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Introduction

The year of 2022 is an important one for Irish Studies, for it marks the centenary of the Great Wars, of the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, of European and Latin American Modernisms, of the publication of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, among others. In order to commemorate these important events, this first General Issue of the 2022 *ABEI Journal* brings to light articles that reflect the way in which Irish Studies is being (re)configured as a global practice in the twenty first century. The "Articles" session Journal opens with discussion on Irish literature in "The Language of Cartography in Anne Enright's Writings", by Aurora Pinheiro, which is followed by "An Untold History: Unprecedented Translations of Excerpts from *Ulysses* in Brazil", by Camila Peruchi. A historical and political overview of Irish democracy is the main subject of "An Outcome of Many Wars: Irish Democracy in the Follow-Up to the Period of Independence and Further Possibilities," by Irene Portela. Irish music in Brazil is dealt with in "Hy Brazil, Celtic Land? A Brief Overview of the Brazilian Irish-Celtic Musical Scene with a Focus on the Rio de Janeiro Case", by Caetano Maschio Santos. The section "Irish in South America" presents "The Correspondence of Fr Matthew Gaughren OMI (1888-1890)", by Edmundo Murray and Edward Walsh, an original and groundbreaking publication that reveals how the priest supported the desperate immigrants who arrived in Buenos Aires on the S.S. Dresden steamer ship in 1889. The section "Voices From Brazil" presents the article on one of Brazil's most prestigious theatre companies, "Grupo TAPA: An Overview of The Work of a Brazilian Repertory Theater Company", by Maria Sílvia Betti, represented in the photograph below. A review of Rejane de Souza Ferreira *Voz e consciência narrativa: a percepção da família pela perspectiva feminina em três romances irlandeses*, by Adriana Carvalho Capuchinho, is also included in this number. We hope you will enjoy!

The Editors

"De todas maneiras que há de amar"
Grupo Tapa
Source: Instagram (@grupotapa)



Articles



The Language of Cartography in Anne Enright's Writings

A linguagem da cartografia na obra de Anne Enright

Aurora Piñeiro

Abstract: *The aim of this article is to analyse the novel *Actress* (2020) by Anne Enright from the perspective of a twofold notion of literary mapping: firstly, the author's role as a cartographer, when she adopts and adapts the conventions of Bildungsroman to draw the outline of a life and when the lexicon chosen for this task is imbued with the language of landscape and thus creates an imagery which may articulate a literary territory of her own or a geography of affects. And secondly, when the reader or critic exacts a map from several literary work(s) by the same writer, and this representation enables an additional reading of the text or set of texts. Although the novel *Actress* will remain the axis of the present analysis, for a larger mapping of Enright's geography of affects and, in particular, her representation of motherhood, references to her non-fiction and short fiction writings will be necessary. In particular, her lecture "Maev Brennan: Going Mad in New York" (2019) and fragments from her essay collection *Making Babies* (2004) will be incorporated. When it comes to her short fiction, "Night Swim" (2020) will be the story in focus. All these texts are thematically related and most of them are chronologically close but, more significantly, they incorporate cartographic imagery as a defining trait when it comes to the exploration of motherhood, which is viewed from an anti-essentialist perspective and with different degrees of the conciliatory.*

Keywords: *Language; Cartography; Anne Enright; Motherhood; Anti-essentialism.*

Resumo: *O objetivo deste artigo é analisar o romance *Actress* (2020) de Anne Enright a partir de uma dupla noção de mapeamento literário: primeiro, o papel da autora como cartógrafa, quando adota e adapta as convenções do Bildungsroman para traçar o contorno de uma vida e quando o léxico escolhido para esta tarefa está imbuído da linguagem da paisagem, criando um imaginário que pode articular um território literário próprio ou uma geografia de afetos. Em segundo lugar, quando o leitor ou crítico extrai um mapa de várias obras literárias do mesmo escritor, e essa representação possibilita uma leitura*

*adicional do texto ou conjunto de textos. Embora o romance *Actress* continue sendo o eixo da presente análise, para um mapeamento mais amplo da geografia dos afetos de Enright e, em particular, de sua representação da maternidade, serão necessárias referências a seus escritos de não ficção e contos. Em particular, sua palestra “Maeve Brennan: Going Mad in New York” (2019) e fragmentos de sua coleção de ensaios *Making Babies* (2004) serão incorporados. Quando se trata do conto, “Night Swim” (2020) será a história em foco. Todos esses textos estão relacionados tematicamente e a maioria está cronologicamente próxima. Mais significativamente, são narrativas que incorporam o imaginário cartográfico como traço definidor quando se trata da exploração da maternidade, que é vista a partir de uma perspectiva antiessencialista e com diferentes graus de conciliação.*

Palavras-chave: *Linguagem; Cartografia; Anne Enright; maternidade; anti-essentialismo.*

To ask for a map is to say, “Tell me a story.”

Peter Turchi

A map is an artifact that makes it possible for a reality to be re-created from a subjective point of view and usually with a specific purpose in mind. In terms of literary cartographies, a map may be understood as a poetic notion of *self* in the world, a way to negotiate potential locations and (transitory) representations. The aim of this article is to analyse the novel *Actress* (2020) by Anne Enright from the perspective of a twofold notion of literary mapping: firstly, the author’s role as a cartographer, when she adopts and adapts the conventions of Bildungsroman to draw the outline of a life and when the lexicon chosen for this task is imbued with the language of landscape and thus creates an imagery which may articulate a literary territory of her own or a geography of affects. And secondly, when the reader or critic exacts a map from several literary work(s) by the same writer, and this representation enables an additional reading of the text or set of texts.

Although the novel *Actress* will remain the axis of the present analysis, for a larger mapping of Enright’s geography of affects and, in particular, her representation of motherhood, references to her non-fiction and short fiction writings will be necessary. In particular, her lecture “Maeve Brennan: Going Mad in New York” (2019) and fragments from her essay collection *Making Babies* (2004) will be incorporated. When it comes to her short fiction, “Night Swim” (2020) will be the story in focus. All these texts are thematically related and most of them are chronologically close but, more significantly, they incorporate cartographic imagery as a defining trait when it comes to the exploration

of motherhood, which is viewed from an anti-essentialist perspective and with different degrees of the conciliatory.

Actress: Mapping the Female Experience of Growth

Anne Enright's novels are characterised by a relentless use of irony, the loving attention to detail, and a paradoxical acknowledgement of both cruelty and the beauty of living things. Her latest novel, *Actress* bears witness to the former attributes. This is a story narrated by Norah, a 58 years old writer who decides to write a book on her mother, Katherine O'Dell, who was an Irish theatre legend. As the novel develops, readers learn that Norah is not only in a search for her mother's past, but also trying to find answers for several additional enigmas, which include her father's identity, the reason why her mother shot Boyd O'Neill, the film maker, in the foot, and that she even tries to unravel the mystery of love, be it maternal, filial or romantic. The story is, in many ways, a coming-of-age novel where collective and individual notions on identity are explored as Norah plays the roles of memoirist, journalist, critic and daughter, while she also comes to terms with her own role as a mother of two grown-ups: a daughter and a son.

The previous varied and braided searches articulate an ambitious geography of affects, but the focus of my analysis here is the fact that they are characterized by a particular adoption of the conventions of female *Bildungsroman* and by the authorial decision to use a cartographic imagery, that is, a lexicon imbued with the language of landscape and maps, which articulates and challenges, at the same time, a possible individual identity, that of Katherine O'Dell as a woman; a collective notion on ethnic identity or Irishness, as O'Dell is portrayed as a "Gaelic princess"; and the exploration of a specific affect, maternal and filial love, as this task is undertaken by O'Dell's daughter, who wishes to "possess" the mother via writing.

As a narrative subgenre, a *Bildungsroman* depicts a character's journey from youth to maturity. Sarah Graham states that it "offers privileged access to the psychological development of a central character whose sense of self is in flux, paralleling personal concerns with prevailing values" (*Bildungsroman* 1). In this sense, *Actress* is a two-fold *Bildungsroman* where readers have an access to a possible story of Katherine O'Dell as a woman, as a mother and as an actress, but always from the perspective of Norah FitzMaurice, her daughter, whose archaeology of the maternal turns out to be representative of her own process of becoming. Norah sets out to redefine her mother, to deconstruct several public narratives on O'Dell, but also on herself as the "overshadowed child", as when she analyses newspaper clippings from one of her birthday parties and

states: “The picture adds to the lie that I am a poor copy of my mother, that she was timeless, and I am not —the iconic gives birth to the merely human. But that was not how it was between us. That is not how we felt about ourselves” (*Actress* 11). And this redefining of her self includes the desire to possess the mother via writing. As Anne Enright declared in an interview for CBC Radio, in 2020, Norah “is quite jealous of possessing her mother. The book that she writes about her mother is provoked by a student coming to her door and saying I want to write a thesis about her. And she grabs her back and says no, I’m actually going to write that book if you don’t mind” (CBC Radio Interview, 11:45).

One of the several fascinating aspects of this portrayal of the mother is that, by the end of the novel, readers do not necessarily get to know Katherine, at least not in absolute terms, but do witness a coming of age of Norah, with uncertainties of its own. These ambiguities respond, in my view, to at least two aspects of the novel. The first one has to do with the technologies of glamour, this is, the authorial decision to preserve a certain degree of unknowability in relation to the figure of Katherine as a celebrity: “Not knowing her is part of the pleasure, the glamour of the book” (CBC Radio Interview 12:27). And the second one has to do with the incorporation of specific conventions of the female *Bildungsroman*, which differ from those in the traditional apprenticeship novel where the male self is depicted as the universal self, and where “the self-realisation of the individual and the individual’s socialisation into society are one and the same” (Joannou 200). In contrast to the classical model, and in the words of Maroula Joannou, in female *Bildungsroman*

a woman’s quest for her identity may be explorative rather than goal-orientated, epistemological rather than teleological, relational rather than linear, circuitous or circular rather than direct, or shifting rather than fixed. Thus narrative which purports to represent the complexity and contemporaneity of that quest must do so in terms other than the formulaic ones of severance, induction and return to the point of origin (203).

In *Actress*, as a contemporary female *Bildungsroman*, the protagonist’s geographical and inner journey may in some ways coincide with the formula “separation-initiation-return” (Joannou 203) because, as a contemporary woman, Norah indeed has the means and freedom to undertake the actual physical displacement described in the story. However, the presence of the voyage motif and its structure does not necessarily mean that the narrative as a whole complies to the teleology of the traditional

Bildungsroman. In fact, it is my contention that the distinctive use of cartographic imagery displayed in the novel has the intention of emphasising the voyage itself as a process, the explorative more than the results, and the means to navigate the experience more than the final outcome of the adventure.

When Norah decides that she will write her book, her own version of her mother's life, she flies to London in order to conduct her research. And this is the beginning of the unveiling of secrets, as the first confession has to do with the fact that her mother had been born in England: "Yes, Katherine O'Dell, the most Irish actress in the world, was technically British" (*Actress* 24). In the same fashion, readers learn that the original name of the famous actress was Katherine Anne FitzMaurice, and that she had been brought up in London until the outbreak of war in 1939, when her parents moved the family to Ireland. Her parents were itinerant-stage actors, so she spends eight years travelling through the island: an episode which provides readers with a geography of the country in the 40's. In 1947 she was back in London, and in 1948 she had already moved to New York, where she was *constructed* as an Irishwoman. She was told to enhance or *adopt* an Irish accent, to dye her hair red, and to change her stage name, which was by then Katherine Odell (after her mother's last name), but was added an apostrophe, to turn it into O'Dell. Thus, the most iconic of mid-century Irish actresses was created.

And Norah acknowledges the role of writing in that creation: "I have the same colour eyes as my mother; a hazel that, in her case, people liked to call green. Indeed, whole paragraphs were penned about bog and field, when journalists looked into my mother's eyes" (*Actress* 1), which establishes an ironic parallelism with her own writing on the mother as one more construct.

The novel offers detailed accounts of Katherine's trips and her life in several cities and countries, which articulates an even larger map of her existence, and a parallel depiction of the life of her daughter, who had been taken to Dublin, and left there under the care of a nanny, Kitty McGrane. The intermittent maternal visits or stays in Ireland were always a source of excitement, but the absences are the gaps that Norah, as daughter and biographer, is trying to fill in. She reads her mother's papers, cites photographs and newspaper clippings, but acknowledges the fact that "documentary evidence contains its own fictions" ("Celebrity", 2020). Even when she describes the already mentioned photograph of one of her birthday parties in Dublin, with her mother by her side, she insists on how it was all staged, on how "the picture was such a fake", but "the years have made it somehow true" (*Actress* 11). This way, the novel exhibits identity as a deliberate construct, both in terms of individual choices as well as cultural commonplaces and official

historiographies, including the exploitation of an American nostalgia for an Irishness that had been narrowed down or trivialized. Even Katherine's political stand for a united Ireland during the Troubles is made relative by her daughter's impossibility to pin down the reasons behind that position: it is never clear for Norah if the actress was seriously involved in a love relationship with an IRA man, if she was playing the role of the Irish patriot for the eyes of her world audience, or if she was truly committed to the cause.

But coming back to the strategy of how this is all narrated with a vocabulary that favours the language of landscape and maps, I move back to Norah's trip to England in search of the house where her mother had been born, in Herne Hill, a London suburb. The visit to the house is described in the following terms:

I liked facts, maps, arithmetic and science. Which was, perhaps, another reason for my sudden pilgrimage over to Herne Hill. I have always found reality very reassuring. It was an enormous comfort to touch the actual door behind which she was born, to feel how dense the wood was with being real, to sense, through the tips of my fingers, its exact temperature, the dark green paint on its surface scoured matt by years of weather.

This. This (34).

The previous transitory sense of veracity will be constantly challenged by the text, apart from the fact that the materiality of the experience quoted above is soon substituted, on the same page, by a geography of affects, described as uncharted territory:

I was fifty-eight years old. In a few months I would turn fifty-nine, which was one birthday more than she had managed on this earth. I would spin beyond her, out into uncharted space. I was about to become older than my own mother (34).

The unknown land of existence as a woman beyond the maternal figure escapes the illusory precision of "facts, maps, arithmetic and science". However, both Norah's and Katherine's lives are characterised by the transgression of the social standards of their temporarily juxtaposed, but also different times. And this crossing of borderlines is embodied in several detailed descriptions of travels across borders, of airplane flights from where Norah describes Ireland from a different perspective, as it is done on her way to England:

I looked from the plane at the distant, dappled skin of the Irish sea, slashed into a point, here and there, by the prow of a tiny boat.

‘Thank God we’re surrounded by water.’

No one knew where she was born, no one could ever know; it was a great and complicated secret. I wondered, as I crossed over this simple stretch of blue, why she went to so much trouble (24).

Here, again, the language of landscape, the crossing from one territory into another, is intertwined with the theme of individual and collective identity, as well as with a geography of affects. This initial description of the sea as a “simple stretch of blue” will become more elaborate and significant as the novel develops and will culminate in a momentous sea image where the blue colour is substituted by a polychromy which is telling of the kaleidoscope of emotions at play. But in order to understand the path towards that final image, it is necessary to make reference to another symbol in the story: the mother’s ring.

When Norah gets back to Dublin after her “pilgrimage” to Katherine’s birthplace, she decides to look for one of her mother’s rings, an object that had exerted a particular attraction upon her as a young girl. The jewel is described in the following terms:

The ring was a last remnant of her Hollywood days. She liked to call it her black emerald, and maybe that is what it was. The stone was dark green with three baguette-cut diamonds on either shoulder and I loved to trace the facets with my fingertip as she sat by the fire. It was a kind of fascination: being jealous of the ring, wanting the ring, wanting to hear her say, ‘Some day it will be yours.’ (*Actress* 213).

The search for this object becomes a different type of journey as the chapter in question is transformed into a home odyssey, a domestic quest for the maternal legacy that takes her to her children’s rooms, where every found object is used as a pretext to depict her relation to Max and Pamela, their childhoods and her present relationship with them as adults. The obstacles to find the ring become representative of all the challenges in Norah’s life: “suddenly I was raging against all the losses I had ever suffered or endured and all the losses lurking up ahead” (216), and she discovers that “You must let the thing go, in order to find it” (216), but first, “you must mourn” (216). Norah does not manage to find the ring, but the black emerald will come back to her in the final image of the sea, after several stages of mourning have taken place. The geological beauty of the stone, its mysterious blend of black and green is an ironic representation of the nuanced Irishness of the mother, and the transfiguration of the material, from rock to water, is also symbolic of the dynamics of female *Bildungsroman*: a transformation from a canonical and monolithic literary form into one more fluid, metaphoric and unpredictable.

In the last chapter of the novel, Norah has received a cassette player where she will be able to hear her mother's voice, a series of recordings of Katherine reading Irish poems. Before listening to the tape, she goes for a walk by the sea. This walk is preceded by an unsettling reference to a recurring dream of her, where she divests and then walks into the sea. This flirting with the idea of suicide is gradually left behind and substituted by a detailed description of her encounter with the sea, this is, several paragraphs where the lexicon associated to the natural world, the oblique or altered reference to Ireland as the "emerald island", the maternal figure, and Norah as a mature woman and accomplished narrator come together. I quote only a fragment:

The sea was on my left. The railings that run along the promenade stretched in a line, regular and familiar, for half a mile. It was wild enough. I could see the rain in a slicing, vertical haze heading towards the shore, and the water was already choppy. A squall was coming. The waves were busy and blurred over by the flying points of spray, under which the water was sometimes jade, sometimes the colour of the dark stone on my mother's ring. But exactly. The sea was the colour of a black emerald, it held the light so deep in itself. And this fact flooded me with the memory of the days she spent dying, when my mother was so essentially herself, I could not consider turning to leave the room (264).

The added layers of maturity acquired by the narrative voice make this transition possible: from the initial "simple stretch of blue" to the complex and unstable polychromy of a sea "sometimes jade", sometimes the colour of "a black emerald". The jargon of natural phenomena, as it is used by geographers, is extended to the metaphorical representation of the mother as both a dark stone and a dark sea which "held the light so deep in itself", and it also extends to the narrator, as she is "flooded" with the memory of her dying mother.

This experience is indeed an epiphanic one, but not in the terms Norah, and probably many readers, would have expected at the beginning of the novel. Instead of a verification of specific data about the life of Katherine O'Dell, irony is used, a few lines later, to temper the exalted tone of the revelatory instant, and the learning becomes epistemological, as Norah realizes the unknowability of the past and the inconsistencies of our restricted access to it: "there was no message for me in the colour of the waves – of course not. My mother was not 'there' for me in the coming storm. She had not sent her consolation" (264). However, there is an acceptance of the complexities and paradoxes of human existence which leads to a conciliatory enough attitude at the end of the journey:

But I had, as I turned for home, a great sense of the world's generosity. Even though it was just my own hopefulness in another guise. Even though the sea was just the sea – which was quite enough, really. The sea was certainly sufficient (264).

The tactile connection with the natural world, which is a constant throughout the novel, is emphasized here but, instead of walking into the waves (the crossing of a definite borderline), she lifts her face “to meet the rain” (264), as she is heading back home. This ending does not iron out the ambiguities or uncertainties in Norah's life, but is “Enough to be getting on with” (264). It is a tempered or down to earth learning coherent with an explorative quest for identity, and where the findings are fluid rather than fixed. She no longer needs to possess the ring (or the mother, for that matter) and the life drive has prevailed upon the death one, which opens up other possibilities for her own experience of motherhood.

The way in which Enright uses cartographic images of the crossing of borderlines and the language of seascapes or landscapes in this novel is not an isolated strategy. It is, in fact, a recurrent one in her novels, essays and short stories, which takes me to the second level of literary mapping: that where the reader or critic exacts a map from more than one literary work and this visual representation enables an additional reading of a set of texts. In this case, I will limit my selection to a few examples taken from two essays and a short story.

Female Identity, Motherhood and Cartography in Enright's Shorter Writings

There are two pieces of non-fiction by Anne Enright which are particularly linked to the genesis of *Actress*. The first one of them is “Maeve Brennan: Going Mad in New York”, which belongs to *No Authority* (2019), a miscellaneous collection of essays and short stories written from 2015-18, the years she was the Laureate for Irish Fiction. In this essay, Enright reclaims the figure of Brennan as an important woman writer in the Irish diaspora, an artist whose writings were long forgotten, among other reasons, for her struggle with mental health towards the end of her life. Brennan's sad journey from success and glamour towards invisibility finds an echo in Katherine O'Dell's own American success, followed by her tragic decline towards the end of the novel, when she was also erased from the public scene. Both figures were constructed as Gaelic princesses abroad, and both of them challenged the standards of female behavior dominant in their time. Enright states, in the CBC Radio Interview I quoted before, that the figure of Katherine O'Dell was

a combination of Siobhán McKenna (1923-1986), the famous Irish actress, and Maeve Brennan (1917-1993), the writer. While writing the essay, Enright found that Brennan had published an article about McKenna, and it was then that she thought about putting the two of them together, and “that collision, that tension, made the book [*Actress*] start” (Enright 7:05).

But apart from mapping the success of real and fictional Irish female figures in America and their geographical movements from one continent to the other, Enright’s essay on Brennan contains an important feature in terms of my reading of motherhood and the language of cartography. Towards the end of the text, Enright makes reference to a visit Brennan paid to relatives in Dublin, and also describes the Brennan’s family home in 48 Cherryfield Avenue, where Brennan’s parents had moved in 1921. There is a detailed depiction of the neighborhood, in which she uses the language of urban geography, and includes references to the shops, sports’ ground and trees in the area, followed by an immediate reference to Enright’s mother’s family home. The contiguity of these descriptions associates both homes and families in spatial and chronological terms, even making reference to the interior of the houses as it may be seen in the following lines:

The walnut furniture described in the title story of ‘*The Springs of Affection*’ matches the furniture my grandmother bought at around the same time the Brennans set up home. [...] When Brennan’s work was republished in the 1990’s, I did not think of her as beautiful or lost. I thought of her as being from these new suburbs: the world on the page as familiar and horrible as your own foot. (55-56)

With this peculiar association, Enright adds the layer of *literary* motherhood to her writings, a subtle construction of a literary lineage where the maternal figures of both writers share a common past, and where she links her own authorial persona to that of Brennan, charting an artistic family tree that makes the essay personal, as it happens with other texts in the same collection where, for example, she narrates her youth experiences in Canada, and the way the writings of Margaret Atwood influenced her as both a reader and an incipient writer. In a performative fashion, she makes personal writing authoritative, and thus rewrites the rules of “the game of literary reputation” (4) for contemporary women writers in Ireland.

The second title of non-fiction writing which plays an important role as an antecedent to *Actress* is the book *Making Babies* (2004), a collection of essays on motherhood which is also extremely personal. Although there is an important

chronological distance between the two books, they are thematically linked by the anti-essentialist approach to motherhood and the way both works underscore the centrality of the body in the representations of this experience: “motherhood happens in the body” (56), says Enright, and parenthood has to be learnt and it is difficult to represent: “A child came out of me. I cannot understand this, or try to explain it” (56). Hedwig Schwall describes this book as characterized by “a kind of *hilarious* realism in which a mother tries to find ‘the right relation’ to her baby, a being who is both so close and so unknown” (“Enright: An Introduction” 4). The collection may also be depicted as the memoirs of a journey from early pregnancy to the baby’s age two, and from the point of view of a mother who is negotiating a new type of relationship to writing. The voyage motif is repeated throughout the book, and several instances of cartographic language are also integral to this other coming of age record: “I thought childbirth was a sort of journey that you could send dispatches home from, but of course it is not — it is home. Everywhere else now, is ‘abroad’” (*Making Babies* 56).

But it is in the last essay of the collection, with the title “Oh, Mortality”, where I find a particularly striking resemblance between the use of cartographic language to depict a bodily type of knowledge and the way this finds echoes not only in *Actress* but even more evidently in the short story “Night Swim”, which was published in March 2020, just a month after the novel. In “Oh, Mortality”, the protagonist narrates how, when being only 16, she was (wrongly) diagnosed with lymphatic cancer. She underwent a biopsy of a gland in her neck, a procedure that required a manual or mechanical pulling of the network of glands in her body. This experience made her aware of her bodily interior physical connections:

Everything is connected. I thought of the different maps inside the body, the living map of the blood system, that I knew about, and this secret map of lymph nodes, whatever they might be. ‘Drainage’ — that was the extent of my knowledge. The surgeon was tugging at my body’s drains. I have an idea that he put his knee up and braced it against the edge of the table. But that can’t be true, can it? (191).

The way in which she articulates the images of the internal maps as a type of cartographic material we carry within is further explored in “Night Swim”, where the female protagonist, Michelle, drives her son, Ben, to a friend’s house. The car drive becomes the temporal framework within which the story takes place and an embodiment of in-betweenness, with

the car itself as a heterotopic space, to put it in Foucauldian terms, where the exploration of themes such as motherhood or the allure of inner darkness is made possible.

During the journey, the mother is using the son's mobile phone to find her way: "she used his mobile phone to map the route. She had it down by the gearshift, propped up on the gray plastic fascia. It was hard to read the little arrow through the disaster of Ben's cracked screen – the thing was rarely out of his hand, unless he dropped it" ("Night Swim" 1-2). The language of cartography in this initial section of the story has to do with an external mapping that comes from someone else's digital device. She follows the unusual route shown by the *app*, and finds it hard to decode her whereabouts. In fact, she will be later on surprised by their final destination, as if this artificial compass had played a cruel trick on her.

In contrast to this treacherous external mapping, there is a description of an inner cartographic world, included in an apparently digressive section of the story. While the mother is driving Ben to his friend's house, she is also taking part in a ludic but disquieting dialogue with the son, who makes reference to the act of drowning in a dark lake. This allusion triggers the mother's memory of a dangerous night swim in a lake, an episode ambiguously associated to both pleasure and death. It was during this solitary night swim that young Michelle experienced disorientation and the possibility of actual death: "It was so dark and wet that it was hard to know if her eyes were closed or open. She was afraid that she was not quite level, as she swam, that she was tilting downward, afraid that when she turned her face up to inhale she would find only water" (6). And it is then that the different maps inside the body, similar to the "living map of the blood system" or the "secret map of lymph nodes" described in Enright's essay provide the character with a route back to life: "She caught a flash of her white arm, a sinewy gleam that she followed –her body its own compass– until she heard, on the bank, the voice of the man she was supposed to sleep with ..." (7). The bodily knowledge represented with the language of cartography becomes the vehicle for her survival in the lake episode, and a further affirmation of the life drive as the story develops. The internal mapping is the reliable one, and it will be used by the mother until the end of a story that adopts a conciliatory attitude in relation to the theme of motherhood and where the protagonist manages to negotiate a balance between love and fear in her inner journeys to the past and when facing the present landscape of affects in her mature life.

Anne Enright's literary project is an ambitious and challenging one. She has experimented with different types of aesthetics, and varied literary genres. But when it comes to the thematic spectrum in her writings, the body – the physicality of our being

in the world – and motherhood become prominent. In order to explore these themes, Enright has frequently adopted and adapted the conventions of female *Bildungsroman*, as this is a literary mode that facilitates the representation of coming-of-age stories. For her female protagonists, these apprenticeship stories include the acquisition of agency to construct their own notions of individual and collective identity, as well as an exploration of mother-child relationships from a feminist and anti-essentialist perspective.

