

Eluned Morgan and school education in Patagonia in the 19th century¹

Sônia Maria da Silva Araújoⁱ 

Federal University of Pará, Belém, PA, Brazil

Lucia Lionettiⁱⁱ 

National University of the Center of the Province of Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires,
Argentina

Abstract

Based on the life experience of Eluned Morgan (1870-1938), a writer from a Welsh family, who migrated to Argentina, Patagonia, Chubut Valley, the article deals with education in Latin America. The aim is to understand how education in Patagonia becomes an educational project by Eluned Morgan and reflect on the implications of this project in a region that was born under the impact of the National State with the "Conquest of the Desert". Its theoretical inspiration is based on cultural history and the history of intellectuals. The results show that Eluned Morgan assumes an important place in the region by using the quill of a writer to disseminate her educational ideas. Intellectually formed from a border view of the world, permeated by Welsh culture, Patagonian indigenous culture, and Spanish-American culture, the writer defended education as a necessary instrument for the economic, social, and cultural development of southern Argentina.

Keywords

Eluned Morgan; education; Patagonia.

Eluned Morgan e a educação escolar na Patagônia do Século XIX

Resumo

O artigo trata da educação na América Latina a partir da experiência de vida de Eluned Morgan (1870-1938), escritora, oriunda de uma família galesa, migrada para a Argentina, Patagônia, Vale de Chubut. O objetivo é entender como a educação na Patagônia se torna um projeto educacional de Eluned Morgan e refletir sobre as implicações deste projeto numa região que nasce sob o impacto do Estado Nacional com a chamada "Conquista do Deserto". Como inspiração teórica, fundamenta-se na história cultural e na história dos intelectuais. Os resultados demonstram que Eluned Morgan assume um lugar de importância na região ao usar a pena de escritora para divulgar suas ideias educativas. Formada intelectualmente sob uma visão de mundo fronteiriça, permeada pela cultura galesa, cultura indígena da Patagônia e cultura hispano-americana, a escritora defendeu a educação como instrumento necessário para o desenvolvimento econômico, social e cultural do Sul argentino.

Palavras-chave

Eluned Morgan; educação; Patagônia.

¹ Article resulting from a research project funded by the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq).

Eluned Morgan y la educación escolar en la Patagonia del siglo XIX

Resumen

El artículo aborda la educación en América Latina a partir de la experiencia de vida de Eluned Morgan (1870-1938), escritora, de familia galesa, migrada a Argentina, Patagonia, Valle del Chubut. El objetivo es comprender cómo la educación en la Patagonia se convierte en un proyecto educativo de Eluned Morgan y reflexionar sobre las implicaciones de este proyecto en una región que nació bajo el impacto del Estado Nacional con la llamada “Conquista del Desierto”. Como inspiración teórica, se basa en la historia cultural y la historia de los intelectuales. Los resultados demuestran que Eluned Morgan asume un lugar importante en la región al utilizar la pluma de escritora para difundir sus ideas educativas. Intelectualmente formada bajo una cosmovisión fronteriza, permeada por la cultura galesa, la cultura indígena patagónica y la cultura hispanoamericana, la escritora defendió la educación como un instrumento necesario para el desarrollo económico, social y cultural del Sur argentino.

Palabras clave

Eluned Morgan; educación; Patagonia.

1 Introduction

This study about Eluned Morgan is linked to others in which we put education in Latin America at the center of the discussion, especially in the 19th century, the period of the liberation and political independence struggles of the Spanish colonies in America and Brazil. In the context of those struggles, women’s participation, though hidden by the patriarchal history on the continent, should not fail to be highlighted. However, beyond those who directly participated in the Independence struggles, such as Manuela Sáenz Thorne (1797-1856), women made an important work on the representation and cultural plan aspects. Their publications and practices in the education field, besides the contestations made against slavery and patriarchalism, show that they demand a deeper understanding of independence by defending an extended freedom, beyond the political change. Over the 19th century, education became a tool of freedom and, for those women who could have a cultural capital, a necessary resource for participation in the debate around independence, State formation, and the configuration of the nation. In this direction, they gave a more intense and extensive look at the idea of freedom.

