

*The independence of Ireland in the Provincial Press:
Laurence Ginnell and the Irish Diplomatic Mission in
Argentina (1921)*

*A independência da Irlanda na imprensa provincial:
Laurence Ginnell e a missão diplomática irlandesa na
Argentina (1921)*

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Abstract: *In the context of the negotiations surrounding the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, at the end of July 1921, the nationalist deputy, member of the Irish Parliament (Teachta Dála), Laurence Ginnell, arrived in Buenos Aires with the aim of raising money for the Irish cause, intensifying the propaganda campaign and expanding the diplomatic network in Latin America. The main Buenos Aires newspapers – with the exception of the community newspaper The Southern Cross – considered the arrival of the diplomat a minor event, but what happened in the case of the provincial press? The present work attempts to explain how the provincial newspapers, particularly belonging to Entre Ríos and Santa Fe, reflected the actions of the Irish diplomatic personnel in Argentina. Three important newspapers in the region will be analyzed: La Acción and El Diario de Paraná and the morning newspaper Santa Fe from the capital city of the same name.*

Keywords: *Ireland; Press; Laurence Ginnell.*

Resumo: *No contexto das negociações para a assinatura do Tratado Anglo-Irlandês, Laurence Ginnell, um membro nacionalista do Parlamento Irlandês (Teachta Dála), chegou a Buenos Aires no final de julho de 1921 com o objetivo de arrecadar dinheiro para a causa irlandesa, intensificar a campanha de propaganda e expandir a rede diplomática na América Latina. Os principais jornais de Buenos Aires, com exceção do jornal comunitário The Southern*

Cross — consideraram a chegada do diplomata de pouca relevância, mas o que aconteceu com a imprensa da província? Este artigo tenta descrever como os jornais das províncias, especialmente os de Entre Ríos e Santa Fé, refletiram as ações da equipe diplomática irlandesa na Argentina. Três importantes jornais da região serão analisados: La Acción e El Diario de Paraná e o jornal de Santa Fe, da capital de mesmo nome.

Palavras-chave: Irlanda; Imprensa; Laurence Ginnell.

Introduction

In the context of the negotiations surrounding the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, at the end of July 1921, the nationalist deputy, member of the Irish Parliament (*Teachta Dála*), Laurence Ginnell, arrived in Buenos Aires with the aim of raising money for the Irish cause, intensifying the propaganda campaign and expanding the diplomatic network in Latin America. The main Buenos Aires newspapers – with the exception of the community newspaper *The Southern Cross* – considered the arrival of the diplomat a minor event, but what happened in the case of the provincial press?

The present work attempts to explain how the provincial newspapers, particularly belonging to Entre Ríos and Santa Fe, reflected the actions of the Irish diplomatic personnel in Argentina. Three important newspapers in the region will be analyzed: *La Acción* and *El Diario de Paraná* and the morning newspaper *Santa Fe* from the capital city of the same name.

As a hypothesis, we maintain that the deployment of collective actions by diplomatic personnel made it possible to make the Irish cause visible beyond the Buenos Aires borders. In this process, the provincial press became a key vector of propaganda in the interior of the country, allowing it to break with the hegemony of the main Buenos Aires newspapers in clear support for Irish independence.

The provincial press at the beginning of the twentieth century

As Ernesto Picco (2018) states, until the advent of mass society in the early twentieth century and the construction of an integral media space of the territory, the journalistic offer in the Argentine provinces “was predominantly local, small, with factional publications, and had

few readers” (15, my translation).¹ It developed at different speeds, with different social and political functions and involved diverse social actors. However, with the broadening of participation frameworks, the development of parties, organizations and mass media, the “popular” press reached a fundamental importance and the provinces converged towards a business, liberal and professionalized model that implied a reconfiguration of objectives by the main journalistic firms to adapt to the new demands: acquisition and modernization of equipment (rotary presses, linotypes), supply of inputs (ink, paper), connection with news agencies, advertising, expansion of the number of pages and printings, points of sale and distribution, etc. (Damianovich, 2013). In the words of Sylvia Saítta:

Slowly, the first two decades of the century witness the process of configuration of a specific field of relations where written journalism is particularized as a practice, formally separates from the power of the State and political parties and lays the foundations of modern, massive and commercial journalism characteristic of the twentieth century.² (Saítta 30, my translation)

This process was not free of tensions between the new journalistic formats, such as the North American one characterized by the variety of notices, the breadth of news and an efficient telegraphic service (different from the French model), and old practices typical of nineteenth century journalism.

