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Henry Edward Swinglehurst, a Poet in Valparaíso's Anglophone Press

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ABSTRACT

At the beginning of the 20th century, Henry Edward Swinglehurst (Manchester, England, 1852 - Valparaíso, Chile, 1924) published a series of articles and poems in the Anglo-Chilean newspaper *The Chilian News* (1913-1915), in addition to two books of poetry: *Valparaiso Songs* (London, 1913) and *Patriotic Poems* (London, 1924). Of English parentage and a merchant by profession, he emigrated to the Chilean port, where he married Isabel Contreras Mendoza and managed the Swinglehurst iron business. In the context of the British empire, his role as a businessman, in literary circles, and in the Anglophone press of nineteenth century Valparaíso is especially interesting due to its hybrid nature. His poems reveal a bicultural imaginary, with references to Chilean spaces and stereotypes as well as to those of England. Moreover, his poems develop an intriguing focus on domesticity and landscape aesthetics that defies the masculine stereotypes of his day. In this essay, we situate Swinglehurst's poetry within the larger context of what is sometimes termed Britain's "informal empire," analyzing it for the insights it provides into one man's experience in the contact zone, as well as into the larger dynamics of transculturation in early twentieth century Valparaíso. Swinglehurst's texts reflect deep attachment to two homelands and a consequent dual identity that is not without affective tensions. In our essay, we problematize his work from the perspective of cultural mediations, building on his participation in a newspaper that we consider an example of "foreign language press" (Diana Cooper-Richet, Bénédicte Deschamps), typical of migrant communities in their process of cultural adaptation to the host country, but focusing primarily on his poetry.

KEY WORDS: H.E. Swinglehurst, Valparaíso, Anglo-Chilean, foreign language press, cultural mediations.

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INTRODUCTION

Henry Edward Swinglehurst (Manchester, England, 1852 - Valparaíso, Chile, 1924) published a series of articles and poems in the early 20th century in the Anglo-Chilean newspaper *The Chilian News* (1913-1915), as well as two collections of poetry: *Valparaiso Songs* (London, 1913) and *Patriotic Poems* (London, 1924). Publishing his first book on the eve of World War I, and his second during the long decline of British global power in the wake of that war. Swinglehurst can be seen, in many ways, as a case study of the increasing complexity of British identity abroad in the waning years of the Empire. Of English parents, he left the United Kingdom as a baby, bound for Chile with his family. His father, Henry Swinglehurst, was an important engineer who spent several years travelling around South America working for the mining industry, including the silver mines of Chañarcillo. After an early childhood in Chile, Henry Edward returned with his family to England, where at the age of seven he would enter the Heversham Grammar School. After completing his secondary education in 1870, he went on to study at St. John's College, University of Cambridge. As his older brother was unwilling to take over the family business, an iron and steel importing firm which his father had left under other management in Valparaíso, in 1880 Henry Edward returned to Chile to manage Swinglehurst y Cía. Unlike his father, however, the younger Henry would come to stay, eventually marrying a Chilean woman, Isabel Contreras Mendoza, with whom he had seven children (although three of them died in their first months of life). Henry developed a deep love for the landscape, family ties, and the rhythms of daily life in Valparaíso and its environs, and these would inspire his poetry.

In the context of the British Empire, H.E. Swinglehurst's connections to the business and literary communities as well as to the Anglophone press produced by the British colony of Valparaíso are both interesting and significant, because his published poems reveal the gradually increasing hybridity[1] of the British colony as Britain's economic power in Chile faded and the

1 "Es a partir del texto de Néstor García Canclini, *Culturas híbridas: estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad* (1989), cuando el término hibridación alcanza mayor precisión conceptual en los estudios culturales latinoamericanos, así como mayor difusión, aceptación y controversia en el debate intelectual. En *Culturas híbridas*, la hibridación se piensa como un fenómeno indefectiblemente asociado a la modernidad, tal y como ésta se configura en la lógica del mercado productor de consumidores y rearticulador de identidades ciudadanas en la globalización y en las intersecciones entre la cultura de élite, la industria cultural y la cultura popular, así como el papel que el estado y los organismos privados juegan en los procesos generados por las reglas de producción simbólica de los bienes culturales" (Szurmuk e Irwin 134).

colony's descendants gradually lost their ties to the British "homeland." The bicultural imagery of his poetry, divided—sometimes quite harmoniously, at other times less so—between the landscapes and domestic spaces of Chile and those of England, reveals a poetic sensibility born from the contact zone: a dynamic social space where multiple cultures—not only British and Chilean, but also French, German, US, and many other American nations, among others—encountered each other and interacted in ways that led to conflict as well as cultural transformation.[2] In this way, Swinglehurst's texts reflect an attachment to two homelands and a consequent duality of identity that is not exempt from affective tensions. Interestingly, this duality often has a gendered component: Swinglehurst's relationship to the models of masculinity of his day reveals a conflict between the dominant British model that shaped the British colony—despite the fact that by 1913, the economic and cultural influence of Britain was in decline both in Chile[3] and worldwide—and a more hybrid model that seems to inflect his self-fashioning as a father.

In our essay, we will problematize Swinglehurst's work from the perspective of cultural translation in a binational community, where references may be local or foreign, cultural or natural.

2 Mary Louise Pratt's paradigm-shifting book *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992) popularized the term "contact zone," "an attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect" (Introduction, 7). As she affirms that "Transculturation is a phenomenon of the contact zone" (Introduction, 6), she builds on new critical perspectives on European travel in the Americas already circulating Latin American theory: "'Transculturation' was coined in the 1940s by Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz in a pioneering description of Afro-Cuban culture (*Contrapunteo Cubano* (1947, 1963), Caracas, Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1978). Uruguayan critic Ángel Rama incorporated the term into literary studies in the 1970s. Ortiz proposed the term to replace the paired concepts of acculturation and deculturation that described the transference of culture in reductive fashion imagined from within the interests of the metropolis" (Notes, 229). "El neologismo "transculturación" fue acuñado por el estudioso cubano Fernando Ortiz, quien lo emplea en un ensayo de interpretación ya clásico, el *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar* (1940), para referirse a una forma de contacto cultural que, lejos de ser pensada como una relación unilateral y unidireccional establecida entre una cultura hegemónica o dominante que actuaría como donadora y una cultura subordinada o dominada que resultaría receptora, es pensada como una interacción creativa entre las distintas entidades que se encuentran, y da como resultado procesos dinámicos de selección, interacción, transformación y creación entre ambas, hasta llegar incluso a la generación de una nueva entidad que comprende creativamente elementos de las dos instancias previas al contacto. De este modo, la constante interacción entre los distintos componentes da como resultado el surgimiento de una nueva entidad cultural" (Szurmuc & Inwin 277).

