnation, but also theatrical mediocrity. However, against all the odds, theatre could forge a relative experimentalism and renewal with the translation of American and Irish plays. Carvalho stresses the centrality of the translations of Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* and John Millington Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World*, and also the audacious performances of groups such as 'Teatro Juvenía' and 'Teatro Novo'. As regards those two pioneering playwrights, the critic quotes Ernesto Sampaio's article in the nineties apropos of Cathleen Ni Houlihan and the Celtic Revival: for the journalist, they captured the cultural zeitgeist of Irish Nationalism without rendering it back to dichotomist views.

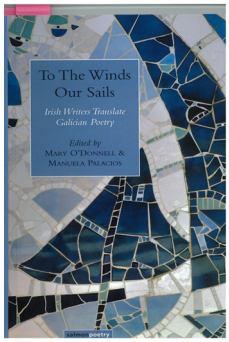
Throughout the book, the author examines the theatrical and aesthetical reception of Irish writers in Portugal. Surprisingly enough he pays heed to the fact that Synge was substantially more relevant to Portuguese theatre than Yeats. In an extensive chapter dedicated to translations, performances and critical essays about the writer, Carvalho draws a map of how intellectuals and artists absorbed Synge's poetic popularity. To him, the most favourable points of the translations of *The Playboy of the Western World* and *Riders to the Sea* are the maintenance of their dialogical fluidity and scenic virtues, which translate the author's treatment of peasants' language and Irish symbolic landscape. At the same time that Synge makes his remarkable debut in Portugal, the spotlight on another influential writer, Sean O' Casey, is considerably diminished by censorship. His realistic portrayal of working classes did not seem to entice authorities and had to be undermined in their translation. Carvalho claims that those translations, which were not officially published, should be more carefully studied. In his viewpoint, the legacy of Sean O'Casey's theatre is socially valid and deserves a bigger role in academic studies. Amongst the playwrights chosen, Carvalho also notes how Samuel Beckett's production

has also allowed Portuguese directors to experience a unique form of theatre. Because Beckett constructs a meta-theatre, through the progressive work of translation, the directors understood that the Irish preoccupation with language was also a modern problem of representation.

Reaching a more recent bulk of production, the author seeks to understand how Brian Friel was translated into Portuguese. The first and foremost reason for that, in his case, is that even though Friel is deeply concerned with political aspects of Irish society, his plays touch most deeply the human experience. In addition to that, Friel's theatre established a dialogue and an artistic continuation with the work of J. M. Synge. Having also been involved in the five productions of Friel's plays, Carvalho affirms that the performative moments have encouraged him to take in a discursive approach on his work. Similarly, Frank McGuinness and Dermot Bolger are meaningful to the Portuguese stage because they expose the desire of transcendence in a world constantly corrupted by private interests. Devoting a whole chapter to playwrights such as Jennifer Johnston, Marie Jones and Marina Carr, Carvalho disapproves of the scarcity of translations and performances of plays written by women. For him, it is not simply a flaw in Portugal, but a reverberation of the dubious aspect of women in Irish art: although they are quite often a theme, they are not the subjects of their own palys. The last chapter concludes with recent authors Connor McPherson and Martin Mcdonagh, Mark O'Rowe and Brenda Walsh. Representing the impact of postmodernity in Irish theatre, those writers solidified the relationship of Portuguese public with Irish productions.

To sum up, Paulo Eduardo Carvalho's work proves to be a paragon not only for academics, but also for theatre directors and producers who wish to translate Irish dramaturgy to their local context. In this sense, the book is a valuable tool of analysis, mainly because in each chapter the writer discusses real linguistic and performative problems of translation. Thus, translation is not a static monad, but a dialogical work in progress, which is further readapted and readjusted throughout the production's season.