By then, the supply of news had increased substantially as a result of the technological advances that took place at the end of the nineteenth century, especially the invention of the telegraph, influencing the daily lives of readers:

Although ordinary citizens had no direct access to the magic of the cable, the impact of the sub-Atlantic flow of signs reached them through the press, which spoke daily of what was happening in that world. Since the last decade of the 19th century, that world was closer in time and, therefore, in subjective space. Its daily alternatives, which circulated in tens of thousands of copies, made up an offer of big and small news: arriving by various means, it was offered to readers more constantly and abundantly than ever.³ (Caimari 155, my translation)

Thus, the extension of telegraphic cables and Argentina’s entry into the Postal Union in 1887 meant unprecedented access to the international publication market. But at the same

time, the advances in communication implied a higher level of competitiveness and a challenge for small local publications.

The awakening of this “agitated journalistic life”⁴ (Picco 11, my translation) is also visible beyond Buenos Aires, for example, in Entre Ríos and Santa Fe. And although for the period studied there existed in both provinces a large number of newspapers in circulation, in this opportunity we have selected for our analysis three of the most important at a regional level: *La Acción* – important Catholic newspaper – and *El Diario* from the city of Paraná and the *Santa Fe* newspaper from the homonymous capital city.

Laurence Ginnell, “the deputy for Ireland”⁵

Laurence Ginnell was 69 years old when he arrived in Buenos Aires. Born in 1852 in the town of Delvin, county of Westmeath in the province of Leinster, he began his political career at a very young age, at the beginning of the 1870s. Self-taught, a radical nationalist, his life moved between parliament, being elected deputy in different occasions – the last of them being active in the ranks of *Sinn Féin*⁶ –, in prison. For his staunch defense of the Irish cause he earned the nickname “the Deputy for Ireland”. He wrote numerous letters and some books, married twice (but without children) and was chosen by Éamon de Valera in 1920, along with his wife Alice, as representative in the United States of the new Irish Parliament (*Dáil Éireann*) formed in 1919. He embarked on a trip to Argentina with the purpose of requesting support, expanding the diplomatic network in Latin America and raising funds.

He died in Washington in 1923, aged 71, and was buried in Dublin. In Buenos Aires, solemn masses were celebrated in his honor at the Passionist monastery of Capitán Sarmiento and the church of the Holy Cross, in Buenos Aires. *The Southern Cross* dedicated an extensive obituary to him where it described that in Argentina he was fondly remembered as a veteran warrior, a courteous envoy from the Republic of Ireland (Keogh, 2016).

Laurence Ginnell in Buenos Aires: repercussions in the provincial press

Laurence Ginnell and his wife Alice arrived at the end of July 1921 in the city of Buenos Aires. By order of the new Parliament of Ireland, Ginnell had to be in charge of raising funds and expanding the diplomatic network in Latin America in order to sustain the independence

campaign in a context of tense negotiations with the English authorities for the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. From de Valera's point of view, Ginnell was the right person – along with Eamonn Bulfin⁷ – for this task due to his previous experience in the United States.

For most of the main national newspapers – with the exception of the community newspaper *The Southern Cross*⁸ – the arrival of the deputy did not represent an important event that deserved wide repercussions. Only some Buenos Aires newspapers announced the arrival of the Irish envoy.⁹ Consequently, the provincial press limited itself to reproducing the telegrams from Buenos Aires. In this regard, *El Diario*, *La Acción* and *Santa Fe* reported on the presence of “parlamentario irlandés, Mr. Guinnell”,¹⁰ the meeting with Irigoyen to present the Letters of Credence, signed by De Valera, “como enviado del gobierno republicano de Irlanda”,¹¹ the reception by the “Comité Pro Libertad de Irlanda”¹² and Ginnell's invitation to the *Te Deum* at the Metropolitan Cathedral to celebrate Peruvian independence, where he later offered “a wreath on the tomb of Saint Martin”¹³ (*La Acción*, August 5, 1921, my translation) However, coverage of the actions of the Irish diplomatic mission will take an unexpected turn in the coming months.