3 In *Chile y Gran Bretaña durante la Primera Guerra Mundial y la Postguerra, 1914-1921*, Juan Ricardo Couyoumdjian studies the negative impact that the Great War had on British commerce in Chile, and how, as a result, Chile´s main economic partner changed from the United Kingdom to the United States— facts that show the decline of the British informal empire´s influence in Chile and Latin America. As Couyoumdjian explains, "La comunidad británica en Chile en 1920 era menos numerosa que antes de la guerra. El censo de ese año registró un total de 7.366 súbditos británicos en Chile, comparado con 9.935 en el anterior de 1907. … La suposición de que la disminución en el número de súbditos británicos se debe a la guerra, parecería confirmada por las cifras censales.. … El regreso de muchos hombres a Inglaterra a combatir por su patria significó para muchas empresas británicas en Chile una seria falta de personal (232-233). Como resultado de la guerra, las relaciones económicas anglo-chilenas experimentaron cambios de importancia. Alemania, el mayor rival económico de Gran Bretaña en Chile, fue desplazado de este mercado y algunas firmas inglesas lograron hacerse parte del comercio antes en manos de sus competidores germanos. Pero la guerra también ofreció a Estados Unidos la oportunidad largamente esperada para ampliar sus mercados en América Latina y, ya en 1915, había pasado a ser el mayor importador de productos chilenos y exportador a nuestro país, posición que consolidó después de la guerra" (247).

Ultimately, we argue that his national and gendered identities combine to allow him to take up the position of cultural mediator. By focusing on gender as inflecting models of national identity, our essay broadens current understandings of cultural hybridity and the role of the cultural mediator.

The Anglophone Press in the Contact Zone

How did the processes of migration to Latin America influence the formation of national representations? What was the impact of the modernizing and civilizing ideals that arrived on our coasts along with European immigrants and their labour? From the moment of Independence, Chile and Great Britain forged a unique relationship in the contact zone of Valparaíso—one that is still influential today. In fact, Valparaíso was, in the words of UNESCO, "the main commercial port on the maritime routes of the Pacific coast of South America."[4] Despite their importance, however, the connections between Britain and Latin America have received little critical attention beyond their economic and political history. In fact, the print culture and the periodical press of the British colony in South America in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveal crucial developments in early globalization, testifying to the extensive commercial and cultural exchange between these two countries, as well as to the longstanding interrelations between the global north and south.

More broadly, the representations of Chile and its people included in the English-language newspapers produced in Valparaíso from the 1840s through the 1960s (and beyond) bring to life a dynamic panorama of conflict and, at the same time, mutual collaboration, characteristic of contact zones and of diasporic communities at the global level. Benedict Anderson's model of "imagined communities" is useful for understanding the ways in which print culture, produced in a language other than that of the host country, affected connections between European colonies and metropolises. As Anderson has pointed out:

> These print-languages laid the bases for national consciousnesses in three distinct ways. First and foremost, they created unified fields of exchange and communication below Latin

4 "Located on central Chile's Pacific coast, the Historic Quarter of the Seaport City of Valparaíso represents an extraordinary example of industrial-age heritage associated with the international sea trade of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The city was the first and most important merchant port on the sea routes of the Pacific coast of South America that linked the Atlantic and Pacific oceans via the Strait of Magellan. It had a major commercial impact on its region from the 1880s until the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914. After this date its development slowed, allowing its harbour and distinctive urban fabric to survive as an exceptional testimony to the early phase of globalisation." In: "Historic Quarter of the Seaport City of Valparaíso" (https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/959 15 Oct. 2018).

> and above the spoken vernaculars. Speakers of the huge variety of Frenches, Englishes, or Spanishes, who might find it difficult or even impossible to understand one another in conversation, became capable of comprehending each other via print and paper. In the process, they gradually became aware of the hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people in their particular language-field, and at the same time that *only those* hundreds of thousands, or millions, so belonged. These fellow-readers, to whom they were connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally imagined community. (Anderson 44)

When considering the artistic and intellectual production of H.E. Swinglehurst, therefore, we must interrogate the function of his English-language texts in contributing to the forging of an imagined community in Valparaíso. The British colony shared a dual territorial, cultural and affective belonging, living as they did in the liminal zone between two spaces. In fact, H.E. Swinglehurst frequently published articles in *The Chilian News* (1913-1915), a weekly newspaper published by members of the British colony and therefore a cultural production that fits Diana Cooper-Richet's and Bénédicte Deschamps' definition of a "foreign language press", or print journalism produced by migrant communities as part of the process of cultural adaptation to the host country. In *The Chilian News,* Swinglehurst published opinion pieces, editorials, and poems, all of which referenced topics of deep concern to both the local and the global stages during the years he published, including political and economic events in Chile and the world beyond during the years marked by the outbreak of the Great War.

Jude Piesse, author of *British Settler Emigration in Print (1832-1877)*, has analysed the ways that British newspapers in the second half of the 19th century described, discussed and resolved the issues surrounding emigration and its potential to destabilise "national ties and local attachments" (37). Her work, in combination with Anderson's, Cooper-Richet's, and Deschamps' insights about the power of the press to forge imagined language-communities and to mark out territories apart from the host culture, leads us to weigh the strength of the foreign-language newspaper culture in helping to create communities at different ends of the British Empire, twinned precisely by the ideology of the empire.

Why, though, do we speak of Valparaíso as being linked to the British Empire if the independence of the republic of Chile was not threatened by Great Britain? On the contrary, in fact, the liberal ideology of the United Kingdom can be argued to have contributed to Chile's self-distancing from the Spanish colonial tradition. Here, we must again consider the much-debated concept of "informal empire,"[5] referring to the impact that an imperial power exercises in an indirect way, when instead of annexing subordinate enclaves under the constitutional domain of the crown (formal empire), an economically powerful country wields influence through the presence of emigrant communities that promote commercial and cultural exchange along with the economic (and sometimes political) interests of their homeland.

While acknowledging the validity of arguments against using the term informal empire, since Chile was of course never under direct British control, we maintain that the term remains useful in capturing the distinctive blend of British economic and cultural influence in Latin America, despite the absence of formal political control. As Matthew Brown explains, the concept of informal empire has migrated to literary and cultural studies, where scholars influenced by Said's work on orientalism and Pratt's on the contact zone have adapted it to the cultural realm because it provides a clearer conceptual framework for understanding the unique cultural position of the British in South and Central America. As Brown notes, "It is the interdisciplinary recognition of the relevance of culture to discussion of imperial and colonial encounters that explains the recent convergence between British imperial studies and Latin Americanism (e.g. Gallo, 2001b; Fowler, 2004; Aguirre, 2005; Brown, 2006; Ramírez, 2007)" (2008, 4).[6] Theoretical frameworks that help to explain the

5 The term "informal empire" emerged from Gallagher and Robinson's landmark essay "The Imperialism of Free Trade" (1953). Since then it has become a key concept in the studies of British influence and interests in Latin America and worldwide, even as it remains controversial. As Gallagher and Robinson stated: "The hypothesis which is needed must include informal as well as formal expansion, and must allow for the continuity of the process. The most striking fact about British history in the nineteenth century, as Seeley pointed out, is that it is the history of an expanding society. The exports of capital and manufactures, the migration of citizens, the dissemination of the English language, ideas and constitutional forms, were all of them radiations of the social energies of the British peoples. Between 1812 and 1914 over twenty million persons emigrated from the British Isles, and nearly 70 per cent of them went outside the Empire. Between 1815 and 1880, it is estimated, £1,187,000,000 in credit had accumulated abroad, but no more than one-sixth was placed in the formal empire" [...] The basic fact is that British industrialization caused an ever-extending and intensifying development of overseas regions. Whether they were formally British or not, was a secondary consideration" (Gallagher and Robinson 5).