At the level of language, the examples from her works selected in this article show how the author also adopts the role of a cartographer as she constantly uses the language of maps and landscape to articulate a geography of affects. If any map is, as Peter Turchi states, “but one of an indefinitely large number of maps that might be produced from the same data” (*Maps* 73), then the use of cartographic language becomes particularly useful when identity is conceived as fluid, and when motherhood is portrayed as unpredictable and disorienting, or as an experience with episodic and nuanced joys. In this sense, the mapping of routes, for individual and collective purposes, and the training in the art of map reading, with an acute awareness of the subjectivity involved, becomes a powerful metaphor to represent the complex realities of female experiences, without narrowing their diversity. Multiple maps that reconfigure ever expanding geographies of affect. The geographical and transatlantic maps, the domestic ones, the depiction of seascapes, the drawing of urban or suburban cityscapes, as well as the internal bodily maps, all of them are obsessively present in the language and the representations of spatial configurations and inner journeys when it comes to Enright’s writings. The analysis of examples from more than one literary genre practised by Enright proved that this strategy is an integral component of the author’s poetics, independently from the type of text in focus. The exacting of a more expansive cartography composed by different works such as *Actress*, *No Authority*, *Making Babies* and “Night Swim”, allows me to state that this strategy makes an emphasis on the transitory aspect of representations, on the act of drawing routes rather than a teleological search for fixed references.

Finally, the way Enright uses the language of maps represents an appropriation of a tradition culturally assumed as a male one. The author ironically refers to this in *Making Babies*, when she says that “men were supposed to be good at reading maps” (112). And by extension, we could say that maps, when they are conceived only as visual artifacts, would also favour seeing as a dominant sense. However, when Enright uses the language of cartography, she constantly connects the visual experience with the character’s need or capacity to perceive her surroundings via another sense. Thus, the tactile in *Actress*, for example, is emphasized by Norah’s need to touch the door of the London house where her

mother had been born; or, by the end of the novel, she lifts her face to meet the rain right after her encounter with the polychromy in the sea waters. In the examples selected from Enright's prose, usually more than one sense is at play in the narrative segment where the language of maps or landscape is been used. The sensorial quality of Enright's writings, when articulated in combination with a cartographic lexicon, unsettles the tradition of map reading as an exclusively male and visual practice: it alters our cultural assumptions about the hierarchy of the senses, and expands our notions of the human sensorium.

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An Untold History: Unprecedented Translations of Excerpts from Ulysses in Brazil¹

Uma história ainda não-contada: As traduções inéditas de trechos de Ulisses no Brasil

Camila Hespagnol Peruchi

Abstract: *This article presents research undertaken with the purpose of filling the gaps in the records of James Joyce's translations in Brazil. Its specificity, however, resides in a more limited scope of this vast corpus: two excerpts from Ulysses already translated into Brazilian Portuguese, but which had remained scattered among pages of newspapers. They are the twelfth part of the episode "Wandering Rocks", translated by Erasmo Pilloto (1946) and an excerpt from "Hades", translated by Patrícia Galvão (1947). By undertaking the history of translation approach, this study aims at doing more than simply chronologically presenting translated facts, for it will also 1) relate these texts to the context that gave rise to them 2) introduce the translator, for little is known about the Brazilian translation scene and 3) provide, with descriptive and interpretive purpose, some samples of these translation works.*

Keywords: *Ulysses; James Joyce; Brazilian Translations; Erasmo Pilloto; Patrícia Galvão.*

Resumo: *Este artigo apresenta pesquisas realizadas com o objetivo de preencher as lacunas nos registros das traduções de James Joyce no Brasil. Sua especificidade, no entanto, reside em um escopo mais limitado desse vasto corpus: dois trechos de Ulisses já traduzidos para o português brasileiro, mas que permaneceram dispersos entre as páginas dos jornais. Trata-se da décima segunda parte do episódio "Wandering Rocks", traduzido por Erasmo Pilloto (1946) e de um trecho de "Hades", traduzido por Patrícia Galvão (1947). A partir da abordagem da história da tradução, este estudo pretende ir além de simplesmente apresentar cronologicamente os fatos traduzidos, pois também irá 1) relacionar esses textos ao contexto que os originou; 2) apresentar o tradutor, pois pouco se sabe sobre a cena da tradução brasileira e 3) fornecer, com propósito descritivo e interpretativo, algumas amostras desses trabalhos de tradução.*

Palavras-chave: *Ulysses; James Joyce; Traduções Brasileiras; Erasmo Pilotto; Patrícia Galvão.*

Introduction

This article is part of a larger project whose purpose is to systematically gather data on all Brazilian Portuguese translations of James Joyce's work and make them available on an online database. Conceived and coordinated by Vitor Alevato do Amaral, from the Fluminense Federal University in Niterói, Rio de Janeiro, this project aims at collecting and publicizing the results (often from unexpected encounters) of more than ten years of research undertaken by Amaral on Joyce's translations, therefore, covering all Brazilian Portuguese translations² since 1942, year of the first translation of a work by Joyce on Brazilian lands. This article has the same premise as its starting point, namely, that the studies and the records on Joyce's translations in Brazil have gaps that ought to be filled. Its specificity, however, resides on the framework of this vast and not yet fully mapped corpus: excerpts from *Ulysses* already translated into Brazilian Portuguese. As it is well known, there are three translations of *Ulysses* already published: those of Antonio Houaiss (1966), Bernardina Pinheiro (2005) and Caetano Galindo (2012). The existence of these three works is already well known to readers and the comparison between them has long been the object of investigation among Joyce translation scholars.

The challenges that originate from the translations have been the target of Translation Studies, and also of the confluence between this field and Literary Studies. This confluence has already yielded many academic works³ which sought not only to register the general principles (syntactic structure, prosody, meaning etc.) that guided a certain degree of "fidelity" of each translation to the original text, but also to identify moments when the variability of criteria operates positively, since literature is averse to strict rules and regulatory principles. If these three already established and published translations have given rise to extensive research, the same cannot be said of some fragments of *Ulysses* that have already been translated in Brazil, but that have remained "forgotten", scattered between pages of magazines and newspapers: 1) a short excerpt referring to the twelfth part of the episode "Wandering Rocks" made in 1946 by Erasmo Pilotto (See Attachment I); 2) four pages from "Hades" translated in 1947 by Patrícia Galvão (See Attachment II); 3) the final excerpt of Molly Bloom's monologue translated in 1962 by Haroldo and Augusto de Campos and published in the first edition of their *Panorama de Finnegans Wake*;⁴ and also 4) an excerpt from Molly Bloom's final monologue translated in verse, in 1984, by the poet Paulo Mendes Campos and published in his collection of poetry *Trinca de Copas*.

By taking the history of translation approach, this text aims at doing more than simply presenting translated facts, but also to relate them to the context that gave rise to them, presenting concrete translation solutions. In view of this ambition and the limitations of an article, I will focus on the first two of the excerpts: the translations by Erasmo Pilotto and by Patrícia Galvão, both from French. As these are translations from different passages from *Ulysses*, the focus of this article is not on the comparison, but on the critical commentary of each one of them.

II. “Wandering Rocks”, Translated by Erasmo Pilloto

The relationship between Brazilian intellectuals and *Ulysses* dates back to a 1924 article in the newspaper *Diário de Pernambuco* in which the sociologist Gilberto Freyre describes how this novel captures the “flagrants of inner mental life”. In doing so, Freyre registered what seems to be the beginning of the Brazilian critical reception of *Ulysses* and recognized with some irony the difficulties it would engender: “... and even under the banana trees in Rio, the easy English of Joyce’s name is already pronouncing. The English of his works will be the difficult one to spell” (1). Demanding enough for native readers, *Ulysses*’s inventiveness and linguistic complexity pose a quite different set of challenges to translators. In 1950, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda suggested a peculiar way to face these challenges: a collective translation, facilitated by the very principle of composition of the novel that presents each of its episodes in a different style and rhythm⁵ (Holanda, *Ulisses e José* 1).

Four years earlier, however, the literary magazine *Joaquim* had presented, in its edition published in September 4th, the first Brazilian translation of a fragment of *Ulysses*, at first without any indication of authorship: a short excerpt referring to the twelfth part of the episode “Wandering Rocks”. Later, it was discovered that the translation was done by the co-founder of *Joaquim*, Erasmo Pilloto, which was revised and stylistically edited by Dalton Trevisan. Dalton Trevisan is, today, a reference in the Brazilian literary universe. Erasmo Pilotto, on the other hand, was known for his work in the area of pedagogy and education. Pilotto was one of those responsible for the expansion and implementation of Escola Nova Pedagogy in the education system of Paraná.⁶ He defended free, mandatory and extended primary education to the entire population, in addition to having valued the aesthetic experience for teacher and student training. His direct involvement in initiatives such as the “Sociedade de Cultura Artística Brasília Itiberê”, “Salão Paranaense de Belas Artes”, “Escola de Música e Belas Artes do Paraná” and his role as a secretary of Culture and Education (1950-1952) supporting public policies for the teaching of art make his contribution to the *Joaquim* not a deviation from its main path, but a complement to it.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Dalton Trevisan found in Pilotto a partnership for the creation of a literary magazine driven by an expansive ideal of national culture.⁷

Joaquim launched in Curitiba – at the time a capital with just over 120,000 inhabitants –, a debate about national and international literary production, promoting literary vanguards in a scenario still dominated by symbolism and regionalism.⁸ Its intention was to present a less localist conception of culture, founding a modern horizon of reading. Thus, *Joaquim* refused not only the longstanding opposition between localism and cosmopolitanism, but also the usual posture of our *intelligentsia*, always dealing with antagonistic peers such as Brazil/Europe, universal/particular. *Joaquim*'s title itself, a reference to a *common and universal name*, synthesizes the democratic and internationalist spirit of its collaborators, committed to de-provincialization.

In order to carry out this task, the magazine translated into Portuguese unpublished excerpts from Marcel Proust, Louis Aragon, Tristan Tzara, T.S. Elliot, Garcia Lorca, Rainer Maria Rilke, André Gide, Jean Paul Sartre, Eugene O'Neill, Jean Racine and... James Joyce. Translations (and original text in a language easily understood by Brazilian readers)⁹ appeared under the column “Lesson Berlitz for the composition of the novel”, which had two assumptions: on the one hand, that writing something of value implied reading the great classics; on the other, that national literature encompassed everything that was available in our language. It is, therefore, an example of the prominence that translation gained in the intellectual debates of the time, when it was understood as a necessary stage to expand knowledge of our own culture.¹⁰

But what could Brazilian literature and its readers learn from great classics – especially *Ulysses*? The excerpt from the novel chosen for translation in *Joaquim* may provide some answers: the twelfth part of the episode “Wandering Rocks”. The episode itself stands out: not one with the hilarity or pain of Bloom's interior monologues, the obsessive guilt of the self-centered Stephen, or Molly's stream of thoughts ... but precisely the one that abdicates the protagonists in favor of the rotation of secondary characters and the representation of simultaneity as an omniscient technique.

In the translated passage, Kernan happily walks to James's Gate after taking Pullbrook Robertson's order. He enters a bar, asks Crimmings for a gin, talks about the weather (good for the farmers, who are always grumbling) and about the explosion of General Slocum's boat. The predominant narrative technique of the excerpt is the standard technique of the first part of *Ulysses*: the alternation between the 3rd person narrator and interior monologue (in this case, Tom Kernan's interior monologue). The difference in the dialogues which here, for the first and only time, are not introduced by a

colon and a dash, but appear completely integrated into the narrative, contributing even more to that already strong indistinguishability of voices so characteristic of *Ulysses*... This formal mark was maintained by Pilotto. In this passage, Tom Kernan also meets the one who seems to him the brother of Ned Lambert (who “is as like it as damn it”). He walks past where Emmet hanged himself, and tries to remember where he was buried, which brings him to Dignam (who “went out in a puff”). Finally, even in a hurry, he misses (“by a hair”) the passage of the viceroy.

In the summary above, a feature stands out: colloquialism. Colloquialism, therefore, embraces the combination of proverbs, sayings, slang, and orality. The amount of this in a short passage from *Ulysses* shows the diversity of colloquial language and also the novel’s interest in embracing it in itself. In the following table, the reader will find a set of colloquial expressions also contained in the translated excerpt. They are in the English language (original),¹¹ in the French language (Auguste Morel version), in the Spanish language (José Salas Subirat), in the translation by Erasmo Pilotto and in the later translations of Antonio Houaiss, Bernardina Pinheiro and Caetano Galindo, respectively.

Original	Auguste Morel	J. Salas Subirat	Huaiss	Galindo	Bernardina	Erasmus Pilotto
Got around him all right. (U 10.720)	J'ai mené ça tambour battant. (233)	Lo atopellé bién (254)	Peguei-o direitinho. (181)	Dei a volta nele direitinho (408)	Eu consegui o que queria direitinho. (265)	Atravessei-me.
First rate. (U 10.721)	A merveille, monsieur. (233)	De primera. (254)	De primeira (181)	Nota dez. (408)	Melhor não é possível. (265)	De primeira.
Just keeping alive. (U 10.722)	Tout doucement (233)	Apenas raspando (254)	Na sua vidinha de sempre. (181)	Vou levando. (408)	Apenas sobrevivendo. (265)	Navegando.
A thimbleful. (U 10.739)	Une larme, (233)	Solamente um dedalito (254)	Só um dedinho. (181)	Eu só vou tomar um dedinho. (408)	Uma dose pequena, senhor. (265)	Vou tomar só um dedo.
He's as like it damn it. (U 10.758)	C'est lui tout craché. (234)	Se le parece como La gran siete. (255)	É ele escarrado. (182)	Cara de um focinho do outro. . (409)	É ele cuspidado e escarrado. (266)	É parecido como diabo.
Went out in a puff. (U 10.771)	Pari sans crier gare. (235)	Se fue em um sopro (255)	Foi-se num piscar. (182)	Foi-se num estalo. (410)	Ele se foi num sopro. (266)	Foi-se em um sôpro.
Sham squire. (U 10.789)	Faux hobereau (235)	Falso hidalgo (256)	Vergonha de fidalgo (183)	Escudeiro de meiatigela (410)	Falso escudeiro (267)	Falso fidalgo.
Some Tipperary bosthoon (U 10.777)	Quelque pedzouille de Tipperary (235)	Algún compadrón de Tipperary (255)	Algum tabaréu de Tipperary. (182)	Algum joãoninguém capiau de Tipperary. (410)	Algum cara imprestável de Tipperary. (266)	Algum acompanhado de Tipperary
No cardsharpping then (U 10.784)	Pas bon de tricher alors. (235)	Nada de trapas entonces (256)	Nada de cartas marcadas então. (182)	Nada de ases na manga naquela época. . (410)	Nenhuma trapaça então. (267)	Nada de trapaças então.
Palm oil. (U 10.731)	Le spots-de-vin. (234)	Aceite de palma (254)	Vaselina. (181)	Mãos molhadas. (408)	Suborno. (265)	Azeite de palmeira.
Fits me down to the ground. (U 10.745)	Me va comme un grant (342)	Me queda como anillo al dedo (255)	Me cai como uma luva. (182)	Me cai como uma luva. (409)	Assenta-me às mil maravilhas. (266)	Me assenta como anel no dedo.
The cup that cheers but not inebriates. (U 10.750)	Le breuvage que donne du ton sans enlever la raison (p	La copa que alega pero no marea (255)	O trago que afaga mas não embriaga. (182)	A taça que anima sem ludibriar. (409)	A taça que alegra mas não embebeda. (266)	A taça que alegra mas não perturba.
Toff. (U 10.745)	Grandin (234)	Tirifilo (255)	Bacana (182)	Janota. (409)	Figurão.(266)	Tirófilo.
Bowls them over. (U 10.739)	Ça leur en bouche une surface (234)	Los deja listos (254)	É tiro e queda (182)	Passa uma rasteira neles (p.408)	Isso os impressiona (265)	Deixa-os na linha.
Now, you're talking straight. (U 10.731)	Là vous êtes dans le vra, Mr. Crimmins. (234)	Ahora está hablando bién, señor Crimmings. (254)	Aí é que está o busílis, senhor Crimmins. (181)	Agora o senhor tocou na ferida, Sr. Crimmins. (408)	Agora o senhor está falando certo, Sr. Crimmins. (265)	Agora está falando bem, senhor Crimmings.

The table above suggests that the presence of colloquialism in literature was possibly one of the “lessons” of modernism that *Joaquim* intended to emphasize. Exposing all the translation solutions is not within the scope of this article, but we would like to focus at least on two of them: the expressions “Palm oil” and “Tipperary bosthoon”. The first one appears when Kernan comments on the explosion of General Slocum’s boat. The episode of the boat that, even in a deplorable state, left for navigation raises in this character the suspicion of bribery, suggested through the expression “palm oil”. This expression is derived from the metaphorical figure of speech “to grease/oil someone’s palm”. According to Partridge, the expression was current between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries and the idea behind it is that grease and oil help machines work smoothly (2254). In the same way, bribing people will make it easier to get what is desired. The same expression exists in French as *graisser la patte*.

Expressions like these are illuminating, for they are usually related to the cultural universe from which they originate, but not much is known about how and why they have started to be used or how long they will last: getting old is often their destiny. Once faced with them, therefore, the translator may 1) not know them, ignoring their metaphorical meaning, which is easier to happen with pioneer translations, carried out in historical moments that had fewer sources of research, 2) check whether the slang is still being used, 3) choose between keeping the term corresponding to the original in the historical moment he/she translates or opt for a corresponding early twentieth century Brazilian slang. In any case, it is inevitable to ask if the maintenance of the cultural context in which the text was written is important or if providing an equivalent feeling is more important. In the case in question, Erasmo Pilotto’s translation opts for the literal sense, “azeite de palmeira”, associating “palmeira” to the palm tree and not to the palm [of the hand] (different from the Spanish translation, for example, which, even though the literal sense is maintained, retains at least the ambiguity of “palm”, partially preserving the sense). With this, Pilotto loses the figurative sense of the term. On the other hand, Houaiss – who chooses “vaselina” – moves away from the original literal sense, keeps the idiomatic character, but does so through an expression that, although keeps the sense of “facilitating something,” moves far beyond the idea of bribery. Bernardina opts for the literal expression (“suborno”), but with that she gives up colloquiality. Galindo, on the other hand, tries to keep them both. The participle of “mãos molhadas”, however, does not refer so much to the idea of kickback as the infinitive form “molhar as mãos” would.

Another expression that poses different challenges, but of the same nature is “Tipperary bosthoon”. This expression appears when Kernan sees an empty carriage, with

the reins knotted to the wheel. The scene arouses in him contempt for the individual who, acting carelessly, endangers people's lives. Tipperary is a rural place southwest of Dublin. "Bosthoon" derives from the Latin word "bastūn" which means "stick" and refers, in its first sense, to a whip made of reeds tied together. Later, it began to refer to vulnerable, apathetic, personalities. To translated it, Pilotto chooses "acompadrado", a word similar to the Spanish version ("compadrón). Both maintain the referential function, but lose the pejorative sense of the original term, and also add a positive sense to it: "Compadre" is a term that comes from the Latin "compāter", this is co-father. The prefix "co" indicates meeting, cooperation. Words derived from "compadre" are, therefore, usually a reference to a friendly relationship.

Bernardina opts for "cara imprestável", maintaining the referential and colloquial sense with the word "cara" (someone unimportant), and giving it a tone of offense by adding the adjective "imprestável", which, however, ends up accentuating it. In Galindo's solution – "joãoninguém capiau" – the first term retains the despicable tone of the original and "capiau" marks the rural origin of the subject, imperceptible to the Brazilian reader who would hardly associate "Tipperary" with a rural area. Houaiss chooses the term "tabaréu", currently in disuse. In a literal sense, the word means an inexperienced, incompetent soldier. In a figurative sense, it is someone apathetic or someone who knows little about his craft. The expression, therefore, captures well both the narrative situation to which it refers (a sloppiness that exasperates its observer) and the figurative sense of the original term, "someone spiritless". By extension, the term "tabaréu" also means a country man, so it also retains the meaning contained in "Tipperary".

What these two illustrative cases reveal, as well as the diversity of solutions that the table above shows, is that colloquialism constitutes one of the main challenges of translation. Slangs and sayings operate on the non-literal level of meaning, in addition to maintaining some degree of particularism: it is historically situated and restricted (to a certain social group, space, time etc.) by its very nature. On the one hand, with the delicate nature of these linguistic features, the often subtle intricacies in source texts can be easily mistranslated, losing important information. On the other hand, they are a special invitation to exercise the imagination and historical and cultural knowledge of the two languages that translation brings into play.

III. Excerpt from "Hades", Translated by Patrícia Galvão

Five months after Pilotto's translation, another stretch of *Ulysses* appeared among us. The modernist writer, journalist, militant of the Brazilian Communist Party and translator

Patrícia Galvão (1910-1962), known by her pseudonym Pagu, was responsible for it. On February 2, 1947 – the twentieth anniversary of the first edition of *Ulysses* and also James Joyce's birthday – a translated excerpt from “Hades” was published in the section “Anthology of Foreign Literature” in the Literary Supplement of the *Diário de São Paulo*. The Supplement, directed by Pagu and Geraldo Ferraz, was released for the first time on November 24, 1946, and its publication lasted until November 28, 1948. Like *Joaquim*, the section “Anthology of Foreign Literature” had as its main objective to promote the production of modernist authors of world literature. Apollinaire, Garcia Lorca, Alfred Jarry, Virginia Woolf and Paul Valery were some of the authors commented and translated. In the 1947 edition, an excerpt from Hades was translated from the French version, by Augusto Morel and Stuart Gilbert (Campos, *Pagu: vida e obra* 72) and published together with a kind of literary profile of the writer: “James Joyce, author of *Ulysses*”.

That it was an introduction of Joyce for Brazilian readers is immediately noted by the long list of biographical facts that the text organizes chronologically. Among them, the communist Pagu mentions, not by chance, Joyce's political neutrality, which, according to her, “can only be measured by the enormous question he asked in a conversation: ‘Who won the first war?’” Some of the facts of Joyce's life, however, allow Pagu to comment on central features of his works: his education at the Jesuit College in Clongwies Wood and his life in “a complex and tumultuous city” like Dublin, marked by “dramatic events of a fierce fight between Ireland and England”, allow Pagu to refer to Stephen's internal struggle in Joyce's autobiographic novel *Portrait of The Artist as a Young Man* (1916). Pagu also claims that *Ulysses* is “the great book of the century, not surpassed by any contemporary” – and mentions the ambiguities involved in its publication: “the scandal” by a “puritan critic”, its prohibition in the USA, the inaction of the American publisher Huebsch, its clandestine circulation and the subsequent publication of the French translation by Sylvia Beach. The text ends with a brief mention of *Finnegans Wake* and directly quotes its opening sentence, in which, according to Pagu, the “polyglot” Joyce “intended to have amalgamated the word thunder in 12 different languages”. Thus, the final excerpt makes a specific comment on the translation, mentioning its “disclosure character” (which would have motivated the choice of a simple excerpt for translation) and some of *Ulysses*'s main formal procedures:

This is not the place to critically study Joyce's work. Our anthology could not, however, fail to record this birthday of the author of *Ulysses* without presenting to readers, in Portuguese – it is the first time that *Ulysses* has undergone a similar attempt at a translation – a page by the remarkable writer. We chose, given the

publicity nature, a simple, short, legible excerpt from the portentous tome of eight hundred pages. It is the excerpt that reproduces Joyce's hero's memory of his father's death. The interruptions, the simultaneity of the psychological landscape, the interior monologue, certain lapses in style, wordplay and its plot, are part of Joyce's way, which we have tried to transport with the greatest care to this translation. Here is the excerpt from *Ulysses*. (Pagu, *James Joyce, autor de Ulysses* 1, my translation).¹²

The emphasis on the literary procedures employed by Joyce demonstrates Pagu's familiarity with the criticism and debate that was already taking place around *Ulysses*. In this text we will focus on some of her solutions for the narrator's discourse. The hypothesis is that if, on the one hand, the modernist tradition in which she was inserted motivated the choice for *Ulysses*, on the other, a possible lack of knowledge of the entire novel in the original language limited the perception of typically Joycean formal marks.

The first point to be highlighted is that Pagu's translation maintains the narrator's sentences in the direct order of the Portuguese language, making, at most, commonplace inversions in the standard usage, such as the displacement of the adverb to the beginning of the sentence. For instance, "Gentle sweet air blew round the bared heads in a whisper". In Pagu's translation, the corresponding sentence is: "Em torno das cabeças descobertas uma brisa cariciosa murmurava". Joyce's phrase sounds eccentric. One would expect: "Gentle sweet air blew in a whisper round the bared heads". Joyce, however, moves away from the term that would characterize it. "In a whisper" is a complement to "blew", but it is in the final position of the sentence, composing a typically Joycean inversion. Pagu modifies this construction.

In the sentence chosen as an example, there are also signs of Pagu's tendency towards conciseness, making the sense more direct: "Blew" and "in a whisper" become just "murmurava" and the adjectival accumulation of "gentle sweet air" – emphasized by Joyce with the absence of "and" – is reduced to "caricioso". Joyce's inversions and accumulations, however, have specific causes and imply a pattern of broader consequences: in *Ulysses*, point of view is the main form of emission of narrative information, even when this information belongs to objective reality. The fact that the descriptions are linked to the character's perceptions justifies the shuffling of the sentence that subverts its traditional order. In short, the inverted sentences may be signs of what Pagu called "the simultaneity of the psychological landscape", not so captured when one chooses to maintain the direct order of the sentences.

Also in this sense, another feature worth highlighting is Pagu’s choice to keep many of the narrator’s verbs in the present tense. The following table presents excerpts from the narrator’s discourse in the original, in Pagu’s translation, and in the French version on which her translation was based:

Original	Pagu’s translation	French translation
A seventh gravedigger came beside Mr Bloom (U6.902-3)	O sétimo coveiro aproxima-se do senhor Bloom	Un septième fossoyeur s’approche de M. Bloom (212) [Passé simple]
He stepped aside nimbly (U6.905)	Afasta-se vivamente para o lado	Il s’écarta lestement (212) [Passé simple]
Clay, brown, damp, began to be seen in the hole” (U6.906)	A terra úmida e morena já aparece na fossa	Le terre, brune, humilde, <i>commençait</i> à apparaitître dans le trou (212) [Imparfait]
A mound of damp clods rose more, rose , and the gravediggers rested their spades (U6.907)	Depois os torrões úmidos formam um montículo e os coveiros descansam as pás	En monticule les mottes humides montèrent encore, montèrent , puis les fossoyeurs déposèrent leurs pelles (212) [Présent]
The boy propped his wreath against a corner” (U6.908)	A criança coloca a sua coroa num ângulo	L’enfant installa sa couronne contre un angle (212) [Passé simple]
He looked down intently into a stone crypt (U6.971)	Vivamente interessado o seu olhar mergulha na cripta de pedra	l plongea um regard avide dans um caveau (215) [Passé simple]

Pagu, unlike the original and the French translation, keeps almost all verbs highlighted in the present tense. Evidently, many of them are part of the same passage which can justify the maintenance for the sake of consistency. In doing so, however, Pagu’s translation further blurs the boundaries between narration and representation of consciousness (interior monologue), accentuating the zone of indeterminacy between narrator and character. This is because, in the original, the tense is one of the few signs that differentiates the narrator’s discourse from the character’s interior monologue: the main grammatical mark

of the oscillation between one and the other is the change from the third person singular to the first, followed by a reconfiguration of the tense (which passes from the past to the present) based on the change of the enunciator.

Of course, interior monologues will not always be composed of verbs; on the contrary, the general tendency of the novel as it progresses is to make them more and more telegraphic, turning them into a series of isolated nouns. As nothing in *Ulysses* is exactly standardized, in some moments the tense oscillates within the monologue itself, when the character refers to some fact from his past or when he projects some fact from his future. Therefore, we said that Pagu's version accentuates (and does not inaugurate) a dynamic that already occurs.