As the formal negotiations on the Anglo-Irish Treaty advanced, anti-British propaganda intensified not only in Buenos Aires but also in different provinces in the interior of the country. In this context, the local press will become a key vector in the dissemination of different events that involve diplomatic personnel, in clear support for the Irish cause. This is reflected in the increase in the number of news stories related to Ginnell, especially towards the month of October. A series of telegraphic cables published by *El Diario* and *La Acción* reported on the conferences he planned to preside “in favor of the ideals of freedom that the Irish people cherish”¹⁴ (*El Diario*, October 8, 1921, my translation) and the envoy's interest in remaining in the country for a while longer with the purpose of continue his “propaganda in favor of separatist parties” and to plan “a tour of the main Argentine provinces”¹⁵ (*La Acción*, October 9, 1921, my translation). At the same time, *El Diario* announced the receipt of a weekly bulletin on Irish affairs¹⁶ and in a cover story stated that the document “with enthusiasm the Irish cause chronicling the development that events take in favor of the Republic”¹⁷ (*El Diario*, October 16, 1921, my translation).

Between meetings, rallies and masses: collective actions of the Irish diplomatic mission

At a critical moment in the negotiations on the Anglo-Irish Treaty, where the Irish and English representatives were settling key points of the document, in Buenos Aires the diplomatic mission deployed a series of collective actions¹⁸ during the month of October and November with the purpose of giving greater visibility to the Irish question: a reception at the Savoy Hotel,¹⁹ a political rally at the Teatro Coliseo²⁰ and the celebration of masses in numerous churches for the Irish martyrs.²¹

The coverage of these events overwhelms the main Buenos Aires newspapers. Since his arrival, Ginnell ensured that the independence cause had a wide impact not only in Buenos Aires but also in the interior of the country. Therefore, it is not surprising that the actions of the diplomatic staff are also influential in the provincial newspapers, being the press a key and unavoidable propaganda device for the time, shaping public opinion.

The organization of the reception at the Savoy Hotel did not have much impact. The same did not happen with the political rally. In the days prior to its realization, a series of telegraphic cables and cover notes are responsible for announcing not only the date and place where it will take place, but also its purpose: to provoke “an opinion movement for Irish freedom”²² (*Santa Fe*, October 23, 1921). It is reported that the meeting would take place on Saturday, 29 October in the afternoon and that the chosen location was the emblematic Teatro Coliseo in the city of Buenos Aires.²³ The event was sponsored by the Irish diplomatic mission and would feature the participation of “elocuentes oradores” – mainly Ginnell – who will speak extensively about “la actuación de Irlanda” and special guests: “los irlandeses residentes en la capital federal para que presten su ayuda a su patria, contribuyendo a que el mitin asuma las mayores proporciones”.²⁴ Verbatim words of the invitation manifesto which, in the case of *El Diario*, is reproduced in its entirety:

We only wish to make known the truth about Ireland, for which purpose we ask our friends and collaborators to induce as many people as possible to attend, giving this meeting the greatest resonance. We make a special call to the Irish to lend their help to their homeland by helping to make the rally take on the greatest proportions. We also call on those who appreciate the high significance of the law of nations, and who sympathize and respect a small nation suffering for the cause of its freedom, and

whom we ask to deploy their efforts in order to contribute to forming and guiding public opinion. on the Irish problem. “Mitin irlandés”.²⁵ (*El Diario*, October 25, 1921, my translation)

The call was not only aimed at the Irish community. Ginnell was aware that the republican cause also required the support and efforts of those, outside the *diaspora*,²⁶ who sympathized with the principles of self-determination or empathized with the suffering of Ireland. The Teatro Coliseo turned out to be a suitable place, due to its capacity and favorable location, to gather a large number of guests.

