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Edited by

Maria Eugenia Cruset

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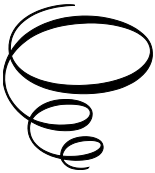

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INTRODUCTION

In the field of Social Sciences, the studies about migration-related problems have gained special relevance due to the changes caused by globalization and multiculturalism as well as the questions raised on the Nation State and supranational organisms.

Migration processes have strongly influenced the historical and contemporary development of the American continent, but this also seems to be the case of current Europe with the constant human flows that reach its borders. Formerly sending European countries nowadays need to redesign their paradigms in order to receive people not only from different racial backgrounds but also with a great diversity of languages, cultures and religions. Even when this might represent a huge challenge, it is also an opportunity to create more open, culturally-rich and diverse societies.

At the same time, immigrant collectives maintain varied relationships with their countries of origin. Contrary to what was initially believed, even in hostile environments, migrants keep bonds with their countries or, at least, with their regions of origin. Either for sentimental, economic and cultural reasons, the truth is that these relationships are usually very fluid which also has an impact on the political field, since these migrants carry with them requests and aspirations that expect to put on the political agenda.

In some cases, the migrants simultaneously become citizens of the sending and receiving countries and they are active agents of their requests and expectations in both states. Either the former or the latter, the state has a pivotal role to encourage migrants' hosting and integration. However, since state and government are different concepts, the approaches to the migration problem are not steady. On the contrary, it is well known that they usually vary according to the democratic logic and, consequently, some setbacks are often faced. For the sake of all, it would be necessary to arrive at a common consensus in order to establish long-term political policies that overcome the contexts and volatile partisan agendas.

In this text, we aim at offering a thoughtful reflection on the different aspects related to the migration processes. Some chapters have a historical insight while others provide a contemporary view. Some lay the emphasis

on the state while others on the civil society. Nevertheless, as a general and collective work, all chapters constitute a valuable contribution from the academia to these highly-problematic issues.

Finally, I would like to highlight the relevance of women migration. Its incidence in migration processes has been poorly studied so far and, therefore, it has not been granted the importance it deserved. Then, it is one of our main goals to make these women visible, taking into account their own peculiarities and characteristics. In this effort, some chapters are devoted to women migration which constitutes one of the richness of this work and, at the same time, it represents a step forward in the migrations studies.

In the first chapter, *Irish immigration to South America. The Case of the Republic of Uruguay*, María Eugenia Cruset traces the historical Irish immigration to Uruguay and analyzes the role that the local government played to promote its arrival and to secure the newcomers' insertion into the productive matrix.

In *Catalanist politics and press in Buenos Aires: immigration and ideological commitment in Gràcia Bassa de Llorens´Glosses Femenines* Marcela Lucci focuses on the work of the Catalan teacher, journalist and poet Gràcia Bassa in the series of articles Glosses Femenines, published between 1917 and 1925 in the magazine Ressorgiment of Buenos Aires, in order to explore political commitment and Catalanist imaginary among the Catalan community in Latin America. Women's voices find a special place in her work.

From a different chronological framework, Nadia Andrea De Cristóforis explores the Basques in the same receiving country. With her contribution, *The transnational political activism of Basques in Argentina (1937-1940),* she also sheds light on the transnational policy and its nationalist militant activism during a very traumatic period in the history of Spain in general and the Basque Country in particular: the period immediately following the civil war. This stage marks the harsh repression of Franco's dictatorship and the urgent help from the diaspora in Argentina.

In these first chapters, while narrowing the geographical context to Rio de la Plata, three active diasporas are presented: Irish, Catalans and Basque, considering their own agendas and their strong national consciousness.

The chapter written by Gabriela McEvoy*, Mercedes Gallagher de Parks and the changing Role of Peruvian Women in the Early 20th Century,*

concentrates on Mercedes Gallagher's philanthropic work, an Irish immigrant who made a significant contribution to the social development of her receiving country, that is Peru. Thanks to her analysis, we can understand the role of feminine migration –as previously stated, an aspect hardly studied-, the social mobility of this sector, or part of it, and, finally, the extent to which the newcomers helped the receiving countries to develop.

In *Political action, overlapping imagined communities and creative dissen*t, Julieta Gaztañaga seeks to contribute to the study of contemporary political action of Argentine Basque Diaspora. She offers an ethnographic analysis of their uncanny representations and generalized endorsement towards a Basque social movement launched in 2013 that fosters the Basques' Right to Decide. Arguing that such support is less based on an acritical consent and more on creative dissent, she shows how political action is associated with an encompassing membership to an imagined community by the work of cultural intimacy through which the ambiguities of identity and political groupness are experienced.

Maria Soledad Balsas in *The Problem of (Mis)information in External Voting* presents a contemporary work related to the double full citizenships, a legal condition that allows to vote and be voted for elective offices. Her analysis focuses on the case of Italians and a topic of particular interest when it comes to voting: how they get information and how significant decisions, which will eventually have an impact on people who no longer reside in the country, are taken. This work is an invitation for all of us, as humanity, to deeply reflect on migrants' human rights, the political matters that include them and the real degree of autonomy when defining their agenda and interests.

Not only in the chapter *Paraguayan migrant women in action*, by Maria Lara Malagamba, but also in *Women and immigration: presence, work and struggles,* by Maria Izilda Matos and Andrea Borelli, migrant women's role is put in first place. Since it is necessary to give the migrant woman enough visibility as an essential actor in these processes, both works are of utmost importance. They show women as protagonists and architects of their own destinies rather than victims. Even when their conclusions are extremely valuable and unique, they should be considered just as the beginning for further studies.