6 As Jessie Reeder has recently stated, "historians and economists do not all agree that influence in a foreign region is tantamount to empire, nor that 'empire' is the right term for processes that were often ad hoc, decentralized, and bidirectional. Some argue that terms like 'sphere of influence' or 'dependency' are more appropriate. It also remains a point of contention among historians whether foreign investment in Latin America in the nineteenth century was a debilitating force or a necessary evil that helped modernize helpless economies" (9-10).

subject positions of the British in formal empire, for example India, are less useful in analyzing the more limited and negotiated influence of the British in locations like Chile.

Print media became a central means of promoting such informal influence. Circulating globally, foreign-language newspapers were particularly well positioned to articulate the fluid dynamics that developed within immigrant or settler communities, as well as their complex and changing relationships with their local or host cultures, in contact zones around the world. Both locally and globally, the foreign language press played a crucial role in the process of foreign communities negotiating for cultural space within their host countries[7] (Deschamps, Cooper-Richet). Moreover, such newspapers forge bonds beyond the isolated colony and its host country, reaching across time and space to Anderson's linguistically similar "fellow-readers," whose "particular, visible invisibility" created alliances with other pockets of British colonists across South American as well as back "home" to Europe. These alliances, in turn, began to extend beyond the colonies themselves and into the wider culture. As Robert Aguirre explains in exploring the interrelations between Britain and Central America during this period, "A purely economic and political understanding of exchange, however, only takes us so far . . . center and periphery were mutually constitutive, formed by the back and forth movements of persons, capital, ideas, and objects" (Aguirre xxi). Considering the fluid trade and communication networks that existed between Central America and the West Coast of South America in this period, and particularly, between Valparaíso and Panamá, Aguirre's

It is not our intention in this paper to go deep into these debates; nonetheless, we agree with Robert Aguirre (2005), Matthew Brown (2007), Reeder, and others that the term remains useful in capturing the paradoxical relationship between Great Britain and some South American republics. With Reeder, we think this concept "best captures how Britons and Latin Americans themselves perceived their relationship. Whether or not this relationship was imperial, it is clear that officials like Canning, writers like Barbauld, and revolutionaries like Bolívar all believed that Britain's sudden and intense involvement in Latin America had imperial implications. And if the term 'informal empire' seems paradoxical or ill-fitting in a region where the British exerted no official control, that is precisely the point. It is simultaneously true that Britain's approach to Latin America traveled well wide of the structures of settlement, governance, and military force that brought formal colonies under their sway, and that it nonetheless appeared imperial to those who looked closely at it" (10). We also share Reedet's view on the great paradox contained in the essence of the concept of informal empire: "...Throughout the nineteenth century, British informal empire in Latin America asked onlookers on both sides to accept a difficult conceptual paradox— that Latin America might be both a signal example of self-rule and a dependent territory of the British Empire. That it might be both free and not free at the same time" (3).

7 "Sendo ao mesmo tempo a força centrípeta e a força centrífuga que permitem aos imigrantes cultivar suas diferenças, favorecendo uma transição na direção do modelo nacional do país de chegada, a imprensa étnica tem sido estudada muitas vezes por sua função assimiladora. . .. O papel que ela assume no processo de aculturação das populações de origem estrangeira não deve, contudo, ocultar sua especificidade, nem a originalidade de uma parte de suas posições. Não é raro que ela ofereça um ponto de vista alternativo, que permite ampliar os debates nacionais, apresentando opiniões ditas minoritárias, mas necessárias à reflexão mais ampla sobre o país. . . . Porém, se essas publicações ainda são dinâmicas, certamente isso ocorre porque seu conteúdo e/ou sua abordagem se distinguem da imprensa nacional "dominante." O fato de elas pertencerem cada vez mais a redes de informações transnacionais lhes garante um público mais amplo e contribui para que se mantenham como uma voz diferente" (Deschamps 50).

analysis is relevant for the Chilean context.

Thus we can approach a space of textual representation and circulation of ideas through transnational and postcolonial theoretical perspectives, including Julio Ortega's (2003) model of transatlantic dialogue, which enables us to emphasize the hybridity of the writings produced within the British colony of Chile: at once profoundly local in responding to the Chilean context on the ground, and insistently global in sharing perspectives and exchanging news with other far-flung British outposts of a fast-vanishing "empire," Swinglehurst oscillates among multiple perspectives, voices, and even subject positions.[8] In this he parallels the larger discourse of the newspapers produced by the English, German, French and Italian diasporic communities in Valparaíso in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: these papers are very similar in their form, content and appearance to the foreign language press produced in other countries of the world.

Turning to the specific case of Chile and the phenomenon of transculturation in the contact zone, we follow Mary Louis Pratt in asking how metropolitan modes of representation were received and appropriated in the periphery. The publications of H.E. Swinglehurst developed as part of the phenomenon of Anglo-Chilean print culture in Valparaíso. Therefore, it is not surprising that his work integrates elements of the British Empire with aspects of Chilean nationality.

Swinglehurst's work speaks to the cultural location of the immigrant, depicting a mutable identity that at times aspires to be fixed by clinging to the English language and the Victorian and Edwardian imaginary of England, even as he identifies more and more closely with the Chilean landscape and Chilean lifeways as the years pass. In these ways, we argue that Swinglehurst is typical of the colonial settler. His imagery and themes oscillate between projections of the imperial ideologies of the "homeland," England, and support for the values of his adopted home, Chile.

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8 In "Post-teoría y estudios transatlánticos" (2003) Ortega explains the Trans-Atlantic Project that was developed at Brown University and based in the Seminario Iberoamericano organised by Hispanist academics at Cambridge University (1995-1996), with the goal of establishing a new field of studies exploring intercultural history. As Ortega explains, "La pertinencia del principio dialógico se ha hecho patente en la necesidad de avanzar la investigación en el entramado de lo intercultural. Esto es, en el riesgo de proponer nuevas lecturas de la articulación entre prácticas sociales, producción simbólica y relatos de identificación y diferencia. Sería vano postular un método único para ello, conociendo la hibridez circulatoria de los objetos; más interesante es asumir la apertura creativa del campo, ampliado por las interacciones trans-disciplinarias –"transdisciplinaridad" llama Isabelle Stengers a la aproximación de dos disciplinas en una zona en que ambas se desconocen (Prigonine/Stengers 1979)–. Es preciso, por ello, reconocer la voluntad exploratoria de la crítica radical, libre del fetichismo de las autoridades teóricas y capaz de cruzar las disciplinas y suscitar un network de debates" (113).

Swinglehurst's writing thus illustrates the processes by which the settler—who arrives through the controlling mechanisms of informal empire—tends to become more flexible through the process of cultural hybridization that follows integration with the host culture, an integration often achieved through the affective practices of everyday life in the porteño territory. As Homi Bhabha theorizes of the cultural location of hybridity:

> Terms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced performatively. The representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of *pre-given* ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition. The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation. (2)

As we will see, Swinglehurst's poetry reveals a complex and ever shifting hybridity, demonstrating that as an immigrant married to a Chilean, his identity was always in process, never fixed. In his poetry, Swinglehurst performatively rehearses the major relationships in his life: to his wife; to his children both living and dead; to his adopted country of Chile; and ultimately to his nation, Great Britain, which he persists in calling his "homeland" right to the end of his life.