At the same time, by organizing the rally, the diplomatic mission not only intended to spread the pro-independence cause – especially through the promotion of the bulletin mentioned above – but also to raise money through the sale of bonds. Ginnell, by express order of de Valera, had to take on this difficult task. For this, the Irish cabinet had confirmed to the diplomat the sanction of the issuance of bonds of up to 500,000 pounds and requested that he hire suitable personnel to be in charge of registering the bondholders and collecting the money. *El Diario* and *Santa Fe* reported on this initiative through telegrams where they explained that the Irish government had resolved to “colocar un empréstito en nuestro país con certificados y valores de 10 to 10.000 pesos, con interés del 5%”.²⁷ But the marked divisions within the community overshadowed the Irish MP’s plans.²⁸

The propaganda and fundraising campaign was carried out on different fronts. In the days following the rally, numerous masses were held throughout the country for “aquellos que murieron por Irlanda”.²⁹ The Catholic newspaper *La Acción* is the only media outlet – possibly due to its religious affinity – that highlights what happened in a note, detailing the churches that participated and stating that “jamás ha presentado la Argentina un tributo de esta naturaleza a ningún otro país, como jamás lo ha sido prestado tampoco, en ningún momento de la historia, por ningún país a otro”.³⁰ A review of the list of towns and temples that opened their doors in Buenos Aires and the interior to honor the Irish martyrs reflects the strong support of the Catholic Church – through the Irish Catholic Association – for the cause of Ireland.³¹

Foreign action, internal tensions: the Argentine-Irish congress

The fight for Irish independence required unified criteria and the definition of a clear action strategy capable of coordinating the efforts of groups of Irish immigrants dispersed in different regions of the world (Cruset, 2019). But, in the particular case of Argentina, the accentuated internal divisions of the community conspired against this ideal. This did not represent an obstacle for Ginnell, determined – despite the firm opposition of some of the most prominent members of the community – to create an institution that would bring together the different Irish organizations in the country (Keogh, 2016).

The moment came with the call for the First Argentine-Irish Congress at the end of November. The main purpose of this event was to form a delegation to participate in the Irish Race Convention in Paris in January 1922. The congress took place at the Sisters of Mercy Irish Girls Home, in the city of Buenos Aires, on the morning of 29 November.

In the case of the provincial press, once again it is *La Acción* who reports what happened.³² According to the newspaper, the event was presided over by “Mr. Guillermo Morgan and Mr. Santiago E. Bowen acted as secretary, after a speech by Mr. Ginnell, who made an extensive and documented speech, referring to the current events in Ireland”. “Primer congreso argentino-irlandés”³³ (*La Acción*, December 2, 1921, my translation). The interesting part of the note lies in a fragment of Mr. Ginnell’s speech that the newspaper highlights:

The present truce, said Mr. Ginnell, will not be violated on our part. No nation in the world needs or desires peace more urgently than we do. Our army is not an army of occupation, but purely of defense, for our military chief is not a minister of war, but a minister of defense. But peace must exist with independence, a just and permanent basis. If England needs peace, all she need do is to leave us alone. However, if armed forces land on our shores to intimidate and destroy, they will be resisted. Self-defense and self-preservation is the first duty of a country”. “Primer congreso argentino-irlandés”.³⁴ (*La Acción*, December 2, 1921, my translation)

From all that Ginnell exposed in an extensive and acclaimed speech focused on the need to establish the foundations for a solid and permanent organization, *La Acción* decided to select, in an intentional way, the paragraph mentioned above. This arbitrariness has an explanation. The editorial line of the Catholic newspaper is in line with the postulates of Benedict XV, the “Pope of peace”, the same one who had interceded a year earlier for the

Mayor of Cork, Terence MacSwiney, as he perished in Brixton jail after a prolonged hunger strike that ended his life.³⁵