The last two contributions change the point of view: they concentrate on the role of the state instead of the civil society, as it is the case of the previous chapters. In *A Shift to the right: changes in immigration legislation*

and the impact on Senegalese migrants in Argentina, Brazil and The United States, by Gisele Kleidermacher and Miles Johnson, the state is shown playing a normative role through the implement of the law. Using a diverse geographical framework and a comparative methodology, the co-authors focus on the Senegalese migration in three countries while showing how the laws protect –or unprotect– the African people.

Finally, Loreto Correa Vera in *The migration dilemma of South America states: between the numbers and public policy during the COVID 19* refers to an ongoing issue: the receiving states' public policies and their capacity to absorb huge migration flows. Considering the over demand that public services, such as education and health, already face, the whole system might be put at risk when newcomers make use of it, a situation that the Covid19 pandemic has worsened.

With all these contributions we embrace a number of situations, both historical and contemporary, which open the field to new studies from a transnational perspective and help us to understand the problem of the migrant in the context of globalization.

CHAPTER ONE

IRISH IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AMERICA: THE CASE OF THE REPUBLIC OF URUGUAY

MARÍA EUGENIA CRUSET[1]

Introduction

The purpose of the present paper is to deal with a topic that has not been extensively studied yet: the Irish emigration to the Southern Cone countries—in its broad definition, the region comprises Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, and southern Brazil. The body of research on various aspects of Irishmen in English-speaking countries is rich and interesting, with a particular focus on those territories ruled by the British Empire. However, little is known about the characteristics of that migration flow, its cultural and economic pursuits, and the political action—both domestic and transnational—carried out in Spanish-speaking countries in the American continent.

It is true that some progress has been made in the last fifteen years, notably in regards to Argentina, the country that has received the largest community of settlers. Some of the most important works include Coughlan's pioneering works (1982, 1987), though mainly genealogical in nature, to Korol and Sábato's foundational volume (1981), which approached the topic with historical and scientific criteria, as well as Edmundo Murray's substantial contribution (2004), Dermont Keogh (2016), Maria Eugenia Cruset (2006 and 2015) and articles about some topics, and the newest by Patrick Speight (2019).

In the case of Peru—though not strictly one of the Southern Cone countries—Gabriela Mc Evoy's (2018) book merits a mention for its

[1] National Council for Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET)/CEAR-Universidad Nacional de Quilmes- Universidad Católica de La Plata. Argentina.

soundness and contribution to this body of research. Regarding the other countries in the region, Chile and Paraguay, some research has been done. However, in the case of Uruguay, no studies delved exclusively into the topic, with the exception of those that followed individuals operating on both shores of the Río de la Plata or in the general region, such as Tim Fanning's (2017) book. In other words, there have been no specific publications. Therefore, it is my belief that this chapter will be a contribution not intended to exhaust the subject; on the contrary, it aims at inaugurating a path of similar output.

The focus of this analysis will be twofold: on the one hand, it will focus on the migratory aspect itself by examining Uruguayan efforts to promote immigration. The regional context of the Río de la Plata must be taken into consideration, as it showed the crossover between present-day Argentina and the Banda Oriental del Uruguay. The historical summary given herein will provide the contextual framework needed to better understand the investigation. On the other hand, I will delve into the bilateral relations between Ireland and Uruguay during the early twentieth century.

I have received kind assistance from staff members at different archives consulted for this work. They guided me by offering source materials and answering my queries. Among them, I have visited the National General Archive [A.G.N. by its Spanish acronym], the Historical Archive located at Uruguay's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Library of Congress, and the Newspaper Archive at the same location. In addition, relevant graphic material was found in the Cabildo Historical Museum. In terms of Irish resources, I studied the documents kept in the Foreign Affairs archive and the memoirs collected in the historical military repository.

In this paper, I intend to help expand the analysis of Irish immigration to new regions and countries so that we might begin to establish comparisons between them. It is my hope that, in the future, this research will lead to publications on an international scale. Many unanswered questions remain, several of which I have noted below. An essential reminder is that scientific knowledge advances further due to the questions posed than to the answers gathered. The following pages should be regarded in light of this assertion.

Banda Oriental Del Uruguay and its History

From the outset of the European discoveries in the American continent, Spain and Portugal were competing with one another for land and wealth. The Alexandrine Bulls of 1493 and the Treaty of Tordesillas, which was signed a year later, reflected a rivalry that would outlive both empires and persist between the subsequent countries. The competitiveness intensified during the eighteenth century, with the coming of the House of Bourbon to Spain and the government policies enforced by the Marquis of Pombal[2] in Portugal. Although not equal to both Spain and Portugal, the policies did share common objectives: centralising the Crown's power and establishing a more efficient territorial and administrative organisation that would allow for the extraction of new resources.

The creation of the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata and the Viceroyalty of Río de Janeiro was the observable phenomenon of two undeniable facts: Brazil's progressive expansion of its southern borders and Spain's need to counteract and defend itself. On the other hand, the War of the Spanish Succession,[3] which had resulted in the French dynasty's rise to the throne, had permitted—by means of the Treaty of Utrecht—the early arrival of one English vessel which would be able to trade British goods in the American continent, partially breaking the colonial monopoly. In practice, it led to heavy smuggling from Colonia del Sacramento in Uruguay to the city of Buenos Aires.