In what follows, we analyze the figure and the work of Henry Edward Swinglehurst in relation to his context, Victorian and Edwardian imperialism, focusing on the subjectivity of his poetry, which depicts a migrant experience with bicultural attachments as these developed in the contact zone. We will see that Swinglehurst fulfilled the role of mediator between the two cultures he inhabited; as Raquel Sánchez García explains, "the figure of the mediator is fundamental in the analyses of cultural exchanges." Following Sánchez García, we define a cultural mediator as "that individual who exercises the role of communicator of knowledge between different cultural realities" and who "allows certain intellectual, artistic or scientific currents, conceived in one country or in a determined context, to reach another country, and from there to generate themes of political debate or institutions of scientific research, or to spread artistic tendencies" (3). Swinglehurst's poems, we argue, forge new models of landscape and domestic representation in the contact zone, along with new models of masculinity in relation to national identity and culture during a time of

particular transition in the British colony's position in South America. Swinglehurst thus provides a local and individual voice bearing witness to the colony's move towards increased hybridity, even as he simultaneously articulated the continuing pressures to uphold an outdated notion of the "British Empire."

EMPIRE, LANDSCAPE AND DOMESTICITY

H.E. Swinglehurst: An Imperial Poet?

From the evidence of newspaper articles, Swinglehurst was very active in the Valparaíso literary community of the turn of the century, recognized as a man of letters and as a philanthropist who promoted cultural development, intellectual discussion, and institutions to support artisans, workers and sailors. Among his initiatives was the creation of the "Concursos Literarios Swinglehurst," or literary contests, in his name;[9] Swinglehurst thus promoted the cultivation of literature before the Ateneo Floral Games were founded.[10] The year after his death, *El Mercurio* paid tribute to Swinglehurst by publishing an article entitled "A Briton who embodied the spirit of our city," characterizing him as "the man who walked around our city carrying a bankbook and a book of verses in one hand—The Philanthropist and Friend of the Workers." Its author, Elías González Sánchez, added, "He was the best comrade of the poets, of the painters and even of us who have dedicated ourselves to the tasks of journalism."[11] Counterbalancing this public persona is Swinglehurst's own self-descriptions, in both public poems and private letters, as a quiet man devoted to family life. He published poems dedicated to his wife and children, as well as to his father, mother and sister, and the many letters he wrote his wife whilst she lived in England with the couple's children consistently proclaim his loneliness and unsuitability for a solitary existence.

While Swinglehurst oscillated between public and private realms, he did so across two cultural spaces, two countries, and two languages. As noted above, he was born in a British family

9 "Valparaíso y los certámenes literarios," *El Mercurio*, Valparaíso, 24 June 1993, A3.

10 Floral Games or "Juegos Florales" were literary competitions traditionally held during Spring-Summer celebration activities. According to María de la Luz Hurtado, in Chile, the Juegos Florales started in Valparaíso city, in 1910, in the context of the celebration of the Chilean Independence centenary. They continued to be organised annually in this and other cities. They took place in Santiago in 1914, when the Chilean Artists and Writers Society (Sociedad de Artistas y Escritores de Chile, SAECH), led by the Chilean poet and friend to the "Ateneo" literary society, Manuel Magallanes Moure, convened the "Juegos Florales del Ateneo" as a national contest on poetry, comedy and drama (Hurtado 167).

11 "Un británico que encarnaba el alma de nuestra ciudad," *El Mercurio,* Valparaíso, September 1925.

and spent most of his childhood and education in the United Kingdom. But after arriving in Chile to take over the family business, he married a Chilean woman. Even linguistically, his literary production was hybrid: he wrote letters and poems to his wife in Spanish, since her English was never strong; far more extensive, though, were his letters to family members, articles in *The Chilian News* (1913-1915), and poems, all written in his mother tongue. In addition, his two books of poems were published in England— *Valparaiso Songs* (London: Butler and Tanner, 1913) and *Patriotic Poems* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1924).

In the first of Swinglehurst's collections of poetry, published during a time of rising global tensions, the largest group of poems focuses on national or international topics, with quite a number written about England (or Britain—as "The Welsh Lane" would suggest).[12] He also emphasized Chile–often explicitly comparing the English and the Chilean national characters or speaking of the relations of empire[13]—as well as empire more generally.[14] Another prominent theme is domestic life: he includes several poems about his marriage,[15] one to each of his children,[16] and several to other members of his family.[17] Indeed, the collection is arranged to highlight several themes simultaneously: family, landscape, and national and imperial identity. A second edition of *Valparaiso Songs* was issued in 1913, and favorable reviews in Chile indicate that Chilean readers appreciated the obvious love for their country expressed in the poems.[18] Swinglehurst's growing hybridity is apparent in the bicultural audience for his poetry, as also in his other literary endeavors, for example the fact that he also served as the English translator of Enrique Rocuant's treatise *The Neutrality of Chile, the Grounds that Prompted and Justified it* (Valparaíso: Imprenta y Litografía Universo, 1919), which sought to publicize Chile's official position of neutrality during the Great War.

12 "King Edward VII," "In Memoriam: King Edward VII and Mother-Earth," "Kitchener," "Spring-Time in Westmorland," "The Welsh Lane," etcetera.

13 "An Englishman to a Chilian: Capitan Luis Gomez Carreño," "His Excellency Pedro Montt, President of Chile," "Off the 'Evangelists' on the coast of Chile," "The Andes," "The Chilian 'Roto'," "To the Chilians, often called the English of the Pacific," "An Address to the 'Overseas Club,' Valparaiso," and so on.

14 "The New-World King," "A Song of the Sea, Dedicated to the Overseas Clubs," "An Empire of Life," "An Empire of Love," "The Imperial Poet (dedicated to William Watson)," "The Old Soldier Gets Vexed," etc.

15 "Elvira Contreras de Swinglehurst (My Wife)," "Enrique to Elvira," and "Elvira to Enrique."

16 "Little Joseph, age 14 months" (1899), "A Fatherly Acrostic: To Richard Swinglehurst, on his 12th Birthday, 18 May, 1899," "A Crabby Christmas Letter to My Son, Joseph Henry Swinglehurst, aged 8," "The Crocodile and the Plum Pudding: To my son, Henry, age 8 (both dated 1907, i.e. Joseph Henry must generally be called Henry), "My daughter Lydia" and "My daughter Jane," both 1912.

17 "To My Father," "To My Mother," "To My Sister Juanita."

18 "Un británico que encarnaba el alma de nuestra ciudad," *El Mercurio*, September 1925.