Viviane Carvalho da Annunciação



To The Winds Our Sails. Irish Writers Translate Galician Poetry**, edited by Mary O'Donnell and Manuela Palacios. County Clare, Ireland: Salmon Poetry, 2010**

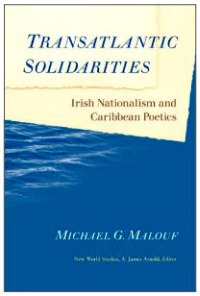
The title of this latest innovative volume edited by Manuela Palacios and Mary O'Donnell is only comprehensive under the image of the winds that reach Galicia's shores all year-round and that have always created the perfect environment for the sails to set journey along the seawaves, in endless movements of search for other lands; movements of dispersion and dislocation, where Celticism has been more than an influence, it has become a signal of sisterhood (and not just, brotherhood) as the volume highlights women poets, yet not exclusively. The link between Irish Celticism and that found in Galician territory goes far beyond the cultural artefacts, such as music and the everlasting sense of diaspora, felt in a people whose recognized autonomy came only in 1981, and still struggles for its own linguistic and social freedom. This volume of translations of poems, from and to English and Galician, ends up locating the marginal language of Galicia into the centre of discourse, thus, breaking frontiers of centre and periphery, as it rethinks not only linguistic issues, but also religious and social ones. Moreover, transgression in *To The Winds Our Sails* goes back to tradition and memory, as is the case of María Do Cebreiro's poems which allude directly to memory and to the literary tradition of Thomas Stern Eliot with the poem "A Terra Devastada" ("The Waste Land"). This recently published book, while exposing and dealing with the very particular case of linguistic and social dislocation as felt in Galicia, puts into practical terms the issue of hibridity as coined by Homi Bhabha through the spectre of a substantially representative selection of Galician poems translated into a commercially central language (English) and another far from central one (Irish) and by the lenses of other poets, speakers of English and Irish – reasons enough for the book to be considered innovative.

In fact, *To The Winds Our Sails. Irish Writers Translate Galician Poetry* proves translation to be a vivid example of what Homi Bhabha has pointed out as *cultural politics*, as it gathers poets and translators in their communal task of re-inscribing their own cultures, legitimating their own life modes from different geographies and cultures intertwined, as these are juxtaposed in negotiation. Also, the cultural translation to which this volume pays tribute allows for transformation, in the deconstruction of the traditional power relations between the (central) English speaking world and the (*marginal,* bilingual) Other (which is Galician and Irish, in this case). Within the sphere of two contaminated cultures, the selection of poems by various Galician writers (Marilar

Aleixandre, Xiana Arias, Maria Do Carme Kruckenberg, María Lado, María Do Cebreiro, Chus Pato, Luz Pichel, Luz Pozo Garza, Xohana Torres and Ana Romaní) deals with topics that vary from violence towards women and the excluded to Galician society and its ways regarding politics (as in the continuous acts of forgetting and remembering, for example, amongst others). More intimate themes of belonging, such as those verified in María Do Carme Kruckenberg's poems, translated by Anne Le Marquand Hartigan, and Xohana Torres's, translated by Celia De Freine, are also revealed. The set of poets-translators quoted above are examples of how the choices of the poets'binomials seem to have found precise correspondence in style and thematic preoccupations – the Irish poet Celia De Fréine, who has been initially awarded for her writings in Irish, for instance, pairs with Xohana Torres, whose first poem's translation in this anthology appears in Gaelic. Furthermore, the order in which the one Irish version appears (out of each group of five poems) may possibly suggest the different levels with which the Galician poets involved in the project refer to in their own personal politics/poetics. María do Carme Kruckenberg translated by Anne Le Marquand Hartigan attests to the depth of cultural correspondence the editors applied to the case, for both poets seem to have expressed having lived a life "to the full" (to quote Manuela Palacios in her introductory words to the volume, 22).

The intermingling of both cultures (Celtic and Galician) is creatively weaved, as one can notice along the diverse reappropriations of both form and content of the poetic structures, such as the words added to Luz Pozo Garza's translated verses into English or in the innovation with which Anne Hartigan interprets Kruckenberg – as in the word "patrimonio" translated as "possession" and "caridade" that turns into "failure of love" (50-51) or, yet, when Maurice Harmon reinterprets Ana Romanís's poems, an occasion in which the term "roupa" becomes "part of me" in English (110-111). In conclusion, one can say that from the selection to the distribution of the poems, as well as the translations themselves, *To The Winds Our Sails* goes deep into the proposal of cultural translation as reappropriation, in spite of the book's unique process: Irish poets (re) translated Galician poets from an initial English version, whose responsibility is attributed to Minia Bongiorno García. More than a transposition of culture and language, as a means of validation, O'Donnell and Palacios' attitude is particularly notable these days when knowledges must include *new epistemologies* and happen in constant, mutual dialogue. For this reason, *To The Winds Our Sails* travels far, as it crosses the previously unimaginable oceans of unstable waters: poetry, politics and reappropriation. What is left, after *Bonegal* and *percebes* – translatable in footnotes in the book? New perceptions of/for further epistemologies: poetry, politics, identity and the transdisciplinarity of areas – the academic and the literary ones, to mention just the most immediate couple of them – along with history and sociology, as scholars-poets transcreate other poets for something beyond the pleasure of reading Poetry, the betterment of society.