Just as important as what 19th-century women said and did in the field of education is the relationship between their sayings and their histories. Through adverse paths, which explain the intellectual production of these women in intersection with their biographies, the constructions, with their contradictions, are, in general, necessary

material for understanding the place that education assumed in Latin American national states, especially if we consider the circulation of European pedagogical ideas in the region and the particular conditions of native human groups and the black diaspora.

During the last decades of the 19th century, Argentina witnessed a process of national unification, the configuration of the state, economic modernization based on agro-exports, and social diversification with the arrival of immigrant contingents. As the liberal ruling elites saw it, the stability of the Republic, order, and progress could be consolidated with the education of citizens. It was necessary to impose the empire of civilization, eradicating the signs of barbarism and seeking to build a "white and European" country, with no traces of "Indians", mestizos, blacks, "badly born" gauchos or "other degraded races" (Sarmiento, 1900).

Likewise, this configuration of the Argentine nation promoted the education of women as "guardians of the Republic" and "angels of the home", "wives of the citizens, and "mothers of the future citizens of the Republic" (Lionetti, 2007). The invention of the nation was driven by a conception of politics, society, and culture linked to gender (Masiello, 1997).

In the context of this reality, Eluned Morgan was born inside the riverboat Myfanwy on the high seas during her parents' trip between Wales and Patagonia on March 20, 1870. Together with other Welsh immigrants, her father was building a railroad in Chubut to transport goods from Argentina. Between Chubut and Wales, Eluned Morgan became the first writer in Patagonia and the region of the town of Trelew (which means "Village of Luis", in homage to Lewis Jones, Eluned Morgan's father), which was undergoing a process of late colonization, encouraged by free Argentina, under the governance of a project inspired by the model of European barbarism in trying to extinguish the original peoples from the Argentine land. It was on the border between the Amerindian world, represented by the indigenous people of Patagonia, and the "civilized" European world that Eluned Morgan formed her universe of representations and defended education as a training tool for enlightenment among the indigenous people of Patagonia. Although women writers and travelers had to deal with a discursive structure and a system of representations of which they were objects, not subjects (Misereres, 2010), Morgan, who was single, literate, and an educator, shaped (as she appears in her

books) an image of a writer who distanced herself from the profile of "angel of the home" and "guardian of the colony" (Cimadevilla, 2020).

2 Cultural history and the intellectuals' history: the theoretical-methodological bases for understanding Eluned Morgan's place in Patagonian school education

The research is theoretically based on cultural history and the history of intellectuals, because we understand that intellectuals are produced in the context of culture, which is understood, according to Williams (1969), as a system of interrelated meanings that give meaning to practices. It is from this system that structures of thought, the mental *utilizations*, are constituted, promoting the subject's intellectual capacity. In turn, inspired by Said (2005, p. 25), we understand the intellectual to be an individual who assumes a "public role in society", endowed with "[...] a vocation to represent, embody and articulate a message, a point of view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion for (and also by) an audience", presenting a social performance that is unique to them.

In Eluned Morgan's particular case, for this study, we will deal with the institutionalized and objectified forms that marked the visible way she exposed herself in her group, social class, and community. It is a question of approaching Eluned as a woman who, despite living under a patriarchal regime, left records of her thoughts and rebellion, challenging the canons of feminine duty of the time. Access to the cultural capital of writing allowed her to leave a record of her "speech acts" and her intellectual dissent from a social order highlighted by the designs of white male elites. Thus, she left a distinctive record with her "stories about Patagonia". As Misereres (2010, p. 38) warns:

[...] aún cuando la escritura femenina ha sido partícipe del corpus textual dentro del relato de viajes, ésta no ha conformado a lo largo de la historia una tradición y una serie continua con la que se pudo divisar entre los hombres en los diferentes períodos de exploraciones².

Although these are isolated cases that make it difficult to form a corpus, as Cimadevilla (2020) explains, there have also been women who have traveled and written about Patagonia. Focusing, then, on a kind of reversal of tradition, we place Eluned

² Authors' translation: "[...] although women's writing has participated in the textual *corpus* of travel history, it has not formed, throughout history, a tradition and a continuous series with which it could be seen among men in different periods of exploration".