A perusal of the pages of *La Acción* reveals the centrality of the question of peace. At the beginning of August, the newspaper published a note exhorting the faithful to recite the Pope's new prayer with the "deseo de que por medio de ella todos los fieles del catolicismo se unieran en una santa cruzada para implorar a Dios el beneficio de la paz"³⁶ (*La Acción*, August 2, 1921). A few days later, another note details the words of Monsignor Andrea's last conference in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Buenos Aires entitled "La paz social". In his speech, the prelate states that:

No social advantage ... neither wealth nor glory can ever equal the benefits of peace ... it is this peace that we are going to deal with and not that which results ... from foreign wars and civil revolutions..³⁷ (*La Acción*, August 5, 1921, my translation)

And in September, a cover story strongly questions England's position in relation to peace in the world: England at peace with the whole world? ... We find it hard to believe. We should ask it, above all, to Ireland, to India, to Turkey ... And just in case ... to Argentina's Malvinas, to... half the world. "¿En paz con todo el mundo?"³⁸ (*La Acción*, September 3, 1921, my translation), and the Pope's statements "regarding the forthcoming conference on the disarmament of nations ... the only way to achieve the pacification of peoples"³⁹ ("La voz del Papa", *La Acción*, September 3, 1921, my translation)

La Acción concluded by describing details of the congress related to the designation of delegates to be sent to the Irish Convention and the appointment of consuls in Dublin and Buenos Aires, with the purpose of establishing commercial relations between Ireland and Argentina. According to the words of Mr. Bowen, one of the leaders of the community – reproduced by the newspaper – "Argentina could find a good market for its products in Ireland, in exchange for manufactured goods, from that country, which at present, due to the British control, are passed off as British goods"⁴⁰ ("Primer congreso argentino-irlandés", *La Acción*, December 2, 1921, my translation).

The actions of the diplomatic mission met with resistance from the beginning on the part of the British representatives in Buenos Aires, especially when it came to seeking formal recognition by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which meant recognizing Ireland as

an independent republic. The tensions were reflected in a striking episode. In November, the *Santa Fe* newspaper published a cover story revealing the uneasiness of the president of the Argentine Committee for Irish Freedom in Rosario, Juan A. Throne, as a result of a controversial speech made by the British Ambassador, Sir Ronald MacLeay, on “*la delicada cuestión irlandesa*.” According to the note, Thorne “claimed for the propaganda that he and his compatriots carry out in a free country, the respects they deserve, given that the minister has described it as ‘abominable, inspired by hatred’”⁴¹ (“La cuestión irlandesa en la Argentina”. *Santa Fe*, November 6, 1921, my translation). Pro-Irish propaganda posters had been posted in the city of Buenos Aires and some provincial centers, which were harshly criticized by MacLeay for their content. In view of this, Ginnell considered that the English diplomat’s statements deserved a response and suggested to the Committee to act on them, which resulted in the sending of a letter from Throne to the British ambassador.

Conclusion

Although Laurence Ginnell’s arrival initially went virtually unnoticed – both in the national and provincial press – the situation became different as the months went by, once the anti-British campaign intensified. Public meetings, political rallies and masses allowed the diplomatic envoy to fulfill different objectives – give greater visibility to the republican cause, raise funds, strengthen ties within the community, etc. – and extend the propaganda campaign to the rest of the country. In the particular case of the masses for the “Irish dead”, the figure of the martyrs was used as a cohesive element – amalgamating the religious and the political – in an attempt to inspire nationalist sentiment in favor of the Republican cause, even outside the diaspora.

The deployment of these collective actions by the diplomatic mission made it possible for the Irish cause to acquire greater resonance beyond the borders of Buenos Aires. In this process, the provincial press became a key propaganda vector, spreading in towns and cities of the interior of the country the different activities organized by the diplomatic staff, thus allowing to break with the hegemony of the main newspapers of Buenos Aires – some of them critical because of their pro-British affiliation – in a clear support to Irish independence.