In the same way, Argentina's independence process, which began in 1810 and culminated in the official declaration of independence on 9 July 1816, had a significant impact on Montevideo and its own process. On 28 February 1811, with the *Grito de Asencio*, the province began its own path to become a nation state. In 1820, José Gervasio Artigas's army, facing the Portuguese Empire virtually alone, was defeated at the Battle of Tacurembó.

[2] Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello (1699-1782), Marquis of Pombal, was minister to King José I of Portugal (1750-1777). He took England and France as an economic and political example, achieving the centralization of power and a better administration of the state.

[3] The War of the Spanish Succession originates from the death without offspring of Charles II Habsburg. The conflict, which lasted from 1701 to 1715, ended by placing on the throne Philip V of the Bourbon dynasty, who, as concision for his assumption, had to renounce inheritance rights over France. This ensured that the European balance was maintained.

Consequently, in 1821, what it is today known as Uruguay became part of the Portuguese Kingdom[4] as the Cisplatina province.

In 1825, with support from Buenos Aires, an expedition called "*Treinta y tres orientales*" [Thirty-three orientals], led by Juan Antonio Lavalleja, managed to fight off the invading forces. On 25 August 1825, with general Fructuoso Riviera's contribution, the Banda Oriental declared its independence from the Brazilian Empire. In October, a new armed conflict began between the Empire and the *Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata* [United Provinces of the Río de la Plata]. The outcome of the naval battle led by Admiral Brown[5] was particularly significant. Although a military success for the Argentinian forces, the resulting peace treaty signified the loss of the Banda Oriental del Uruguay: on 28 August 1828, it would become an independent state. Two years later, on 18 July 1830, the first national constitution was adopted. The new country began to consolidate, always under England's vigilant gaze.

Bilateral Relations between Uruguay and England

Between 1839 and 1851, the Río de la Plata region experienced another armed conflict known as the *Guerra Grande*, which denoted an intersection between domestic conflicts—Centralists vs. Federalists in the *Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata*; the *Colorados* ("Reds") vs. the *Blancos* ("Whites") in Uruguay—and the intervention of other powers such as Brazil, France, and the United Kingdom. The fact is that, until the end of the war, the new country would not be truly ready to enter into formal bilateral diplomatic relations.

Since England appeared as one of the most urgent targets to establish a diplomatic relation with, Uruguay called upon a former British citizen[6] who knew the language as well as the customs: the Irishman Edward Neill.

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[4] On September 7th, 1822, Brazil declares its independence from the Kingdom of Portugal (called Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarve since 1815) and becomes the Empire of Brazil.

[5]Admiral Brown was born in Ireland in 1777 and died in Argentina in 1857. He fought against the Royalists in Montevideo and then against the Empire of Brazil. He was deputy governor of the Province of Buenos Aires in 1828. He also did outstanding work during the Great War and the Anglo-French blockade. He is considered the father of the Argentine Navy and one of the most prominent representatives of the Irish diaspora in the region (Hanon, 2005).

[6] Edward Neill was a British citizen, but after Argentina's Independence, he became Argentine citizen.

He had arrived as a British army soldier during the 1806-1807 invasions. When Beresford's expedition was defeated, many of the soldiers who had come from Ireland were taken prisoners. Eventually, they settled in the region, adopted the local language and customs, and started their own families. Neill was one of them; at the age of seventeen, he was already included in the foreigners' census conducted on 27 February 1807.[7]

In order to begin his task, on 8 June 1852, Neill requested to be ratified as consul and, to accelerate this process, he purposely mentioned that he had Mr. Mc Caber's support who "… has rented one of the best houses in front of the Parliament and holds great influence over lawmakers and the press, which he shall employ for the benefit of the Republic."[8]

The opening of new consulates meant a major economic effort for a small country recently involved in a war; however, it was seen as a worthwhile investment. There were three main objectives set out for the diplomatic engagement: the first was a matter of sovereignty and national recognition. Neill explained as much in the same letter, in which he also requested "to be given a passport template for those who wish to visit the country, since Mr. Carlos Dick, not having any other documents, brought with him a bill of health."[9] According to Neill's understanding, these circumstances underscored another outrageous issue: the fact that English vessels arrived at Montevideo without proper visas or paperwork; they just produced the documents meant for Buenos Aires, as though Uruguay were still a province of the Argentine Confederation.

The second main objective was to achieve a considerable volume of trade, beneficial to the country's progress. The third and most important goal, to which the bulk of the correspondence would be related, was the promotion of immigration. Montevideo would concentrate its greatest efforts on the second and third goals. Due to its status as a small nation, nestled between two far greater countries—not only in terms of size but also in population, markets, and resources—the task would not be easy, and the competition to attract the foreign workforce would be fierce.