Morgan between Florence Dixie (the English traveler who published *Across Patagonia* in 1981, New York) and Ada María Elflein (the teacher and journalist born in 1880, whose chronicles on Patagonia were printed in *La Prensa*, between March and May 1916). However, as Cimadevilla (2020, p. 104) emphasizes, Morgan differs from them in that she grew up in Patagonian lands. Thus, “[...] *su mirada no es la de una extrajnera extraordinaria*”³.

3 From the alleged desert to Welsh occupation: Eluned Morgan's Patagonia

The subjectivity that shapes Eluned Morgan, of course, is intrinsically linked to the historical reality of the regions in which he lived his childhood, youth, and adulthood: Wales and Patagonia. Her experiences in Patagonia, considered by Western Europe to be a place of savagery, inhabited by barbaric peoples, the indigenous, in contrast to the reality she shared in Wales, will guide her reflections, in which education will be given special prominence.

Throughout the 19th century, the different indigenous groups traded with each other, but also clashed over control of the land. With the Spanish-Creole society, relations oscillated between peaceful trade and confrontation in a “[...] *frontera que devino en una construcción social, un antojadizo margen el cual se sucede como producto de un contacto, una disputa, un cruce, una mestización*”⁴ (Pérez, 2015, p. 11). Undoubtedly, one of the biggest risks for residents near these borders was suffering an attack from an indigenous "bandit". However, the border, far from being a military boundary, was an area of frequent and constant inter- and intra-ethnic exchanges. Peaceful encounters, based on commercial exchange with some partialities, coexisted with confrontations and the progressive advance of militarization, especially in the first great campaign for indigenous lands promoted during the so-called Rosista interregnum in 1833 and the second government of Juan Manuel de Rosas (1835-1852). The "peaceful encounter" with some of the indigenous groups was accompanied by a strong campaign of extermination of peoples considered enemies (Ratto, 1998).

³ Authors' translation: "[...] her gaze is not that of an incredulous foreigner, fascinated by the strange".

⁴ Authors' translation: "[...] a border that has become a social construction, a desired margin that occurs as a product of contact, dispute, crossing, miscegenation".

After the fall of the Rosista regime and the subsequent split between the Argentine Confederation and the Buenos Aires government, national unification took place with the Battle of Pavón in 1861, in which General Bartolomé Mitre imposed himself on General Justo José de Urquiza and, as a result, the work of promoting the construction of the Republic took precedence. During the so-called liberal presidencies, between 1862 and 1880 (with the successive governments of Mitre, Sarmiento, and Avellaneda), the national army was organized, which suppressed the last federal uprisings and, in turn, the expansion of the frontier into the Patagonian highlands.

After these military campaigns, with a clear economic goal of incorporating the lands of the South into sheep farming in order to free up the Pampean coastal region for the production of cereals and cattle, the banner of civilizing the "barbarian peoples" was raised. Under the pretext of a nation-state in the making, the founding ideas of the "civilizing mission" of the Western Europeans were recovered, who saw the native peoples of the "new world" as soulless beings, destined to savagery if they were not subjected to Catholic conversion, to the values and morals of the imperialist societies of Europe, but under the cloak of liberalism, which, incidentally, was present in San Martí and Bolívar, leading exponents of the political liberation struggles of Spanish America.

This resulted, from the second quarter of the 19th century, in the Argentine government's strategy of dominating the lands considered unhealthy and unpopulated in Patagonia as lands of conquest, establishing a process of confrontation against the indigenous peoples and intensifying a struggle to be waged under the key idea of progress against backwardness. During the last two decades of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, after that "[...] hurricane we call progress", thousands of people died and disappeared (Pérez, 2015).

The military expeditions of conquest and occupation occurred in the decade of Eluned Morgan's birth, 1870, and intensified the conflictual relations between the indigenous people and the Argentine government, which resulted in the population reduction of the original peoples and the advance of a dependent capitalism, in which the occupation of land by foreigners for the raising of sheep and cattle, with a view to export, expelled the original peoples from their lands as they were surrounded by the expansion of the estates and the strengthening of an agrarian oligarchy, concentrated on livestock production. The indigenous groups tested various strategies to adapt to the new rules of

the economic circuit, selling or exchanging skins, feathers, and fabrics and breeding horses, offering their services as boatmen for travelers and state agents (justices of the peace, police, inspectors, teachers), or as workers, trackers, or tamers in the Welsh colony and on training farms.