Notes

- ¹ “era predominantemente local, pequeña, con publicaciones facciosas, y disponía de pocos lectores”
- ² Lentamente, las dos primeras décadas del siglo asisten al proceso de configuración de un campo específico de relaciones donde el periodismo escrito se particulariza como práctica, se separa formalmente del poder del Estado y de los partidos políticos y sienta las bases del periodismo moderno, masivo y comercial característico del siglo veinte.
- ³ Aunque los ciudadanos de a pie no podían acceder directamente a las magias del cable, el impacto del flujo subatlántico de signos les llegaba por la vía de la prensa, que cada día hablaba de lo que ocurría en aquel mundo. Desde la última década del siglo XIX, ese mundo estaba más cerca en tiempo y, por lo tanto, en espacio subjetivo. Sus alternativas cotidianas, que circulaban en decenas de miles de ejemplares, componían una oferta de noticias grandes y pequeñas: llegadas por vías diversas, se ofrecía a los lectores de manera más constante y abundante que nunca.
- ⁴ “agitada vida periodística.”^x
- ⁵ The book “La independencia de Irlanda: la conexión argentina” (2016) written by the Irish historian Dermoth Keogh – constantly consulted in this work – covers in depth the life and work of Laurence Ginnell.
- ⁶ *Sinn Féin* (Ourselves), left-wing political party founded in 1905 by Arthur Griffith.
- ⁷ Eamon Bulfin (1892-1968) was an Irish republican born in Argentina. His father, the writer and journalist William Bulfin (1864-1910), had emigrated to Argentina at the age of 20 where he would become editor and owner of *The Southern Cross*.
- ⁸ According to Keogh (2016), *The Southern Cross* dedicated an extensive review to him where it recounted details of his life and political career.
- ⁹ According to Dermot Keogh (2016), “periódicos argentinos, a excepción de *La Razón*, o ignoraron la llegada de Ginnell o lo trataron como un suceso menor. Según Alice Ginnell, *La Nación* decidió no cubrir la llegada porque el editor consideraba inapropiados los comentarios del enviado. J.E. Bowen, un destacado irlandés-argentino le contó a Ginnell que originalmente *La Nación* había reservado dos columnas para cubrir su llegada. Sin embargo, cuando el enviado describió a Lloyd George como ‘hipócrita’, el periódico decidió no publicar semejante comentario” (p. 297).
- ¹⁰ “Irish MP, Mr. Guinnell”. *Santa Fe*, July 27, 1921.
- ¹¹ “as envoy of the republican government of Ireland”. *El Diario*, July 27, 1921.
- ¹² “Irish Freedom Committee”. *La Acción*, August 5, 1921.
- ¹³ “una corona de flores en la tumba de San Martín.”
- ¹⁴ “a favor de los ideales de libertad que abriga el pueblo irlandés.”
- ¹⁵ “propaganda a favor de los partidos separatistas” ... “una gira por las principales provincias argentinas.”
- ¹⁶ “La Misión diplomática de la República de Irlanda”. *El Diario*, October 16, 1921.
- ¹⁷ “con entusiasmo la causa irlandesa haciendo crónica del desarrollo que toman los acontecimientos a favor de la República.” *El Diario*, October 16, 1921.
- ¹⁸ Keogh (2016) uses the term “tactics” (tactics). In our case, we prefer to use the concept of “acciones colectivas” (collective actions). The historicization of the concept of “acciones colectivas” (collective actions) refers to the classic works of Charles Tilly (1978) and Sidney Tarrow (1994). In this regard - and recovering the contributions of the aforementioned intellectuals - Andelique, M. (2022) points out that there are multiple ways of classifying collective action and that, in general terms, it is carried out by individuals who share resources around goals. collective. Collective actions can emerge in various spaces or can be defined as episodes of conflict or cooperation where participants present their claims or demands on behalf of more abstract structures or groups. For his part, in his study on collective action and social movements in 20th century Spain, Cruz, R. (1998) maintains that at the beginning of the century an evolution of the forms of collective action takes place, the transition of a traditional repertoire to a new one characterized by greater flexibility and breadth, and a lower degree of violence. In this

sense, demonstrations, rallies or strikes are social processes that are framed within this new repertoire since they are deployed for any type of objective, they go beyond the local framework, that is, they can have national scope, and they do not require the compliance with violent means for its realization. In the Spanish case, rallies were used repeatedly by the population towards the end of the second decade of the century. We could maintain the same in the case of Argentina regarding the political rituals of radicals and socialists at the time of the Centennial (Reyes, 2016).