Thus, although Neill continued to sign as consul in charge for nearly a year, he would diligently dedicate himself to the creation of consular

[7] "Barrio 20. Relación de los individuos de nación estrangera (sic.) que habitan en el barrio". Buenos Aires, 27/2/1807, AGNA, Interior, Sala IX, 30-08-01, 50. Citing in: Fanning,2017, 153.
[8] A.G.N. Fund "British Consulate" box 349, 1852.
[9] A.G.N. Fund "British Consulate" box 349, 1852.

offices throughout the United Kingdom. Almost informally, as mentioned in a note from January 1853, few appointments had already been made by General O'Brien. But Neill, in order to promote immigration to Uruguay, was in search of new appointees in the most important ports. For instance, he suggested Guillermo Dean Seymour as vice-consul in Cork. For unknown reasons, when it comes to this particular consulate, he had to work harder to justify its placement: "Cork is the main port of Southern Ireland" and "it is the centre of the district where most emigrants from the desired social class may be found."[10] There seemed to be no difficulties in the case of Diego (James) Mahony's appointment as vice-consul in Dublin, where he would be mainly in charge of trading matters.[11]

The aforementioned John Thomond O'Brien is a very important figure in the history of South America. He was a member of General San Martín's army as his *aide-de-camp*, and participated in the most noteworthy battles during the struggle for independence. He tried without success to bring Irish colonists to Argentina. However, he continued to collaborate with the island by sending funds in support of the Catholic citizens who aspired to the same rights as Protestants. Around 1841, he settled in Montevideo and purchased lands in the country to pursue livestock farming. He was one of Rivera's supporters during the Guerra Grande and performed diplomatic tasks in his name. By 1848, he was the Uruguayan consul in England.[12]

Regarding Cork and the need to justify the creation of offices and the appointment of a vice-consul, Gregorio O'Neill, the potential candidate, included an introductory letter written and translated by himself. As this document reflects not only the Banda Oriental's eagerness to receive immigrants but also Ireland's long-standing migratory tradition, I have decided to include the full transcription:

[10] A.G.N. Fund "British Consulate" box 349, letter of E. B. Neill, 8 /9/ 1855.
[11] A.G.N. Fund "British Consulate" box 349,1855-1857. Note 10/2/1855.
[12] John Thomond O'Brien: On his way to Ireland, on one of his many trips, he died in Portugal in 1859. In 1935, the Argentine government began a process of repatriation of the body with great honors and the placing of an Argentine flag on its grave. The decree authorizing his transfer read: "May General O Brien, although born on foreign soil, identify with Argentina, joining in the youth age the famous Regiment of Grenadiers on horseback, and taking part in a large number of war actions from Chacabuco to Ayacucho" (Fanning 2017, 386-387).

> Cork, 2 June 1855 (letter addressed to the Consul General)
>
> As the so-called "Know nothing" movement in the America proved to be nothing less than an anti-Catholic crusade and has practically halted emigration to the country, it occurs to me this is the most auspicious time possible for the government that You represent to give particular attention to the colonisation of the Banda Oriental to the people of this Island, who are troubled as a consequence of the vexing treatment at the hands of the landowners, and who have long ago acquired the custom of seeking asylum in other countries, so that if the government of República del Uruguay offered considerable enticement to a respectable class of farmers and workers with an assurance of lands and easily acquired citizenship rights, I have no doubt whatsoever that emigration from this Island will head to South America.
>
> If You would be so kind as to write your government applying for instructions as soon as practicable because, if what is set forth here should occur, the rest of the year will be needed to inform the people through newsletters and leaflets for next spring's emigration.
>
> Because I am a Catholic, and have the people's trust, earned through twenty years of experience and closeness to the clergy, they are confident I will be able to promote the motion and, if the government of the Republic would be willing to appoint me consul in Cork it would prove extremely useful, as it would indicate an official connection that will guarantee that any representation I made would have an equally official sanction.
>
> Signed: Gregorio O'Neill[13]

This introductory letter, the only one of its kind I have found, contains everything one might expect from someone who wished to gain the popularity to obtain such a position. But it also constitutes the perspective of a contemporary man about the reality that we all, as historians, have studied at some point. Within the first paragraphs, he described the poor circumstances Irish people were subjected to by the large landowners, irrespectively of their origins or religion. He exposed how those long-standing, "vexing" circumstances bolstered the island's migratory movement to the United States ("America") in particular. Thus, if lands and citizenship were to be granted, many would gladly travel south. The assertion would be nearly prophetic because a major migratory movement would take place, though mostly directed towards Argentina.

[13] A.G.N. Fund "British Consulate" box 349, 1855-1857.

Curiously, the interest fell on "farmers and workers," not on herders. Across the Río de La Plata, the cotton crisis—which had paralysed the supply chain of the English textile industry's primary raw material, due to the fact that the southern states in the United States of America, its main suppliers, were in the midst of the Civil War (1861-1865)—launched the so-called "wool cycle," with a quality improvement in sheep wool, intended to be a fine substitute for weaving machines, and the need for sheepherders, who arrived in great numbers: Basques, from the south and the continent, and Irishmen (Ferrer 1996). Uruguay was not unaware of the changing circumstances in the international market; on the contrary, it seemed that an intended solution was to increase cotton production along the northern borders, where the weather conditions were most suitable. However, in spite of these ideas, an improvement of the existing breed would take place, based on crossbreeding with the merino sheep brought from Germany and France. As a result, the improved quality made the production suitable for export.

Going back to Neill's introductory letter, the last paragraph encapsulated everything he tried to depict. He declared himself a Catholic, with plenty of experience as an agent in the field, and, in my regard, he introduced his strongest argument: he had connections to the clergy. It is well-known and widely studied that, in Ireland's case, immigration networks and leadership of the migrant communities were predominantly led and organized by the clergy.