In order to develop this economy, Argentina was trying to integrate itself into the international export market and, to this end, invest in the construction of a minimum infrastructure capable of transporting production. It was as part of this investment that an entire Welsh community settled in Chubut, with the active participation of Eluned Morgan's family.

Thus, the Welsh began arriving in Patagonia in 1860 and occupying what had been considered desert by the national state commanded from Buenos Aires. By the 1870s, part of their territory already belonged to Argentina, as a result of the expansion policy, as did the Pampa, which resulted from the confrontation with the indigenous people. Formalized by Law No. 1530, which came into force in 1884, Patagonia was included in the Argentine administrative system as a National Territory (Argentina, 1884). In the following years, with the occupations expanding rapidly, demonstrating that "civilization" was overcoming "savagery" by killing and capturing indigenous leaders, and kidnapping children and women, the policy was strengthened to consolidate the occupation via the ideological project of "order and progress", maxims of positivism transported, once again, from Europe.

The Pampas and the Patagonian region were lands populated by various indigenous groups, to which were added the Mapuche peoples, who came from the other side of the Andes. The "Araucanization" or "Mapuchization" of Patagonia was a process that had completely peaceful origins. At the beginning of the 18th century, in the markets of El Cayrú and Chapaleofú, located in the mountains of the humid pampa, territories now occupied by the Argentine Republic, there was a very important commercial activity and exchange of products between the native peoples of the pampa plains and the mountains of the current province of Buenos Aires with the peoples of northern Patagonia on both sides of the Andes. At these fairs, called "Poncho Fairs" by the Jesuits of the time who recorded them, various types of goods were exchanged: livestock, agricultural products, salt, drinks, and clothing such as ponchos, boots and coats. From the beginning of the 18th century, with a view to exchanging and marketing products, there was already a

principle of cultural exchange between the different peoples who lived in the humid pampas, the Andes, and the Pacific coast. However, after this peaceful scenario, clashes occurred, which resulted in the disappearance of the groups originally settled in the Argentine Pampas and the Patagonian region. Although the name "Mapuche" is strictly intended to identify the peoples of Arauco, it is generically applied to all indigenous people who spoke or speak the Mapuche or "Mapudungún" language, also including various groups that emerged from the "Mapuchization" of the original peoples of present-day Argentina between the 17th and 19th centuries, who moved eastwards from the Andes. These Mapuche peoples were attracted by the pastures and livestock, got to know the horse, and quickly understood the advantages that these animals could offer them in hunting and warfare, two activities that have been typical of their idiosyncrasy since time immemorial. Their customs, their rebelliousness, and their more combative vocation imposed themselves on other peoples (Mandrini; Ortelli, 1995; Nacuzzi, 2000; Ortelli, 1996).

On the part of the Welsh, English industrialization demanded new resources, such as iron and coal, which led them to look for these minerals in foreign lands. The lands of Wales came under severe pressure as a result of the demands made by the industrial economy, which put their culture, customs, and religion at risk. An alternative for many Welsh people was to immigrate to other territories. Those who conceived and led the migration were mobilized by the need to safeguard their culture. On the immigrants' side, the idea was to move to an uninhabited country, which was not under any government of its own, so that they could form and maintain their national customs, and be a constructive element, and not be assimilated by their adoptive country. From the Argentine government's point of view, the migration of Welsh people to the region was the result of a policy to encourage the occupation of white foreigners in order to put an end to a territory that was ideally considered desert, which reinforced the political intention to continue the process of extinguishing the original peoples and building a national identity that was far removed from indigenous culture and closer to the European one. To this end, the government advertised the region's favorable climatic conditions in European countries and offered land in exchange for agricultural and livestock production. Pompeu (2012) explains that the government advertised land offers and incentives in Welsh newspapers. In the 1860s, years before Eluned Morgan's birth, a

Welsh delegation arrived to find out about the terms of the settlements, and the migration process began, with the Welsh adapting easily to the area. In the negotiations, the land was granted with administrative freedom to the immigrants, who could continue to cultivate their customs, traditions, and language. These advantages even ensured that the school created by Eluned Morgan for girls in Chubut was taught in the Welsh language. This freedom was being curtailed as the government demanded the teaching of Spanish and the national culture that was being built in order to "Argentinize" Patagonia.