But the phenomenon of cultural mediation goes far beyond translation. As Diana Cooper-Richet has observed regarding the international circulation of ideas across the Atlantic, when analyzing Anglophone and Francophone press and print culture:

> Communities and networks, whether real or virtual, of intellectuals, cultural brokers, readers, and even producers of these newspapers and books were formed on both sides of the Atlantic: in France and in England, as well as in their country of origin. Frequenting libraries and reading rooms, subscribing to the same magazines, buying and collecting many of the same works, their mental landscape was influenced, even formed, by the same literature, the same articles, the reading of the same authors. They were impregnated, sometimes ending up identifying with the same models that came from the Old World. (2)

Without a doubt, H.E. Swinglehurst was a cultural mediator in his time; he transitioned between two geotemporal spaces marked by a bicultural Anglo-Chilean experience, but also by the encounter of two eras, marked by industrial development within the British Empire that reached the technically and scientifically less developed Latin American context—and in fact modernized urban Valparaíso comparatively early within the region. As his grandson writes:

> "when Henry Edward was young he used to ride on the newly opened railway, communicate by letter and light the house with oil lamps or candles. But by the time he was 50, he was traveling by car, experimenting with the first airplanes, communicating by telephone or cable, and lighting the house with electricity. He would listen to music on a phonograph and very soon he would have a radio and an electric refrigerator in his house. For entertainment he could go to the cinema and watch a movie." (Jones Swinglehurst 62)

In the printed testimonies produced within this changing context, it is not difficult to find traces of the imperial discourse emanating from the peculiar subject position of the Anglo-Chilean community of Valparaíso and that underscores the idea of an "imagined community" that constantly references the culture of origin, which is often idealized, and refuses to abandon the language of the "homeland." Undoubtedly, in a diasporic space the preservation of the mother tongue, or the language of origin, in print culture is essential for the transmission and consummation

of imperial ideology. With great lucidity, Terry Eagleton has examined the relationship between the English language and the concept of empire, stating,

> As religion progressively ceases to provide the social 'cement,' affective values and basic mythologies by which a turbulent class-society can be welded together, 'English' is constructed as a subject to carry this ideological burden from the Victorian period onwards.…Literature was in several ways a suitable candidate for this ideological enterprise.… English, as a Victorian handbook for English teachers put it, helps 'promote sympathy and fellow feeling among all classes.'… It would give them a pride in their national language and literature, …[a] history of heroic and patriotic examples. (Eagleton 21-22)

It is important to reconsider Eagleton's reflection that the establishment of a standardized academic English coincides with the rise of British imperialism. As he explains, "The era of the academic establishment of English is also the era of high imperialism in England" (24). Many of H.E. Swinglehurst's ideas about the British Empire and his mission were published in the anglophone weekly *The Chilian News*,[19] which as a newspaper of the Anglo-Chilean community was born "safeguarding the interests of the Anglo-Hispanic speaking communities of the West Coast of South America." Some more argumentative or reflective texts were written in prose, but others took the form of poems that alluded to the war and political contingency in Europe, such as "TO BELGIUM" (dated August 27, 1914), and were collected in his later book *Patriotic Poems*.

We will comment on two of the texts that show us this Eurocentric imperial vision, hybridized for the contact zone by assuming characteristics of the local culture that are celebrated by the voice of a lyrical speaker. In the first example, the reader is asked, from the very title, to name the figure of the "imperial poet":

19 Printed weekly by Imprenta y Litografía Universo de Valparaíso, *The Chilian News* ran between 1913 and 1915 internationally, between Valparaíso and Bolivia, Perú and the colonies, United States and Canada. Because of the impact that World War I had globally, it became a monthly newspaper before it had to end in 1915. "Published monthly in the interests of the English-Speaking communities of the West Coast of South America" (*The Chilian News,* no. 20, 15 May 1915).

> THE IMPERIAL POET -
>
> WHO IS THE IMPERIAL POET?
>
> He is no one poet, but the unity of the best in all poets, the personification of poetry throughout the Ages. […]
>
> **I speak as an Englishman of Britain.** He is the great national spirit, the essential soul of England which fired her past, breathes in her present, and will inspire its future. **The only true way for Scots or Irish or Welsh, at home or overseas, is to throw themselves, heart and soul, into the imperial furnace and get their metal melted as he has done. There are many nations, but only one Empire for us**. We must first federate ourselves, and then meet other Empires on a fair and equal footing to federate the world. […]
>
> **He is one in greatness, breadth, length, and depth, with the British Empire**, and with the oceans her indomitable sons sail on. He builds true, lest, in the day of trial, his country should find him wanting. Each new day is, for him, a sunrise of chivalry and love, and a sunset of duty faithfully performed. **His one great faith is his country and his forefathers.** [emphasis ours]
>
> (*Patriotic Poems* 26-27)

In the boldface sentences above, we see Swinglehurst's deliberate self-positioning as an "Englishman of Britain," decades after he left his homeland. He also, fascinatingly, implies a distinction between the true Imperial Englishman and the apparently less reliably loyal Scots or Irish or Welshman. Thus, Swinglehurst's poem hails not *all* fellow English speakers, but only those from a specific national identity, which at the end of this passage symbolically becomes a religion.

In the poem "To the Chileans," Swinglehurst applies the perspective of this "imperial poet" to Chile. Not only does he reference the imaginaries of his birthplace, England, but he simultaneously celebrates the local virtues of his host culture, forging a sort of new homeland within a hybrid territory, a material but at the same time intangible space that the speaker has experienced in his transcultural and affective experience of rootedness. At the same time, Swinglehurst explicitly invokes the debates about racial and national characteristics that were on the rise at this time, both in Chile and globally, as we will see below. Swinglehurst's poem opens with a title that thematizes connections between the "races".

In a second example, not only does Swinglehurst reference the imaginaries of the original homeland, but he simultaneously celebrates the local virtues of his host culture, forging a sort of new homeland within the hybrid territory, a material but at the same time intangible space that the speaker has experienced in his transcultural and affective experience of rootedness:

TO THE CHILIANS, OFTEN CALLED THE ENGLISH OF THE PACIFIC

The English race is a mighty race,
And its children love to share
The inherited good of their fathers' blood
With the men who do and dare.
The Chilian race is a valiant race,
And its motto is "Win or Die,"
When did it yield on the battle-field,
When did its sailors fly? […]
Bright is the light that stands for right,
Where its banner of freedom waves,
And its sons delight in the glorious might
That rests in their fathers' graves
That rests in their mothers' grave to grow
From the seed a hundredfold,
While to son from sire is passed the fire
That was lit in the days of old. Stand up!
And drain to the dregs again,
The generous cup, that we both filled up,
Of valour without a stain.
Now! A three time three for the Chilian flag,
Viva la gran "Canción," !
That speaketh to me of the sounding sea,
And the fate of her foes o'erthrown.

October, 1911.

(*Valparaiso Songs* 185; emphasis added)

The poem is a celebration of hybridization, opening with the assertion that the British abroad, those children of empire, are eager to share their "racial" superiority, "The inherited good of their fathers' blood," with another "brave race": Chileans. We will discuss the specific context as well as the larger implications of this emphasis on race below. First, though, the poem's focus on images of Chile's military prowess as well as its landscape: its motto, "Win or Die"; its victories, both on the battlefield and at sea, over its foes; its flag; its "sounding waves."

At the end of the poem, Swinglehurst drives home the hybridity he had established at the poem's opening, imagining the English and Chilean "sons" as united in the joint task of filling "the generous cup" of untainted valour. And in the poem's last lines, English and Spanish cultures merge with the cultural hybridity of the English "three cheers" given for the Chilean flag, which finds echo in the linguistic hybridity of Swinglehurst's added Spanish line, "Viva la gran 'Canción.'" The poem becomes a sort of epic of a new lineage, paying homage to the liminality of Valparaíso's space.