On 9 March 1861, after six years as Consul, Neill informed Montevideo that Cork's consul had passed away, and he proposed Ricardo Foley as his replacement. Seemingly, no further explanation or special justification was needed for the vice-consulate in Cork at the time; perhaps, it had yielded good results. In the same letter, he put forth William Caldbeck as Dublin's consul.[14]

What can be said, if anything, about Neill's work is that it was intense and proved the great human and economic efforts that Uruguay made in terms of diplomatic relations, in hopes of creating a strong migratory flow into the country. This was true to such an extent that, at some point, questions were raised about the expenses of opening so many consular offices; Uruguay's justification was that everything was necessary in order to attract the English population, a "superior class"[15] of migrants. Finally, in

[14] A.G.N. Fund "British Consulate" box 349. Note 9/3/ 1861.
[15] A.G.N. Fund "British Consulate" box 349. Note 8/4/1858.

1865, after arduous work, Neill had to leave his position to the next consul, Juan Aurellano y Hall.[16]It must be said that it was not an easy exit: he criticised the decision and claimed that the money he would receive as pension was insufficient.

The following chart shows the history of the diplomatic personnel in Ireland. Unfortunately, there are no files on record of the oldest consuls; this is all the information available to us.

Country	City	Surname	First Name	Title	Appointment Date	End Term Date
United Kingdom	Cork	O´Neill	Gregorio	Consul	21/5/1856	
United Kingdom	Dublin	Mahony	Diego	Consul	29/11/1859	
United Kingdom	Dublin	Caldbeck	Guillermo Francisco	Consul	17/3/1860	
United Kingdom	Cork	Foley	Ricardo	Vice-consul	24/4/1878	
United Kingdom	Dublin	O´Connell	John Robert	Consul	29/4/1896	23/10/1925
Irish Free State	Dublin	Rooney	Patrick	Honorary Consul	30/7/1926	
Irish Free State	Dublin	Doyle	Charles Stanislaus	Vice-consul	19/1/1955	
Republic of Ireland	Dublin	Reynolds	Peadar	Honorary Consul	30/8/2000	
Republic of Ireland	Carrick on Shannon	De Bellis	Jessie	----------	16/1/2013	27/4/2015

Chart developed with information provided by the Historical Archive located at Uruguay's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

It is difficult to make a definitive statement regarding Neill's success in attracting Irishmen to settle down in the country. While it is undeniably true that nowadays there are Irish societies in Uruguay, to precisely determine when those people arrived is quite a challenge. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, there was a flowing connection between all the Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata. The Irishmen who participated in the British military campaigns in Buenos Aires and in the

[16] A.G.N. Fund "British Consulate" box 349. Note 20/5/1865.

siege of Montevideo, who remained in the region as prisoners, did so in both cities and moved freely between them. The same happened with merchants and livestock farmers, who held interests and properties on both shores. It continued to be the case even after the Banda Oriental's independence.

However, through an analysis of Montevideo's census and its campaign, I was able to locate a few references to Irish people. In the 1826 city census, we identified Brigida Murray, a 22-year-old single Irishwoman. She lived at a baker's house, where the family consisted of a couple, a young slave girl, and Murray herself. Unfortunately, there are no further records of her role in the house or any other information.[17] The census also registered Juan Kenny, a 28-year-old man who worked as a clerk at Ramón Vázquez's house in 25 San Miguel Street.[18]

Regarding the port arrivals, the records show the entry of two men: Patricio Brown, a 25-year-old single Irishman, who arrived in his own vessel on 28 September 1833, and Mr. Kennedy, a 57-year-old married native, who arrived from Buenos Aires on 25 November 1833 on the packet boat "La Rosa" and had lodgings at a Mr. Noble's house.[19]

Bilateral Relations during the Twentieth Century

The beginning of the twentieth century, or more accurately, the period that began with the First World War in 1914, brought about a series of crucial changes for the world as a whole and for Ireland in particular. Thus, in the midst of the unprecedented armed conflict in which Great Britain was engulfed, and precisely because of it, a group of Irishmen rebelled against the English rule in what would be known as the Easter Rising of 1916. This key event signified the beginning of the end of English sovereignty over the island. Although a military failure in itself, as most rebel leaders were summarily executed or incarcerated, the rising gained significant support from a large part of the population.

The press in South America followed the developments closely. Due to the influence of the economic relationship with England, the events were judged from a partial, critical, and negative perspective. Accordingly, the sources used, both official and unofficial, came from London and conveyed

[17] A.G.N. Census Montevideo (1822-37) nº 262.
[18] A.G.N. Cadastre Montevideo 1832. Manzana 6ª.
[19] A.G.N. Entry book for passengers.

a singular voice. However, this did not seem to be the case in Uruguay, at least initially, where José Pablo Torcuato Batlle y Ordóñez and his government—he was a modern progressive who founded the *El Día* newspaper on 21 March 1867—sympathized with the rebels. Though no longer at the helm of the country, Torcuato Batlle y Ordóñez was still involved in politics, and *El Día* reflected his philosophy. As was the custom during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the press was not yet interested in objectivity; rather, its specific function was still to act as a public opinion forum.