Conclusion

At this point, the reader already noticed that the main points of the reconstruction of some episodes not yet recorded in the history of the translations of *Ulysses* in Brazil depended on the specificities of each translation. This does not, however, prevent these specificities from having a common impulse. Together, they sought mainly 1) to introduce the translator, when little known in the Brazilian literary and translation scene, 2) to outline the profile as well as the conception of literature of the venues that, in a pioneering manner, presented *Ulysses* to Brazilian readers 3) to provide, with descriptive and interpretive purpose, some samples of these translation works, as well as some comments on their meaning effects. Although forcibly brief, this first record expects to have fulfilled at least two primary tasks: to demonstrate that to talk about an unprecedented aspect of the history of Brazilian translations of *Ulysses* also implies to talk about our own literary system and to be a starting point for more detailed and extensive future analyses. If dissertations, theses, articles and books make up a relevant body of criticism on the translations of Joyce's works in Brazil, the lack of a historiographical and critical study covering the corpus we intend to analyze is striking: it is this gap that this text has tried to begin to fill.

Notes

¹ This article is part of the results of the research funded by the Brazilian Association of Irish Studies/ Emigrant Support Program Research Grant for a Junior Researcher.

² By Brazilian translations, we mean those made by Brazilians, in the Brazilian variant of the Portuguese language and aimed at the readership of Brazil.

³ See: Amaral, Vitor Alevato do; Galindo, Caetano. "Caetano. Houaiss... Pinheiro, Galindo

and what the future holds for *Ulysses* translations in Brasil”. In: *Ilha do Desterro*. vol. 72, nº 2, pp. 191-204, Florianópolis, mai/ago 2019. Vargas, Fábio Aristimunho. “ABC das traduções brasileiras de *Ulysses* de James Joyce”. *Cadernos de Tradução*, vol. 38, nº 2, pp. 163-184, mai-ago 2018. Amaral, Vitor Alevato do. “Por uma história das traduções de James Joyce no Brasil”. *Belas Infiéis*, vol. 4, n.2, pp. 129-140, 2015.

⁴ This translation was also published in 1997 in *Joyce no Brasil: anthology Bloomsday 1988-1997*.

⁵ Just now a project similar to Holanda’s suggestion has taken place in Brazil. It is the collective translation of *Ulysses* organized by Henrique Piccinato Xavier, with publication scheduled for June 2021 by Editora Ateliê.

⁶ State in Brazil.

⁷ Cf. Silva, Rossano. *Educação, Arte e Política: A trajetória intelectual de Erasmo Pilotto*. Tese de doutorado (Doutorado – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação). Universidade Federal do Paraná, 2014. On pages 339-41, the reader can find the Pilotto’s Chronology of Works.

⁸ About Emiliano Pernetá, one of the leading symbolist poets of the time, Dalton Trevisan wrote: “Ilusão is, by chance, the best poetry book written in Paraná, grateful to our heart for an affective bond, but this is not a book that goes beyond the borders of 15th Street, and for us, right now, are the borders of the world, not those of 15th Street, which we are trying to reach” (92). It is not by chance, therefore, that *Joaquim* had among his collaborators some of the main names of modernism, such as Vinícius de Moraes, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Wilson Martins, Guido Viaro, Otto Maria Carpeaux, Mario de Andrade, Oswald de Andrade, Sergio Milliet, Lêdo Ivo and Mario Pedrosa.

⁹ As pointed out by Sanches Neto, this broad concept of “translation” enabled the publication in the original of *La Valse de Vingt Ans*, by Louis Aragon, *La Casada Infiel* and *Romance Sonâmbulo*, both from Lorca, *Nostalgia*, by Galo René Pérez, *Primeros Poemas*, by Homero Icaza Sánche, two untitled poems by André Gide and *Poemas Inventados* by Raúl Lozza (124).

¹⁰ Once again, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda draws attention to the centrality of the translation activity. In 1950, the first translation of *A la recherche du temps perdu* – made collectively by Mario Quintana, Manuel Bandeira, Lourdes Sousa de Alencar, Carlos Drummond de Andrade and Lúcia Miguel Pereira – was in progress. In defense of the task, Holanda wrote that “... whoever intends to study the most recent developments in fictional literature in Brazil will not be able to restrict themselves

to the consideration of works directly written in Portuguese. There are translations that, due to the efforts of adaptation and assimilation required, and also their possible repercussions on the spiritual life of a country, demand no less than the dedicated attention of critics.” (*O espírito e a letra* 218).

¹¹ The English language references to *Ulysses* are from the Gabler edition (1986), identified with the episode number, followed by punctuation and line numbers: *U* + episode number.line number).

¹² Não é aqui o lugar para estudar criticamente a obra de Joyce. Nossa antologia não podia, contudo, deixar de registrar este aniversário do autor de *Ulysses* sem apresentar aos leitores, em língua portuguesa – é a primeira vez que *Ulysses* passa por uma tentativa de tradução semelhante – uma página do notável escritor. Escolhemos, dado o caráter de divulgação, um trecho simples, curto, legível, do portentoso tomo de oitocentas páginas. É o que reproduz a lembrança do herói de Joyce sobre a morte de seu pai. As interrupções, o simultaneísmo da paisagem psicológica, o monólogo interior, certas síncopes do estilo, jogos de palavras e sua trama, fazem parte da maneira de Joyce, que procuramos transportar com o maior cuidado para esta informação. Eis o trecho de *Ulysses*. (Pagu, *James Joyce, autor de Ulysses* 1).

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do ULISSES, de JAMES JOYCE:

(3a. lição Berlitz de composição para romance)

Do relógio de sol para James's Gate, caminhava galhardamente pela rua James o senhor Kernan, satisfeito com a ordem que havia conseguido para Pulbrook Robertson, passando pelas oficinas de Shakleton. Atravessei-me. Como está vossamerce, senhor Crim-

gs? De primeira, senhor. Temi que estivesse em seu outro estabelecimento de Pimlico. Como vão as coisas? Navegando. Temos um tempo bonito. E' verdade. Bom para as plantas. Esses agricultores estão sempre se queixando. Vou tomar só um dedo de sua

melhor genebra. Uma pequena genebra, senhor. Pois não. Que coisa horrível essa explosão do General Slocum. Terrível, terrível! Mil vítimas. E cenas medonhas. Homens pisando mulheres e crianças. A coisa mais brutal do mundo. Qual foi a causa, que é

que dizem? Combustão espontânea: a revelação mais escandalosa. Nem um só bote salvavidas podia flutuar e a mangueira de incêndio tóda arrebentada. O que não posso compreender é como os inspetores permitiram que um

"Rio, 4 de agosto de 1946.

Dalton Trevisan e Erasmo Pilotto,

Tenho recebido o JOAQUIM, a sugestiva revista que vocês publicam aí no Paraná; se a palavra "mensagem" não estivesse meio gasta, eu a empregaria aqui para exprimir que JOAQUIM é a mensagem da nova geração, cujo primeiro sinal de vida literária normalmente é a publicação de uma revista, de uma revista realmente moderna e inconformada, de um inconformismo que se em alguns casos pode vir a ser abatido ou desbastado pela vida, em outros é sinceramente um roteiro, um caráter firme e irredutível.

No caso dessas revistas, o gosto literário não se perde na exuberância ou na extravagância da juventude, mas aí se afirma e fortalece contra a pressão do lugar comum, do convencional e do chavão, achaques de velhos.

Não agradeceria a lembrança que tiveram de transcrever na revista algumas notas da minha atividade de crítico, se não as sentisse ali, nas páginas de JOAQUIM, realmente valorizadas.

Findarei esta carta pedindo que não interrompam a publicação da revista e nem tão pouco a remessa para

o amigo e companheiro
(a) ALVARO LINS".

RAUL LIMA,
no "Diário de Notícias":

"Moços do Paraná estão fazendo uma revista literária, com o estranho título de JOAQUIM. Recebemos os dois primeiros números e pudemos ver e sentir quanto há nela de sadio inconformismo, de vigor dos espíritos jovens. Há talvez mesmo um certo atropêlo na maneira como se apresentam ou, melhor, apresentam as idéias próprias e alheias. Os que escrevem são Erasmo Pilotto, Dalton Trevisan; os que

ilustram — e são muito bons ilustradores — Poty, Euro Brandão, Guido Viaro, E. Blasí Jor. Publica contos, crítica literária e artística, reportagens, poemas.

A geração nova do Paraná é liberta do prejulgado da fama do poeta Emiliano Perneta, mas isso não impede que Gerpa (abreviatura de Grupo Editor Renascimento do Paraná) anuncie como sua maior e mais importante iniciativa, a edição das Obras Completas do expoente simbolista, em quatro volumes: Prosa, Teatro, Poesias e Ilusão".

Foto ROCHINHA

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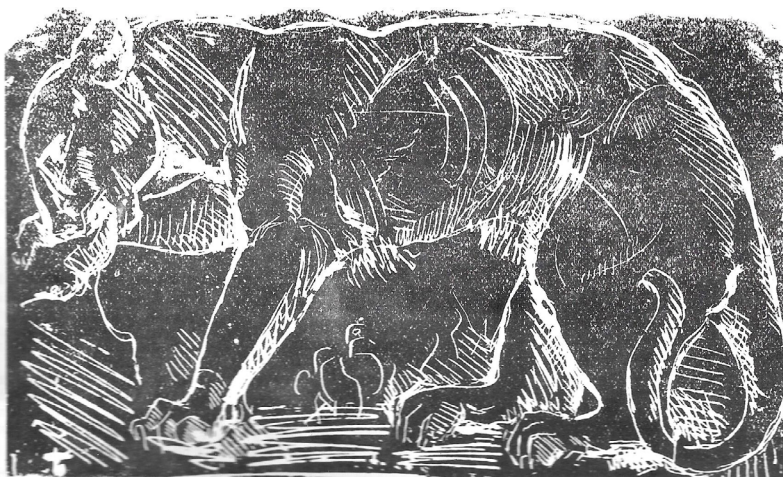
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Zinco gravura de J. TURIN

OH! AS IDEIAS DA PROVINCIA...

"Os DRAMÁTICOS vêm aí para criar um grande teatro nosso! ... esse grupo adotou o nome de guerra de "Os dramáticos", visivelmente inspirados pelo núcleo carioca "Os comediantes", já imortalizados pela glória de terem iniciado o mais belo movimento de renovação do teatro nacional.

Os Dramáticos estrearão a 7 de Setembro com a peça Saudades, de Paulo Magalhães, que será convidado a assistir ao espetáculo inaugural".

("O Dia", 18-8-46).

REVISTA DO GLOBO, 22-6-946:

Sob a direção de Dalton Trevisan, Antônio P. Walger e Erasmo Pilotto, apareceu em Curitiba uma vibrante revista de literatura e arte, que tem o pitoresco título de JOAQUIM, e traz matéria inteligente e corajosa, sem concessão alguma ao gosto passadista.

An Outcome of Many Wars: Irish Democracy in the Follow-Up to the Period of Independence and Further Possibilities

Um resultado de muitas guerras: A democracia irlandesa no pós-independência e outras possibilidades

Irene Portela

Abstract: *An explanation for the success of Irish democracy is the presence of competing views about Ireland, where “wars” did not correspond to a “neat” victorious side. It can be linked to the Easter Rising of 1916, the Anglo-Irish Treaty dispute, and the ensuing Civil War. “High politics” also presents similar divisions and a sort of acceptance of the limits of a single narrative. The Irish political system, to a large extent a remnant of what existed before independence, plays a significant role in the process. It is worth highlighting PR-STV, canvassing, and political representatives’ clinics. As a whole, I emphasise the relevance of value orientated readings of democracy. The concept of “little voices” is useful to sum up the overall context, translating what is present in the explicit scenario into the more “daily” operation of Irish politics. It reflects the interplay between “people”, their “little voices”, shifting, and their relation to the broader political scenarios. Several dimensions of violence remained, explicit in the treatment of travellers, women and children, asylum seekers, homeless. The expansion of room for little voices may constitute a foregoing contribution of Ireland to the creation of (un) worlds, and therefore to world democracy.*

Keywords: *Irish Democracy; Irish Political System; “Little Voices”; Appraisals of Democracy.*

Resumo: *Uma explicação para o sucesso da democracia irlandesa é a presença de concepções diversas sobre a Irlanda, em que “guerras” não correspondem a um lado vitorioso nítido. Isto pode estar relacionado ao Levante da Páscoa de 1916, às disputas em torno do Tratado Anglo-Irlandês e à Guerra Civil que se seguiu. A “alta política” apresenta divisões análogas e certa aceitação dos limites de uma narrativa única. O sistema político irlandês, em grande parte remanescente do que existia antes da independência, desempenha um papel significativo no processo. Vale a pena destacar o PR-STV, o canvassing e as clinics oferecidas pelos*

representantes políticos. Assim enfatizo a importância de leituras da democracia orientadas por valores. O conceito de “pequenas vozes” é útil para apreender o contexto geral, traduzindo o que se apresenta em termos da operação mais “cotidiana” da política irlandesa. Reflete a interconexão entre “pessoas”, suas “pequenas vozes”, mutantes, e sua relação com os cenários políticos mais amplos. Diversas dimensões de violência permaneceram, explicitadas na lide com o grupo étnico constituído pelos Travellers, com mulheres e crianças, com Asylum seekers e com sem-teto. A abertura de espaço para pequenas vozes pode constituir uma contribuição da Irlanda para a criação de (des)mundos e, assim, para a democracia no mundo.

Palavras-chave: *Democracia irlandesa; Sistema político irlandês; “Pequenas vozes”; Aporias de democracia.*

An Opening

The year of 2022 marks the one hundredth anniversary of the Irish Free State, which has remained democratic since its foundation. Furthermore, Irish democracy can arguably be viewed as one of the main contributions of Ireland to the world. There were many “wars” taking place behind such democracy. Perhaps the acceptance that stressing an obvious winning side would represent a return to “open wars” was key to its success. This points to the broader possibility that “Socratic” readings, whether of societies, political realms, or sociological entities, are conducive to wars.

“Little voices” (Portela) can be found everywhere. These are intersected by their multiple belongings. The little voices shift, as does belonging. Its main characteristic might well be its fleetness. They are, nevertheless, always present. The room they get in the big hall of life, or, to be more conspicuous, in the broader social and political representation, might be a key to effective democratic events, which is the main suggestion of this article.

I. The 1916 Easter Rising as Personal

Irish democracy is known for its “resilience”. Huntington includes it in his “A group”, i.e., those which belonged to the “first wave” of democracy and lasted throughout the second and third “waves” and “reverse waves”. To some extent, it lasted against the odds. In the 1960s, Lipset’s correlation between socio-economic indicators and democratic potential was quite influential, however Ireland was a case that was hard to fit into this. More recently, Kissane tried to show that an enlarged reading of the indicators conducive to polyarchy in the period before and after Independence suggested a revision of the

exceptionality of Irish experience. In his 1987 book, Tom Garvin has pointed to the relevance of the mentality of the generation that led the separation from Great Britain and Ireland's government after the Treaty, as well as to the leading political trends after the separation, as key to the democratic outcome. Also significant within this context is Munger's highlighting the importance of the pacific transition of power from *Cumann na nGaedheal* to *Fianna Fáil* in 1932.

The Easter Rising of 1916 is widely accepted as a turning point in Irish socio-political history. Bew, Hazelkorn, and Patterson (*The Dynamics of Irish Politics* 15), Boyce (*Nationalism in Ireland* 295), and Kee (*The Green Flag* 1) are among the many authors who stress the powerful impact of the 15 executions (16 when Roger Casement is included) on public opinion and on the creation of an unprecedented "national" feeling, moving away from the previous political arena, strongly centred around Home Rule and the Irish Parliamentary Party. Michael Collins became a key figure in the following events, including the reshaping of Sinn Féin, as expressed in the February 1917 by-election in Roscommon (Kee 23), the year Collins had returned from Britain. Collins had been a member of the IRB (Irish Republican Brotherhood) since before the 1916 Rising and would dominate it afterwards. In the same year Eamon de Valera, who was soon to become the "other" key figure in Irish politics, was released from prison and won a by-election in East Clare. In the 1918 elections, "Sinn Féin received 46.9% of votes island-wide, and 65% of votes in the area that became the Irish Free State" (Wikipedia a), electing 69 candidates. These formed the First *Dáil*, refusing to take their seats at Westminster and creating a parliament in Dublin.

There are a myriad of details in the "behind the scenes" processes that led to the Anglo-Irish War and the infamous Black and Tans in Ireland. Frank O'Connor's biography of Michael Collins, *The Big Fellow*, highlights the latter's importance in the negotiation of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921, the Treaty debates in the *Dáil*, and the subsequent Civil War, that saw Collins killed in August 1922. Of those elected in 1921, 65 took the pro-Treaty side, led by Collins amongst others, while 57 opposed it, led by De Valera. On 16 June 1922 a general election took place in "Southern Ireland". Although a pact had been agreed between pro- and anti-Treaty representatives in May 1922, the division between them was overwhelming, leading to the anti-Treaty side boycotting the Second Provisional Government under W. T. Cosgrave, which appointed the First Executive of the Irish Free State on 6 December 1922. In the June election, "Out of a valid poll of 621,587 votes, the pro-Treaty faction of Sinn Féin won 239,195 votes and the anti-Treaty faction won 135,310 votes" (Wikipedia b). This was when the Proportional Representation Electoral System – PR-STV single transferable vote – first came to be used. Twelve days after this

election the Civil War broke out, with the Provisional Government forces bombarding the Four Courts in Dublin, that had been occupied by the anti-Treaty IRA. On 30 April 1923 the IRA leadership declared a suspension of military activities and a ceasefire ensued on 24 May (Wikipedia c).

Around the centenary of the Rising, TG4, the Irish language television channel, produced and broadcasted the series 1916 *Seachtar na Cásca* (*The Seven of Easter*), about the seven signatories of the Declaration of the Republic and 1916 *Seachtar Dearmadta* (*The Forgotten Seven*) about the others executed in the aftermath of the Rising, as well as episodes on Roger Casement, Michael Collins and Countess Markievicz. At the same time, Lorcan Collins and Ruán O'Donnell edited a series entitled *16 Lives*, presenting biographies of Casement and the other 15 men killed. In April 2016 commemorations were held in Dublin, during which “Hundreds of thousands of people lined the streets of Dublin for the largest public spectacle in the history of the State” (RTÉ).

What this highlights is that the “personal” dimension the Rising came to assume has meaning because it is “filled”; it reflects people, their shifting interactions, reflections, ideas, values. It is possible to consider those killed and many others who took part in the Rising, as *insoumis*, in the sense coined by Todorov, having in common “*le refus de se soumettre docilement à la contrainte*”¹ (33). Further, what the interest and “sharing” in the celebration also illustrates is a connection with the insubmission in “the Many”, the latter a notion Sheldon Wollin developed so brilliantly, presented in the Rising. In more mundane and daily political language, it can be said that Irish democracy derives strength and pervasiveness from the “acceptance” of such personal aspects, the capability of taking into account “parts” of the, constantly shifting, “Many”; its insubmission as it were.

II. Pain and Turmoil

By any standards, an enormous amount of significant events occurred between the Easter Rising and the creation of the Irish Free State and the Civil War. The Irish War of Independence, also known as the Anglo-Irish War, and especially the vicious actions of the Black and Tans, with what may be seen to include indiscriminate “personal” attacks on civilians and property, hugely contributed to the spread of an anti-British public opinion. In mid-1921, as is well known, a Truce was declared. Towards the end of the year a group of representatives went to London and negotiated what became officially the “Articles of Agreement for a Treaty Between Great Britain and Ireland”. The process was very convoluted, notably in relation to the wording put into force at different stages and the status of the Irish plenipotentiaries. Following all the details is difficult, but many of

these were brought to the fore and used as weapons in the ensuing Treaty Debates, the recognition of the Irish Free State, and the Irish Civil War. It may be said that at first such wars were still part of a political group, an enlarged group that saw itself and was publicly perceived as leading the process. The Treaty Debates and, especially, the Civil War and the years that followed it meant, nevertheless, that it became widespread, and a symptom of the, at least relative, capture of politics in the Irish State by dimensions of the Many. It also meant that, although the Free Staters won and came to be in government, that was only a partial victory, much less significant than the sense of multiplicity – something quite broader than opposition – that prevailed throughout. This is core to understanding the pervasiveness of Irish democracy.

The *Dáil* sessions debating the “Treaty Between Great Britain and Ireland, signed in London on 6 December 1921” ran from 14 December 1921 to 7 January 1922, with the vote taking place on 7 January. As a result, 64 voted in favour of the Treaty and 57 against. A similar figure also resulted from the vote on 10 January for the re-election of Éamon de Valera, who had stepped down as president of the *Dáil*. He failed to be re-elected, with Arthur Griffith being elected instead, this time by 60 to 58 votes (Doherty & Hickey 200). The first access I gained to these debates was through the UCC CELT project (Ó Corráin). Nowadays, it is easily found in the “Debates” section of the page of the Houses of the *Oireachtas*.

As part of the Decade of the Centenaries, *Staging the Treaty*, the playscript entitled “The Treaty,” by Colin Murphy, was staged as a two-day immersive theatre experience, being held twice in the National Concert Hall, the former council chamber of University College Dublin, where the debates actually took place (Fishamble). Several other events concerning the Treaty Debates took place around the country. In his Irish Times article, McGreevy believes that “the debates were the most extraordinary event in Irish parliamentary history, suffused with a passion which is hard to understand, knowing what we know now, by people who had endured danger, jail and bereavement.” The wounds at stake were profound, and surely much of what was put forward then derived from them. Among the six women who took part in the debates, deep personal pain and sorrow seems to have played a fundamental part. In a way, it was overall though, which may help explaining why more “mundane” issues played such a small role. McGreevy goes on to mention: “In a fascinating word cloud experiment published in the book *The Treaty: Debating and Establishing the Free State*, edited by Liam Weeks and Mícheál Ó Fathartaigh, researchers found that the words economic /economical /economy appeared just 52 times”. Another article by Nic Dháibhéid, drawing on *Ireland 1922* (Gannon and McGarry), highlights

the emotional dimensions of the Treaty Debates and the connection it had with the larger Irish public. The debates

... unfolded in a curious mixture of publicity and privacy: the public sessions were avidly reported in the national and provincial press, with particular attention paid to the tone and mood of the chamber, while even the comings and goings to the closed sessions were closely followed for hints of the debates' progress. The emotional register of the Treaty debates thus formed a significant part of how the Irish public learned about the emerging split in the republican movement.

The photo at the beginning of both articles is the same, showing a huge crowd, intensely looking at something “in common”:



Photo 1: Crowd outside Earlsfort Terrace

Photo: NLI The Independent Newspapers (Ireland) Collection: Call no: INDH112A

There are several pictures of large public gatherings in Ireland, including those associated with rallies held not so long before by the Irish Parliamentary Party – a feature that probably should be brought back to the “monster” rallies held by Daniel O’Connell during the campaigns for Catholic Emancipation and Repeal. The particularity of those surrounding the Treaty Debates is therefore not so much the amount of people as their involvement in the “spreading” of the pain, emotions, and division, sometimes quite blurred, existing, I believe, both between individuals and at an intimate level in each person.

In the aftermath of the Treaty debates, a multitude of violent events occurred, both in “The North” and in “Southern Ireland”, apart from disputes between the Provisional Government and British authorities. These more or less “inevitably” led to the Civil War. On 16 June a general election was held in the Free State, although this was not a “common” election. The results were Pro-Treaty, 58; Anti-Treaty, 36; Labour, 17; Farmers,

7; Independents, 6; University of Dublin (T.C.D.), 4. On 18 June, anti-Treaty forces occupied the Four Courts and other areas of the capital. After an ultimatum issued by Michael Collins (under pressure from London), the bombardment of the Four Courts by Provisional Government forces on 28 June marked the beginning of the Civil War. Two days later the Four Courts were abandoned by the Republican garrison, blowing up the Public Record Office before surrendering (Doherty & Hickey 202-3), a sort of prior indicator to what Ferriter points out: the “battle to control the labelling and narrative of the war began during it” (5). Within that context, it became even more important, he defends, for historiography “to do emotion justice and be less judgemental”, a way “to ‘bring the war back’ to those who fought it.” (8)

III. Units and Democracies

Any Civil War represents a deep split. The main point is a split into which “unit”. The Irish Civil War meant a split between groups, families, individuals. I previously phrased this as “since we were all on the other faction what do we do now?” (Portela 336). There are further dimensions, significant in terms of understanding what happened and the possible contributions of the Irish process to broadening the sense of democracy. Things were emotional, personal, in both senses of the word – a people split and persons’ splits. Trying to understand the Irish context, I developed the concept of “little voices” to explain the multitude of people’s dimensions that are present but not covered by the more “substantial” categories social sciences normally use. In a way, it aims to point to the fact that “life”, thoughts, emotions, social interactions and allegiances are not a permanent feature, instead they are quite shifting and there is a political dimension attached. Not to allow room for this is often linked to autocratic attempts, whether in “science” or in “politics”, with pernicious consequences, also at the more personal, “intimate” level.

Jacques Rancière brilliantly stated how democracy ought to be understood as the realm of a myriad of public open possibilities if its full potential is brought to the fore:

Democracy is not the modern ‘abandonment of limitation’ that destroys the heterotopy necessary to politics. Quite the opposite, it is the founding force of such heterotopy, the first limitation to the power of the authority forms that rule the social body . . . The democratic process is the process of that perpetual put at stake, of that invention of forms of subjectivation and verification that contradict the perpetual privatization of public life. In this sense, democracy means the impurity of politics, the rejection of governments’ pretension to embody a single principle of public life and, in such, to circumscribe the understanding and extension of public life (61-81).

As Yarbrough elaborates at length, for Rancière, as for Sheldon Wolin and Hannah Arendt, what is at stake is the possibility of going beyond a mere opposition between genuine and ordinary democracy:

The reclamation of politics comes from the disruption of established structures. Short of overthrow, genuine democracy seeks to re-organize the petrification of ordinary democracy allowing greater movement. Genuine democracy is not a fight lacking in all structure, rather, it uses existing structure to push against, gaining momentum from that which contains it (30).

Such a broad view of democracy, or the referred concept of “little voices”, is not something “directly” needed to explain the formal success of Irish democracy. More “common” aspects were undoubtedly fundamental, pertaining to the realm of “high politics”, such as the mentality of political leaders (Garvin a), of which the peaceful transition of power from *Cumann na nGaedheal* to *Fianna Fáil* (explain) in 1932 was an outstanding example (Munger). The “soft” maintenance of “English” political institutions was another relevant trace, a sort of “regular” background that allowed a “regular” public political life to develop. Allegiance to a broad democratic perspective by all governments, whether majoritarian or, as has been the denominator since the mid 1990’s, coalitions is undoubtedly fundamental. Nevertheless, the close monitoring of governments’ actions, interest in background events, the popularity of parodic and ironic press columns and books about politics, interest in and “familiarity” with main political figures, past and present, all point to a sort of lasting “control” of what is played on the more obvious political stage, a central trait of Irish democracy absent from what more common “academic” appraisals take into account.

The electoral system, PR-STV (Proportional Representation - Single Transferable Vote), was and is certainly an important feature. It can be said that it went well beyond the originally envisaged idea of ensuring minority representation central to Stuart Mill’s conception, through its many possible uses of ranking, and therefore transferring, preferences for candidates, as well as its widespread and enthusiastic use. When one ranks candidates, with or without transfers calculations in mind, there is a strong element of “staging” possibilities of participation in the political representational fore that will come out of elections. As such, it became a symbol of Irish democracy, reflected in the defeat of the two referenda, promoted by *Fianna Fáil*, proposing to change it. Similarly, canvassing and clinics held by incumbents and hopeful candidates play a very important role. Canvassing, much of it on a personal basis, is crucial to succeed in obtaining and maintain a seat, and something expected from the electorate. This can be read as a form of “personal

encounter” between those seeking positions in the open political arena and the people that might vote for them. The obligation of “being there”, “showing themselves”, as a person, is strong and might enforce the idea that the incumbents, at the local, county councillors, or national level, TDs - *Téachta Dála*, are only legitimate if they effectively “spring” from their electors, whom, at least to some extent, have come to know “personally”.