Gisele Giandoni Wolkoff



Malouf, Michael G. *Transatlantic Solidarities: Irish Nationalism and Caribbean poetics.* **Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2009. ISBN: 9780813927794, 259 pages.**

Transatlantic Solidarities, written by North-American scholar and professor at George Mason University, Michael G. Malouf, was published in 2009 and offers a different perspective in comparative studies by linking in literary, political and cultural terms the geographically distant islands Ireland and the Caribbean.

The sharp critic is revealed in the foundations of the analysis of Caribbean and Irish transatlantic cultures which are laid in the minute historical panorama, trustworthy biographical reference and, above all, in the close reading of documents and literary texts – novels, poems, plays, short stories, as well as lyrics and films.

In the introduction, Malouf discusses two versions of history: the first deploys the Irish as victims of British colonization, focusing on the 50.000 Irish who emigrated or were banished by Cromwell. In the second, they are the oppressors in the island of Montserrat, known as "The emerald isle of the Caribbean", since they became adventurous colonizers and landowners in the late seventeenth century. However, Malouf prefers a third version considering Glissant's description of the Caribbean as a "multiple series of relationships" (2), which reads the history of the Irish in the Caribbean as the "dialectical relation between nationalism and transnationalism evoked in these two immigrant cultures reinventing their national cultures abroad" (3).

The aim of the book is to present a version of history that reveals a Caribbean perspective on Irish nationalism in the form of three influential versions of transnational Caribbean literary and political identity. Malouf examines solidarity with Irish nationalism that is performed in the late 1910s and early 1920s by Jamaicans Marcus Garvey and Claude McKay, and in the 1970s and 1980s by St. Lucian poet Derek Walcott. He also deals with works of contemporary Ireland as of the 1990s, period of the Celtic Tiger, which focuses on the discussion of Ireland as being less victimized than the Caribbean.

The first chapter describes how the empire was concerned with the analogy between Ireland and Jamaica written by Carlyle, Trollope, Mill, and Froud. Malouf concludes that cross-cultural solidarities must be seen as discursively mediated by the imperial centre, an aspect that he does not consider a limitation, but a form of triangulation, later seen in works by Garvey, McKay and Walcott.

The second chapter begins with Eamon de Valera travelling to the USA under the title of Provisional President of Ireland, in 1921. Concomitantly, race relations were being reconfigured in the USA where Garvey founded the UNIA (Universal Negro

Association) in favor of a Pan-Africanism. Among other similarities we have Garvey's UNIA's "Black Star Line" (BSL) that was inspired by Sinn Fein's Irish mercantile "White Star Line". Garvey draws a distinction between a "national" Irish struggle and a "racial" black struggle. The BSL was not a success and when it went bankrupt Garvey was deported and de Valera became Taoiseach, in 1923. After being arrested in 1922, Garvey described the Irish movement as "double-edged" by criticizing their benefit from white supremacy.

In the third chapter, Malouf describes how Shaw, while on Holiday in Jamaica, refused to meet McKay. Later, in London, McKay was introduced to him as a "Black Diogenes", whom Shaw would perhaps be interested in studying. The outcome was the contrary, for it was McKay who reflected upon Shaw's questioning him on why he did not prefer to become a pugilist, a sport associated with Negroes. McKay's reply was that it was a "conflict between individual talent and external constraints" (81), since colored pugilists could not compete in Britain, whereas there was no prohibition for publishing books by black writers. Malouf compares McKay's poem "Tropics in New York" to Yeats' "Innisfree", for both deal with a market based on dialect and standard English so that they can be valued as writers. In McKay's novel *Banjo*, Malouf sees vagabond Kid Irish portrayed as a means to deconstruct concepts of whiteness. To Malouf, the aim of McKay's internationalism is to highlight the forces that shape nationalities "while revealing the dialectical relations underlying a rhetoric of internationalist solidarity that attends to difference" (123).