- ¹⁹ The Savoy Hotel is a historic building built at the beginning of the 20th century, blocks from Congress Square, by the Italian architect Gerónimo Agostini, in an Eclectic style, inspired by the Milanese Liberty. Due to its privileged location, it has been a center for meetings and political events. Historia (s.f.). Savoy Hotel. <https://www.savoyhotel.com.ar/es/about-us/history>
- ²⁰ The Teatro Coliseo is an old Argentine theater built in the 19th century, located in the city of Buenos Aires. Its history went through different stages, being remodeled and relocated on different occasions. It had an extraordinary structure with “localidades para 2000 personas sentadas en los palcos y 500 paradas”. In its terraces took place “la primera transmisión radiofónica de la historia musical argentina: la Ópera Parsifal de R.Wagner”. Historia del Teatro Coliseo (s.f.). <https://www.teatrocoliseo.org.ar/historia/>
- ²¹ As Menéndez, Marisol (2015) points out, martyrdom, as a cultural device, constitutes a cohesive and mobilizing mechanism that can be found even in the secular sphere. In his own words, martyrdom represents an “aparente paradoja que la noción clásica de modernidad plantea, es decir, la diferenciación entre las esferas política y religiosa se ve desfigurada en el martirio, ya que éste implica una creación política de sentido a partir de movilizaciones sociales originadas en el ámbito religioso” (p. 3).
- ²² *Santa Fe*, October 23, 1921.
- ²³ *El Diario, La Acción*, October 25, 1921; *Santa Fe*, October 23, 1921.
- ²⁴ “Mitin irlandés”. *El Diario*, October 25, 1921; “Mitin público”. *La Acción*, October 25, 1921.
- ²⁵ Solamente deseamos hacer saber la verdad sobre Irlanda a cuyo efecto pedimos a nuestros amigos y cooperadores de inducir a que concurran a todas las personas que sea posible, dando a este mitin la mayor resonancia. Hacemos un llamado especial a los irlandeses para que presten su ayuda a su patria contribuyendo a que el mitin asuma las mayores proporciones. Hacemos también un llamado a aquellos que aprecian el alto significado del derecho de las naciones, y que simpatizan y respetan a una nación pequeña sufriendo por la causa de su libertad y a quienes pedimos desplieguen sus esfuerzos a fin de contribuir a formar y orientar la opinión pública sobre el problema irlandés. “Mitin irlandés”. *El Diario*, October 25, 1921.
- ²⁶ According to Cruset (2015), although a multiplicity of meanings have been attributed to the category of “Diaspora”, it can be applied to “casi cualquier pueblo desterritorializado, que se desplaza del centro a la periferia” and is frequently uses instead the concepts of race, nation and culture.
- ²⁷ *El Diario*, October 26, 1921.
- ²⁸ Ginnell organized a lunch with Irish community leaders in Argentina to tell them about the campaign and solicit their support, however, he soon “descubrió que había divisiones en la comunidad con respecto a la viabilidad y conveniencia de lanzar un préstamo tan poco tiempo después de que los irlando-argentinos hubieran hechos generosas donaciones a la White Cross” (Keogh, 2016: 310).
- ²⁹ *La Acción*, November 8, 1921
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ The towns and temples according to the newspaper: Acebal, Capilla del Señor; Capitán Sarmiento, Colegio San Patricio; Mercedes, Campana; Colonia Caroya, Córdoba; Cacharí, Colonia de la Isla Choel Choel; Carodilla, Mendoza; Colegio San José, Patagones; El Eje, Bequina, Prov. de Corrientes; French, General Lamadrid, General Viamonte, General Belgrano, General Villegas, General Piran, Haedo, Dean Funes, Isla Martín García, Las Heras, Lobería, La Cruz, La Merced, Buenos Aires, Luján