The information published in the newspaper came from many different sources, such as *El Día*'s own correspondents and the foreign press. This explained why the uprising seemed to be astonishing since, until then, Ireland had cooperated in the war alongside England. However, such a context could not silence "the righteous yearning for freedom and vindication . . . of the Irish's patriots souls." It went on to say: "the sons of the verdant, poetic Erin had stood in solidarity, seemingly forgetting the grief endured for a century, caused by an economic and political system with medieval likeness."[20]

As Ireland and Uruguay were two small countries able to identify with each other, after the creation of the Irish Free State in 1922, Dublin began to make overtures to Montevideo. A curious booklet can be found at the Library of Congress, entitled "Missive for the National Congress of the República Oriental del Uruguay, approved in session at the national congress (*Dail Eireann*) of the Republic of Ireland, held in January 1921." It is of interest for its style; it was written in Peninsular Spanish, which is not used in the Río de la Plata region or in the American continent. The translation is very good and seems to have been produced by a native Spanish speaker. Its content explains the reasons for the communication by depicting the two nations as brothers with noble common goals:

> We, the elected representatives of the people of Ireland, recognize you, the elected representatives of the República Oriental del Uruguay, as our brothers in a joint effort to hasten the day in which all nations may live together in harmony, protected by justice; we have the honour of greeting you and communicating the following:
>
> 1. We are certain that the struggles of our people –the people of Ireland– against England's aggressions have not gone unnoticed by you. We hope to hold your regard and appreciate your respect and support. . . .

[20] *El Día*, 1916/4/27.

> 5. The Irish people have steadily endured this wicked tyranny with all their strength. Nearly every generation has witnessed at least one armed uprising.
>
> 14. An orgy of murders and theft has started. There was no respect for gender, age, or profession. Octogenarians and small children, ill, maimed young men and mothers and wives, even the ministers anointed by God, all were killed without distinction – the head of the family before their very eyes, and the mother with her child held to her bosom on the cabin doorstep.[21]

Clearly, the goal was to be as graphic and dramatic as possible to earn the favour of Uruguayan congressmen and counteract what they believed to be the negative propaganda stemming from England. Hence, the emphasis on the fact that the violence perpetrated against the Irish people "is not the result of any provocation whatsoever" and that they hoped to be able "to make peace with England on a fair basis." Finally, the missive appealed to the claim that the Uruguayan government must not "remain indifferent before the conflict."[22]

Beyond this communication sent to the Uruguayan Congress as an attempt to associate "between peers," Ireland's first efforts to establish informal diplomatic relations can be traced to the report P. J. Little sent Robert Brennan[23] from Buenos Aires, dated December 4th, 1921 (received in Ireland on January 7th, 1922). The document contained a detailed analysis of the countries in South America, their probabilities of offering support, and information about whether the Irish diaspora had settled in each of them as an asset to facilitate the cause. Regarding Uruguay, he wrote:

> Uruguay - which although so near the Argentine and so rich yet no Irish from there make any attempt to approach or get in touch with the Diplomatic Mission at B.A. - William Morgan - very rich Estanciero (rancher) is the only Uruguayan and his family was and is Argentine and very strong on National cause. He tells me there are a few Irish in Monte

[21] Communication for the National Congress of the Republic of Uruguay. January 1921.
[22] Communication for the National Congress of the Republic of Uruguay. January 1921.
[23] Patrick Little had a very important political career, and Robert Brennan was the organizer of the Convention of the Irish Race in Paris in 1922, which would serve as a public act of the representatives of the collectivities of the whole world to make visible the cause of independence of the country, while serving as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs from February 1921 to January 1922.

> Video but timid and very dominated by the English. Generally Uruguay is very much under the English. Capital domination. Morgan came to B.A. for our meeting and he is a trustee for Loan.[24]

He would recall as much in his memoirs: "We were in close touch with Uruguay, through Mr Morgan."[25] William Morgan would play a major role in organising the Convention of the Irish Race: "First Convention of the Irish Race in the Argentine, held in the Irish Girls' Home - about ninety delegates present, and, 'all things considered', might be said to be a success. Mr William Morgan was Chairman. A Standing Committee for a new organization was appointed, consisting of the trustees and Irish members of the Consultative Council. . . . Mr William Morgan bought a 500-dollar bond."[26] Alice Ginnell's commentary regarding Morgan's wife is much the same vein. She kept a very fond memory of her, due to her support and solidarity when, together with her husband Lawrence, they were forced to return to Ireland owing to the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty and its consequences—the ensuing civil war—and they were forgotten by the diaspora in Buenos Aires:[27]

> Mrs Morgan went to Uruguay to her son William. Before going away she wrote to Mother Rita not to take any money from L.G. - that she would settle with her on her return! Rev. Mother was told not to mind that. We saw her off and she said she was wondering if anyone would come and was delighted to see us; saying that all she had in the world was at our disposal.[28]

However, beyond Morgan and his wife's goodwill, it was evident that it would not be entirely feasible to amass greater support from Irish immigrants in Uruguay. Therefore, a change of strategy was in need; since the Irish Free State had already put forth several proposals before the League of Nations, the main ambition now would be to get Uruguay's favourable vote. Uruguay had been a member of that organisation since

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[24] No. 120 NAI DFA ES Box 32 File 216(4)

[25] Patrick J. Little: http://www.militaryarchives.ie/collections/online-collections/bureau-of-military-history-1913-1921/witnesses/

[26] Patrick J. Little: http://www.militaryarchives.ie/collections/online-collections/bureau-of-military-history-1913-1921/witnesses/

[27] On the Repercussions of the Civil War in the Irish Diaspora in Argentina, see: Cruset, María Eugenia. 2019. "Asociaciones irlandesas en Argentina y su acción política transnacional durante la Guerra Civil". In *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research*, 87-97.