As a settler's daughter, Eluned Morgan, who accompanied her father on expeditions throughout the Chubut Valley to find arable land for the occupation of their countrymen, positions herself in her work as a native of Patagonia, albeit in a Welsh spirit.

As Pérez (2020) noted, the indigenous peoples ceded land to the Welsh settlers. The indigenous presence was permanent in the Welsh colony, both to await the shipments of rations agreed with the national government and to sell choique (rhea) leather and feathers, as well as woven rugs, through which they sustained their way of life and organized their social relations. This was the story of a fluid cultural and economic exchange, of peaceful coexistence, as well-analyzed by Gavirati (2017).

This reflection is followed by Morgan's important comments on the Argentine government's military actions against indigenous populations. Continuing her narrative of her journey through the fields and mountains of the Andes, she then refers to the tombs of the original peoples who were pillaged and killed in the name of the Argentine national project. These considerations are made in the midst of a story of young indigenous people persecuted by military actions.

Identifying her people as different from the Argentine military, Morgan then goes on to construct a positive interpretation of the Welsh relationship with the indigenous people. In the midst of an emotional narrative about the suffering of the indigenous people, she highlights "*Los galeses del Chubut y los indios de la Patagonia han convivido ya por espacio de cuarenta años en perfecta paz y armonía*"⁵.

⁵ Authors' translation: "[...] the Welsh of Chubut and the Indians of Patagonia lived together for forty years in perfect peace and harmony".

With her experience of traversing the territory "occupied" by indigenous peoples, Eluned uses her quill to describe and report what she sees of this social reality from a position whose perception and sensitivity transcends the civilization-barbarism binomial. She does not present indigenous peoples as "otherness", as an expression of the danger to the nation due to their "savage" status. She leaves her mark, her nuance on the set of founding stories of the nation that presented that Patagonian world as the "desert", which had to be conquered and civilized. In her conception, there were peoples there with their own cultures who could be "our friends".

4 Eluned Morgan: life and work at the border

As described above, Eluned Morgan was born in 1870, on the high seas, during the voyage of a group of Welshmen to occupy Patagonia, and died in 1938. She was the youngest child of Ellen Gryffydd and Lewis Jones. Her father was one of the leaders of the Welsh colonization of the Chubut Valley, responsible for the first printing press and founder of two newspapers: *Elin Breinad (Our Rights)*, in 1879, and *Y Drafod (The Mentor)*, in 1898. The daughter excelled in the cultural and literary life of the colony and is considered the first Patagonian writer. Enlightened, she lived between the colony and Wales and was educated at a Welsh school in Argentina. This woman from international waters did not use her father's surname for long, opting instead to be called Eluned, like her grandmother. The Chubut chronicles tell us that Eluned smoked a pipe, crossed the province on horseback, and traveled to different parts of the world, assuming a way of being and living that was far removed from the model of femininity "in the realm of domesticity" that predominated in the 19th century, as highlighted by Costa, Mota, and Santana (2022). Going against certain genealogical and period canons, but with the privilege of accessing the cultural capital of writing, she wrote essays and books about the colony of Chubut. In one of her great works, *Hacia los Andes*, she recounts her experience on a journey through the Andes after the great flood of 1899⁶. She founded the Camwy School in Gaiman, the first secondary school in Patagonia. She published articles in the periodical *Y Drafod (The Mentor)*, owned by her father, an enterprising man

⁶ In 1899, there was a huge flood in the region, which left houses, churches, and schools submerged. This is still considered the biggest environmental tragedy to have occurred in the region.

who built the railroad between Puerto Madryn and the Chubut River Valley.