It is difficult to ascertain how clinics began, albeit Irish immigrants in the United States were able to rely on personal help from “prominent” former residents from their arrival, part of an “Irish personal net” in the new country. The dimension and significance clinics assume in Ireland is hard to describe. As Paddy Lysaght writes, in his humorous *How to become a successful TD*: “It has become fashionable, indeed necessary, for TDs to have a room or rooms available where their constituents can come for advice and to discuss their problems. These are, for some reason, called clinics (44)”. The detailed diagram on the next page shows articles strategically positioned: a “hard chair for constituents”, a “basket filled with paper”, pictures of Robert Emmet, John F. Kennedy and Pádraig Pearse on the wall, a “supply of government forms”, and a “pen in hand” – of the TD, of course. The hilarious tone starts in its the cover:

The author tells how he entered politics, became a County Councillor, rose through the ranks, became a TD; of his early days in the *Dáil*, the ‘honest deception’ he uses to hold on to his vote, how he catches the floating vote; he outlines the strategy of attending funerals and functions, explains how a TD should select the ideal wife, tells how to get more out of golf than health and sport, how to benefit from inside information, how to keep awkward and clever civil servants on one’s side.

It expresses the sort of “serious-joke” associated with politics and politicians, as present nowadays for instance in the weekly column of Miriam Lord in *The Irish Times*, or, with a somehow broader scope, in Donal Foley’s column *Man Bites Dog*, initially published on that newspaper from 1971 to 1981, with the collected volumes that resulted of it. The point I am trying to make is that irony, together with “personification”, is an important feature to take into account regarding “effective” characteristics of the functioning of Irish democracy.

IV. Wars, Violence, Narratives

Atrocities were committed by both “sides” in the Civil War. In Kerry alone in March 1923: five National Army soldiers were killed by a trap mine in Knocknagoshel on the 6th;

eight Republican soldiers killed, while tied to a log by a mine thrown amongst them in Ballyseedy on the 7th (Crowley, and Sheehan 278; Doherty, and Hickey 205). Their role in “rememberance”, “narrative wars” still lingers:

in the context of the looming decade of centenaries of events central to the Irish revolution, thirty-two-year-old Fine Gael minister Leo Varadkar . . . in a clear break with his predecessors, made no bones about events such as the Ballyseedy mine outrage in 1923: “people killed without trial by the first government were murdered”. But passions never fully burned out; three years later a monument to the dead of the Knocknagoshel atrocity in 1923 was vandalised; it had been unveiled the previous year and in the audience was the son of the sole Ballyseedy survivor, Stephen Fuller (Ferriter 242).

In the Civil War scenario, the division, the “other”, the enemy was supposedly clear – despite the confusion and pain that might be attached to such classification. At another “obvious” level, the Free Staters were the winning side. To curb the fracture to something manageable, while also dealing with British threats, might be an explanation for the strictness, and, albeit somehow anachronistically, technocratic way the country was ruled by *Cumman nGaedheal*, (which later became Fine Gael), in ways well described by Garvin (b). It was also the path related to the handing of government power in 1932 and the “unifying” role the Catholic Church came to play, especially under de Valera, as argued by Fanning: “Latter day critics of the state’s identification with the Catholic religion and with the Irish language as embodied in de Valera’s constitution too easily lose sight of their function as device for bonding together a deeply divided people” (177). The figures of Michael Collins and Éamon de Valera came to epitomize the two sides, their contrasting personalities, life spans, personally and politically, in a way “attitudes” towards the “meaning” of Ireland – as a “unit”. The amount of academic and more popular publications about them is vast and still ongoing, with few critical voices (Ferriter) to the “pleasant” symmetry offered. And yet...

Other types of “narrative wars” have existed in the literary and historiographic fields. In the former, disputes around “language” issues are connected, albeit not always explicitly, to the meaning of “Irishness” or the kind of “unity” at stake. The scope is wide, from Moran’s Gaelic manhood, through Corkery’s “revelation” of the “hidden Ireland”, Kiberd’s defence of the colonial (shared) experience as the relevant background to understand Irish literature in English, to Sean O’Fáolain’s exaltation of the link between democracy and the “individual”, as present in *Vive Moi!* (1963). Readings of “what was”

project shadows, or derive one might say, from desires to define “what is”, clearly without a winning side (Portela 69-126). The “battle” between historians labelling “themselves and others” as “nationalists” and “revisionists”, can be traced at least to the 1960’s, though it gained renewed strength a few of decades ago. In a way, it is linked to the belief that “history” could be a weapon with which to fight current struggles, hence historians’ responsibility to produce a “true” historiography, directly connected to the presumption that they bear the knowledge and define the role to be given to it. There clearly is no winning side in the debate. Terry Eagleton jokes that “there’s too much of this [history] around in Ireland (98)”, a phrase useful to describe the effective familiarity and frequency with which historiographic issues are talked about in Ireland, in ways that go well further than the academic debates (Portela 128-271). Albeit maybe stereotypically, “talkativeness” is often said to be an “Irish” attribute. Many forms of talking, different kinds of “literature” and “historiography” one may say, are daily practised, through different means and at different levels of interaction. They constitute an element that helps preventing univocity and shapes both the broader and the specific political spheres of Irish democracy. In sum, they shape its movement in a multiplicity of directions which wars cannot contain.

The abundant production and publication of historiography and literary academic works contrasts with its relative scarcity around sociological issues, strongly orientated more towards political and historiographical sociology or social policy, and with almost none on social anthropological ones (basically circumscribed to Northern Ireland). Such aspect is coherent with a strong absence of emigration, emigrants, policies regarding return to Ireland, working conditions and labour relations, homelessness, and, more recently, refugees, asylum seekers and direct provision. There are studies and reports of course, but foremost, arguably, a lack of deeper efforts to reflect on it. Ferriter quotes Kelleher, writing in 1957 that the sad “truth is that there has been no push at all in the Irish political situation since before the war. Instead of vocal discontent, there is silent emigration; and in what emigration leaves behind there is apathy below and smugness above” (227). In *Preventing the Future*, regarding the decades from 1920 to 1950, Garvin (c) offers a picture that relates to this:

Quite apart from the 1921 divisions, there was also a clear anti-modernist streak in Irish official and clerical thinking, generating a reluctance to engage seriously with the modern world. (...) After all, if one really wanted modernity, one could go next door to England or over the Atlantic to America, where there was plenty of the thing. In turn, these mentalités encouraged a cultural pessimism, passivity or even hopelessness (4-5).

Travellers, who would normally “fit in” the “ethnic” characterisation, are perhaps one of the most significant absences, as Mary Robinson kind of addresses ‘gently,’ in her preface to McCann, Siocháin, and Ruane’s collection, much centred on the idea of “minority rights”, published in Belfast:

The story of the travelling people is our story also. Too often, it has been a narrative of our anxiety and resistance to difference. Yet in the relation between a settled and a travelling community there are precious and important possibilities for dialogue. It is a dialogue which cannot happen unless perceptions shift and perceptions will not shift until understanding replaces fear (ix).

More generally, one can say “absence”, in contrast with the almost hyperbolic “presence” of public figures and explicit political developments, is the mark “imposed” on the Many, to go back to Wolin’s concept. Emigrants, travellers, workers, dole receivers, homeless, asylum seekers, also women, children, “fools”, “disadvantaged”, “elderly” may figure in reports and statistics but seldom are the subject of reflections that include them, more than as categories, their shifting lives, thoughts, relations... and politics. Such “exclusion” derives, on the one hand, from a “presumption” about their lower significance. On the other hand, also because such presumption is “known” to be false, it did not exclude, much to the contrary, attempts to exert control over them, as people if not as categories. Their “little voices”, as groups and people, in its depth, inner variety and shifting movements through life, were nevertheless a central part in the success of Irish democracy.

V. Short Stories, Pictures, Little Voices

Frank O’Connor’s 1931 story “Guests of a Nation” is set during the Anglo-Irish War. It agonistically points to what the divide is made of, the split, painfully and emotionally, when the “personal” ends and people become “others”, “enemies”. Furthermore, despite having fought on the “other side”, in 1937 O’Connor was able to create an intimate and lively “biography” of Michael Collins, *The Big Fellow*. Meaningfully, he tried to address profound dimensions of Collin’s and how he shaped the “reality” of the time he lived through. In the book, apart from the “objective” events highlighted, O’Connor makes Collins emerge as a character, a person, much broader than being a winner or a loser in a war, beyond any definition of “unity”. In the more obvious political arena it took some time but, as Ferriter mentions, citing Peter Mair who was quoting the *Fianna Fáil* leader Jack Lynch, after his resignation in 1979, marking an end to the obvious era of “division”: “In the old days ... one was either pro-de Valera or anti-de Valera,

or pro-Lemass or anti-Lemass, or neither and then one supported Labour.” (235) This might be summed up as “unity” being a twin to “otherness”, and that “enmity” had ended in the political realm. Multiplicity, events, emotions, memories, encounters are material with which writers deal. There is some extent of “control”, but the tapestry goes well beyond it, as O’Connor beautifully crafts in the two volumes of his autobiography, written more than a decade previously.

It is not too farfetched to link such “unity” and the idea of “winners and losers” to a wish for clear and straightforward allegiances, a definition of who is “in” and who is “out” easily spreading to the targeting of those who are “out” – whether it is addressed or controlled in the manner of not disturbing the “obvious” peace. There are probably several other dimensions at play but this helps explaining “Irish deals” regarding abuse against women and children, mental illness, Travellers, workers, unemployed, farmer’s towns and villages, homeless, emigration, or, bringing it more to the present, refugees and asylum seekers in Direct Provision, among so many possible “categories”. In plain old terms, it is the creation of an “otherness” linked to the rigidification of a sense of “oneness” – and the *culchie - jackeen* (i.e. countryside - Dubliners) divide also springs to mind. Voices should not come from places that were not clearly opened, known and therefore controlled. The “presences” were always there; their existence much broader than, but also part of the functioning of politics, the success of Irish democracy. Looked at from another perspective, the amount written, academically and otherwise, about political events and figures, high politics, was a way to make it personal, and somewhat control it.

The deep effects of the 1916-22 period and the Civil War were the subject of many brilliant novels and short stories. Brian Moore’s *An Answer from Limbo* (1962), *Cold Heaven* (1983), *Lies of Silence* (1990), John McGahern’s *The Barracks* (1963), *The Dark* (1965), *Getting Through* (1978), *Amongst Women* (1990), “Korea” (1993), and more recently Nessa O’Mahony’s *The Branchman* (2018), amongst many more, deal with its presence at all levels of life, the confusion, the violence that springs from attempts to keep acting from efforts to remain creating an “otherness”, an “enmity”, and its control. One may say also to control the many sides of oneself, “emotions”, just to evoke those which emerged around the Treaty Debates. The twin side of this was the denial and violence perpetrated against women and children, as became widely known in the last decades.

John Banville, first under the pen name of Benjamin Black, in the “Quirke series”, notably in *Holy Orders* (2013), and more recently in the follow-ups under his own name, *Snow* (2020) and *April in Spain* (2021), builds on the profound damages that widespread control and secrecy produced. Nevertheless, only part of the novels,

short stories, poems that abound spring from the shadows and wounds of the Civil War. Two songs by Sigerson Clifford, “The Ballad of the Tinker’s Daughter” and “The Ballad of the Tinker’s Son”, from Tim Dennehy’s album *Between the Mountains and the Sea* (2003) and John McGahern’s *Creatures of the Earth*, are examples of a multitude of narratives where wide meaningful dimensions came into play. John MacKenna beautifully introduces *We Seldom Talk about the Past* with:

The thing that first intrigued me about short stories ... was the sense of absence they brought, the inconclusiveness, the wonder of the unfinished. I’ve always thought of short stories as photographs. We see what we see, but what came before the moment and what follows the moment can only be guessed (1).

Not everything can be classified under “short stories” but fortunately much can. Daily talks and interactions share the same fleetness – and sense of hope (or doom) and the future. Personal, emotional, social dimensions are at stake all the time, making part of life and of political life. In the end, maybe a little more than an immense myriad of short stories constitute (Irish) political life, which is in itself an understanding that could be a nice contribution of Ireland’s wars to a deepening of democracy. Any kind of narrative is somehow a unit, distant from a “unity”. Consciously or not, it affects and springs from academic and literally training, politics, but mostly from people, talks, emotions, streams of thought, music, sounds, images.

I would like to conclude with some photographs that pervaded my current narrative, the moment it was written and its hopeful sharing the inconclusiveness of Irish democracy. Out of many possibilities, I selected a “group of children”, “commissioned by Rev. Father Coghlan taken on 1915”, travellers in a decorated caravan and a traveller child, St. Finan’s psychiatric hospital, a memorial in Tuam, and the direct provision centre in Athlone.

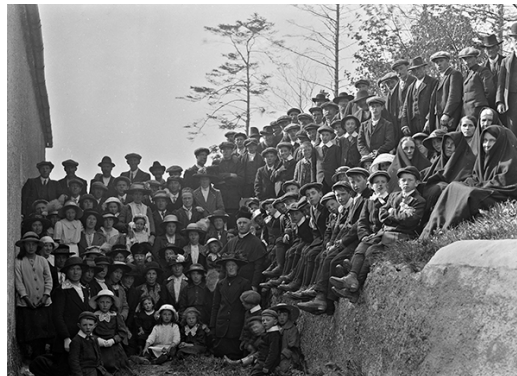


Photo 2: “group of children,” 1915

<https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-1916/1916irl/people/>



Photo 3 (left): Traveller's caravan, 1954. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_Travellers

Photo 4 (right): <https://www.creativeboom.com/inspiration/growing-up-travelling-photographs-that-reveal-the-inside-world-of-irish-traveller-children>



Photo 5: : St. Finan's psychiatric hospital

<https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/cruelty-and-abuse-of-power-were-not-the-preserve-of-religious-orders-1.4479202>



Photo 6 (left): Memorial in Tuam's mother and baby home

<https://www.irishtimes.com/news/social-affairs/mother-and-baby-homes>



Photo 7 (right): Direct Provision Centre in Athlone. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Direct_provision

A Closing

The separation from Great Britain meant a move away from such “unity”, and the engagement in the expectation of some “common thing”, as hinted in the photo of the crowd during the Treaty Debates. It had sprung from many wars against the “enemy”, notably the 1916 Rising and the Anglo-Irish (War of Independence). The Civil War ensued and with it the rebuilding of an “enemy”, correlated to attempts to ensure a “unity” existed, despite haziness having prevailed.

The Free Staters won the Civil War, the government led by Cosgrave imposed harsh policies, power was handed peacefully to *Fianna Fáil* in 1932, and the Catholic Church cloak covered society. Absences and abuses of the Many became a deep mark. *Fine Gael* – *Fianna Fáil* allegiances pervaded, despite Labour, farmers and independents keeping significant political presence.

There were no major changes in the political institutions and structures associated with the separation from Great Britain. Within this scope, the electoral system (PR-STV), despite being introduced in 1918, became a very important trait of Irish democracy, along with canvassing and clinics.

Political figures and events were/are object of many academic and more popular works, which partially constitutes a way for the Many to exert control over it. There were/are academic wars, mostly in the literary and historiographical domains. Notable in this sense, is the relative “absence” of academic interest in “common categories” of people. Irish literary production is by any standards very significant. Many are deeply present in novels and short stories, related to a “merging” of its authors in the weaving of life, therefore of politics and democracy.

I believe the concept of “little voices” (Portela) is important to explain the success of Irish democracy. At the more “formal” level in the manner that their “representation” occurs through PR-STV, canvassing, and clinics, as well as in the “public” interest related to politicians and policies. At a more “fuzzy” level, under this guarantee politics remains a “personal” dimension, several, necessarily shifting, dimensions of life “interfere” in this realm, as such not allowed to divert into tyranny. Irish democracy was/is not ideal in either sense of the word. Nevertheless, especially in relation to what comes to the presence of “little voices”, it can contribute to deepening senses of democracy. Maybe a sort of “centenary gift” could reside in helping to question “unity”, therefore promoting the possibilities an enlarged democracy can bring.

Notes

¹ “the refusal to obediently submit to coercion”.

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Hy Brazil, Celtic Land? A Brief Overview of the Brazilian Irish-Celtic Musical Scene with a Focus on the Rio de Janeiro Case

*Hy Brasil, terra celta? Um breve panorama da cena musical
irlandês-celta brasileira com foco no Rio de Janeiro*

Caetano Maschio Santos

Abstract: *The present article charts the appearance and development of an Irish-Celtic (O’Flynn 2014) musical scene in Brazil, a small but tightly knit community of Brazilian amateur and professional musicians and music groups which constitutes a good example of what Mark Slobin named “affinity intercultures” (Slobin 1987). From an ethnomusicological perspective, it seeks to provide a portrait of such social and musical phenomenon based on a tripartite approach: 1) the discussion of international literature on the globalization of Irish traditional music as Celtic music around the turn of the Celtic Tiger period (Williams 2010) and the impacts of such process on Brazil; 2) the presentation and analysis of the results of an online survey conducted in the main Facebook community connected to the scene in order to characterize its main sociodemographic and musical characteristics; 3) the ethnographic description of the Rio de Janeiro chapter of such music scene based on its main musical event, the monthly session known as “Irish Session Rio.”*

Keywords: *Irish music; Celtic music; Ethnomusicology; Brazil; Ireland.*

Resumo: *O presente artigo mapeia o surgimento e desenvolvimento de uma cena musical Celta-Irlandesa no Brasil, uma comunidade pequena mas coesa de músicos brasileiros amadores e profissionais e seus respectivos grupos musicais que constitui um bom exemplo do que Mark Slobin denominou de ‘interculturais de afinidade’ (Slobin 1987). A partir de uma perspectiva etnomusicológica, busco fornecer um retrato de tal fenômeno social e musical baseado no seguinte tripé: 1) uma discussão da literatura internacional sobre a globalização da música tradicional irlandesa como música celta no período do ‘Tigre Celta’ (Williams 2010) e os impactos de tal processo no Brasil; 2) a apresentação e análise dos resultados de um questionário online conduzido na principal comunidade da cena na rede social Facebook como forma de caracterizá-la em termos sociodemográficos*

e musicais; 3) a descrição etnográfica da seção carioca de tal cena através de seu principal evento musical, a “session” mensal conhecida como “Irish Session Rio”.

Palavras-chave: *Música irlandesa, Música celta; Etnomusicologia; Brasil; Irlanda.*

Introduction

The following article consists of a brief presentation of the main subjects discussed in my undergraduate thesis to obtain a Bachelor degree in Popular Music at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) in the year of 2016. While debating and exploring subjects that may, with some caution, be extended to the Brazilian context, the main focus addressed will be that of the Irish-Celtic musical scene of Rio de Janeiro, one of the most longstanding and liveliest in Brazil. This study aligns itself with the academic field known as Ethnomusicology and draws its conclusions from three main epistemological sources: observant participation with Brazilian enthusiasts of Irish traditional music (henceforth ITM) and/or Celtic music; my experience as a Brazilian musician specialized in ITM since 2011; and online research (netnographic observation and online survey).

To begin with, I wish to clarify three concepts that serve as a guideline to this discussion. By musical scene, I mean to address the sociomusical phenomenon that the Peruvian ethnomusicologist Julio Mendivil describes as the “productive fields of self-management, in which participants build their own frameworks of action as an answer to the adverse conditions offered by the immediate environment: the city, the state or the market” (25).

Considering the modest historical and cultural ties between Ireland and Brazil and its representativeness within the wide range of Brazil’s musical cultures, one can easily fit this musical scene as a subcultural sound in the Brazilian soundscape. In an effort to apply ethnomusicologist Mark Slobin’s typology of musical subcultures, the Brazilian Irish-Celtic musical scene meets the requirements of “affinity interculture”. This variety of music-centered gatherings commonly presents itself as “charmed circles of like-minded music-makers drawn magnetically to a certain genre that creates strong expressive bonding” (98). The concept’s relevance to this discussion lies in the fact that these affinity-based groupings are commonly centered on a national musical tradition with little or inexistent historical or heritage connection with its participants (Ibid. 68) – certainly the pattern found between Brazilians and ITM. But what do we mean by Irish-Celtic?

Celtic music constitutes a popular music niche within the World Music market (Symon 192). Based on the traditional music of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Galicia and other countries and regions of Western Europe sometimes referred to as “Celtic nations” or the “Celtic fringe”, what is today known as Celtic music is characterized as a hybrid, permeable and commodified musical category (Williams 124; O’Connor 156-157). Most of its scholars, however, consider that the main source of inspiration and musical material is drawn from ITM (Symon 196; McCoy 184). In agreement with such an analysis, I draw on Irish ethnomusicologist John O’Flynn’s argument about the different musical practices that exist under the Celtic label, of which the great majority is constituted by fusions between ITM and different popular musical styles:

I would argue that the idea of Irish-Celtic music, however fanciful it might appear, merits serious consideration as music inasmuch as a belief in this category has resulted in specific genres and practices across a range of music styles produced in Ireland. Thus, in contemporary contexts, we can say that irrespective of the moment and arbitrariness of its ‘invention’, there are instances where the Celtic label describes relatively distinct sets of musical elements and practices that nonetheless have continuities with, or in large part are based on, international styles. (O’Flynn 242)

Most appropriately, the Brazilian case hereafter described fits accordingly with the idea of Irish-Celtic music in two ways. Firstly, among Brazilian musical groups focused on ITM there is wide usage of the Celtic music tag as musical descriptor (with further cultural implications), especially for gig sale and promotion. Finally, it covers the wide span of musical elements and practices developed within this particular musical scene, which goes from a traditional approach (“trad” fans, with great concerns regarding the authenticity of the music) to more hybridized forms.

Describing the Brazilian Irish-Celtic Musical Scene Through an Online Survey

My personal interest in the Irish-Celtic music scene in Brazil began after my participation in the Facebook group called “Música irlandesa no Brasil” (Irish music in Brazil), a gathering of (mainly) Brazilian amateur and professional musicians and aficionados devoted to the studying, playing and appreciating of ITM.¹ Currently with almost one thousand members, its description, written by Irish-American musician resident in São Paulo Danny Litwin (one of the few diasporic musicians participating in the national scene), translates as follows:

A place where people with interests on Irish music, dance and culture may meet. You may share news, doubts and videos as well as opinions and jokes. Music is the best thing in life, let's share and have fun!²

Numerous other similar Portuguese-language communities exist on *Facebook*:³ “*Músicas Celtas*” (Celtic songs) [11.798], “*Cultura e Música Celta*” (Celtic Music and Culture) [27.538], “*Música New Age, Celta, Instrumental...*” (New Age, Celtic and Instrumental music...) [11.929], “*Eu amo gaita-de-fole*” (I love bagpipes) [701]. This rise of a Brazilian section of the great Celtic-cyber diaspora (McCoy, 2014) is suggestive of a growing popularity of what is generally perceived as Celtic music and culture among Brazilians. Miles away from the shores of Erin, these online communities have been an important space for the development of the Brazilian Irish-Celtic musical scene. They help Brazilian enthusiasts in sharing resources, learning to play, forming bands, searching gigs, and also hosting discussions about Irish-Celtic music – frequently a movement from the virtual space towards the actual space of social gatherings and events.

A small-scale online survey conducted in April 2015 with members of “*Música Irlandesa no Brasil*” disclosed a general profile of the online Brazilian Irish-Celtic community that had significant compatibility with my prior experience as a musician participating in the scene. Results indicated that this group is mainly male (73%), with ages between fifteen and thirty-five (75%), educated (50% completed undergraduate studies) and dwelled mainly in the states of São Paulo (40%) and Rio de Janeiro (29%) – within the economically developed southeast region of the country. Nearly half the interviewees were familiar with Irish-Celtic music for more than ten years (43%), and had found it mostly via record stores (42%), indicating a considerable non-virtual dissemination of the genre in Brazil. Significantly, twenty percent (20%) declared having first heard the genre through live performance, the same amount that discovered it online, a fact which implies the importance of Brazilian-made Irish-Celtic music from the beginning. Seventy percent (70%) declared to be currently studying Irish-Celtic music (most being autodidacts and very few having had the opportunity to study abroad or with foreign teachers) and almost half (49%) claimed to develop some kind of professional activity within the genre. The survey also accounted for thirty-three musical groups, in a profusion of different subgenres: Scottish pipe bands, Celtic rock, folk metal, “trad”, new age, medieval, etc.

This rather heterogeneous assemblage of formations and musical practices was normally presented as a coherent whole under the Celtic conceptual umbrella, and conveys

the fact that, music wise, an eclectic and open view of celtitude thrives in Brazil. As pointed out by Slobin's analysis of the diverse and volatile meaning of Celtic music in the XXI century:

The imaginary Celts occupy a much larger territory in the mind of millions of people who enjoy and reshape music they think comes from an ancient heritage. 'Celtitude', with its ever-changing content and forms of music-making, keeps thriving and evolving for all kinds of reasons. (Slobin 89)

Regarding its social composition, the results of the online survey conducted with members of "*Música irlandesa no Brasil*" have suggested that this peripheral Irish-Celtic musical scene is a mainly white, male and middle-class phenomenon of autodidact musicians. Soundwise, the variety of subgenres practiced in the Brazilian scenario serve fittingly as an example of the manifold character of Irish-Celtic music, where multiple and ever-changing components of an Irish or Celtic heritage (music, culture, history) are mobilized through diverse forms of music-making.

The Celtic Boom in the Land of Carnival: Cultural Relations and Music Between Ireland and Brazil

As many authors recall, the years close to the turn of the millennium saw an unprecedented rise in the popularity of both Celtic and ITM, a phenomenon related to the period of economic prosperity that earned Ireland the well-known epithet of "Celtic Tiger" (Williams 124; Wilson & Hastings 91-94; Motherway 6-7). In Brazil the main centres of this Irish cultural expansion were a significant surge in the number of Irish pubs, the ever-growing St. Patrick's Day celebrations and the growing role of Ireland as a travel and/or study destination for young Brazilians.

It is safe to affirm that every medium to large city in Brazil has now at least one so-called Irish pub, a fact that one easily associates with the well-known spread of Irish pubs worldwide. This industrial reproduction of what is generally seen as an authentic asset of Irish culture (in a process described by Irish musician and scholar Fintan Vallely as the "pub in a box" phenomenon) is summed up by O'Connor, who points the obvious presence of music in its environment:

Themed 'Irish pubs' proliferate outside the country from Beijing to Zurich, complete with 'authentic' Irish decór, staff, and, of course, music. These are places where the customer is a kind of virtual tourist and where an 'image' of

Ireland and ‘Irishness’ is presented out of which a market for Irish culture is cultivated, a brand is born. (O’Connor 156)

While many in the Brazilian Irish-Celtic musical scene complain about the dominance of rock music as live entertainment in local Irish pubs, this type of venue is still an important setting for this community.

The last two decades St. Patrick’s Day celebrations in Brazil have been steadily growing in importance and scale. Crowded pubs and bars, street parades and open-air music festivals have been constantly employing, in an increasing rate, live Irish-Celtic music produced by Brazilian groups and artists, with the occasional diasporic Irish, Irish American or foreign musician also being a common occurrence. In 2013, a worldwide St. Patrick’s Day celebration action coordinated by Ireland’s Foreign Affairs Ministry used green light to illuminate several of the world’s greatest monuments, an act that was accompanied by diplomatic meetings; in Brazil, a green Christ the Redeemer was the main sight during a state visit by Northern Ireland’s Deputy Prime Minister Martin McGuinness. At the reception, ITM was the soundtrack: I had the chance to be one of the band members of a small group chosen by Brazilian *uilleann* piper⁵ Alex Navar, one of the few *uilleann* pipers in the country⁶ and a leading figure in the national Irish-Celtic musical scene.