[28] Alice Ginnell, Laurence Ginnell's widow: http://www.bureauofmilitaryhistory.ie/reels/bmh/BMH. WS0982.pdf

January 1st 1920 and a non-permanent member of the Council from 1923 until 1926. The Irish Free State had become a member on September 10th 1923.

In fact, the Irish Free State had to settle two different issues through the new international institution: first, the announcement of the Anglo-Irish Treaty and thus, the corresponding acknowledgment of the Irish Free State as a nation state with the highest degree of sovereignty; second, its admission as a non-permanent member of the Council. As for the first issue, there was great concern that the treaty would not be interpreted as a domestic matter within Great Britain, as it would remove Ireland's ability to act on the international stage. For this reason, Uruguay was considered a country with which to establish relations so that it would side with the Irish and support the cause.[29]

As for the second issue, in December 1929, Ireland started to plan the replacement for the vacancy left by Canada. The country would need several supporters—arduously analysed— and it studied the way to win the favourable vote of the South American regional bloc. Among them, Ireland particularly sought support from Uruguay and its delegate:

> I understand from the Minister that M. Guani[30] told him he would use his influence to get the Latin American Countries to vote for us. If this could be secured we would be practically certain of election. It would therefore be well to pay particular attention to M. Guani and to let him know how much we appreciate his offer. It might be well to let him know that you are informing all the Corps of our candidature as we understand it is his intention to put us in touch with all his South American Colleagues in this matter[31].

Although, later on, the records stated: "M. Guani. Uruguay. Promised personal assistance. Later notified that his Government had noted our candidature with most lively sympathy but that definite decision could only be taken in September".[32]

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[29] Memorandum from Desmond FitzGerald to all members of the Executive Council on the registration of the Anglo-Irish Treaty at the League of Nations. 26/6/1924. https://www.difp.ie/docs/Volume2/1924/571.htm

[30] Alberto Guani, a jurist, politician, and diplomat. He became Vice-president of his country, Foreign Minister, and Ambassador to several countries. He was also a delegate to the League of Nations and chaired its assembly in 1927.

[31] No. 319 NAI DFA Paris Embassy 109B

[32] No. 409 NAI DFA 26/95

As a result of these negotiations, Irish diplomacy gained a seat in the Council as a non-permanent member from 1930 until 1933.

In 1947, with such progress made, Montevideo's government advanced the proposal to open a diplomatic delegation in Ireland. However, owing primarily to economic reasons, they expected to be able to send a single mission to represent them before the United Kingdom and the Free Irish State. The British government had no objections, and only the Irish were still to be consulted. In any case, to open relations, they would have to wait for Dublin's formal request because "in line with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its tradition, Uruguay would not take the initiative to establish relations or send diplomatic missions unless there were extraordinary circumstances."[33]

On 19 January 1955, Charles Stanislaus Doyle was appointed Vice-consul in Dublin. Nowadays, the Irish diplomatic delegation has offices in Buenos Aires, where they handle relations with Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

Conclusions

Migratory processes are complex. They constitute the intersection of expectations, objectives, resources, both from the migrants and from the receiving states and their communities. In our current times, migrants are usually faced with indifference regarding their suffering, suspicion, even xenophobia. However, in the nineteenth-century American continent, the circumstances were different: sparsely populated countries who were gaining independence saw immigration as a necessary, positive asset. This was particularly true for the southern region comprised of the present-day states of Río Grande do Sul, Paraná, and Santa Caterina in Brazil, together with Argentina and Uruguay.

Without a doubt, some groups engendered more sympathy than others. In Neill's case, he spoke of British migration as being of the finest quality. Similarly, on the other shore of the river, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento expressed his views regarding Scottish and German immigration in the pages of *Facundo*, a book whose suggestive subtitle refers to the famous dichotomy of civilization and barbarism.

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[33] Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay, Legations and Embassies Sub-Fund 2.13. Embassy of the Republic in Great Britain (1937 - 1979) Folder nº 387 Year 1947. 24 March 1947. 2.13.

> In the Argentine Republic, it is pitiful and shameful to compare the German or Scottish colonies located at the south of Buenos Aires with the shanty towns forming in the provinces: in the first, painted houses; the front of the house, always clean, embellished with flowers and cheerful shrubs; the furniture, plain, but complete; the dinnerware, copper or pewter, always polished; the bed, with lively draperies, and the locals, constantly moving and active. Milking cows, churning butter and producing cheese, some families have managed to amass formidable wealth and have retired to the city, to revel in its comforts. (Sarmiento 1942, 26)

When selecting the most desirable traits that potential migrants should possess, industriousness that generated wealth for the country was the first place; other considerations such as language or religion were not truly relevant. Nevertheless, these were the two attributes Irish people valued most, particularly when it came to religion; ultimately, a new language could be difficult to learn, but it was not impossible. Next, they valued access to land ownership and political freedom, which they had lacked in their native land.

Many immigrants were able to take advantage of the circumstances, adapting and achieving economic prosperity, contributing to their new homeland. Such were the known cases of Campbell, O'Brian, Brown, and Morgan, but also of a significant, hardly quantifiable number of people—men and women—who achieved the same while remaining less visible and discrete. Until 1830 (when the first constitution was adopted) there was a great level of interaction and movement between Buenos Aires and Montevideo, mainly because they were unified, and there were no borders. However, even afterward, contact remained fluid, and travelling from shore to shore was a simple and standard practice.