Considered an independent and advanced woman for her time, she studied at the best schools in the province of Buenos Aires and took on a strong personality. At a very young age, she began editing the periodical *Y Draford* and traveling to Wales. His family enjoyed privileged economic conditions, which ensured cultural trips around Europe. Castillo (2013) says that this contact with Europe gave him a broad knowledge of educational issues, which had a decisive influence on his positions. It was on this basis that Eluned Morgan took the following political stance:

Los galeses del Chubut no procuraron convertir ni civilizar a los indios, pero les extendieron su mano fraternal e intercedieron en su favor repetidas veces en el Congreso de la Capital cuando la persecución los abrumaba, amenazando con extinguirlos por completo. Los habitantes del desierto comprendieron que los recién llegados no habían arribado a sus tierras para despojarlos de las mismas ni tampoco para oprimirlos, sino para convivir con ellos pacíficamente. El indio enseñó al galés a ser un hábil cazador, lo cual salvó a la colonia del hambre muchas veces. Le enseñó la confección de todo tipo de aperos para caballos, utilizando el cuero de animales silvestres. Todo ello de mucho valor para el nuevo establecimiento al comienzo de su vida agrícola en una tierra extraña, lejos de todas las comodidades⁷ (Morgan, 2007, p. 56-58).

In this light, Eluned's relationship with the indigenous people of Patagonia becomes understandable, since, influenced by her father, she began to defend the conquests and projects for these peoples. From a colonizing view of the indigenous peoples and the very process of domination of that place, of which her family was a protagonist, she contradictorily sided with the indigenous people and defended the need for an educational process that would guarantee them conditions of existence in the midst of a development project that could eliminate them.

Having studied at a Welsh, English, and Spanish school, Eluned Morgan was one of the few trilingual people in the Chubut colony. It is said that her father placed all his expectations on her, as she proved to be an intelligent child with a strong personality. In

⁷ Authors' translation: "The Welsh of Chubut did not seek to convert or civilize the Indians, but extended a fraternal hand to them and repeatedly interceded on their behalf in the Congress of the Capital when persecution overwhelmed them, threatening to extinguish them completely. The inhabitants of the desert understood that the newcomers had not come to their land to evict them, nor to oppress them, but to live peacefully with them. The Native taught the Welshman to be a skilled hunter, which often saved the colony from starvation. He taught him to make all kinds of implements for horses, using wild animal leathers. All this is of great value to the new settler starting in agricultural life in a strange land, far from all comforts."

fact, she was raised to be in charge of Lewis Jones' business when he was away, always being his right arm.

As previously noted, Eluned Morgan made several journeys throughout her life, gaining knowledge of the world; she got to know other cultures, appreciated landscapes, and had contact with influential people in the field of literature. These trips ensured the publication of her works, such as the book *Hacia los Andes*, the result of an excursion she made through the Andes.

In this work, Eluned demonstrates her attachment to the land where she was raised, her relationship with the people who lived there, and is perplexed by the inadequate treatment of the original populations. Even though they were so peaceful, they were often harassed by the settlers and the Argentine government. She says:

Es inmensamente triste el pensar que a antiguas razas tan pacíficas, tan mansas, de fuertes facultades, sanos de cuerpo y alma, de tan antiguo origen, de tan encantadora historia, el hombre blanco con su cristianismo y su maldita bebida asola y destruye cual fuego arrasador por dondequiera que vaya. ¿Acaso es necesario que ello sea? Es la pregunta que ha atravesado mi corazón durante cien veces al meditar sobre la suerte de los nativos nómades de todo país: los Pieles Rojas de Norteamérica y los Maoríes llenos de encanto de Oceanía, y los antiguos amigos de mi niñez en Sudamérica⁸ (Morgan, 2007, p. 61).

She also remembers her childhood friends, especially Kengel, the son of a chief, who was her schoolmate and with whom she did schoolwork together. She emphasizes that students from indigenous families had exceptional handwriting and a unique patience for learning. As Cimadevilla (2020) explains, in *Hacia los Andes* Eluned dares to describe a Patagonia without captives and much less desert. On the contrary, she speaks of a densely occupied Patagonia, dismantling stereotypes produced by travelers. Taking advantage of her privileged position as a white, literate woman, she adds a disturbing vision of that place for which she had great affection.