As for Ireland’s growing popularity as a destination for tourists and young Brazilian students, evidence abound: the country’s 2011 census shows an increase from 1,087 Brazilians living in Ireland in 2002 to 8,704 in 2011.⁷ A recent news article in the *Irish Times* further confirms the continuing expansion of these student interchange policies settled by both nations in the beginning of the twenty first century.⁸ Furthermore, Mary McAleese’s 2004 state visit to Brazil, accompanied by high profile traditional musicians such as Martin O’Connor, Tommy Hayes and Cathall Hayden, (providing a central place for ITM at official occasions) confirmed O’Flynn’s remarks regarding the importance of the state as a cultural broker and the role of ITM in the presentation of the nation worldwide (O’Flynn 37).

Irish Session Rio: A Brazilian Irish Session

In this section, I will try to convey a more vivid image of the Irish-Celtic musical scene in Brazil based mainly on observant participation conducted in Rio de Janeiro at “Irish Session Rio” (ISR), a monthly session that has been occurring since 2012. Although I will only refer to the RJ session, it is worth noticing that cities such as São Paulo and Curitiba also have an active Irish-Celtic musical scene.

The carioca Irish-Celtic scene dates back to the year of 2007, in an Irish pub called *Paddy Fla* in the neighborhood of Ipanema, which was run by an Irish publican called Padhraig Flavin. It was formed around an initial handful of enthusiasts who came from somewhat different musical backgrounds (among which I would underscore the importance of folk metal fans) and would later form different musical groups, of which the still existing *Café Irlanda* is one of the most relevant. It had at its center the Brazilian *uilleann* piper Alex Navar. Alex lived in Ireland in the year 2000, mostly at the Flavin family household in Cork, having studied the pipes at the Cork Pipers Club, the oldest pipers club in Ireland. Such an experience was the result of an epiphany of self-discovery, a life changing moment according to his own testimony. Being a spiritist, Alex felt a profound spiritual connection with the hitherto unknown sound of the *uilleann* pipes while listening to the Irish piper Dave Spillane’s “Midnight Walker”. Such was the power of the sound of the pipes (which for him seemed then to symbolize ancient Celtic culture, something he deemed eminently spiritual) that he quit his job and decided to study the pipes in Ireland. Years later, the small gathering of unpretentious Irish-Celtic enthusiasts at *Paddy Fla* for the first sessions gave Alex and others opportunities to share what may seem as an alien musical culture, but resulted in deep expressive and social bonding through music.



Irish Session Rio at “Sarrefufa” pool bar: Alex Navar, Thadeu Farias, Fernando Oliveira, Kevin Shortall, Hugo Pansini, Ian Palatnik (left to right).

Source: Photograph by the author.

A decade later, having moved between various locations and undergoing periods of inactivity, this *carioca* Irish session has grown to accommodate an average of ten to fifteen musicians and an audience of two to three dozen people that actively participate dancing, singing, drinking and socializing. Notwithstanding the continuous importance of Navar, the role of session host in ISR, is currently handled by Kevin Shortall, an Irish-Brazilian

multi-instrumentalist. When interviewed, Kevin was keen on calling the attention to the inclusive nature of the event, due to the unavoidable estrangement in the process of learning a foreign musical culture. It must have, in his opinion, a Brazilian nature - a “flexible” session open for beginners, with the purpose introducing the music and creating a friendly environment of encouragement and propagation of Irish-Celtic music and its perceived values and practices as a social activity.

A common instrumental line-up at ISR includes *uilleann* pipes, Irish flutes, tin whistles, fiddles, mandolins, bouzouki, bodhrán and spoons, as well as multiple singers and guitars. Many of the tunes and songs played derive from well-known bands of the Irish folk revival of the 1960s, (such as The Dubliners, Planxty and The Bothy Band) or from the Celtic music and Irish punk upsurge of the 1980s and 1990s (Flogging Molly, Dropkick Murphy’s, The Pogues, The Corrs, Riverdance, Lúnasa).⁹ In an example of the variety of content under the Celtic music epithet, the repertoire of the session has included, on occasion, traditional music from Galicia – region of Spain recently included in the group of Celtic Nations (Slobin 89) – Brittany and Scotland.

Aiming to facilitate Irish-Celtic music learning on a friendly environment, with no expectations of virtuosity or authenticity, it is common to begin the event with a slow session, a slowed down musical performance where simple tunes are played and, eventually, taught to beginners by more experienced players. New tunes and ideas are suggested and shared on a specific Facebook group, aiming to expand participant’s repertoires. In these ways, ISR allows for easier connections with what is regarded by many participants as part of Celtic culture:

‘Celtic’ music is thus always potentially easy, participatory, and crosses national borders. Consequently it allows people access to – in their own terms – a domain of ‘Celtidom’ denied to them by the complexities of, for example, a Celtic language, or the theoretical and practical difficulties of maintaining a coherent political identity. (Stokes 6)

Another final consideration of great importance to provide a picture of the people that in Rio de Janeiro’s Irish-Celtic musical scene regards the growing importance of Celtic and medieval reenactment. Defined as a form of recreation of historical experiences concerned “with personal experience, social relations and everyday life, and with conjectural and provisional interpretations of the past” (AGNEW, 2007, p. 300), it has many supporters within the ISR, especially the members of band Tailten. This group is responsible for the Celtic reenactment event known as *Oenach na Tailtiu*, which takes place annually at the

city of Magé (RJ). Described as a “Celtic-themed festivity with the intention of reenact old manners and the famous fairs of Lughnasadh in Ireland”,¹⁰ it constitutes but one of the many Celtic and medieval reenactment events which have the direct involvement of members of the Brazilian Irish-Celtic musical scene throughout the country.

Concluding Remarks

This introduction to the Brazilian Irish-Celtic musical scene centered on the example of ISR aimed to contextualize a recent sociomusical phenomenon which has been slowly but steadily growing since the turn of the millennium. It paints a rough sketch of its main features and the historical and cultural processes involved, bringing insights of the local echoes of a globalized soundscape. Perhaps the most important feature of the phenomenon is its grassroots dimension – from the internet to individuals and then to the creation of affinity groups, communities and social events dedicated to the nourishing of a non-native musical culture, which inevitably is recreated in a different manner and results in something ultimately new. However dependent of communication technology and international cultural flows, the real events and the sociability therein created are what motivates, gathers, and makes grow the Brazilian Irish-Celtic musical scene.

Notes

- ¹ Available at: <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/musicairlandesanobrasil/?ref=bookmarks>>, access in: 15/01/2018.
- ² Available at: <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/musicairlandesanobrasil/about/>>, access in: 08/04/2018.
- ³ The corresponding membership is indicated in brackets.
- ⁴ Available at: <<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-21732901>>, access in: 15/01/2018.
- ⁵ The *uilleann* (Irish gaelic for elbow) pipes are a form of bellows-blown bagpipes developed in Ireland in the eighteenth century, which has become intrinsically associated with irish traditional music and it’s cultural identity.
- ⁶ One of my main research collaborators, in his personal website Navar describes himself as (and most likely is) “the first brazilian to study irish music in Ireland” (<https://www.alexnavar.com.br/>).
- ⁷ Available at: <<http://www.cso.ie/en/census/census2011reports/>>, access in: 15/01/2018.
- ⁸ Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/>

brazil-tops-league-of-non-eu-students-in-ireland-1.2981494>, access in: 15/01/2018

⁹ A short video recording of the ISR in the year of 2015 can be seen at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RCtYK1XPjC>>, access in: 10/04/2018.

¹⁰ Available at: <<http://www.cenamedieval.com.br/2016/07/resenha-da-oenach-na-tailtiu-2016.html>> , access: 12/10/2016.

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The Irish in South America



The Correspondence of Fr Matthew Gaughren OMI (1888-1890)

As correspondências do Padre Matthew Gaughren OMI (1888-1890)

Edmundo Murray & Edward Walsh

Abstract: *In mid-1888, Fr Matthew Gaughren (1843-1914) was sent to Argentina by his superior, the O.M.I. provincial in Great Britain, on a “begging expedition”, which aimed at collecting money among the Irish settlers to lessen the debt upon the church of Our Lady of Grace at Tower Hill. However, Gaughren changed the priorities of his mission in South America and appealed to the English-speaking community to support the Irish immigrants who arrived in Buenos Aires in February 1889 on the Dresden steamer ship from Cork and were sent to an ill-fated Irish Colony in Napostá, near the port of Bahía Blanca. His thinking and his struggle are revealed in the following letters, collected from various archival sources, which are now being published, most of them for the first time, in their complete form.*

Keywords: *Fr Matthew Gaughren; Dresden; Letters; Ireland; Immigration.*

Resumo: *Em meados de 1888, o padre Matthew Gaughren (1843-1914) foi enviado à Argentina por seu superior, o O.M.I. provincial da Grã-Bretanha, a uma “expedição de mendicância”, que visava arrecadar dinheiro entre os colonos irlandeses para diminuir a dívida da igreja de Nossa Senhora da Graça em Tower Hill. No entanto, Gaughren mudou as prioridades de sua missão na América do Sul e apelou à comunidade de língua inglesa para apoiar os imigrantes irlandeses vindos de Cork, em fevereiro de 1889, no navio a vapor Dresden, e enviados a uma malfadada colônia irlandesa em Napostá, próxima ao porto de Bahía Blanca. Seu pensamento e sua luta são revelados nas cartas a seguir, coletadas de diversos arquivos, que agora estão sendo publicadas, a maioria delas pela primeira vez, em sua forma completa.*

Palavras-chave: *Fr Matthew Gaughren; Dresden; Cartas; Irlanda; Imigração.*

Introduction

The English-language press in Argentina reserves a special characterisation for Matthew Gaughren in an issue of April 1889: the “guide, philosopher, friend” of the *Dresden* immigrants.¹ In mid-1888, Matthew Gaughren was sent to Argentina by his superior, the O.M.I. provincial in Great Britain, on a “begging expedition”.² The objective was to collect money among the Irish settlers to lessen the debt upon the church of Our Lady of Grace at Tower Hill. This is the most accurate description of the person who would be the only support of the desperate Irish immigrants who arrived in Buenos Aires in February 1889 on the *Dresden* steamer ship from Cork, and were sent to an ill-fated Irish Colony in Napostá, near the port of Bahía Blanca.

Matthew Gaughren (1843-1914) was born on 7 April 1843 in Stillorgan, near Dublin, one of the four children of Ignatius Gaughren and his wife. Three brothers became Roman Catholic priests, including Anthony Gaughren (1849-1901) who preceded Matthew as bishop in the same vicariate in South Africa, and their only sister was a Holy Faith sister in Ireland. Matthew Gaughren joined the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (O.M.I.) and was ordained priest on 29 April 1867. He was appointed successively to Holy Cross Liverpool, St. Kevin’s Reformatory in Glencree (Ireland) and Tower Hill, London, before becoming provincial. After his term of office as provincial he became superior in Leith, Scotland. After his South American journey in 1889, Gaughren returned to Europe and was appointed provincial in Ireland, and in 1892 established the Oblates in Australia. Matthew Gaughren remained as parish priest in Fremantle for a year. He then became Vicar Apostolic of Orange River Colony in South Africa. On 16 March 1902 Gaughren was consecrated bishop in the parish church of Leith, Scotland, and at the same time he was appointed Administrator of the Vicariate of Transvaal. Fr Gaughren died on 1 June 1914 in Cape Town, and was buried at Kimberly.

In mid-1888, Matthew Gaughren was sent to Argentina by his superior, the O.M.I. provincial in Great Britain, on a “begging expedition”.³ The objective was to collect money among the Irish settlers to lessen the debt upon the church of Our Lady of Grace at Tower Hill. But the mission was not easy for various reasons. The Irish of Argentina were supposed to be wealthy and generous, but only a few could support Fr Gaughren’s goals. Since the mid-nineteenth century, taking advantage of the flourishing wool business, a number of Irish settlers – between 5 and 10 per cent of the immigrants – acquired large flocks of sheep and land. However, when Fr Gaughren approached them, their farms were affected by bad weather and the unfavourable international exchange rate of the local currency.

Furthermore, Gaughren was met by hard competition from local and international charities appealing to the same target. The Passionists, the Pallotines, the Sisters of Mercy were only a few of the predominantly Irish religious orders working in the country and being supported by the Irish well-off families. Missionaries from the British Isles and other places were present at the same time in the pampas trying to get a share of the donations. Gaughren cites among his contemporary “rivals” Fr John M. Sheedy who was building a church in Rosario, the Passionists who “have pretty well beaten the ground here”, and Fr Patrick Costello from New Zealand.⁴

Gaughren had to be very prudent to continue working in the country because “there is in ecclesiastical circles here a considerable amount of jealousy regarding collectors”.⁵ He needed discretion and diplomacy, and he worked “quietly so as to get as much money as possible without coming into collision with the bishop”.⁶ This competition among different fund collectors was not new and was an aspect of the reputation (largely exaggerated) of the Irish in Argentina as successful and affluent sheep-farmers. Since at least the mid-nineteenth century missions were organised to finance Irish Catholic and Protestant works in the country and around the world.

Already in 1864 John Murphy was asking his brother in Ireland to “tell Father Kavanagh & Father John Furlong [of Wexford] that I am sorry that I cannot carry out the collections on the cards entrusted to me, owing to a very scandalous dispute that arose between the Irish clergy here relative to a Dr O’Reilly that came here on a mission to collect from the Cape of Good Hope.”⁷ Pleas for donations were also made through the post, like “Father John £ Furlong [who] wrote to me last May a very supplicating letter asking for some help to pay off the debt on the Enniscorthy Cathedral.”⁸

The history of financial support for the Irish religious institutions in Latin America is still to be written. It provides a coloured illustration of the globalised relations between religion, ethnicity and social structure. How did the Catholic and Protestant institutions of various denominations originated in or related to Ireland obtain funding for their works? Where were the financial resources, and how did priests and ecclesiastical authorities research, approach and appropriate them? How they administered their funds, and in what works they did invest? What criteria were used to assess the financial worth of a future investment in churches, schools, novitiates, orphanages and other works? And, how was the money obtained in one location transferred, invested and used to pay capital investment and operating expenses in other places of the world?

Since the early nineteenth century, Irish priests, nuns, bishops and lay people were involved in the complex undertaking of obtaining funds to create, maintain or save their

works. They were members of Catholic and Protestant faiths, and there was no distinction on the approached donors. Thomas Armstrong (1797-1875) of County Offaly was a proud member of the Church of Ireland and later of the Anglican community in Argentina. While he maintained his faith with the reformed church, Armstrong was equally generous with Protestant and Catholic works in South America and in Ireland. He was fundamental to support the Dominican priest Anthony Fahy (1805-1871) in his vast missionary work in the pampas, and was a liberal donor of the Anglican and Presbyterian churches and schools in Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay.

While most wealthy Irish families in Argentina were reluctant to help funding Protestant activities (with the exception of a few donations to English and Scottish schools in Buenos Aires), the founder of the first Evangelist community in Cochabamba, Bolivia, Dublin-born William Payne (1870-1924) witnessed to the generosity of many Catholic families and priests who helped him during his missionary labour in Córdoba, Tucumán and Bolivia.

The principal appeal to obtain spiritual “revenue”, i.e. the eternal salvation (or fear of eternal condemnation), was the most important reason to “invest” cash or properties to support a religious cause. Donating the financial resources to build a church, a school or a hospital could be the way to obtain the benefits of thousands of the faithful who would pray for the donor’s soul, whose name would be prominently inscribed in carved marble and windows from the time of the construction. An example among the many benefactors of Irish religious causes in Argentina was Margarita Morgan [née Mooney] (1839-1923), for whom the stoup of St. Patrick’s Church and Clonmacnoise school in San Antonio de Areco was dedicated: “please offer a pray for the benefactors of Clonmacnoise school and chapel.”⁹ Although most people would donate funds for missions abroad, some like John Jackson of Uruguay supported the Fathers of the Society of St. Joseph but with the “notion that no money ought to go out of the country while there is so much to be done here.”¹⁰

Another incentive to donate funds was grounded on ethnicity. The Irish offered their support to charities in Ireland and elsewhere to alleviate the life of their poor fellow Irishmen and women and to fulfil their spiritual and material needs. They were also willing to fund the works of Irish religious orders in many places. But most of them were indisposed to donate money or property for the benefit of other ethnical groups. While there were cases of Irish and Irish Argentines who generously backed the works of religious orders working with other immigrant communities, the vast majority were more inclined to help their fellow country people (especially from their own counties in

Ireland). Thomas Murray in his *Story of the Irish in Argentina* (1919) abounds in examples of charitable campaigns among the members of the community to support the works of the Irish chaplains and religious orders (as well as political foundations in Ireland). The Irish-funded establishment of the Passionist Fathers in Argentina in the early 1880s is an interesting case. When the Irish learned that the Passionists would work among the Italian immigrant group, they called meetings and organised a committee to oppose. They started a judicial process in the Vatican to oblige the order to work only with the Irish. The conflict was finally settled and the conditions were stated in a document addressed to Leo XIII, including that the Passionists “should be for the benefit of the Irish, ... should receive the private donations which the Colonists gave definitely for the Province and in exchange of priests.” The document went further to state that “all funds and foundations should be supplied by the Irish, ... and that no foreign Passionist, and nomination no Italian, could possess any of the foundations or its revenues.”¹¹ The Irish were proud to help Irish works, but were not inclined to share their efforts with Italian or other ethnic communities.

A third powerful reason to support the Irish missionary work has been frequently related to the social structure of the community in Argentina and in Ireland. To make a donation was an external sign of wealth and influence. It was therefore an affirmation addressed to the rest of the community – and also to the non-Irish elites – that the individual or family achieved financial independence and social respectability. When Fr Gaughren made a balance of his mission after some time of his arrival in Uruguay, he reckoned that “there are only a few families here on whom I can rely.”¹² These affluent families would be willing to help him on account of their social relations in Argentina and within the Irish Diaspora.

When Matthew Gaughren’s mission among the rich was completed, he dedicated himself to help the souls and bodies of the poor. The Dresden immigrants departed from Cork and called at Montevideo, Uruguay, on 11 February 1889. They were approximately 1,700 persons from many points in Ireland. Fr Gaughren met the immigrants in Montevideo, where he was raising funds since mid-January. Although there is no evidence as to his intentions regarding the immigrants, he probably learned about them in Uruguay and decided to assist them. He returned to Buenos Aires as a registered passenger of the *Dresden* (the only one in first class) and continued supporting the immigrants in their sufferings upon arrival to Argentina and during two journeys to the Irish Colony in Napostá. Furthermore, Gaughren changed in some way the priorities of his mission in South America and appealed to the English-speaking community to support the underprivileged members of the Irish community and to provide for their

most urgent needs. His thinking and his struggle are revealed – with writing skills and not without drama – in the following collection of letters. These letters were collected from various archival sources and are now published, most of them for the first time, in their complete form.

Fr Matthew Gaughren OMI - the Dresden Incident
& the Colonia Irlandesa, Napostá, Argentina

1.

Gaughren to Provincial

4 July 1888

[OMIPAD]

L.J.C. & M.I.

*SS Galicia*¹³

Lisbon

4 July 1888

My Dear Father Provincial,

I have safely accomplished one stage of my journey towards the New World. I was very sick for one day but since then I have not felt slightest tendency to that weakness, although our ship rolled heavily very frequently. I have a comfortable cabin to myself, which is a great advantage. On our way here we touched at Bordeaux, Coruña and Vigo, but passengers were not allowed to go ashore at any of those places as our stay was short at each. I hope we shall be able to get off this morning. In that case I shall try to say mass at the English College.¹⁴ I am very sorry I could not get the requisites for saying mass before I left, as there are a great many poor Catholics on board, chiefly Spaniards.

The weather hitherto has been rather cold, but I think we are now in for a hot time of it. We shall proceed straight from here to Rio de Janeiro, calling only at St Vincent¹⁵ to coal. From Rio¹⁶ we go to Montevideo¹⁷ and Buenos Aires, but it seems quite possible we may be detained in quarantine for ten or twelve days before being allowed to reach our destination. That will depend on whether Rio is free from fever or not. Do not forget me in your prayers. Kind regards to all.

I remain, dear Fr Provincial,

Yours very sincerely,

M. Gaughren OMI

2.

Gaughren to Provincial

19 October 1888

[OMIPAD]

Office of *The Southern Cross*,

Buenos Aires

19 October 1888

L.J.C. & M. I.

My Dear Father Provincial,

I received your letter dated 20 Sept. last night. The previous one of the 6th Sept., I got only three days ago owing to my absence from town. I thank you very much for your kind wishes and encouraging words, as well as for all the news you give me. On the 22 Aug., I went to the country for the first time. A place about fifty miles from Buenos Aires called “Capilla del Señor” was the scene of my first experiences in the camp. I began by a sort of little mission there from Sunday to Thursday. Every day I was kept five or six hours in the confessional, people coming in from distances of seven or eight leagues fasting so that they might receive Holy Communion. It was much more consoling work than gathering money, and it had the merit of preparing the way for the latter. The following Sunday I went to Yarete,¹⁸ a place about five leagues away to do whatever work there might be among the Irish people there. Such a storm came on Saturday night however that no one could come into town and the rain made the camps so soft that there was no possibility of travelling, so I had to return to town for a week. On the 8 Sept., I went out again, I did what spiritual work was to be done on the Sunday and then started on my begging expedition. I have already told you of the difficulties in my way as I had been told of them. Last year and the year before were ruinous on the farmers owing to drought. All lost more or less heavily, many almost all their flocks. The poorer ones were utterly ruined beyond hope of rising again, for the time has gone by when the poor man could make a fortune in this country, at least by sheep farming. The Passionist Fathers too are collecting for their

establishments – here – the foundation stone of the church was laid on Sunday week, - and one in Chile. And just before me on the track was a priest from New Zealand collecting for a church and schools. Notwithstanding I think I did not do badly, everything considered. I stayed out over five weeks, returning on Monday last on account of the great work of the year, the shearing having begun. The result of my labours in town and country so far is 2,750 dollars. If gold were at par that would be equal to £550, but unfortunately the currency of this country is paper and is much depreciated, gold being now at 47 premium, so I would not get more than about £360. It is expected however, that that there will be a fall in gold towards the end of next month on account of the remittances from Europe for wool. I hope therefore to be able to send Fr Pinet¹⁹ a good remittance before Christmas. After the shearing, about the 1 Dec., I will try my fortune again “in the country.” People will then have much more money and will, I hope, be in good humour and willing to share it. Wherever I have gone I have received the greatest kindness. Of course I have gone only to the Irish people. It is useless to apply to anyone else in the camp, although a few of the natives have helped me in the city. I have had to leave to say mass in the private houses – a privilege, I am told, not often granted – I have had a sort of missionary career therefore in the camp. I reach a certain house in the afternoon and ask for hospitality. I am welcomed, tea is made, - tea is very common amongst our people, - and I am asked to partake. I tell the people of the house that I can say mass and hear confessions next morning. Presently all available messengers are sent round to give notice to the neighbours, shepherds etc. The messengers take their horses and ride round for a league or two. Next morning all the members of the household and as many of the neighbours as can attend come to mass. There are generally some confessions and communions, sometimes a good many, for our people are glad of the opportunity of getting to the sacraments. After mass I get what each one has to give. The servants and shepherds give one or two dollars each, the estanciero²⁰ ten, twenty or a hundred according to his means and generosity. After breakfast – I start for some other house, my hosts finding a house for me where there is a coach by which I may be conveyed further on next day. If there are any smaller houses near I may call to them en route. So the work goes on day after day. Sometimes the houses are many leagues apart and my conductors may have to get a change of horses, especially if the roads be bad, as they always are in wet weather. Sometimes my domicile is a very fine mansion, sometimes only a mud ranche.²¹

I want to ask two or rather three favours. First, I would like to get some copies, as many as convenient, of Fr Cooke’s²² book,²³ as soon as possible. There are some rich people here who I am trying to interest in the work who could do something worthwhile if they

wished. They would get a very favourable idea of the Congregation from the life of Mgr. De Mazenod.²⁴ Secondly, I would like to have a portable altar. I am sure Father Sarduo²⁵ must have some of them on hand. I have had to borrow from the men of the S. Heart and the Passionists. The latter lent me a chalice and altar stone at some inconvenience to themselves. Thirdly, I am told it is easy to obtain at Rome the title of Missionary Apostolic, which carries with it the privilege of saying mass everywhere.

I have not yet received Fr O'Reilly's²⁶ letter with the enclosure from Dr Walsh.²⁷ Up to the present I have had good health, thank God, with the exception of a slight cold which laid me up for three or four days. I don't know how the hot weather which has just come will agree with me. December and January are I am told frightfully hot here. What I dread most are the venomous flies. I have been thrown into quite a frenzied state with the mosquitoes here.

I am sorry to hear the sad news about Father Barber.²⁸ Don't let Belcamp go if it be possible to keep it.

I remain, dear Father Provincial,

M. Gaughren OMI

3.

An Appeal To English Catholics

14 November 1888

[*The Standard*, Wednesday 14 November 1888, No. 7888]

With so many pressing local calls on our charity, we should be slow indeed to recommend any foreign appeal (notwithstanding the grand imperishable truth that charity knows no difference of creed or nationality), were it not for the peculiarly good and noble nature of Father Gaughren's mission, as expressed in the prospectus.

For our countrymen in the camp the question is one of the most vital importance, as the small number of Irish priests is being rapidly reduced by death by death, and the few that remain may be said literally to have grown grey in the good cause. How then is their place to be filled if some effort of the kind we advocate be not immediately made?

The Passionist Fathers have long been trying to meet the emergency, but were their community ten times as numerous they could not cope fairly with the heavy task.

English speaking Catholics are not longer compressed within the narrow limits of Capilla del Señor or San Antonio, but are now actually scattered all over the Republic, from Mendoza to the Rio Negro, or even down to Sandy Point.²⁹ Add to this the fact that

Father Fidelis³⁰ and some of his ablest coadjutors have been sent to Chile, where on zealous lady gave £40,000 stg. to the foundation or the Order, so that her country might be blessed by the religious services of these truly good and virtuous priests.

We hardly expect that the present appeal of the no less worth Order of Oblate Fathers will meet with any such princely charity from even the wealthiest amongst us, but we do hope that each one will give something towards a noble work on which the future welfare and happiness of our community so largely depend. Without religion man is little better than an animal, and, if we may judge by the late inhuman Whitechapel crimes, often a great deal worse.

4.

Gaughren to Provincial

24 December 1888

[OMIPAD]

Office of [*The Southern Cross*?]

Buenos Aires

24 Dec., 1888

L.J.C & M.I.

My dear Father Provincial,

A thousand thanks to you for your kind letter of the 18th ult. With its Christmas cards and good wishes.

I am delighted to hear that things are going on so well in the Province. The financial crisis seems to be almost at an end and if the land at [?] sells well it ought to be quite so. I am sorry Belcamp has gone. I think the Gen. Administration might have imitated the example of generosity shewn by the Franciscans and have left Belcamp to the Province on the same terms which they have received the new house. A little mutual generosity would not do any of us harm.

I was very sorry to hear of poor Fr Barber's death. I had seen it in the *Catholic Times* before I got you letter.³¹ The good priest must have endured great suffering. RIP. What a marvellous escape Fr Pinet has had. I always feared those hot air concerns, on account of that very danger! Hot water is a much better means of heating and infinitely safer. By the steamer "*Galicia*" – the same by which I came out here – which left Montevideo on the 21 inst. – Fr Pinet's Feast, I sent him my contribution of £550. I hope it will reach him safely.

The second bill of exchange for the same I forwarded to Fr O'Brien by another steamer on 22 for Fr Pinet. Gold still keeps high, that I had to pay \$7.35 for the pound sterling instead of \$5 – the normal rate.

I have not much news to tell. I am still in the city. I hope to run down to Montevideo for a week or so after Christmas. After that the camp.

Although it is Christmas Eve it is impossible for one to realise this fact. The weather is fearfully hot and the days are at their longest. But night comes down about eight o'clock. We have not the long summer evenings of home. I am going to say my three masses tomorrow at the convent of the S. Heart. Mother Fitzgerald,³² the Superior, who was at one time at Mount Anville, near by us, has been exceedingly kind to me from my coming.