Malouf begins the fourth chapter by arguing that Walcott writes about Ireland in a colonial perspective. His point of departure is Walcott's "allusiveness" rather than his "allusions" (126) as he attempts to historicize his engagement with Joyce and Irish culture. He argues for a negative solidarity, for Walcott's affiliation with Joyce arises as the latter becomes cosmopolitan by reinventing a provincial Ireland. Malouf reveals in his reading of *Omeros* how Walcott "portrays a cosmopolitan Caribbean where all the participants in the history of the Caribbean – African, European, Indian – are members of a silent community who share in the experience of exile from their own pasts" (167). Therefore, Malouf shows how the Caribbean is represented in Walcott's "cosmopolitan culture of bricolage, where each individual part is only a figure for a larger whole located elsewhere" (171).

Chapter five takes the reader ahead to a time of change in Ireland, following the economic boom of the 1990s, where a prior export culture became a cosmopolitan import culture. Malouf focuses on films as Neil Jordan's *The Crying Game*, which contrasts Black and Irish experiences in Britain. In the play "Kingdom Come," by Stewart Parker, Malouf argues that Ireland and the Caribbean share similar positions in the map of transatlantic power. He approaches the history of the empathy between Irish and Afro-Caribbean cultures by Sinead O'Connor's Rastafarianism through which she engages with Irish culture. Furthermore, Malouf explores Sean O'Callaghan's *To Hell or Barbados* and Kate McCafferty's *Testimony of an Irish Slave Girl* as not making the

correct distinction between indentured labor and slavery. These different genres are relevant to contemporary Caribbean, yet Malouf concludes that their real interest relies upon contemporary Ireland, as they render the two sets of islands as inherently incompatible.

In the Epilogue, Malouf discusses "Country, Sligoville", a 1992 adaptation of Yeats's "The Lake Isle of Innisfree", by Jamaican poet Lorna Goodison. Malouf believes that there are contradictions in understanding Yeats's career, for recent criticism has tried to interpret him as a postcolonial poet while examining the authenticity of his Irish identity and versions of Irish nationalism his work created. "Country, Sligoville" is portrayed as a "transatlantic" poem, which offers a meditation on the role of memory, history and reading to be a part of a "circum-Atlantic," a conjuncture of African, Caribbean and Irish cultures. Solidarity is depicted not so much between two cultures or writers, but by the solidarity they each find with the past. Malouf concludes that Yeats gives voice to a migrant experience, while Goodison seems to be writing from home.

Transatlantic Solidarities supports a third version of history, considering the Irish neither as oppressors nor as victims, and tries to set Ireland and the Caribbean side by side in practically all five chapters; however, Malouf makes the reader realize that their relation is not one of equality.

Many writers try to bridge these two geographically distant regions, though in most of the works mentioned Ireland tends to occupy "the position of the dominant identity, seeking confirmation or explanation through its meeting with an 'Other' whose identity is easily known from the Irish perspective" (195). This unsteadiness can be seen in the failure of Garvey's BSL; in McKay's need to write in Jamaican dialect due to his lack of place if he wrote only in formal English, and on Walcott's need to escape the Caribbean in order to write because the West Indies had no prior literary tradition.

Even though the fifth chapter explores an antiracist archive of an alternative Irish history and argues for the need to "reread that archive with an eye toward the ambivalent place of popular culture in understanding race in Ireland" (177), the issues of immigration and racism in contemporary Ireland are hardly looked upon. According to Dermot Keogh, "since 1991, people of more than a hundred different nationalities have applied for refuge in Ireland" (42) and popular reactions to this situation is frequent, for "a little Ireland mentality has a dangerous resonance for those who seek tolerance in Irish society" (44).

Thus, we must take into account Malouf's engagement with historical perspectivism by deconstructing essentialist binaries, as Irish and Caribbean, above and below, white and black, freedom and slavery, centre and periphery, among others. These are replaced by Malouf's view in favor of a non-Eurocentric hermeneutics, while proposing a form of triangulation with a "third space," other than Ireland and the Caribbean, but with the United States, in the case of Garvey and McKay in New York and Walcott in Boston. However, in order not to fall into the trap of neocolonialism, it

would be interesting for scholars to engage in further research on these literary, cultural and historical transatlantic relations between Ireland and the Caribbean initiated with the aftermath of the British Empire.