Cultural and Natural Landscape

The beauty and greatness of nature, and the poet's duty in cultivating it through his work, are explicitly advocated by H.E. Swinglehurst in his short essay "Culture" (*Valparaiso Songs* 60-61): "Culture is the working up of the primary qualities into the higher harmonies. It is to man, what cultivation is to the flowers. … Culture is the best in Nature, modified by the best in Art" (60). His idea of culture, forged from the old Latin concept *cultus*, also makes us think about the poet as a mediator, who transforms nature in a poetic landscape, making it its own and rooting it in previous referents and experiences. Then English landscape and the Chilean landscape, as well as national characters from both countries, are at the heart of his books. And Swinglehurst's depiction of these national landscapes goes beyond nature imagery to include common patriotic figures such as the British Tommy and the British seaman in "To 'The Man on the Street'" (*Patriotic Poems* 1-3) and the common Chilean in "The Chilian 'Roto'"[20] (*Valparaiso Songs* 87).

20 "On January 20 every year, Santiago's Yungay neighborhood holds a party in honor of the roto chileno, a key figure in the country's national identity. The term roto (literally "broken") was originally used only in a derogatory manner to refer to poor Chileans, but subsequently acquired an affectionate overtone, with the roto coming to be viewed also as a person who faces life's vicissitudes with courage and cheerfulness.The roto is "despicable and admirable at the same time," says Maximiliano Salinas, an historian and lecturer at the Humanities Faculty of the University of Santiago. "He came to characterize the common Chilean, that mixture of Spanish and indigenous ancestry," he adds. "The roto today is a person who struggles for the advancement of his neighborhood and country and for good community practices", counters José Osorio, president of the Yungay Neighborhood

Swinglehurst's titles demonstrate the extent to which the poetry he cultivated was inspired by the national imaginaries of both Chile and Britain. In "To 'The Man on the Street,'" the poetic persona describes his admiration of the everyday footsoldiers of Empire:

> [...] Yet I kneel at the feet
>
> Of the everyday, workaway, wireaway "Man in the street."
>
> This is for the British Tommy, who prayed for his daily bread,
>
> This is for the British army, who fought to a man and saw red [...]
>
> This is for the British seaman, his fight with the submarine,
>
> Glorious invincible freeman,
>
> True to his King and his Queen. [...]
>
> December, 1920.
>
> ("To 'The Man on the Street,'" *Patriotic Poems* 1-2)

The British "Tommy" or private soldier (one of the lowest military rank) became a key figure in British popular culture in the high imperial era, with an early use recorded in Charles Dickens's magazine *All the Year Round* in March of 1881.[21] Artists ranging from music hall performers to Rudyard Kipling used the name "Tommy" for their soldier-characters, popularizing a complex and often contradictory figure who could be represented as uneducated, vulgar, and jingoistic — thus implicitly condemning British imperial values — but was also often used to symbolize a common national vision of British imperial power.[22] Thus Swinglehurst's use of the time demonstrates the extent to which his poems echoed British imperial discourse and a Eurocentric vision of the world order.

At the same time, in keeping with his binational imagination, Swinglehurst also depicts the popular Chilean figure of the "Roto Chileno":

Association. "That is the roto we want to celebrate, a person who goes to the carnival and transcends the neighborhood," he explains."Sevicio Nacional del Patrimonio Cultural, "'Roto Chileno': A Key Figure in National Identity" https://www.patrimoniocultural.gob.cl/englishoverview/701/w3-article-89067.html?_noredirect=1 28 Aug 2020.

21 "Tommy," n1. T*he Oxford English Dictionary*. 3rd ed. 2018. OED Online, <http://dictionary.oed.com>

22 See Rudyard Kipling's poem "Tommy" (*Scots Observer,* 1890; reprinted in *Barrack Room Ballads* [Methuen, 1892]), which opens in the uneducated idiom of a common soldier and exposes the hypocrisy of a British public that mocks soldiers for their rough manners and excludes them from the common life of Britain, including pubs and theatres — but then celebrates them when sending them out into Empire to safeguard national interests. Kipling's poem ends, "But it's 'Saviour of 'is country' when the guns begin to shoot."

Do you recognize this photo,

With the black and tangled hair?

It´s the valiant Chilian Roto,

With his bosom bronzed and bare.

He's a patient man, no railer;

He is in the rancho there,

With pan blanco, and cazuela

And porotos for his fare.

[...]

He´s a man of strength and muscle;

He´s the backbone of the land;

You can´t break him in a tussle;

He is Nature raw and grand.

When his country takes and drills him,

Why! He bears the battle's brunt;

When the hail of bullets kills him,

All his wounds are found in front.

1910.

(*Patriotic Poems* 9-10)

Although Swinglehurst defines the Chilean Roto as a "peasant" in the poem's footnotes, his figure is a complex and ambiguous one, where a classist and racist connotation is interwoven with one of patriotism and admiration. In fact, as a national type the Roto was crucial to the construction of a popular Chilean identity during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, addressing not only the heroes who achieved Chile's victory in the war against the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation (1836-1839) but also the triumph over Perú and Bolivia in the War of the Pacific

(1879-1883). Intellectuals such as Nicolás Palacios (1854-1911) and Roberto Hernández (1877-1966) were essential in the creation of a popular image of the Chilean Roto through the imbrication of racial and cultural hybridity. Recurrently addressing race and environment (two of the key categories used in those days to theorize national identity), Palacios' book *Raza Chilena* (1904) "was the embodiment of a national yearning, opening up new horizons for national pride by giving it a foundation of ethnic nobility."[23]

Focusing on nature, Aínsa states that when analyzing the Latin American literary landscape and European representations, "In front of the jungle, the pampas, the high mountain ranges or the mighty rivers, this process of appropriation by the word would be repeated. The omnipotent vital force of nature impressed those who first perceived it coming from other worlds and with no other adequate instrument to apprehend it than language" (10).[24] H.E. Swinglehurst experienced the wild forces of British and Chilean nature, as well as the beauty of the territories along his journeys, identifying it with spiritual existence. Representations of this kind can be found in *Patriotic Poems*'s "Thunderstorm - Río Janeiro" (11-13) or "A Song to the Sea" (14-15), and in *Valparaiso Songs*'s "Off the 'Evangelists' on the Coast of Chile" (69-70).

For our poet, then, "Culture is the best in Nature, modified by the best in Art. . . . Culture is joy: it is peace, but above all, it is the highest form of conquest, the conquest of Self" ("Culture," *Valparaiso Songs* 60-61). Swinglehurst's sentiments here are in consonance with the artistic connection between space and language, and they also reveal his struggle with the increasingly hybrid nature of his affective response to nature: he seeks to fuse a Romantic sublimity with his role as an Englishman in Chile, and therefore as a self-appointed cultural missionary. As Aínsa affirms,

> To build and inhabit is to concretize the place, the *topos*; when describing it, it is transcended in *logos*. The representation is filtered and distorted through mechanisms that transform external perception into psychic experience and make every space an experimental and

23 Gutiérrez, Horacio. "La exaltación del mestizo: la invención del roto chileno," 126. Gutiérrez quotes "Nicolás Palacios: recuerdos íntimos," an introduction to Nicolás Placios' *Raza Chilena* (Santiago: Antiyal, 1986, v. 1, 9-35, 32), written by his brother Senén Palacios. The original reads: "fue la encarnación de un anhelo nacional, abriendo nuevos horizontes al orgullo patrio, al darle una base de nobleza étnica."