I am much obliged to you for supplying of the portable altar and the faculties. I hope they will come soon. I am still longing for Fr Cooke's book. There are plenty of copies of the first volume at Tower Hill. You cannot imagine how useful it will be if I get it soon. Please remember me kindly to Fr Ring³³ and Fr McIntyre.³⁴

I remain, very dear Fr Provincial,

Yours very kindly,

M. Gaughren OMI

5.

Gaughren to Provincial

14 January 1889

[OMIPAD]

Montevideo

14 Jan. 1889

L.J.C. & M.I.

Mr dear Father Provincial,

I am exceeding grateful to you for your kind letter and your goodness in looking after the things I asked for. I have had two letters from Fr Martinet³⁵ regarding the portable altar, the last enclosing the carrier's receipt. I have handed this over to a gentleman who will see to the case being passed through the Custom House. I have not yet heard of its arrival, but it will come quite safely to hand I have no doubt. There is always much delay in the Customs at Buenos Aires. I have not yet heard of the copies Fr Cooke's book. If they have been forwarded the shipper's receipt ought to be sent me. I regret very much

not having brought a number of copies with me, but then I did not know the need of them as I do now. They would have been literally worth their weight in gold in many cases and in some a great deal more. It is becoming almost too late for them now, except as gifts to generous donors.

I came down here on Tuesday last having previously received an offer of hospitality from a good priest, Fr Vincent Kopf,³⁶ a member of the same order as the Fathers³⁷ of Hatton Garden,³⁸ London, who have always been good friends to us from the foundation on the Tower Hill mission, as Fr Ring can tell you. I intended to spend only a week or ten days at most and then return to Buenos Aires for the camp, but Fr Kopf is not well and is obliged to go away for a change and I have promised to do what is necessary here until the end of this month. There is another priest here besides, a German like Fr Kopf but both speak English. They are in charge of a church built by a Mr Jackson³⁹ in honour of Our Lady of Lourdes. Mr Jackson is the son of an Englishman and the richest man in Montevideo. He is also very charitable. He is at the head of the Commission de Beneficenza, a committee which practically manages all the works of charity in the city and which has enormous revenue from frequent lotteries sanctioned by the government. He supports, himself, an orphanage for girls under the care of the Sisters of Charity⁴⁰ and he is about to establish an Industrial school for boys. Two Fathers of the Society of St Joseph who have some houses in France are here just now negotiating the conditions on which they are to undertake the work. Mr Jackson offers them a quantity of land, a building according to their requirements, free passages for as many persons as they wish to bring over from Europe, and he undertakes to pay for 100 boys. Trades and agriculture are to be taught. Rich and generous as Mr J. is, I fear I need not expect much from him as he has a notion that no money ought to go out of the country while there is so much to be done here. In fact there are only a few families here on whom I can rely. And even with them I must be prudent for the bishop⁴¹ sets his face against collectors. I did not see himself but I saw his secretary who afterwards sent me faculties but at the same time said the bishop does not permit you to collect “in any manner.” However, as I had not asked his Lordship’s permission and as I know of no law by which he can forbid me, I mean to do all I can quietly so as to get as much money as possible without coming into collision with the bishop.

The weather here is much more pleasant than at Buenos Aires. The city is built in a tongue of land running out into the Atlantic, so that we have nearly always a sea breeze. I shall take advantage of my stay here to have some baths. The place is full of strangers who have come for the bathing from Buenos Aires and elsewhere.

With kind regards to all the Fathers,
I remain my dear Fr Provincial,
Yours very sincerely,
M. Gaughren OMI

P.S. I forgot to thank you for the Annals which I have received.

MG.

Montevideo 14 Janv.1889

6.

Gaughren to the Editor⁴² of *The Standard*

18 February 1889

[*The Standard*, Wednesday 20 February 1889, No. 7968]

Buenos Aires

18 February 1889

To the Editor of *The Standard*

Dear Sir,

The Irish Immigrants

Allow me, as an eye witness, to give your readers some idea of the treatment which the newly arrived immigrants have received at the Hotel de Immigrants. Anything more scandalous could not well be imagined. The 1,800 passengers from the *Dresden* were allowed to land on Saturday when the authorities well knew that there was no accommodation for them. Many hundreds of these poor people had not received orders for the Hotel before leaving the ship, and weary hours were spent in the struggle to get to the table where these orders were issued. Then, the orders obtained, strong men could fight their way through the throng of Italians into the dining hall, but the weak, the women and children were left supperless. It was soon evident that unless some special arrangements were made, even the shelter of a roof could not be obtained. At the instance of Mr Johnston, the Director promised to clear out the dining hall after supper and allow the women and children to sleep there for the night. The promise was not kept. Men, women and children, hungry and exhausted after the fatigues of the day, had to sleep as best they might on the flags of the court yard. To say that they were treated like cattle would not be true, for the owner of cattle would at least provide them with food and drink; but these poor people were left to

live or die unaided by the officials who are paid to look after them, and without the slightest sign of sympathy from these officials. I am told that as a result, a child died during the night of exhaustion. In England those responsible would be prosecuted for manslaughter, but in this land of liberty no one minds.

On Sunday things were nearly as bad, and were it not for the generosity of Mr Duggan, Mr Johnson, and other charitable gentlemen, who themselves provided food and helped to serve it out, other deaths might have had to be recorded. We witnessed there scenes of helpless [-----?] them until his dying day and all will [?] pray that, until the arrangements which humanity and decency would prompt have been made, no more immigrants from the British Isles may arrive in Buenos Aires.

As many of these poor people are badly clad, and in want of bed clothes, the Superioress of the Irish Convent, Calle Tucuman 1305, kindly consents to receive clothes, blankets etc., for the immigrants.

I remain Sir,

Your obedient servant,

M. Gaughren OMI

7.

Gaughren to the Editor of *The Nation*

24 February 1889

[*The Nation*, 13 April 1889, Vol.XLVII, No.15]

Buenos Aires

24 February 1889

Dear Sir,

The Emigrants to The Argentine

It will, no doubt, be of interest to many in Ireland to learn how the 1,600 emigrants, who, a month ago, left the shores of the Emerald Isle in the SS *Dresden*, have fared since their arrival in the Argentine Republic.

When the telegraph flashed the news of the departure from Queenstown of such a large addition to the might army of exiles in these remote parts man an Irish heart on this side of the great ocean was heavy with anxiety as to the fate in store for such a number of their countrymen who had left home and fatherland in evident ignorance of the dangers and difficulties which they would have to meet. Those who were crossing the blue waters

of the mighty Atlantic were buoyed up by the high hopes and comforted, even at the moment of separation from kindred and friends, by the bright visions of the happy future towards which they were speeding in one of the finest steamers that ever Europe for the River Plate. But Irishmen here, who the lot in store for the immigrants to these shores, were full well aware of the falseness of these hopes and of the rude awakening from the dream of bliss which awaited their sadly deceived countrymen. What is to be done? Such was the question on everybody's lips. How are those poor people to be provided for? Can we make any adequate provision for such a multitude of souls? It was easy to foresee the difficulties in the way of assisting the immigrants. Their imaginations had been fired by the plausible tales of the emigration agents, by the pictures of a land abounding in wealth, which they had only to stretch out the hand to grasp and make their own. And it was easy to paint such tales by pointing to the number of Irishmen who have made vast fortunes in this Republic. In the commercial world the names of Duggan⁴³ and of Casey⁴⁴ are like those of Rothschild and of Baring in London; in the professions, whether military, medical, or legal, the names of Irishmen, such as Donovan,⁴⁵ Hanley,⁴⁶ Peakin,⁴⁷ O'Farrell,⁴⁸ and many others, are familiar household words. Hundreds of our countrymen had risen from poverty to affluence. All that is undeniable. But the intending emigrant is not told that those who have so risen owe their success not only to their talents, industry, and steadiness, but also to a concurrence of circumstances which has passed away forever. Times are changed for the immigrant, and that the residents here well know. The enormous proportions which Italian immigration has assumed of late years have altogether altered the prospects and the position of an Irishman who arrives here without capital. Under ordinary circumstances he has to compete with the lithe and hardy son of Italy, who can work hard under a scorching sun, who can live on little, and who can sleep anywhere – who has, furthermore, the advantage, owing to the affinity of the Italian and Spanish languages, of being able to understand and make himself understood on his arrival in the country. Agriculture, introduced by and chiefly in the hands of the Italians, has almost altogether supplanted the sheep farming industry, by which the Irish mostly made their fortunes in the past.

The problem, then, for the friends of the poor people who had been induced to sail for the River Plate, was how to place their countrymen on a footing of equality, at least, with the Italians who flock hither in such vast numbers. While others talked, it was given to Mr F. H. Mulhall,⁴⁹ a brother of the celebrated statistician,⁵⁰ to solve the problem. Through his influence Mr Gartland, himself the son of an Irishman, has been inducted to devote a large tract of land belonging to him to the purposes of an Irish Colony. The land is situated about four hundred miles south of Buenos Aires, about four leagues from a

port called Bahía Blanca, with a climate admirable suited to Irishmen. The owner engages to lay it out in farms of about eighty acres each, which he will sell to the colonists on what are recognised as favourable terms – about £4 an acre, twenty years being allowed for the payment of purchase money. He, furthermore, engages to advance provision for the first year, materials for house, stock, and farming implements to the amount of about £135 for each family.

When this scheme became public the feeling of dismay with which many of us awaited the arrival of the *Dresden* gave way to a more hopeful view of the situation. Many, at all events, of the new arrivals would find homes, and get a start in life on the soil of the country of their adoption. A meeting was convened of the English speaking residents of Buenos Aires to consider the steps to be taken under the circumstances. English, Scotch, and natives of the great Republic of North America, as well as Irish assembled. A committee was named to consider Mr Gartland's and any other proposals which might be made, and to do all that might be necessary for the benefit of the expected arrivals. Little did the meeting or the committee dream of how much would need to be done.

Mr F. H. Mulhall and I went to Montevideo to meet the *Dresden* on her arrival at that port, in order to cheer the passengers after their long voyage and to explain to them what their friends were doing for them in Buenos Aires. After a wonderfully rapid passage of nineteen days the *Dresden* cast anchor in the waters of the River Plate. We found the passengers in remarkably good health and good spirits. Most of them had suffered little from sea sickness. Nearly all seemed grateful for the kind treatment that had received on board. After a few hours delay the good ship got steam up for Buenos Aires. I had an opportunity that evening and the next day of admiring the piety of the greater part of the Irish passengers. A number of the men had been members of the Confraternity of the Holy Family, some in Rathmines, some in Limerick. These good men assembled every morning and evening on the deck of the steamer for the recitation of the Rosary and the singing of their accustomed hymns. Around them gathered a great crowd. It was truly a touching spectacle to witness these sons of the Island of Saints so faithful to the pious practices of home, as fervent in their prayers to heaven on the open deck and beneath a Southern sky as if their feet trod the holy sod of Ireland, or they had the help of the zealous directors from whom they had been separated, mayhap for ever on this side of the grave.

And it needed all the grace bestowed in answer to their prayers to enable them to bear the unforeseen trials which awaited them. Poor people, how sadly they had been deceived! Readers of Dickens know how Mark Tapley⁵¹ and his master fared at the hands of the unscrupulous villain, and how bitter were their experiences of the Eden to which

they directed their steps. Our poor immigrants were in a similar plight on their landing in Buenos Aires. It had been told them that on their arrival in the land of promise they would be lodged in a hotel for five days at the expense of the Government, which would, moreover, find them employment at high wages. Labourers were told that they might expect from £7 to “10 per month, artisans from eight to 16 shillings per day. Many among the immigrants left good situation at home on the faith of these premises. How were the promises kept? The hotel to which our poor people were conducted is a vast building constructed to accommodate 2,000 immigrants. On the evening of the arrival of the *Dresden* there were over 5,000 persons within its walls – people of all nationalities, Italian, German, French, all huddled promiscuously together. The whole place reeks of every conceivable abomination, material and moral. Dirt and vermin of all kinds everywhere abound. To this hospitable abode the agents of the Argentine Government conducted the 1,800 passengers of the *Dresden* – for along with the 1,000 Irish were 200 English. There was no room for the new arrivals within doors, so they had to content themselves, weary as they were after the fatigues of the long voyage and the transshipment with make the hard flags of the courtyard their bed. Then as darkness fell might be seen hundreds of our country people, men, women and children, without food, for they could not fight their way through the crowd of hungry Italians to the dining hall, without any protection against the night air, sleeping the sleep of utter exhaustion. Others better able to bear the fatigue kept the weary vigil of the night pacing the courtyard of the Hotel de Immigrants on the street outside. Around them prowled human wolves, awaiting their opportunity to clutch at some object of value or, worse still, to lure or carry off to destruction some tender lamb heedlessly left unguarded. No more striking picture of pandemonium could well be imagined than this Hotel presented on that Saturday night – utter, hopeless confusion and disorder, struggling, cursing and swearing in many tongues, heartless laughter, speechless misery and despair. How the high hopes of the poor immigrants fell! Now they began to realise how cruelly they had been deceived by the smooth tongues of the emigration agents. This was their reception at the hands of the Government of the Argentine.

One good, however, resulted from all the misery. It was the occasion of the most splendid outburst of spontaneous charity which I have ever witnessed. A number of the English speaking residents of the city went next day to see the immigrants, and when they learned of the treatment accorded to them their indignation knew no bounds. They set to work at once to feed the unfortunate people, who, having passed the night supperless, found no breakfast awaiting them in the morning. All the resources of a neighbouring tavern, the only available place, were put into requisition, some of the first men in the city

keeping order or handing round the plates among the hungry guests. It was far into the afternoon before all were fed, and then the question arose as to how the poor people were to be lodged for the night. They were rich men there who, I verily believe, would, in that moment of honest indignation, have sacrificed half their fortunes could they have provided for the wants of those distressed strangers by the sacrifice. But even money cannot procure shelter for 1,800 people in a crowded city like this at a moment's notice. The young girls were sent away either to respectable lodgings or to kind ladies who offered to take charge of them. The good nuns of the Sacred Heart took more than twenty into their convent; other ladies, Catholic and Protestant, did likewise in proportion to the accommodation available. The great mass of the immigrants, however, had to fall back on the Government "Hotel" for the night again. Next day, though the agency of Dr Newberry,⁵² a native of the United States, who has devoted himself night and day to these distressed people, a large shed was found and engaged. A plentiful supply of hay was put in, in lieu of bedding, a kitchen was organised, and to this shelter all the families were transferred and abundantly supplied with not only good nourishing food, but with the medicines and the delicacies which the weak or the sick stood in need of. Charitable ladies visited the "Asilo,"⁵³ as it came to be called – truly "ministering angels" – bringing words of sympathy and encouragement, supplying clothing to many who were almost naked, taking children to their homes and themselves washing away the dirt which disfigured their rosy faces, making themselves, in fact, the servants of the most helpless of the poor. Their charity must surely bring blessings not only on themselves, but even on this wicked city.

Thus has passed the first week from the landing of the immigrants. In the meantime the girls for service have found situations, and the young men have got employment. It only remains now to send the families to the colony, and during the week the necessary arrangement have been completed, so that the train which will convey them to their new home will leave tomorrow or the day after. As there is no Irish priest to look after the spiritual interests of these poor people I intend to accompany them to the settlement and remain with them three or four weeks. I hope to be able to give you an account later on of the success of the enterprise which for the first time provides an Irish centre in the Argentine Republic.

Before I conclude let me remark that one of the great difficulties which the friends of the immigrants have had to contend with is the outrageously exaggerated ideas these poor people have obtained from the emigration agents, and the pamphlets published by them, as to the rates of wages in this country. A labourer earns from 1 dol. 20c. to 1 dol. 50c. per day, that is about 3s. 2d. to 4s, English money, as the paper dollar is worth only 2s,

8d. at present. A man employed by a farmer will get about 20 dols. a month, all found. A mechanic may earn 3 dols., or, under exceptional circumstances, 3 dols. 50c. a day. Servant girls are best paid of all. Their wages range from 15 dols. to 30 dols. a month. But labourers and mechanics have to remember that the cost of living is at least twice what it is at home, and house rent in the cities is three or four times as high as in Ireland. In fact a man with a family, whether labourer or artisan, cannot afford to live in the cities here. During the past week many of our people, men and women, lost good offers by insisting on absurdly high wages, and were ultimately compelled to accept worse places for much less money.

Another matter loudly complained of by the passengers by the *Dresden* is that the emigration agents extracted the last shilling from them before they sailed under one pretence or another, whereas they have no right to demand a single penny for fees or anything else. Mr O'Meara,⁵⁴ of Dublin, is an honourable exception. The immigrants from Dublin state that he did not demand even the price of a postage stamp.

Let me, in conclusion, offer a word of advice to my countrymen.

Do not be deceived by the oil tongues of paid agents into giving up good employment at home in the expectation of the Argentine Government finding you work at high wages. The Government will do nothing of the sort. Artisans who lived comfortably at home have out here to a life of misery. If you must emigrate do not come here until you are assured that there is an organisation in existence which will treat you and your families humanely at least on your arrival. Ignorance of the language places you at an immense disadvantage in this country. No can newcomers in future hope for the same amount of private charity and sympathy which has been lavished so freely on the immigrants by the *Dresden*.

I have just learned that, owing to the representations of the British Immigration Committee, as the association formed to assist English speaking immigrants has been called, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who is personally anxious to promote the comfort of new arrivals, has undertaken to restrict the immigration from Ireland within manageable proportions, and to provide the committee with a house and with funds for the reception of their countrymen who may come here in future. Let us hope that the promise will be fulfilled, and that the shameful scenes of inhumanity and misery which we have been compelled to witness during the past week shall never be repeated. I remain, dear Sir, yours truly,

M. Gaughren OMI

8.

Gaughren to the Editor of *The Southern Cross*⁵⁵

5 March 1889

[Reprinted in *The Nation*, 20 April 1889, Vol. XLVII, No.16]

Colonia Irlandesa, Napostá,

5 March 1889

Dear Sir,

Both you and your readers will, no doubt, feel some curiosity to know how the poor exiles of Erin have been faring since the date of my last letter. Most of them, within a few hours from leaving Buenos Aires, found in “Nature’s sweet restorer, balmy sleep,” a temporary reprieve from their miseries. The railway arrangements as regards space were fairly good, and there was nothing that could be called overcrowding. When day dawned, however, and seven hungry mouths craved for breakfast, the first untoward incident of the journey occurred. It was found that the meat supplied by the Government has gone bad during the night, and the bread fell very far short of the quantity required. Mr Gartland considerably endeavoured to eke out the scanty Government supply by the help of the resources of a wayside station. Tea, coffee, and bread were obtained for the women and children until the refreshment rooms could provide no more. Later on a quantity of bread was got which helped to fill that vacuum which nature is said to abhor, until towards evening we arrived within the hospitable boundary of Mr Casey’s estate when, through his generous forethought, a supply of bread, meat and milk awaited us, which gave the poor travellers a satisfying supper. Through unpardonable mismanagement somewhere we did not reach our journey’s end until after seven o’clock. As we alighted from the train darkness was just closing in, and the scene of confusion which ensued in consequence can well be imagined. The wagons had to be unloaded without delay, and there were no lights in the train to guide the workers. Men, women and children were landed on unknown ground, over which they had to grope their way. It was too dark to permit of the tents which had come with us being pitched, and all had to resign themselves to the prospect of passing the night in the open air. I must confess that my heart sank within me when I beheld the number of helpless women and children, enfeebled by the long voyage and by the miseries of their stay in Buenos Aires, thus condemned to fresh wretchedness without a possibility of relief and the more so as some lightning flashes in the borazon seemed to threaten a storm. Fortunately, the beds and tent canvass formed some protection against the dampness of the ground and the dews of the night. But of what use would they have

been had a thunderstorm come on? A large quantity of roast beef was again distributed among the immigrants, thus forestalling the pang of hunger. Then all settled down for the night as best they could to that repose which even their misfortune and sufferings could not rob them.

Morning dawned bright and cheerful, and the gloomy foreshadowings of the previous nights melted away with the rising sun. Diving Providence had taken pity on the poor and removed the storm far from them. The buoyant and Celtic temperament asserted itself, and soon the miseries of the past were forgotten, and hopes rose high at the prospect of the future. And if the future of the immigrants at all resembles the landscape which the first rays of the morning's sun unfolded to our view. There is reason to leave sorrow behind. The country is really beautiful. It consists of a series of undulations in the land, not high enough to be called hills, but which in England would have the name of downs. It reminds me very much of the counties of Kent or Sussex. There is no part of Ireland that I know of like it. In the far distance rise up the peaks of the mountains of Curumalan. If the land is only equal in quality to the landscape, and if the seasons prove favourable, the lot of these poor immigrants will have been cast in pleasant places. Of the quality of the land I may not be a competent judge, but if I might form an opinion from the result obtained from the Vine Culture Company after five months' working, I would say that much of it is very fertile.

Early on the morning after their arrival the colonists moved off to the spot selected for their encampment. Wagons provided by Mr Gartland conveyed the luggage, stores, tents, &c. An unfortunate accident, by which some women sitting on the luggage in a bullock cart were thrown off, resulted in the death of a child whom one of them held in her arms. Before night all the tents were pitched, and order began to prevail where chaos had hitherto reigned. Friday and Saturday were spent in completing arrangements, in securing a proper distribution of food, and building a temporary chapel.

On Sunday I had the happiness of celebrating the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the poor people, under the shelter provided on the hillside, and hearts and hands were raised towards heaven as fervently as if the sacred rites were solemnised within the precincts of some glorious cathedral. May the prayers of those poor, simple, but faithful people bring down upon them abundant blessings, temporal and spiritual!

On Wednesday work began. Some were told off to build houses, some to sink wells, some to construct corrales for the cattle, and those who had previous experience in tilling to plough the ground. As soon as their houses will be completed the farms will be

distributed by lot and each family will be left to shift for itself, provisions, however, being supplied until the crops come in.

Many of the poor people have not yet recovered from the effects of the hardships which they have gone through, and illness, especially diarrhoea, prevails to a great extent among the children. Three deaths have already resulted from it, and some more are sure to follow. In several cases mothers are too debilitated to suckle their infants. Although Mr Gartland has provided fourteen milch cows, the supply of milk is no equal to the demand, and children who have been accustomed to it have to go without. Of course, after a little time, each family will have its own cow, but meanwhile the want is felt, as our people have, rightly or wrongly – wrongly say the natives here – an idea that milk is the most beneficial food for their children.

The Government supplies have been supplemented by a liberal allowance of fresh meat rations of biscuit, tea, sugar, salt, &c., are being dealt out, and if the commissariat is not ideally perfect, it is such, at all events, as to obviate any damage of starvation.

Notwithstanding the efforts made by so many charitable friends to supply their wants, many of these poor people are still sadly in need of clothing of all kinds, and as the nights are getting cold, blankets will be required for a considerable number amongst them. Donations of these necessary articles will be much more useful than money.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

M. Gaughren OMI

9.

Gaughren to Provincial

2 April 1889⁵⁶

[OMIPAD]

Buenos Aires

2 April 1889

L.J.C. & M.I.

My dear Father Provincial,

A thousand thanks for your very kind letter. I have just returned from the Irish colony where I had been staying for the past month. One my way home I picked up a few dollars and I must now start again in a few days for the camp to do a little work. There are

about 700 Irish people in the colony and within the past few days 120 English have gone down. A great many took advantage of my being there to make their Easter communion. I had besides a first Communion class of 26 children who received from the first time on the 24 ult. Most of the people are still living under canvas on the slope of a hill on which, higher up, is a small shed of galvanised iron just large enough to shelter the altar which served for a chapel. The people heard mass outside under the canopy of heaven. I had a good many graves to bless for there was a large mortality among the infants, chiefly from diarrhoea, the result of the change of climate and of food.

There was great grief among the poor people when I left as it is quite uncertain when they may get a priest. If I can manage it I will call to see them again before leaving the province although it is a long journey – 20 hours by train from here.

I cannot speak too highly of the kindness I have received from the nuns of the Sacred Heart here. They think nothing a trouble to help me. When I am in the country I have only to write to them to get whatever I want.

Although we ought to have some signs of winter here now, and in the colony the nights were very cold, the weather in Buenos Aires is still extremely warm, both day and night. So far thank God we have escaped the yellow fever which has been making such ravages in Rio (de) Janeiro and other parts of Brazil.

There is a movement on foot to celebrate Parnell's⁵⁷ victory by a public dinner.⁵⁸ I have been asked to act on the committee. Of course I could not well refuse. With kind regards to all the Fathers and asking a continuance of your prayers.

Yours very sincerely,
M. Gaughren OMI.

11.

Gaughren to Provincial

8 June 1889⁵⁹

[OMIPAD]

Carmen de Areco

8 June 1889

L. J. C. & M. I.

My dear Father Provincial,

Your very welcome letter has just reached me here. I am wandering again through the camps of Buenos Aires and getting dollars together but not without some difficulty. The year has been unusually wet, and, as a consequence, the country is in many places covered with water, the roads are bad and in many places quite impracticable. It is no easy matter, under these circumstances, to travel about. The wet season too has been very bad for the sheep – the chief source of wealth for our people. They are dying by thousands in some camps, and it is quite painful to pass, as one has to do frequently, scores of carcasses of dead sheep and to see so many hardly able to move out of the way of horses. Last year was good but as the two previous years were very bad it is no wonder that the sheep farmers are not in a very joyous mood. Nevertheless I have been fairly successful. I could send you £300 now, but gold is enormously high, and I think it better to wait for a fall which is likely. If war breaks out in Europe, however, gold will go to the skies here.

I am keeping in good health thank God, although the weather is now very cold. A difficult thing in this country to keep oneself warm in winter. There are, as a rule, no fires in houses and if the ground is wet it is impossible to walk out of doors. Today I came a distance of fifteen miles, in the face of a listing south wind, to say the last mass and hear some confessions here. Only a few of our people turned up however. The cura⁶⁰ gave a long harangue on the Civil Marriage Law which I would have appreciated more had I had my breakfast. The government here has lately introduced here a law making it obligatory to go through a form of marriage before a civil officer before any religious ceremony can be gone through. So many formalities are required and so many difficulties are being placed in the way of parties getting married that deplorable results are sure to follow. Everybody grumbles, but there is so little cohesion among the various nationalities that go to form this so-called republic that no action is taken. There is a fine and imprisonment decreed against the priest who marries a couple without the civil form having been gone through and I believe it would be a very beneficial thing if a few priests were sent to jail, but the archbishop has directed the priests to observe the law. With kind regards to all the Fathers, I remain, my dear Father Provincial,

Yours very sincerely,
M. Gaughren OMI.

12.

Gaughren to Provincial

24 June 1889⁶¹

[OMIPAD]

Buenos Aires

24 June 1889

L.J.C. & M.I.

My dear Father Provincial,

A thought occurred to me yesterday during the procession of the B. Sacrament which may be a good inspiration. It is to ask leave to spend six months with poor people who form the Irish colony – the immigrants of the ‘*Dresden*.’ With the exception of a few days’ visit from the Passionist Fathers they have been entirely without a priest since I left them at the end of March, and there seems no immediate prospect of their spiritual needs being provided for. There are nearly seven hundred Catholics and about 100 Protestants there who do not know a word of Spanish and for whom in consequence the Spanish cura who lives twelve miles off can do little. I cannot, of course, expect to make any money from what I propose, for these people are utterly penniless. I leave the matter entirely in your hands. If you say Yes be kind enough to get my celebret renewed. The celebret I have will expire on the 26 August. A renewal for eight months from then would give me a few weeks to look about me after my return from the colony and also, perhaps, some little work in the way of getting money.