de Cuyo, Lules, La Concepción, Buenos Aires; Holy Cross, Buenos Aires; Mar del Plata, Merlo, Monte, Máximo Paz, Prov. de Santa Fe; Norberto de la Riestra, Olivos, Pehuajó, Pigué Juárez, Passo, Juan N. Fernández, Salto, San Isidro, Suipacha, Santa Teresa, San Cristóbal, Saujil, San Antonio de Areco, San Martín, San Javier, San Fernando, Santuario de Nuestra Señora del Valle, Catamarca, QueQuen, Quilmes, Telén, Rodeo del Medio, Prov. de Mendoza; Tilcara, Jujuy; Venado Tuerto, Talpalqupe. *La Acción*, November 8, 1921. In the case of Ginnell, he attended the mass held on November 2 at the Santa Cruz Church, located in the city of Buenos Aires (Keogh, 2016).

³² By then, the reform of the *Santa Fe* constitution absorbed the attention of the Santa Fe newspaper and in the case of *El Diario*, the communal elections in Entre Ríos -with a sweeping victory of the radicalism- constituted the main news.

³³ “el señor Guillermo Morgan y actuando de secretario el señor Santiago E. Bowen, previo un discurso de Mr. Ginnell, quien hizo una alocución extensa y documentada, refiriéndose a los acontecimientos actuales de Irlanda.” *La Acción*, December 2, 1921.

³⁴ “La tregua actual, dijo el señor Ginnell, no será violada por nuestra parte. Ninguna nación del orbe necesita o desea la paz más urgentemente que nosotros. Nuestro ejército no es un ejército de ocupación, sino puramente de defensa, pues nuestro jefe militar no es un ministro de guerra, sino un ministro de defensa. Pero la paz debe existir con la independencia, una base justa y permanente. Si Inglaterra necesita la paz, lo único que necesita hacer es dejarnos solos. Empero, si fuerzas armadas desembarcan en nuestras costas para intimidar y destruir, les será opuesta resistencia. La propia defensa y conservación, es el primer deber de un país.” “Primer congreso argentino-irlandés”. *La Acción*, December 2, 1921.

³⁵ See Rodríguez, Jeremías (2022). La huelga de hambre como método de protesta política: el caso de Terence MacSwiney en la prensa local de Entre Ríos y Santa Fe, y la revista “Cuasimodo” (1920). Suplemento IDEAS, Vol. 10, No. 10. School of Modern Languages, Universidad del Salvador

³⁶ “La plegaria del Papa”. *La Acción*, August 2, 1921.

³⁷ “Ninguna ventaja social ... ni la riqueza, ni la gloria, llegan a equivaler a los beneficios de la paz ...; de esta paz vamos a ocuparnos y no de la que resulta ... de las guerras exteriores y de las revoluciones civiles.” *La Acción*, August 5, 1921.

³⁸ “Inglaterra en paz con todo el mundo? ... Nos cuesta creerlo. Habría que preguntárselo, ante todo, a Irlanda, a la India, a Turquía ... Y por las dudas ... a Malvinas de la Argentina, a... medio mundo”. *La Acción*, September 3, 1921.

³⁹ “a propósito de la próxima conferencia de desarme de las naciones ... el único sistema de llegar a la pacificación de los pueblos”. “La voz del Papa”. *La Acción*, September 3, 1921.

⁴⁰ “Argentina podría encontrar buen mercado para sus productos en Irlanda, a cambio de artículos manufacturados, de ese país, que actualmente, debido al control británico, se hacen pasar como mercaderías británicas”. *La Acción*, December 2, 1921.

⁴¹ “... reclamaba para la propaganda que él y sus connacionales realizan en un país libre, los respetos que se merecen, dado que el ministro ha calificado de ‘abominable, inspirada en el odio’”. “La cuestión irlandesa en la Argentina”. *Santa Fe*, November 6, 1921.

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