During José Battle y Ordonez's presidential terms (1903-1907 and 1911-1915), Uruguay transformed into a progressive state. He introduced the divorce act in 1913—enabling the dissolution of the marriage by the woman's will alone, without giving grounds for her decision— as well as labour protection laws. Under his influence, the constitution of 1918 was adopted, which instituted, among other things, the separation of Church and State. The newspaper he founded as a platform for his philosophy, *El Día*, published the news regarding the Easter Rising with more independence than the rest of the region's press and with profound sympathy towards a people who had been oppressed for centuries under an archaic system, which he considered to be medieval.

However, Ireland would be the one to seek Uruguay's support. The island's diplomatic tradition led it to pursue as much support for the cause as possible. Meanwhile, Uruguay's diplomacy failed to take the lead in promoting bilateral relations and waited to be invited by the different states, with few exceptions, as revealed by the documents consulted. I analysed the report sent to the Congress whereby Ireland asked that Uruguay should take notice of England's unfair, repressive attitude. Simultaneously, the missive held a request for cooperation in the forum of the League of Nations.

In conclusion, the Banda Oriental del Uruguay received the Irish people in its land and benefited from their labour. At the same time, from their new motherland, the Irish people received economic freedom, political rights, and the suitable environment to foster prosperity. Simultaneously, the island set its sights on the small South American country's support for their cause. Be that as it may, the relationship appeared to be much stronger between the citizens of both countries than between the states themselves. It is often the case that civil society progresses faster than the political apparatus and the diplomatic bureaucracy, thus creating informal ties that will only later be adopted by the states.

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Press

El Día

CHAPTER TWO

CATALANIST POLITICS AND PRESS IN BUENOS AIRES: IMMIGRATION AND IDEOLOGICAL COMMITMENT IN GRÀCIA BASSA DE LLORENS' *GLOSSES FEMENINES*[1]*

MARCELA LUCCI[2]

"We already know that the main issue is to always uphold the good name of Catalonia. And the obligations of those of us who are distant from her consist in maintaining, by virtue of our efforts, a high regard for her in the eyes of our children, so that they will want to know and love her"
(Llorens 1946, 5932).

Introduction

According to her own words, in 1907 Maria Gràcia Bassa i Rocas travelled from Barcelona to Argentina with her husband Joan Llorens i Carreras thinking that she would return after two years (Llorens 1957, 7891). She passed away in 1961 in the City of Buenos Aires. Except for two visits, in 1918 and 1934, she never returned permanently to Catalonia (Bacardí, 2016,

*Translated from: Lucci, M. (2020). "Política y prensa catalanistas en Buenos Aires: la inmigración y el compromiso ideológico en las 'Glosses Femenines' de Gràcia Bassa de Llorens". Anuario De Estudios Americanos, 77(1), 87–112. https://doi.org/10.3989/aeamer.2020.1.04

[1] In English: *Feminine Glosses.*

[2] Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea (CNR), IHE-Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina

19). However, distance and the occasional geographic isolation –for many years, the couple resided in Trenque Lauquen, a small town located in the province of Buenos Aires, 420 kilometres away from the capital city, connected only by dirt roads and, from 1895, by the railway (Mignone 2013, 19)– did not restrict her connection with Catalan culture. Quite the opposite, in fact: Gràcia Bassa's writings became the most active Catalanist female benchmark in the American continent for more than forty years. Between 1917 and 1960, she published nearly two hundred journalistic articles, over two hundred and forty poems and about a hundred pieces such as translations, biographical profiles and literature and works of art reviews in *Ressorgiment*. This was a monthly magazine, printed in Buenos Aires and the voice of radical separatism overseas, founded in 1916 by Pius Àrias, Manel Cairol, Francesc Colomer and Hipòlito Nadal I Mallol, who would be in charge of the publication until 1972 (Lucci 2014). Among them, the *Glosses Femenines,* which she would sign as Alidé and were included in every *Ressorgiment* issue between 1917 and 1925*,* constitute her closest contribution in terms of Catalanist women's public opinion.

Bassa's proximity to intellectual endeavours was neither casual nor isolated, but was enabled by the communications boom at the turn of the century, in which journalism emerged as a means of political engagement. In addition, socialisation in clubs and societies, characterized by "self-organisation" (Riquer 1996, 19), was crucial in terms of mainland Catalanism, and had become one of the preferred vehicles of cultural dissemination during the emergence of the Renaixença in the mid-nineteenth century (Riquer 1996, 19).

The thrust of Spanish journalism at the turn of the century also included the growing Catalan press (Louis 2018, 34-35). By the early twentieth century, this blossoming environment had eased the introduction of women in the mainland cultural life by means of exercising a profession that diversified her attention away from the family sphere (Servén Díez 2012, 1061-1074). The articles written by Emilia Pardo Bazán, Isabel Oyarzábal, Concepción Gimeno and Carmen de Burgos –the latter, considered the first female war correspondent (Louis 2018, 34) – introduced with their own voices the principles of feminist thinking in the country.

In the mainland context of mass journalism, as described above, the possibility given to the Catalan press of expressing itself in its own language represented a key benefit. Catalan identity traditionally perceived language as a foundational component. For this reason, it became a crucial element in the analysis of the Spanish centre-periphery dichotomy, since it exposed