I am trying now to finish up my work here by the end of August. At present it would be useless for me to go to the other provinces. In Santa Fé there are a certain number of Irish people, but not very many, and they are being taxed heavily just now for a new church which Father Sheedy,⁶² their chaplain, is building in Rosario. I could not travel overland to Chile before the month of November and the fare by sea is so high – \$40 each way – that I might lose instead of gaining by the trip as moreover the Passionists have pretty well beaten the ground there. There is too much sickness in Brazil and business is, as I leave, too dull there to make it much worthwhile to collect there. Everything considered, and especially bearing in mind the fact that there is in ecclesiastical circles here a considerable amount of jealousy regarding collectors. I believe I ought to wind up the work by the end of August and return home unless you wish me to remain for the missionary work among the poor

colonists as I have suggested.

Please let me have an answer as soon as possible so that I may be in a position to make the necessary arrangements before my present celebret expires. I am going out again to the camp tomorrow which I shall travel about for five or six weeks.

I have in the bank now about £300 but I cannot send it yet on account of the state of the money market.

Please remember me kindly to all the Fathers and pray for me.

Yours very sincerely,

M. Gaughren OMI.

13.

Gaughren to Provincial

1 September 1889

[OMIPAD]

Buenos Aires

1 Sept. 1889

L.J.C & M.I.

My dear Father Provincial,

Many thanks for your letter which reached me yesterday. I had become anxious about it as I expected it ten days previously, but “all’s well that ends well.” Dr Johnson⁶³ sent me by the same mail a renewed celebret from the Cardinal⁶⁴ up to 1 February next. I have received faculties here up to that date.

Notwithstanding that this has been a most disastrous year in most parts of this country I have done pretty well. I have now in bank 5000 dollars. If gold were at par that would be £1000. But the money market is in such an unsettled state that no one knows from day to day which the Argentine paper is worth. Gold has been up to 187; it has fallen from that to 175. Many think that it will fall lower coming on shearing as about that time a quantity of gold comes from Europe to pay for the wool, which is the staple export of the country. Gold at 175 mean with bank commission nearly nine dollars to the English sovereign or, say, £ for which I have £550 for what I have now in hand. If gold falls to 150 I will gain over £100. And as there is a chance of that I had better delay sending. Meantime I may be able to add a few hundred pounds to the amount. As you leave the matter to my discretion I have resolved to go down to the colony for some time.⁶⁵ I do not think the

Province will lose by my going and it may gain considerably. I shall try to get a pass on the railway which will enable me to come up to this city from time to time for confessions and to call upon some whom I have not yet seen. There are parts of the country too that I have not been able to visit owing to the floods where I may get some money. People accustomed to European countries only, where there are always roads of some kind, can form no idea of the difficulties of travelling here in a wet season such as we have had. The roads, so-called, are mere tracks. The soil is without stone or gravel and when saturated with water becomes so much mud. To travel through it is often impossible not only for a carriage but even for a horseman. I have known 100 dols. being offered for a carriage for four leagues and no vehicle could be got for the money. The summer will remedy all that it is to be hoped. Meanwhile sheep farmers in the low-lying lands are losing, in some cases, their entire flocks.

Just now I have two rivals in the collecting field. Father Sheedy, an Irish priest from Rosario who wants to build a church and school, and Father Costello⁶⁶ from New Zealand. Both are just now in the city.

Please remember me kindly to all the Fathers and believe me to [-----?]

Yours very sincerely,

M. Gaughren OMI

P.S. I was glad to see that Tower Hill was so well represented at the Thurles Convention⁶⁷ by Fr O'Brien.⁶⁸

MG.

14.

Gaughren to Frank Mulhall

10 September 1889⁶⁹

[*The Standard*, Thursday 19 September 1889, No.8136]

Irish Colony, Napostá

10 September 1889

...O'Connell has just arrived with your note and is to get a house and farm-lot tomorrow. The wagon load of clothes will be very welcome, although the distress is happily not so great as I thought, the weather too is milder. I find among the colonists a much better spirit than I could have expected. There is not a man amongst them who is not feverishly eager

to work. To all complaints I recommend patience telling then that Mr Gartland will set all right on his return from Europe. Thus the people at long last seem fully convinced of the really splendid start that have got, and are determined to make the best of it. In what other part of the world could paupers be transformed into landlords at a moment's notice?

15.

Gaughren to the Editor of The Standard

29 September 1889

[The Standard, Thursday 26 September 1889, No. 8143]

Viticola Argentine, Napostá

29 September 1889

To the Editor of The Standard,

Dear Sir,

The Napostá Settlers

In your issue of yesterday is an extract from a letter of mine to Mr F. H. Mulhall, read at the last meeting of the British Immigration Society, which, as it stands, would lead the public to believe, in my opinion, that the colonists here have no reasonable grounds for complaining. The entire scope of my letter was in a contrary direction, and I specified five or six points on which I think their complaints are justified, in the hope that, through the kind intervention of Mr F. H. Mulhall with the Viticola Company, redress may be obtained. In reference to one of these, viz, what the colonists believe to be an outrage for provisions, I have recommended patience until the return of Mr Gartland, who distinctly stated that only the cost price should be charged. The kindly offices of Mr F. H. Mulhall will, I trust, bring about an improvement in some other respects, for I well believe that the Directors, as honourable men, are only anxious to do justice to the colonists and to redress the grievances which are fairly pointed out to them.

Perhaps you will allow me to add that the clothing, etc., despatched from Buenos Aires on the 9th inst, arrived here only on the 17th. I have formed a committee of respectable men among the colonists to aid in the rapid and equitable distribution of the articles forwarded. Permit me, on the part of the colonists, as well as myself, to thank the generous donors. I would suggest to any who think of sending further gifts, that more blankets are needed, and a supply of calico for inner garments.

I remain dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

M. Gaughren.

16.

Frank Mulhall to the Editor of *The Standard*⁷⁰

27 (?) September 1889

[*The Standard*, Saturday 28 September 1889, No. 8145]

To The Editor of *The Standard*,

Dear Sir,

The Napostá Settlers

My good friend Father Gaughren has no reason to complain of my giving extracts from his letter, as on entering the “British Immigration Society” all turned to me for information about the delivery of the gifts of clothing etc. which were despatched by special wagon on the 9th inst. I stated that my latest advices were to the 10th inst., and a wish being expressed to hear the news, I read out all the general matter, including the various causes of complain, observing there and then that I would consult the Vine culture company’s managing partner on the matter, In reporting the meeting, however, I did not think it fair either to the writer or to the colonists to bring the complains before the public.

Firstly, because I felt certain that, although not marked “private,” the writer meant me to lay it before Señor René, in the hope of having the abuses redressed if on due examination they should really be found to exist.

Secondly, the colonists, if not patient and industrious, may fall out with both the public and the company. Nothing in my mind can be nobler or more generous than the conduct of the entire British community to our countrymen since their arrival in the Dresden last February, but as Mr Drysdale very properly said at our last committee meeting on 17th inst. It is not fair to overtax us; for there may be others just as deserving and necessitous to be attended to.

On the other hand I honestly believe that the Argentine Vine Company are doing their best to help the settlers, whose interests are mutual. For, no crops mean loss to the Company as well as to the colonists, while a good harvest means wealth and happiness for both parties. Therefore, it behoves all to pull well together and it is our duty to smooth over any difficulties between them instead of setting both parties at one another with the inevitable result of injuring irredeemably the weaker party.

It is easy enough to find fault with Mr Gartland’s partners, but it is by no means easy to get anyone else to do as much for the immigrants. They think that it is only necessary

to come up to town and find splendid employment “right off.” But we know the contrary. And I hold it to be our sacred duty to advise our countrymen in time. No false hopes should be held out to them, resulting in misery and disappointment. Let them work steadily at their farms; grateful to Almighty God that they have more already than many another 10 years in the country; grateful to the kind ladies and gentlemen who have protected them from the moment of their arrival here, and grateful to the Spanish company who are doing their very best to help the settlers. When Mr Gartland returns from Europe in November I shall gladly use all my influence with him on behalf of “justice.”

More than that I do not promise, for more than that I cannot do for Father Gaughren or any other man.

Yours, etc.,

Francis H. Mulhall.

10.

28 April 1890

[*The Standard*, Sunday 28 April 1890, No. 8021]

The Rev. Father Gaughren

This worthy gentleman and good priest came to the country last year at the special recommendation of no less a personage than his Eminence Cardinal Manning, Lord Archbishop of Westminster, who view with equal pleasure and pride the good work that Father Gaughren has in hand, and the already well earned reputation for charity which our countrymen of all creeds and denominations here have established for themselves throughout the world.

Father Gaughren is a member of the Oblate Fathers, Inchicore, Dublin. It is to help the novitiate house at Stillorgan that he has come among us. His first impulse, he tells us, was to proceed to South Africa where his brother wears a mitre, and where it might be reasonably expected himself and his good work would receive a hearty welcome. But Cardinal Manning resolved otherwise.

Immediately on his arrival he commenced his holy mission, going round from house to house; both in Montevideo and in this city he everywhere met the greatest kindness and generosity, the good work securing him more support than even his high credentials.

Thus Father Gaughren has already been able to make a small remittance to his superiors in Dublin; but it is to his wealth countrymen in the camp that he looks for his main support, and to them he now turns, having left for Mercedes on Tuesday last. During

his stay in that district he will be the guest of Father Petty, passing thence to Carmen de Areco, San Antonio and even as far north as the Pavón and Rosario. Here in the very cradle of the Irish sheep farming industry, Father Gaughren is certain of a hearty welcome from the Duggans, Morgans, Mooneys and hundreds of other wealth sheep farmers whose good fortune has not chilled their hearts.

No doubt money was more plentiful three months ago than it is today. Had Father Gaughren gone then instead of now a much more generous response would perhaps have awaited him; but then what was to become of the *Dresden* immigrants, whose guide, philosopher and friend he has been from first to last, passing a month or more at Napostá administering the sacraments, caring for the sick and consoling the dying? These are acts of self abnegation and true charity, and when found, whether in priest or layman, must command the respect and admiration of all true men, regardless of nation or religion.

F.W.M.

17.

Gaughren to Fr Tatin⁷¹

16 June 1890

[OMIPAD]

Church of the English Martyrs,
Great Prescot St. Tower Hill. E.

16 June 1890

L.J.C.& M.I.

My dear Father Tatin,

I am almost ashamed to write to you after delaying so long to answer your very kind letters. However you know something of the cares of provincial ship and so you will make allowances for my seeming neglect. The fact is I have been kept on the move since my return to the Province and, being on an apprentice at this work, my time has been fully occupied.

The voyage home from South America took a much longer time that I expected. I reached Genoa only on the 16 April. I did not then know that you were so near, or I would have been very strongly tempted to presume permission to visit the Eternal City. As it was I determined to hurry home without any delay. You may imagine my surprise when, on my arrival at Paris, Father General himself announced to me my appointment. To use Fr

Pinet's historical expression, "it came upon me like a bomb." I could hardly believe me ears and for some time I was inclined to believe it was just a good joke. I am afraid I may blame you for the mischief. Whether I succeed or fail, I think I can honestly say that I never coveted the office nor did I in the least suspect what was before me on my return.

There is just one consolation – I have been received in the kindest manner by all the Fathers. I hope I may continue to retain their confidence as you did. But I fear I am scarcely fit for work.

Ought I to congratulate you or to sympathise you on my appointment? Both perhaps. I know the change will be in some respects disagreeable to you and, perhaps, a little difficult; on the other hand, I am glad that you occupy the position you do because I know how well you will fulfil its duties. Your great experience, too, will be of immense advantage to the scholastics in every way, materially, intellectually and spiritually. I am quite sure of that, God blessing your efforts, the health of the brothers will not suffer so much as hitherto. I am told there is a great change for the better already.

What a sad state of things exists in the other scholasticate! Three brothers have home here ill; one Br Sheveland,⁷² is dying at the scholasticate and cannot be removed. The French brothers are suffering quite as heavily. It is now we feel the loss of Belcamp. How I wish the scholastics could spend at least a part of the time of their studies here!

I remain, my dear Father Tatin,

Yours very sincerely,

M.Gaughren OMI

Notes

¹ *The Standard*, 28 April 1890.

² Gaughren to Provincial, 19 October 1888.

³ Gaughren to Provincial, 19 October 1888.

⁴ Gaughren to Provincial, 1 September 1889.

⁵ Gaughren to Provincial, 24 June 1889.

⁶ Gaughren to Provincial, 14 January 1889.

⁷ John James Murphy to Martin Murphy, 26 January 1864

⁸ John James Murphy to Martin Murphy, 1 January 1875. The "£" sign between the name and family name of Fr. John Furlong may have been a joke about the insistence of this priest to request for funds.

- ⁹ “Se ruega ofrecer una oración por los bienhechores del colegio y de la capilla Clonmacnoise” (my translation). The stoup is decorated with the carved inscription on marble under a Celtic Cross and shamrocks, and a plaque in the same church includes the name of the benefactor.
- ¹⁰ Gaughren to Provincial, 14 January 1889.
- ¹¹ Murray, Thomas (1919), p. 409.
- ¹² Gaughren to Provincial, 14 January 1889.
- ¹³ S.S. *Galicia*, an iron screw steamer; registered tonnage 2319; built 1873 by R. Napier & Sons, Glasgow, owned by the Pacific Steam Navigation Co., Liverpool home port. See *Lloyds Register* 1888-1889, No.43.
- ¹⁴ The ship “arrived at 4 a.m. Liverpool for Chile” on Wednesday 4 July and sailed on Monday 9 July. See *Lloyds List*, Wednesday 4 July, 1888. No. 15,868 (4/16), and Monday 9 July, No.15,872 (9/22).
- ¹⁵ Sao Vicente, one of the fifteen islands of the Cape Verde archipelago in the central Atlantic, 570 kilometres off the coast of West Africa.
- ¹⁶ Rio de Janeiro was reached on 18 July. *Lloyds List*, Saturday 21 July 1888, No.15, 883 (21/11).
- ¹⁷ The *Galicia* docked at Montevideo on 23 July 1888, *Lloyds List*, Tuesday 24 July, No. 15,885 (24/35).
- ¹⁸ This should read Zárate.
- ¹⁹ Thomas Pinet OMI b.1819 Quebec, d.11 November 1892. See *Necrology OMI, Anglo Irish Province* 2007, pp.23, 42.
- ²⁰ Estanciero – farmer and/or rancher.
- ²¹ Should read “rancho” a small hut.
- ²² Robert Cooke OMI (1821-1882) a native of Dungarvan, Co.Waterford. Studied law and medicine before joining the Oblates. Ordained 1846, An outstanding missionary, preacher and leader; provincial of the Anglo Irish Province on two occasions. In England he laboured very much in the service of Irish workers.
- ²³ Robert Cooke OMI, *Sketches of the Life of Mgr. De Mazenod*, London and Dublin 1879.
- ²⁴ Charles Joseph Eugene Mazenod, (1782-1861) bishop of Marseilles and founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
- ²⁵ Marc Antoine Sardou OMI, b. Marseilles 1828, joined the Oblates 1849, ordained 1854; professor and preached, Treasurer General 1863-1898, d. Paris 1898.
- ²⁶ This may be either James O’Reilly OMI, b. 1852 Meath, d. Kilburn 10 February 1915 or

Matthew O'Reilly OMI, b.1852 Meath, d. Rock Ferry 1927. *OMI Necrology*, pp.4, 10, 42.

²⁷ Dr William J. Walsh (1841-1921) appointed archbishop of Dublin 1885. A search of the Dublin Diocesan Archives has not found any documentation about this matter.

²⁸ Daniel Barber OMI, b.Dublin 1847, d. 13 November 1888. See *Necrology OMI*, pp. 23, 42.

²⁹ The city of Punta Arenas in southern Chile.

³⁰ Fr Fidelis Kent Stone C.P. (1842-1921).

³¹ The obit was published in the *Catholic Times* of Friday 16 November 1888, No.1115.

³² Mother August Bridget Fitzgerald (1829-1916) daughter of Sir James Fitzgerald of Castle Ishen, Co. Cork and Lady August Henrietta Fremantle. Educated principally in England. Entered the Society of the Sacred Heart in Rome 1853; professed 1861 in Paris. Spent a short time at Roehampton before coming to Roscrea and then to Armagh and in 1878 to Mount Anville in Dublin where she was Superior. She worked in Argentina from 1880 to 1892 from where she went to Chile before returning to Rome. She left a journal of account of her trip from Paris to Argentina in July 1880 kept at the General Archive, Society of the Sacred Heart, Rome.

³³ William Ring OMI b.1834, d.29 April 1919 at Kilburn, London. Native of Belfast where his father was a medical doctor. A convert to Catholicism who joined the Oblates 1859. Superior at Tower Hill. Survived a rail crash of the night mail from Ireland at Tamworth in 1870. Provincial in Ireland and superior at Stillorgan and Inchicore. See *The Catholic Who's Who* 1908, p.340 and *OMI Necrology*, pp. 9, 43.

³⁴ Daniel McIntyre OMI, b.1849, d. 16 December 1903 at Inchicore; *OMI Necrology*, pp. 25, 39.

³⁵ Aimè Martine OMI b. 1829 Domère (Isère), joined the Oblates 1847, ordained 1852; professor and preacher, Secretary General 1867-1894; d. Bordeaux 1894.

³⁶ Fr Vincent Kopf was a native of Germany who came to England as a boy and joined the Pallotines in Ipswich about 1875 and was sent to Rome a few years later where he was ordained in 1882. He first worked at the Italian Church in London and in 1886 went to Brazil and later to Montevideo. He later became the first Provincial of the Limburg Province. See John S. Gaynor, *The English-Speaking Pallotines*, Rome, 1962, p.104.

³⁷ The Rosminian Fathers.

³⁸ St Etheldreda's Church, Ely Place, off Charterhouse Street, Holborn, London.

- ³⁹ John Jackson (1832-1892). Born Montevideo, educated at Stoneyhurst, returned to Uruguay and became a wealthy merchant, property owner and businessman. Described as a man of prodigious wealth and of inflexible honesty, he “sent home distressed families to England, pair for funerals of poor people, and was moreover one of the principal men in the Society of St Vincent de Paul.” See E. T. Mulhall, *Saudades*, Buenos Aires, 1923, pp.82, 83.
- ⁴⁰ The orphanage near Paso Molino for 120 girls was built by Jackson at his own expense having brought out French Sisters of Charity from Bordeaux to manage it. Mulhall pp. 82, 83.
- ⁴¹ Innocenzo María Yeregui (1833-1890) appointed bishop of Montevideo 1881.
- ⁴² Edward Thomas Mulhall (1832-1899). A Dubliner who went to the USA 1852 and shortly afterwards to Argentina and started sheep farming at Ranchos and then Zárate. In 1861 sold his farming interests and together with his brother Michael founded *The Standard* the first English language daily newspaper in Argentina. 1856 married Sarah Eliza “*Eloisa*” Eborall b. Lichfield, England, 1841. Collaborated with his brother Michael in producing various editions of *Handbooks of the River Plate*.
- ⁴³ Thomas Duggan (1838-1913) arrived in Argentina in 1859 with his brothers Michael and Daniel. They had owned a farm at Mullingham, Co. Longford. They became friends with Anthony Fahy O.P. and he officiated at the marriage of Thomas to Marcella Casey the daughter of an Irish rancher who had amassed considerable wealth. They purchased the Estancia San Ramón (seventy square miles) near San Antonio in 1864. See María Saenz Quesada, *Estancias: The Great Houses and Ranches of Argentina*, New York, 1992; San Ramón, pp. 72-76.
- ⁴⁴ Edward Casey (1847-1906) brother-in-law of the Duggans, estanciero, business man and entrepreneur who brought the Duggans into the booming construction industry. He was involved in building a large wholesale fruit market at Avellaneda in the city of Buenos Aires and another large building project in Montevideo when the depression of 1890 set in. See Eduardo A. Coghlan, *Los Irlandeses En La Argentina – Su Actuación Y Descendencia*, Buenos Aires, 1987, Vol.1, p. 129.
- ⁴⁵ Probably General Antonio Donovan (1849-1897) one time Governor of Chaco. Coghlan, Vol.1, p. 270.
- ⁴⁶ Dr Edward Hanley b. Buenos Aires, son of Edward Hanley of Monkstown, Co. Dublin; undertook specialist studies in Europe, working in hospitals in London returning to Argentina in 1881. Coghlan, Vol.1, p.453.

- ⁴⁷ Dr Luke Peacan (1851-1926) native of Co. Galway. After receiving his degree practiced in London before proceeding to Argentina in 1874. Coghlan, Vol.2, p.749.
- ⁴⁸ Santiago Gregorio O'Farrell (1861-1926) highly esteemed lawyer, politician, company director and President of the Irish Catholic Association. Coghlan, Vol.1, pp.318, 319.
- ⁴⁹ Francis Healy Mulhall (1845-1898) arrived in Buenos Aires 1865. Journalist who worked for a time for *The Southern Cross* and subsequently on the *Standard* with his brothers Edward and Michael.
- ⁵⁰ Michael George Mulhall (1836-1900). Statistician, prolific writer and journalist. Arrived Buenos Aires 1860, With his brother Edward, joint editor, manager and proprietor of *The Standard* newspaper. Married Marion MacMurrough Murphy (herself a writer) in Dublin 1868.
- ⁵¹ Mark Tapley is the body-servant to Martin Chuzzlewit in Charles Dickens novel of the same name.
- ⁵² Dr Ralph Lamartine Newbery, dentist b.1848 New York. Emigrated from Long Island to Argentina after the American Civil War in which he is said to have taken part in the Battle of Gettesburg. Father of Jorge Alejandro Newbery and Eduardo Frederico Newbery, Argentine aviation pioneers.
- ⁵³ Asilo – refuge.
- ⁵⁴ M. Buckley O'Meara, Argentine propagandist and Dublin based emigration agent.
- ⁵⁵ Irish Catholic newspaper founded in Buenos Aires by Dean Patrick Dillon in 1875.
- ⁵⁶ There is a note under the address which seems to indicate the letter arrived on 3 June.
- ⁵⁷ Charles Stewart Parnell MP (1846-1891).
- ⁵⁸ The banquet was held in Buenos Aires on 13 May and the guest of honour was Thomas Alexander Dickson MP for St Stephen's Green division of Dublin 1888-1892 who had business interests in Argentina and was visiting the country. *The Standard*, Wednesday 24 April 1889, No.8017.
- ⁵⁹ There is a note under the address which seems to indicated the letter arrived on 13 July.
- ⁶⁰ El cura – the priest.
- ⁶¹ There is a note under the address which seems to indicate that the letter arrived on 27 July.
- ⁶² Mons. John Morgan Sheedy (1857-1949) a native of Clogheen, Co. Tipperary. Studied at the Irish College, Paris. Prior to ordination in 1887 he met Fr James Foran on his way back to the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle from the Falklands. Foran advised him of the needs of Irish residents in Rosario and Sheedy decided to go and work

there. Sheedy lived in Rosario for the rest of his life and acquired land to build St Patrick's Church church and parish house. See Santiago M. Ussher, *Los Capellanes Irlandeses en la Colectividad Hiberno-Argentina Durante el Siglo XIX*, Buenos Aires, 1954, pp.210-215.

- ⁶³ Dr William Anthony Johnson DD, VG, (1832-1909) for many years Provost of the Archdiocese of Westminster; secretary to Cardinal Manning 1867-1892. Appointed Titular Bishop of Arendeta 1906.
- ⁶⁴ Cardinal Henry Edward Manning, (1808-1892) Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster 1865-1892.
- ⁶⁵ Gaughren travelled to Naposta 4 September. "Father Gaughren, who left last night for the colony, has kindly volunteered to superintend the distribution of clothes" F. H. Mulhall 5 September 1889 letter to the Editor of *The Standard*, Friday 6 September 1889, No.8126.
- ⁶⁶ Fr Patrick Curtis Costello (1859-1912) a native of Co. Clare who undertook his theology studies at Prior Park, England and the Irish College, Paris. Ordained in Ireland 1882 and arrived in Auckland Diocese the following year. The Auckland Diocesan Archive records note that he "travelled in South America and England in aid of church funds."
- ⁶⁷ This would seem to refer to the 1889 GAA Convention at Thurles which saw the second Fenian takeover of the leadership of the organisation.
- ⁶⁸ This is probably John O'Brien OMI b. Dublin 1848, d. Inchicore 11 July 1905. See *OMI Necrology*, pp. 14, 40.
- ⁶⁹ The text of Gaughren's letter was read by Frank Mulhall to a special meeting of the British Immigrants Society held in Buenos Aires on 3 September 1889. This excerpt appeared in the *Editor's Table* column of the newspaper. The complete text of Gaughren's letter was not printed
- ⁷⁰ Frank Mulhall wrote in response to Gaughren's letter of 28 September 1889.
- ⁷¹ Charles Tatin b.1837 Romans (Isère). Joined the Oblates 1855, ordained 1860. Professor and educator. When the Oblates were expelled from France in 1885 he came to Inchicore with the majority of the scholastics and went to Belcamp Hall. Provincial 1889-1890; Procurator 1890-1892; Assistant General 1894-1906; d. Rome 1917.
- ⁷² Patrick Sheveland OMI b.1862, Clogher, d.26 July 1890 at Bleijerheide in the Netherlands. *OMI Necrology*, pp.15, 44.

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OMIPAD : Order of Mary Immaculate, Provincial Archives, Dublin; Oblate Fathers, Tyrconnell Road, Inchicore, Dublin 8.

Voices from Brazil



Grupo TAPA: An Overview of The Work of a Brazilian Repertory Theater Company

Grupo TAPA: Um panorama do trabalho de uma companhia brasileira de teatro de repertório

Maria Sílvia Betti

Abstract: *This article contextualizes and briefly discusses the most important characteristics of Grupo TAPA's work and acting methods. Special emphasis is given to the formative process in the area of acting and to the involvement of the group with the translation of plays by particularly relevant playwrights like Tchecov and Tennessee Williams.*

Keywords: *Repertory Theater; Theater History; Translations.*

Resumo: *Este artigo contextualiza e discute brevemente as características mais importantes do trabalho e dos métodos de atuação do Grupo TAPA. Destaque especial é dado ao processo formativo na área de atuação e ao envolvimento do grupo com a tradução de peças de dramaturgos particularmente relevantes como Tchecov e Tennessee Williams.*

Palavras-chave: *Teatro de repertório; História do teatro; Traduções.*

TAPA is one of the longest-running theater companies in Brazil. Founded by Eduardo Tolentino de Araújo in Rio de Janeiro in 1974, its name was, initially, Teatro Amador Produções Artísticas (T.A.P.A.), an acronym that was changed to TAPA sometime later, when some of the amateur actors and actresses decided to become professionals.

In 1986 the group moved to São Paulo and became a resident theater company at the Teatro Aliança Francesa, a 350-seat theater in the central region of the city. Aliança Francesa was the group's theatrical residence for the following 15 years.