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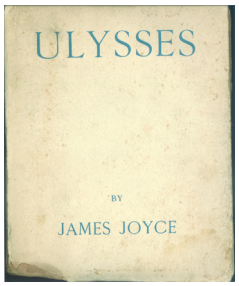
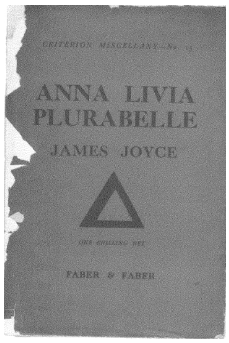
Mariana Bolfarine

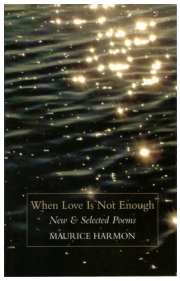
Books Received



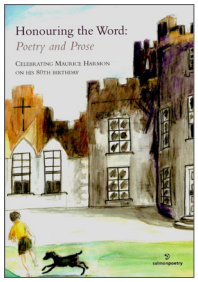


On behalf of her late husband Mr. Lauro Eduardo Soutello Alves, Fátima Soutello Alves, donated to the W.B. Yeats Chair of Irish Studies a rare copy of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, a 4th printing by the original publishers, the Shakespeare and Company (Paris), dated January 1924. The February 1922 edition consisted of 1,000 numbered copies. From the second printing of 2,000 numbered copies, published in October 1922, 500 copies were destroyed by the New York Post Office Authorities; from the 3rd printing, Jan 1923, 499 out of 500 copies were seized by Customs Auhorities in Folkestone. The book is in excellent condition – though naturally aged by time. It was accompanied by a copy of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* (1930) and a postcard with the photograph of James Joyce outside the Shakespeare and Company bookshop. Both publications can be consulted in the Rare Books section at the Florestan Fernandes library, university of São Paulo.

Lauro Eduardo Soutello Alves was born in a family of diplomats. He graduated in Philosophy and German Language and Literature at New York University in 1981, in Diplomacy at Instituto Rio Branco in 1984 and in Public Administration at École Nationale d'Administration, France, in 1999. He started his diplomatic career in 1984 in the Brazilian Permanent Mission in the United Nations in New York (1989-1992); he worked in the Embassy of Brazil in Mexico (1992-1995 and in the Embassy of Brazil in Paris (1999-2001). In 2001 he returned to Brazil as First Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs in Brasília. He died of cancer in 2002.



Harmon, Maurice. *When Love Is Not Enough*. New and Selected Poems.County Clare, Ireland: Salmon Poetry, 2010.



Honouring the Word: Poetry and Prose. Celebrating Maurice Harmon on his 80th Birthday. Ed. Barbara Brown. County Clare, Ireland: Salmon Poetry, 2010.

Contributors

ANNUNCIAÇÃO, Viviane Carvalho holds an MA in Irish poetry from the University of Sao Paulo, with the dissertation entitled "Seamus Heaney: The Polyphonic Poetry of Exile". At the moment, she is a doctorate student at USP and member of The Brazilian Association of Irish Studies. Under the co-supervision agreement granted by the funding agency CAPES-USP, she developed part of her doctoral research at The Seamus Heaney Centre for Poetry at Queen's University Belfast. She has published reviews and articles on Northern Irish Poetry at the *ABEI Journal* and the *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*.

BOLFARINE, Mariana got her M.A. at the University of São Paulo and is now a PhD student in Irish Studies. She has translated the book Roger Casement in Brazil: Rubber, the Amazon and the Atlantic World 1884-1916 (2010) into Portuguese. Her thesis is on fictional works about Roger Casement.

BROWN, Barbara is Emeritus Professor of English and Anglo-Irish Literatures at Marshall University, Huntington, West Virginia, USA. Since her retirement in 1994, she has lived in Dublin, Ireland, where she works as an editor, and has published articles on Irish poets Dennis O'Driscoll, Richard Murphy, and Maurice Harmon.