24 Translation ours. The original reads: "Frente a la selva, la pampa, las altas cordilleras o los ríos caudalosos, se repetiría este proceso de apropiación por la palabra. La fuerza vital omnipotente de la naturaleza impresionó a quienes primero la percibieron viniendo de otros mundos, y sin otro instrumento adecuado para aprehenderla que la lengua" (Aínsa 10).

potentially literary space [. . . .] Language, thought and art are founded on that «inner conquest» open to the world, «mental space» --anthropological structure of the imaginary, according to Gilbert Durand-- that provides an experiential, intuitive, intimate sensitive space, lived space, «space that one has», «space that one is», space of experience and creation. (11)[25]

Perhaps the most representative poems that show both the Chilean and the British *loci*—the spatial referents and lived spaces—transformed into *logos* and into literary space, are "Spring-Time in Westmorland" and "The Andes." Both contain echoes of English romantic poetry, and more specifically to William Wordsworth's and Samuel Coleridge's work, those poets who sang of the Lake District, where coincidently W.H. Swinglehurst's father's house was located. It should be remembered that in the context of the Industrial Revolution and the development of the railways in the light of the ideas of material progress, Wordsworth wrote a protest poem opposing the intervention of this natural area of the Northwest of England opened in 1847, called "On the Projected Kendal and Windermere Railway." It is precisely the romantic landscape of the North West of England that appears in Swinglehurst's "Spring-Time in Westmorland":

SPRING-TIME IN WESTMORLAND

The spirit of Spring Breathes forth

In leaves and flowers:

No more the wintry north-

Wind holds, with icy grasp,

The fields and bowers,

But now the vivifying mind

Of Nature in its love doth clasp

The dream-shapes of the night,

25 Translation, ours. The original reads: "Construir y habitar es concretar el lugar, el topos; al describirlo, se trasciende en el logos. La representación se filtra y distorsiona a través de mecanismos que transforman la percepción externa en experiencia psíquica y hacen de cada espacio un espacio experimental y potencialmente literario [. . . .] El lenguaje, el pensamiento y el arte se fundan en ese «conquista interior»abierto al mundo, «espacio mental» — estructura antropológica del imaginario, según Gilbert Durand — que proporciona un espacio experiencial, intuitivo, íntimo y sensible, espacio vivido, «espacio que se tiene», «espacio que se es», espacio de experiencia y creación" (Aínsa 11).

And evanescent gloom of Sorrow's hours
Is lit with radiance of the new-born light,
While Nature wakes with God-reflected powers,
And revels in her might.

The rivers rush like wild unbridled teams:
From mountain-heights to snow flow down with glee
To join the gladness of the sea-ward streams.

(1908)
(*Valparaiso Songs* 67-68)

The poem probably was written when the poet was finally reunited with his wife and children after they had spent about a year at the Swinglehurst property in Kendal after the destruction of their Valparaíso home in the devastating earthquake of August 16th, 1906. H.E. Swinglehurst's grandson explains that the poet remained behind to supervise the rebuilding of their house in Cerro Alegre, Valparaíso; his letters to Elvira (his pet name for his wife, Isabel), written in Spanish between February 22nd, 1907, and February 9th, 1908, provide copious evidence of his loneliness when separated from his family. In the first one he tells her: "Yo no sirvo para soltero. Pienso todo el día en ud. i los niños" (Jones Swinglehurst 54). Apparently, he missed his beloved ones so much that, according to Dr. Hahn, he developed "un estado de neurastenia por su soledad" (Jones Swinglehurst 55). His poem "Spring-Time in Westmorland," a celebration of new life after the long and adverse winter, is probably an allegory to express the long and deep grief suffered by the poet while his loved ones were far away. When finally reunited, the "…evanescent gloom of Sorrow's hours / Is lit with radiance of the new-born light" and Nature appears as a "vivifying mind" who "wakes with God-reflected powers, / And revels in her might."

The mysterious and divine forces of nature reappear in the South American poetical landscape. Shellyan geological allusions seem to emerge in the Andean representations:

THE ANDES

Ye children of the Earthquakes!

Begotten, in the far-off Ages,

Of Earth's red molten lakes,

In convulsive shiverings,

Untold in mortal pages;

In volcanic quiverings,

And fiery rages

Of the Earth's womb, travailing

In the awesome stages

Of Almighty battling.

With mysterious forces

And abysmal thundering,

From its inner sources,

Gigantic granites sundering:

Through a myriad courses

Of a wild upheaval,

In the mists primeval:

Through the endless phases

Of Creation's mazes,

God raised ye heaven-high;

A then new story

Of His ancient glory

Ere man stood wondering by.

(1909)

(*Valparaiso Songs* 80)

In the "Gigantic granite sundering" the poet recognises ancient divine intervention, at the same time showing violent seismic references, calling these mountains "Ye children of the Earthquakes! / Begotten, in the far-off Ages" from the "Earth's womb." As becomes clear from the allegory of birth, this poem is highly gendered, veering between feminine imagery associated with the earthy ("convulsive shiverings," "volcanic quiverings,") and masculine imagery associated with the "Almighty battling" and "abysmal thundering" of God's Creation. In this poem, Swinglehurst prefigures the hybrid, but still highly gendered, imagery of the more domestic poems that form a second important focus of *Valparaiso Songs*.

Masculine Domesticity

One copy of *Valparaiso Songs* in our possession is inscribed by Swinglehurst himself to Lieutenant Commander Herndon B. Kelly of the U.S. Navy, who was presumably stationed at Valparaíso; dated 1918, the inscription reads in part:

> This book is the continuous expression of my own life, love, and thought in simplest language. All the pieces are dated, so as to make it possible for me to look back on the evolution of my head and heart. The book is what I am, and hints at an ambition, not to work for applause, but to possibly leave behind me some good helpful human memories. The memory of you, and your cheerful masculinity and encouragement will help me to make my ideals realities.

The inscription is interesting on several counts. First, the author emphasizes "the evolution of my head and heart," indicating the progressive movement towards new sensibilities and perspectives—a newly hybrid identity—that we have already noted. Second, he echoes— perhaps unconsciously—Wordsworth's Romantic-era insistence on writing his *Lyrical Ballads* on "situations from common life" described "in a selection of language really used by men." Finally, Swinglehurst stresses Kelly's "masculinity" here, possibly in implied apology for the sentimentality of the poems, but perhaps also in indication that "cheerful masculinity" is one of the collection's central themes. Throughout the collection, Swinglehurst works continually to emphasize the masculinity of his writing, particularly in comparison to other modern poetry, which he describes as effete and empty. Thus,

in his introduction Swinglehurst tells readers, "Most modern poetry is merely a cunning weaving of words; it is head without heart, and appeals to few, because the writers do not feel what they write. . . .If readers, who cannot for the life of them understand most modern poetry, can understand mine, I shall not have laboured in vain" (Introduction, n.p.). Even before the poems themselves, then, Swinglehurst is attempting to yoke head and heart, writers and readers, (masculine) intellect and (feminine) sentiment, together.

As summarized above, Swinglehurst's collection itself spans masculine and feminine realms. While the largest group of poems focuses on global and political topics, particularly Empire and national identity, the second most prominent theme is domestic life, including marriage and fatherhood. Indeed, the collection is arranged to highlight the domestic. After opening with a cluster of poems to his family (including mother, father, dead infant son Joseph, and living son Richard) Swinglehurst moves through poems on imperial, literary, religious, romantic and general topics, then closes with poems to his sister and two daughters. Domesticity becomes, then, the frame through which we see the rest of the world. But does the public/domestic binary reflect the traditional masculine/feminine dichotomy, and does that split in turn align with English versus Chilean national characters in a straightforward reflection of the marriage between the English Henry and the Chilean Elvira? The poems' hybrid imagery implies that the identities Swinglehurst is attempting to capture cannot be so simplistically mapped.