After forty-three years of uninterrupted work and more than sixty staged plays, TAPA stands out for its repertory theater, having staged foreign classics like “Solness, o construtor” (“The master builder”, by Ibsen, in 1988), “A megera domada” (“The

taming of the shrew”, by Shakespeare, in 1991), “Major Barbara” (by Bernard Shaw, in 2001), “Contos de Sedução” (seven sketches adapted from seven short stories by Guy de Maupassant, in 2001) “A importância de ser Fiel” (“The importance of being Earnest”, by Oscar Wilde, in 2002), “A mandrágora” (“The mandrake”, by Nicollò Machiavelli, in 2004 and online in 2021), “Camaradagem”, “Credores” and “Brincando com fogo” (“Comrades”, in 2006, “Creditors”, in 2014, and “Playing with fire”, in 2020, the three by August Strindberg), “Amargo Siciliano” (“Sicilian Limes”, by Luigi Pirandello, in 2008), “Alguns blues do Tennessee” (three one act plays by Tennessee Williams, in 2013), “O jardim das cerejeiras” (“The cherry orchard”, by Anton Chekhov, in 2019), “De todas as maneiras que há de amar” (“Counting the ways”, by Edward Albee, in 2019), “Anatol” (by Arthur Schnitzler, in 2018), and also Brazilian plays, ones like “O noviço” (“The novice”, by Martins Pena, in 1985), “Caiu o ministério” (“The ministry has fallen”, by Arthur Azevedo), “Rasto atrás” (“Back track”, by Jorge Andrade, in 1995), “Vestido de noiva”, “A serpente” and “Anti Néelson Rodrigues” (“Bridal Gown”, in 1994, “The serpent”, in 1999, and “Anti Néelson Rodrigues in 2014-2015, all of them by Nelson Rodrigues), “Corpo a corpo” and “Papa Highirte”, by Oduvaldo Vianna Filho (“Infighting” from 1995 to 2000 and “Papa Highirte” in 2022), “Querô, uma reportagem maldita” and “Navalha na carne” (“Querô, a damned reportage” and “Razor in the flesh”, by Plínio Marcos, respectively in 1993 and 1999).

The director, Eduardo Tolentino de Araújo, is deeply acquainted with the history of western theater and with the study of the cultural and social role theater has played in the European, American and Brazilian contexts. Some of his constant concerns are the interaction between theater texts and the staging styles, and the demands observed in the training practices within the group’s workshops, aimed at professionals and amateurs as well as at interested parties.

In its early years, there were 16 actors and actresses in TAPAS’s cast. The group’s focus was on children’s plays. In most of them, however, the number of characters was smaller than the number of TAPA’s members. It was very difficult to keep all of the members constantly engaged in all productions.

Trying to deal with this situation, a project aimed at schools and at the formation of young audiences was developed. It was called School Project, and all of the actors and actresses that had not been cast for the main productions were called to work in it.

The repertoire consisted of plays by Brazilian playwrights, and they were performed in most of the high schools in Rio de Janeiro and its suburbs. The first production was “O noviço” (“The novice”), one the best works by Martins Pena [1815-1848], the

nineteenth century genius of the comedies of manners in Brazil. The production was presented in cafeterias, soccer fields, classrooms and even theaters, in case there were theaters in the visited schools. “O noviço” was followed by “A Casa de Orates” (“The Madhouse”), by Arthur Azevedo [1855-1908], another master in the realm of comedies and of the chronicle of the social and political life of Rio de Janeiro as the capital of the Republic in the nineteenth century.

A kind of turnaround in the plans of the group would happen sometime later, when a totally unexpected invitation came as a stimulus for them to become professionals: the TAPA actors and actresses engaged in the School Project were invited to present the plays on alternative days and times at the Ipanema Theater, a professional theater in one of the most famous and fashionable districts of Rio de Janeiro. All of a sudden, a change had taken place in the direction originally intended, and TAPA’s performances staged on alternative days and times at the Ipanema Theater started to attract the audiences from the schools and suburbs, and to motivate them to go to that theater and attend professional productions there.

Eduardo Tolentino had always stimulated other members of TAPA, and also people who were not necessarily regular members, to direct productions of the group. Without knowing it, TAPA had started its way towards the formation of a small repertory theater company.

None of the members, at that time, was familiar with the idea or with the characteristics of repertory theater companies such as those in the European theater context. Unknowingly, these new work conditions led them to a type of practice that was similar to the one of repertory companies in the European theatrical world.

As this process internally consolidated, the actors and actresses gradually realized how relevant it was to discuss and analyze Brazil through the staged plays, to dissect its society in depth and to delve into the different social and cultural aspects represented in Brazilian plays. This was perceived as something crucial for TAPA as a Brazilian theatrical ensemble, and eventually led to the development of a Festival of the Brazilian Drama, a project which, years later, was somehow absorbed into another one called Overview of the Brazilian Theater, which became a kind of distinctive mark of the group’s identity and work system.

“Overview of the Brazilian Theater” was the title of a book by Sábato Magaldi, one of the most prominent researchers of Brazilian drama, a reference for all those who wanted to study the history of the Brazilian dramaturgical production in depth. Sábato, who had also been one of the most important theater critics for many years, had just decided to

concentrate on his academic activities and was no longer working as a critic. Once asked whether he agreed on allowing TAPA to use the title of his book for the project, he promptly and warmly agreed.

Fifteen plays by Brazilian playwrights were staged in this project. While part of the actors and actresses cast in a season of one particular play, the others engaged in workshops and in the study and discussion of other plays that might be chosen to be staged and produced in the following season if considered mature enough in terms of acting. This system was used both for the study and analysis of texts and for the preparation and technical improvement of the members as well. This was the process that led to the production of Oduvaldo Vianna Filho's "Moço em estado de sítio" ("Besieged young man"), in 1998, illustrating how this system worked in practical terms: the play was studied by a group of young actors and actresses in one of the workshops, and was eventually chosen to be rehearsed and professionally produced next. Eduardo Tolentino says that, thanks to this internal system of work, TAPA could gradually develop its own identity as a group.

In 1998 there was a short interruption in the Overview of the Brazilian Theater when "Ivanov", by Anton Tchecov, was staged. Brazil was then in the middle of Fernando Henrique Cardoso's presidential term, and the dictatorship had been left behind. But neoliberal policies had greatly impoverished the Brazilian working class, and there was a general sense of lack of perspectives for the future. This context was similar to the one in Tchecov's play. Ivanov was an intellectual who felt surrounded by ignorance and corruption and had very similar feelings. TAPA wanted to probe into this world of social and moral dissolution and face the fact that the foundations of democracy in Brazil were not solid and were falling apart. "Ivanov" helped TAPA to face the challenge of investigating the mentality of the Brazilian colonialist elite.

"The case of Russia was a little different", Eduardo Tolentino says, "Russia was a feudal country with a strong religious background and with huge social inequality, but the Russian Revolution had a solid cultural basis. So, Russia was a country in which revolution would certainly be made in literature, music, arts and in the theater they had. The country was ready for a revolution. And it was a revolution that changed the face of the world. We in Brazil did not have that background. This was the idea that motivated us to study the elites, the ruling classes, in order to investigate this state of things."

Eduardo Tolentino had been reading and re-reading "Ivanov", by Tchecov, for many years and in different foreign editions. The text instigated him, but he realized there was not any really good translation of the text. With English and French translations at hand, as well a number of dictionaries of these languages, he started doing his own translation.

Arlete Cavaliere, a professor and researcher of Russian Language, Literature and Culture at the University of São Paulo, was then invited to translate the play from the Russian original into Brazilian Portuguese, and also to lecture on the Russian culture, literature and history to the actors and actresses from TAPA. The following step was the analysis and discussion of the two translations that had just been done. Both of them were read, and submitted to a comparative analysis, and very interesting perceptions came up about the use of colloquial expressions so as to avoid making them sound strange or unnatural to the ears of Brazilian Portuguese speakers.

TAPA's translation of Tchecov's "Ivanov" was eventually published by EDUSP (the publishing house of the University of São Paulo), and received a nomination for the Jabuti Prize, the most traditional literary prize in Brazil, granted by the Brazilian Book Chamber.

This was not the only important and successful incursion of TAPA in the area of translation: in 2010 a group of actors and actresses who were attending a workshop on Tennessee Williams's one act plays decided to work on their own translations of these plays straight from the original in English. There were no published editions of the translations of these one act plays in Brazil, but a number of translations informally done as exercises by students of performing arts were shared and circulated through the Internet, indicating there was latent interest in the plays. Many years before, students in a famous performing arts course in São Paulo, in a joint effort, had translated many of them from a Spanish anthology called "Piezas cortas de Tennessee Williams", published in Barcelona in 1970. Having been done from the Spanish and not from the original, these translations needed so many revisions and corrections that the TAPA actors and actresses attending the workshop decided to work on their own translations from the original texts in English. Each one of the TAPA translations was read and reread aloud by the group, and each of the challenging expressions and images in the texts were examined and discussed in detail in order to make sure they sounded as natural as possible in Portuguese on the stage.

In the following year, Editora É Realizações, having bought the rights for the publication of many of Tennessee Williams's works, heard of the workshop and of the ongoing translations, and invited TAPA to officially translate two volumes of one act plays by Tennessee Williams: "Mr Paradise and other one act plays" and "27 wagons full of cotton and other one act plays". In 2013 TAPA presented dramatic readings of most of the one act plays in these two volumes in the Arena Theater of São Paulo, and in the same year, three of them ("The dark room", "Summer at the lake" and "The lady of Larkspur lotion") were presented in a performance called "Alguns blues do Tennessee" directed by Eduardo Tolentino de Araújo.



“The cherry orchard”, by Anton Tchecov

Brian Penido Ross as Leonid Gayev and Clara Carvalho as Liuba Ranevsky

Sources: Grupo TAPA Archives and <https://revistapontojovem.com.br/grupo-tapa-faz-leituras-dramaticas-de-classicos-russos-no-teatro-alianca-francesa/>



“The bald prima donna” by Eugene Ionesco

Source: <https://prceu.usp.br/noticia/grupo-tapa-teatro-da-usp/>
(From left to right) Riba Carlovitch as Mr Martin; Brian Penido Ross as Mr Smith;
Riba Carlovitch as Mr Martin; Clara Carvalho as Mrs Smith; Guilherme Santana as
The fire chief.



“Counting the ways” (‘De todas as maneiras que há de amar’) by Edward Albee
Brian Penido Ross and Clara Carvalho (He and She)

Source: <https://www.satisfeitayolanda.com.br/blog/como-eu-te-amo-critica-do-espetaculo-do-grupo-tapa-de-todas-as-maneiras-que-ha-de-amar/>

Along its 43 years of existence, TAPA has cultivated deep interest in plays by Shaw, and “Major Bárbara” was one of them. The production was staged in 2001, the year the 9/11 attacks to the World Trade Center Towers in New York took place. As “Major Barbara” deals with the themes of weapons and religion, the group experienced a sort of internal crisis, which made everyone question whether that was the ideal moment to stage that particular play.

The group eventually realized that, intuitively and unintentionally, they had chosen a play that dealt with something that was then on the agenda in the discussions of contemporary international conflicts. The production was a great success in São Paulo.

“Shaw is very dialectical, very contradictory, very ambiguous in his project”, says Eduardo Tolentino, “and he paves the way for Brecht. There are contradictory heroes on one hand, and highly coherent villains on the other, and this adds to the play’s complexity and depth. In Brecht’s ‘Mother Courage’, for example,” he adds, “the protagonist is a mother, but she is also a predator. Shaw is the first dramatist to use this sort of protagonist. Politically speaking, he was a radical, even though he never admitted it. Shaw had written this play with its Salvation Army and its contradictions long before Before Brecht wrote “Happy End”.

TAPA’s production of Shaw’s “Major Barbara” motivated the group for the staging of Wilde’s “The importance of being Earnest” as well. Critics used to say that dramatists like Shaw and Wilde would never succeed in Brazil, but TAPA’s productions of plays by both of them were absolute hits for the group, Shaw in São Paulo and Wilde in the rest of Brazil. A superb veteran Brazilian actress, Natalia Thimberg, played Lady Bracknell in “The importance of being Earnest”, and it was one of the remarkable roles in her career.

Shaw was less commercially successful in Rio de Janeiro, though. This was something that had to do with Rio’s local culture. “The Rio de Janeiro season was short”, says Eduardo Tolentino, “and we didn’t have any press releases. Even though we had good reviews, there was less resonance and visibility. All in all, it wasn’t a good season.” Shortly after, “The importance of being Earnest” was presented again in a public theater in Rio, in a comparatively more successful season.

As a director, Eduardo Tolentino says that, even though he hasn’t been in Ireland, he is fascinated with Irish literature and drama. He compares the writers of the Irish literary canon to great Brazilian writers born in the state of Minas Gerais, in the Southeast of Brazil. Minas is a mountainous region, with valleys and small cities surrounded by hills, and it since the Colonial time it has been a region of ore and gold prospection.

Carlos Drummond de Andrade and João Guimarães Rosa, respectively the most prominent modernist poet and the greatest regionalist fiction writer, were born in this state. Minas born citizens are called “mineiros” in Portuguese, and Eduardo says that the Irish writers are the “mineiros” in the context of European literature: they too have an incredibly acute capacity for imaginative description, which can be regarded as the result of the influence of the topography, and, on the other hand, of their Celtic origin, considering that Celtic culture is a rich source of inspiration for the creation and writing of fables.

“Not having been able to visit Ireland yet is a gap in my cultural background”, says Eduardo Tolentino, “and I intend to fill it soon”. For him, something of great interest is to observe the variety of adaptations and reinterpretations that contemporaries, who are heirs of the Abbey Theater, make of the great nineteenth century authors like Tchekhov, Ibsen and Strindberg.

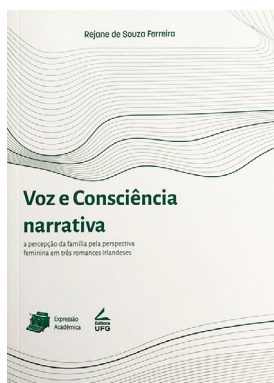
A very clear conclusion for anyone looking at the timeline and history of TAPA’s work is that an intense and unique training and study process was built from the experiences developed over the years, deepening the quality of the acting and the understanding of foreign and Brazilian dramaturgies.

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Reviews





***Voz e consciência narrativa: a percepção da família pela perspectiva feminina em três romances irlandeses.* Rejane de Souza Ferreira. – Goiânia : Editora UFG, 2021.**

The three Irish novels examined in *Voz e consciência narrativa: a percepção da família pela perspectiva feminina em três romances irlandeses/ Voice and narrative consciousness: the perception of the family from the female perspective in three Irish novels*, by Rejane de Souza Ferreira, were published in Portuguese and have several points of interest to Brazilian readers who will benefit from her study as well. These three contemporary Irish novels portray women who experience silent and painful family conflicts: *The Gathering* (Enright, 2007), *The Blackwater Lightship* (Tóibín, 1999) and *The Light of Evening* (O'Brien, 2006). The book is the result of the years dedicated to the doctoral research of the author, currently adjunct professor of the Languages Course at Universidade Federal do Tocantins (UFT), also participating in the Postgraduate Program of that course. Narrative, condition of women and family bonds have always been of interest to Rejane de Souza Ferreira, who has already addressed some of these topics in her Masters thesis, in which she examined Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* and Michael Cunningham's *The Hours* in a comparative study. This thesis was also published as a book (Ferreira, 2011). Ferreira turned to the study of Irish literature in her PhD and since then has combined her interest in those topics within that literature.

The three novels cover different moments in twentieth century Ireland, but their connection relies on the period of the 1937 Constitution and have women protagonists who live or lived under such rules. This study focuses on the point of view of the women protagonists and is written in three chapters, each one covering one of the novels, and divided in four topics: an introduction contextualizing the authors and their work; analysis of the narrative consciousness, sexuality, and family conflicts. In order to analyze the three novels, Ferreira did not attempt to impose one single theoretical perspective to her selected corpus. She respected the individuality of the novels and supported her analyses on theories which would better cover the themes in each one.

The first chapter revolves around Anne Enright's *The Gathering* (2007) (*O encontro*, 2008). Ferreira concentrates on the narrator protagonist, Veronica, who attempts

to evaluate her memories and connect their fragments to discover what is real and overcome her childhood trauma that continues to haunt her when her brother Liam commits suicide.

After providing a context of Anne Enright and her writing, in the first section, “Processo criativo e discursivo” (creative and discursive process), the first-person narrator, who uses digressions avoiding some memories and remaking others, is examined in terms of verisimilitude and reliability of her narrative. Ferreira sees the narrator as a witness who is reliable once she was traumatized after seeing her brother being abused by Mr. Nugent. Veronica is confused since the trauma she experienced has altered her memories, however the analysis uses apport to understand her uncertainties. Thus, she remembers and speaks to her mind to organize, overcome, and maybe forgive herself for never telling what she saw to anyone.

The following section, “Sexualidade à tona” (Sexuality at the surface), covers how the characters involved dealt with issues surrounding sexuality during their lives, since this was not a topic for discussion in Irish families. Veronica’s parents had twelve children and some abortions. Veronica, Liam and a younger sister were sent to her grandmother’s care. There, Liam was abused by the landlord. Veronica saw it but never told anyone. Only recently, in the 1990’s, cases of sexual abuse became public, but they remained covered by the catholic church for long time.

The last section is “Relações familiares” (family relations), in which Veronica blamed her mother for their suffering because she had had too many children. However, their family lived during Éamon de Valera’s government and the rules of the catholic church which prohibited birth control. The reader has no access to Veronica’s mother’s point of view, but we understand that she was submissive and oppressed by her husband and the church, as confirmed by the Constitution of 1937. Veronica is on a track to find her history to forgive herself and even her mother, as a victim of Irish patriarchal society as well.

The second chapter deals with narrative aspects in *The Blackwater Lightship* (1999) (*A Luz do Farol*, 2004) by Colm Tóibín, focusing on family relations, more specifically, on what constitutes a family. Ferreira, as some other critics, claims Helen as the protagonist instead of Declan, her brother who is struggling to survive the HIV virus in the 1990’s. Declan is indeed the bond between his sister and both their mother and grandmother, as well as between his “traditional family” and his “gay family” constituted by his friends who have cared for him until the moment he was very ill and wanted to be with both his families. Henceforth, the families had to share his grandmother’s house.

In the first section “A importância do ponto de vista” (the importance of point of view) she supports her thesis about who the protagonist is. Ferreira starts her analysis by describing how the novel unfolds working with Freytag’s (1900) pyramid. She also uses the theory developed by Henry James (2011), among other theorists.

In the second section, the focus is on Declan’s condition. He was a gay man in Ireland when the law still criminalized homosexuality. He contracted HIV and developed AIDS to the point he could no longer hide it from his family. To discuss these silences and gay invisibility, Ferreira names this section “Homossexualidade e AIDS na Irlanda” (homosexuality and aids in Ireland).

The last section of this chapter describes how Declan’s “traditional family” and his “gay family” deal with their differences and emotional wounds which had been silenced for long years. When Helen and Declan were young children, their father became very ill, was hospitalized and died. During that period, the children were left with their grandmother, but they were neither allowed to attend his funeral nor to see to him after his death. Both blame their mother even though none of the three had ever talked about the period of illness and death of their father until those days. Helen simply stopped talking to her mother for several years. Her mother did not even know her grandchildren.

In this novel, the daughter, Helen, was able to open her heart and tell all her complaints to her mother and somewhat listen to her. Ferreira highlights this is the only one among the three novels she discusses in which silence is broken and there is some room for starting over. Roudinesco (2003) supports Ferreira’s discussion on the complexity of family relationships in Tóibín’s *The Blackwater Lightship*.

The third chapter investigates *The Light of Evening (A luz da noite)* by Edna O’Brien published in 2006. In the “introduction” Ferreira lists O’Brien’s works and highlights that she has been understudied considering her long career as a writer in a variety of genres. This might be because her work has constantly touched subjects such as women’s oppression, their sexuality and failure in marriages.

After providing context on Edna O’Brien and her work, Ferreira describes the structure of the novel to focus on its narrative aspects under the topic “A pluralidade dos pontos de vista” (the plurality of points of view). She claims that the structure of the book allows the reader to follow the development of the relationship between the main characters Dilly and her daughter Eleonora. Dilly’s mother, Bridget, also plays an important part in the way the protagonists became who they are and is heard in their narrative.

The narration is in third person, but the voices of the three female characters are observed. Ferreira describes such polyphony is possible through the exposition of their

thoughts, conversation, letters and diaries, thus her point is supported by Bakhtin's (2008) thesis of polyphony. As with the previous novels, there is again the attempt to make meaning of the lives of three generations of women by uncovering memories and analyzing them. By focusing on these different voices, it can be inferred that the protagonists offer an overview and criticism of marriage and families in Ireland throughout the century.

The most important strategy employed by O'Brien, according to Ferreira, besides the digressions in analepsis, is the introduction of Dilly's daughter, Eleanora, as a second protagonist. This strategy allows the readers to access her diary, her conversation with her husband and parts of his own fake diary. This strategy shows details of Eleanora's marriage as well as her point of view regarding her connection with her mother, her husband and her children.

In "Matrimônios malsucedidos" (unsuccessful marriages) Ferreira reviews how women's sexuality is defended in all O'Brien's work. In *The Light of Evening* Dilly, as many Irish young women, emigrated to the USA to escape family and marriage oppression in Ireland. Years later, she goes back home after a disillusion, soon marries a man chosen by her mother and has an abusive marriage. On the other hand, her daughter, Eleanora, who ran away to England to marry out of love, was also unhappy with an abusive husband like her father. She separated from her husband but at that time in Ireland, leaving a marriage made her an outsider. Consequently, she also must leave her children and is able to see them only sparingly. After all, she visits her dying mother in Ireland but soon goes back home to a new lover only to find out he was married.

Ferreira explains how talking about sexuality has been difficult for Irish women for a long time, even after the Celtic Tiger, a period covered in the two other novels she studied. She mentions that Dilly, her daughter and other women in the novel had great difficulty expressing their feelings and speaking openly about their sexuality. Dilly got herpes from her husband and was too ashamed to look for a treatment until it was too late. Eleanora could not open her heart to her mother either.

In the last section of the chapter, "Amor familiar incompreendido" (misunderstood family love), Ferreira supports her argument on Badinter and Weekes to study women's extreme submission to men in Ireland under a catholic church which influenced politics and the 1937 Constitution.

Ferreira connects the chapters by pinpointing similarities and differences among the novels throughout the book. Her study makes up a tapestry in which the three novels are in a dialogical relation to portray and understand those women as mothers and daughters under a demanding and silencing metaphor of Mother Ireland. She achieves a detailed

and highly contemporaneous discussion of women identities in Ireland. *Voz e consciência narrativa: a percepção da família pela perspectiva feminina em três romances irlandeses* is written in Portuguese, however it deserves to be read by all interested in these writers and in the topics covered here: women's voices in literature, sexuality, and family bonds in twentieth century Ireland.

Adriana Carvalho Capuchinho

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***Ireland and Argentina in the Twentieth Century: Diaspora, diplomacy, dictatorship, Catholic mission and the Falklands crisis.* Dermot Keogh. Cork University Press. 2022. 566 pp. ISBN 978-1782055112**

The product of a lifetime's study, Dermot Keogh's magisterial volume on the diplomatic history of Ireland's relationship with Argentina in the 20th century is both an excellent guide to the subject concerned and also a primer for further study of the nascent Irish state's role abroad. The fluid prose guides the reader through a wealth of detail, arranged for the most part chronologically, and grouped thematically around the dominant concerns of the diplomatic corps during the period. The author, Emeritus Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration Studies at University College Cork, has been instrumental in defining Latin America as a topic for students of Irish diplomatic history, notably in a work published in Spanish in 2016, *La independencia de Irlanda: la conexión Argentina*. He has also published extensively on the political and diplomatic history of modern Ireland, in such works as *Ireland and Europe, 1919-1948*.

Professor Keogh makes clear in his introduction that the book is “a history of Ireland and Argentina intertwined with the complementary theme of the Irish in Argentina”. His research draws on extensive reading on the subject in both English and Spanish, including academic works, the records of religious orders and the press in both countries, as well as the personal archives of relevant sources and conversations with figures who were personally involved on the ground. The book makes clear the importance of missionary work throughout the Irish-Argentine relationship as a sort of “Irish soft power”.

The first chapter provides a historical context for the study, giving details of Irish emigration to Argentina from the nineteenth century onwards. The contributions of Irish emigrants to their new homeland are highlighted, as are the links which they maintained with their country of origin. The relevance of these connections to the growing movement for Irish independence and the support, political and financial, of Irish-Argentines, for Irish causes is also treated.

Chapter two deals with the Irish-Argentine connection in the context of the new Irish Free State from 1923 onwards. The establishment of diplomatic relations is linked to the relationship between De Valera and key figures in the Argentine church, particularly Monsignor Santiago Ussher, who led a delegation to Dublin in 1932 to participate in the

Eucharistic Congress. The chapter also describes the reports, critical in tone, sent back to Dublin from Buenos Aires on the government of Juan Domingo Péron, and Péron's overthrow, welcomed by a majority of Irish-Argentines.

A more radical phase in the politics of Latin America is treated in chapter three, as the Cuban revolution gave an impetus to challenges to the military dictatorship in Argentina. The Irish and Argentine governments raised the status of their missions to embassies during this period, which also saw a shift in the outlook of missionaries, both male and female, travelling to Argentina from Ireland. Professor Keogh traces the maturing of the diplomatic mission in Argentina through the work of Bernard Davenport, whose reports kept the Irish government abreast of the key currents in the political and economic situation both in Argentina and in a wider Latin American context.

The work of the Irish ambassador Wilfred Lennon, appointed in 1974, during Péron's time in power and the chaotic years following his death are described in chapter four. A "case study" describing the early life of Fátima Cabrera, her work with Father Carlos Mugica and their participation in protests against the military dictatorship is presented as an example of "history from below". Two figures who would go on to play important parts in the history of Irish-Argentine relations arrived in Buenos Aires during this period – Justin Harman, posted to the embassy, and Monsignor Kevin Mullen, at the apostolic nunciature. The atrocities of the new regime are described, including the murder of five members of the Pallottine order on 4 July 1976, relevant in particular to this study as two of the victims were Irish-Argentine priests and another had studied in Ireland.

The aftermath of this massacre and the persecution of Patrick Rice in the wake of his investigation of the the murder of Bishop Enrique Angelelli are the focus of chapter five. His kidnapping, with Fátima Cabrera, by the authorities and their subsequent torture are described, as well as the efforts by members of the Irish diplomatic mission, particularly ambassador Lennon and third secretary Justin Harman, to locate Rice and raise awareness of his plight in order to ensure he would not be murdered.

Chapter six deals firstly with the human rights work of Monsignor Kevin Mullen, his campaign to hold the regime to account for its human rights abuses, and the increase in the number of these abuses. These included the persecution of, among others, members of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, founded during this period to call for the return of those already disappeared. The chapter then looks at Patrick Rice's calls for a granting of an Irish visa to Fátima Cabrera. An account is also given of how the Argentine government, in Professor Keogh's words, made "a sinister attempt to intimidate" the first secretary at

the nunciature, Kevin Mullen, through the presentation of an apparent conflict of interest between the economic and moral interests of Irish representatives in Argentina.

Argentine nationalism and the role of Ireland during the Falklands/Malvinas occupation are examined in chapter seven. Professor Keogh's familiarity with the finer details of diplomatic history and his depth of research allow him to tease out the nuances of the Irish state's position, making clear that the apparent change in policy (Ireland withdrew from sanctions against Argentina, having initially supported the 'anti-Argentine' UN resolution 502) was not, as was understood by the Argentine government, an endorsement of their occupation. The silence of the Irish ambassador on the issue, the advantage accrued to Ireland's economic interests, and the engagement of the Irish state in discussion on sanctions and its role as a member of the Security Council at the UN, are analysed within the broader context of Anglo-Irish relations.

Chapter eight recounts the end of the civilian military government and the transition to democracy, including the campaign for restorative justice for victims of the regime. Ireland's work in Argentina is placed in the context of a wider diplomatic engagement by the country in Latin America, through the belated opening of new embassies in Brazil (2001), Chile, and Columbia (both in 2019).

The book is written in an accessible style, and will be of interest to the lay reader as well as specialist historians and students of diplomacy. An account of the current state of affairs in Irish diplomatic studies focused on Latin America is given in the introduction, and will serve as a useful primer for those conducting research in the field. Professor Keogh also points towards further work that could be done to elucidate the role played by Irish Protestants in Latin America, The brief treatment of a "history from below" in the third chapter shows another potential path for research in the area. This handsome volume stands then as both a monument to one scholar's dedication to forging a new path in his chosen field, and as a signpost to how others can usefully continue his work.

Daniel Duggan

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