ECHEVERRI, Juan Alvaro is a Colombian anthropologist who has worked in the Amazon region since the 1980s, mainly with the Huitoto and other neighboring indigenous groups of the Putumayo. He has a title by the Universidad de Antioquia in Colombia and holds a Ph.D. degree by de New School for Social Research in New York. Currently he teaches at the Amazon Campus of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia in Leticia, on the Amazon River at the triple border Colombia-Brazil-Peru. http://www.docentes.unal.edu.co/jaecheverrir/, jaecheverrir@unal.edu.co

GALVÃO, Walnice Nogueira is Professor of Literary Theory and Comparative Literatures at the University of São Paulo. She has published 32 books,12 of which are on Euclides da Cunha and the War of Canudos. In 2008, she was awarded a prize by the National Library for Mínima mímica – Ensaios sobre Guimarães Rosa (2008) and in 2010, a prize by the Brazilian Academy of Letters for Euclidiana – Ensaios sobre Euclides da Cunha (2009). Other titles include A forma do falso (1986), A donzela-guerreira (1997), Desconversa (1998), Le carnaval de Rio (2000) and O tapete afegão (2006).

GOODMAN, Jordan is an Honorary Research Associate in the Department of Science and Technology Studies at University College London. He has published extensively on the History of Medicine and Science, and in Cultural and Economic History. His publications include *The Rattlesnake: A Voyage of Discovery to the Coral Sea* and *The Devil and Mr. Casement. One Man's Struggle for Human Rights in South America's Heart of Darkness* (2009).

MITCHELL, Angus has edited two volumes of documents on Roger Casement's Amazon travels: *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement* (1997) and *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness: the 1911 documents* (2003). He lived in Brazil from 1992-1998 where he helped in the script development and pre-production of the film *Carlota Joaquina: Princesa do Brazil* (1995). He is author of *Casement* ('Life & Times' biography 2003) and *Roger Casement in Brazil: Rubber, the Amazon and the Atlantic World* (2010) a catalogue for the exhibition he was curator. He has published many articles and presently, he resides in Ireland where he lectures and writes on Atlantic history.

MESQUITA, Otoni Moreira is an Associate Professor in the Department of Arts and in the History Postgraduate Programme at the Federal University of the Amazon. His M.A. dissertation was on "A Belle Époque Manauara e sua arquitetura eclética," published in 1997 as *Manaus: história e arquitetura-1850/1915*. His PhD thesis in Social History is "O mito do progresso e a refundação da cidade de Manaus," published in 2009 as *La Belle Vitrine: Manaus entre dois tempos 1890/1900*.

MURPHY, Maureen is Professor of Curriculum and Teaching in the School of Education, Health and Human Services at Hofstra University. She served as the Interim Deam of the School of Education, Health and Human Services at Hofstra University from 2005-2008. A past president of the American Conference for Irish Studies and a past Chair of the International Association for the Study of Irish Literatures, she was one of the senior editors of the prize-winning *Dictionary of Irish Biography* published in nine volumes and on line by the Royal Irish Academy and Cambridge University Press in 2009. Murphy edited Asenath Nicholson's *Annals of the Famine in Ireland* (1998) and *Ireland's Welcome to the Stranger* (2002), Annie O'Donnell's, *Your Fondest Annie* (2005) and with James MacKillop edited *Irish Literature: a Reader* (1987, rev. ed. 2006). She is currently writing a biography of Nicholson. Murphy directed the New York State Great Irish Famine Curriculum Project (2001); it won the National Conference for the Social Studies Excellence Award in 2002. Murphy was also the historian of the Irish Hunger Memorial in Battery Park City. She serves on the Boards of the American Irish Historical Society and the Emerald Isle Immigration Center.

WOLKOFF, Gisele Giandoni currently develops her postdoctoral research entitled "Irlanda e Portugal: identidades representadas na poesia feminina dos anos 1960 em diante" ("Ireland and Portugal: identities represented in women's poetry from the 1960's on") at the Centre for Social Studies, Faculdade de Economia, Universidade de Coimbra, sponsored by Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia de Portugal. She holds a Ph.D. in Linguistic and Literary Studies in English and a M.A. degree in English Language and English and North-American Literatures from the Universidade de São Paulo. She has taught English language and literatures at the Universidade de Santo Amaro, from 2000 to 2009, where she has also developed other academic tasks, such as graduate course coordination and e-learning materials'review. She has published poetic translations for *Cadernos de Tradução* (Humanitas, USP), *ABEI Bahia Newslette*r and poems of her own in *Revista da Oficina de Poesia* (Pallimage and Universidade de Coimbra, 2010). She is also the co-author of *Antologia Cidades* (2010) and "Reading Poetry" In *Ensino de Lingua Inglesa Através do Texto Literário* (Humanitas, USP, 2007).