Swinglehurst writes of Joseph, who died at 14 months:

Only a baby wee!
Yet he was more to me
Than glories of earth and sea,
And the light of his eyes
Than the starry skies.

Chant me no dirge today
Of sorrow's pitiless sway:
But sing me a hopeful lay,
Lest my heart should break
For the child's sweet sake.

Dear little face! 'tis he
Peeping with childish glee
Over the clouds at me,
With a new surprise
In his winsome eyes.

Sweet little child at play
Laughing the livelong day,
Singing a roundelay,
A song of love on his way:
Of the soul's new birth
In a brighter earth .

Songsters, high in the air,
Ye who have seen him there,
Sing me a songlet rare,
Of children joyful and fair,
To lighten the care
Of my soul's despair.

Sing me a song to-night,
Of childhood and manly might:
A melody touched with light,
In chorus of angels bright,
Of a child at rest
On a Father's breast.

1899.

(*Valparaiso Songs* 23-24)

This poem uses a simple vocabulary, stock sentimental images ("baby wee" and "starry skies"), a varied rhythm, and a constrained rhyme scheme. It draws, then, on well-established literary conventions of sentimentality to communicate the loss of a child, and these conventions are drawn from Anglo-American literature. But rather than appropriate the deathbed conventions established by Dickens, for example (who usually positions us *with* the child, watching the troubled world recede from his/her perspective), Swinglehurst chooses instead to use motifs analyzed by Ann Douglas and by Barbara Rothman and Wendy Simonds as typical of maternal consolation literature: we stay solidly within the perspective of the grieving parent. The first stanzas establish the infant Joseph as the core of his father's universe and beg for some relief from suffering. The plea is answered, and the next two stanzas provide the "hopeful lay" that the poet has requested: we watch the child as he passes to heaven, from whence he is depicted as "peeping with childish glee" over Heaven's clouds, "laughing the livelong day," unproblematically happy in that "brighter earth," surrounded by angels, and so on. However, Stanza 6 closes with a quiet, and quietly subversive, image: "a child at rest/on a Father's breast." In what way is the child resting—in death on earth, or in heaven? And who is the father—God, or Swinglehurst? Note too, that this image of the "nursing father" merges traditionally masculine with stereotypically feminine imagery; Swinglehurst challenges readers' gendered constructs of child raising.

In addition to having been influenced by maternal consolation literature, Swinglehurst may also draw on Chilean cultural traditions as well as Anglo-American literary constructs. His imagery in this poem recalls the Chilean practice of the *angelito*, a melding of Catholic and indigenous traditions which provides a means of celebrating rather than mourning the death of a child under the age of seven: the corpse was dressed in white robes, positioned in a shrine, and celebrated with a *velorio,* or wake, of several days' duration. Some of Swinglehurst's lines, the request for a "hopeful lay" in particular, do recall these wakes; Anglo observers often express their shock and dismay at finding that Chilean mourners bypass funeral dirges in favor of celebratory songs around the infant's shrine. The reason for the celebration is that, according to this version of Catholic doctrine, an infant who dies automatically becomes an *angelito* and thus passes directly to heaven, bypassing purgatory and

serving as a mediator between his parents on earth and Jesus in heaven. Indeed, according to some traditions, a mother who has lost seven children is guaranteed a spot in heaven, no matter how she has behaved on earth.

One striking difference from *angelito* tradition, though, is that Swinglehurst never mentions the possibility that he will meet Joseph in heaven. In fact, he seems to feel entirely cut off from the dead child's perspective: while he seems to wish to deliver a fully imagined world for the *angelito*, he can describe it only as a hypothetical "brighter earth." Moreover, he does not communicate directly with the child but must rely on birds to serve as mediating figures bearing news of the dead to the living. The poem's framing, refusing a dirge and repeating a request for a joyful "songlet," one "touched with light," shows that he does not completely subscribe to his fantasy: this mourning is not entirely successful.

In writing his elegy to Joseph, then, Swinglehurst invents his own (British and masculine) version of maternal consolation literature by subverting classic Victorian representations of mother and child. His "manly might" is not concerned with feats of strength or with facing peril; instead it is linked with childhood and a nurturing paternity. In most consolation literature, the child sleeps on the mother's breast. Swinglehurst appropriates this image in the service of fatherhood; in his poem, "the child at rest / on a Father's breast" clearly reflects the ubiquitous idea that dead children are welcomed and cared for by God or Jesus, but simultaneously enacts the fantasy that the dead child will return and that Swinglehurst will—this time—successfully nurture him.

The closing stanza yokes together "childhood and manly might" and collapses father and son, God and poet, into a single image; thus, it imagines a unity unbroken and unbreakable by death. This paternal union is also uninterrupted by the feminine. Notice that neither women, in general, nor Joseph's mother in particular are present in the poem, a striking absence given the dominance of the feminine in both consolation literature and representations of childcare of the period.

This is the only poem directly addressed to Joseph in the collection, though there are ghosts of him throughout: the collection is dedicated to Swinglehurst's brother Joseph, after whom the boy must have been named, and the elegy to the dead child is closely followed by several poems

on death, the sick bed, and faith in God which echo Joseph's elegy (for instance "At Sea," a meditation on man's insignificance, concludes with the poem's speaker resting "like a child in Thy infinite home"). The nurturing, symbiotic fatherhood Swinglehurst creates in his elegy for Joseph is especially interesting, given the clear ideological conflicts between his poetic voice and the seemingly more traditional attitudes towards marriage, fatherhood, and masculinity revealed in his surviving letters. We opened with Homi Bhabha's description of the cultural location of hybridity as a deliberate, performative re-envisioning of "*pre-given* ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition," developing in their place "a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation" (2). In Swinglehurst's poetry, we see just such a complex and ever shifting hybridity. Swinglehurst's poems perform new possibilities for himself, as an immigrant married to a Chilean and raising children far from his original nation. And crucially, his poems also demonstrate that identity is always a process and never fixed.

CONCLUSIONS

We return to Valparaíso, a port city that was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2002 for being a witness and a protagonist of the early modernization brought about by globalization and multicultural dialogues. But we also return to this territory as a frontier space, a colonial enclave under the perspective of the "informal empire." Only in this way can we approach the complex identity of the binational communities in the Chilean context.

In the particular case of the British colony of Valparaíso, and more specifically within the poetic and intellectual production of E.H. Swinglehurst, an imagined community was effectively created by re-reading the representations of the print culture of the period through the language of the Empire and the cultural references of the original homeland. However, this identity was naturally transfigured as emotional bonds and cultural references were forged with the hosts and the *new* home territory. Swinglehurst's hybrid cultural references and his ambiguously gendered poetic images, both English and Chilean, combine English in his work giving way to Spanish in his letters to bear witness to this process of transformation. In Swinglehurst's work, "The Imperial Poet" gradually gives way to a yoking of "childhood and manly might," culminating in the quiet image

of "a child at rest / on a Father's breast." The fixed colonial identities of the early settler colony yielded, through the circulation of ideas and cultural practices, to hybrid identities in the contact zone.

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