Eluned was a highly regarded author for her time. She showed feeling in her works. She described her personal experiences, making the reader feel interested in reading and curious about visiting the places she described in her texts.

⁸ Authors' translation: "It is immensely sad to think that ancient races so peaceful, so gentle, with strong faculties, healthy in body and soul, of such ancient origin, with such a charming history, the white man with his Christianity and his damned drink ravages and destroys like a devastating fire wherever he goes. Is that necessary? It's the question that has pierced my heart hundreds of times as I ponder the fate of the nomadic natives of each country: the Red Indians of North America and the charming Maori of Oceania, and the old friends from my childhood in South America."

Though living at a time when her culture of origin was guided by Victorian morality, which gave prominence to men and assigned women to domestic work, as Morgan and Williams described in 1882 in *Trethodau ar Drevnusrwydd Teuluaidd (Essay on Family Organization)*, she, like a few other authors, distinguished herself in the literature of the United Kingdom by producing engaged literature, writing permeated by unique experiences, as rightly highlighted by the responsible for the preface and the translation of *Hacia los Andes*.

According to Castillo (2013), she was fascinated by the Patagonian geographical space, mythology, and the ancestral stories of the native peoples. For this author, Eluned's worldview was strongly marked by her travels through the Andes, Argentina in general, and even Wales. This freedom to travel – to get to know other places and cultures – was a determining factor in her intellectual formation, as well as providing her with vast educational knowledge and great mental openness.

After her first trip to Wales, Eluned Morgan returned to the colony of Chubut with educational projects that she wanted to put into practice. Around 1890, she established the first secondary school in the region and a boarding school for the girls who worked for her family, on her father's estate.

Image 1 – Eluned Morgans's Escuela Superior de Señoritas – 1890-1892



Source: Gan L. J. and Plas Hedd (1898).

Her school operated for at least two and a half years but had to close due to lack of investment. Castillo explains the closure of the Eluned's school: “[...] aunque el

*proyecto educativo fue de avanzada, en 1892 el establecimiento cerró sus puertas. El gobierno nacional había creado escuelas públicas gratuitas que beneficiaron la enseñanza oficial en la Colonia*⁹ (Castillo, 2013, p. 71).

Eluned made many trips, one of them to London, where she joined a group of young Welsh people who were meeting in Chancery Lane, in Walter Davies' department. English Prime Minister David Lloyd George also attended the group's meetings. She visited North and South Wales, giving lectures on Welsh identity issues. In 1902, she moved to Cardiff to work in the city's People's Library, where she helped Ifano Jones spread Welsh culture.

The year 1909 was very productive for Eluned Morgan, as she published *Gwynon & Mor* in Wales. She also lectured until 1910. Then she returned to Patagonia. In 1912, she made her last trip to Wales in the company of her niece Mair Ap Iwan, who was about to begin her university studies. With the outbreak of the First World War, she remained in Europe until 1918. She then returned to Patagonia, where she lived until her death in 1938. During the time she lived in the Chubut River Valley, she fought for the creation of a middle school dedicated to the adolescents of the colony. In 1904, the Camwy Society of Intermediate Education was created, with the aim of offering Welsh-language education to young people from the age of 14. Eluned was at the forefront of this project, administering donations for the construction of the building. Two years later, Camwy was built in a manor house donated by the municipality.

4 Closing remarks

As Quijano (2007) defines, power can be thought of as a network of social relations that takes the form of conflict, exploitation, and domination around the control of physical spaces and their resources, sexuality, subjectivities, among other vital aspects, and which ensures, through various forms of coercion, the new patterns of these relations. In this sense, Patagonia was a great laboratory for new power relations at the end of the 19th century (Pérez, 2020). As Pérez (2020) analyzes, the dynamics of the agreements and negotiations between indigenous leaders, settlers, and border

⁹ Authors' translation: "[...] although the educative project made progress, in 1892 the establishment closed its doors. The national government created free public schools that benefited official education in the Colony".

authorities before the conquest were drastically changed by the state's betrayal of the established pacts. As a result of the military advance at the end of the 19th century, tensions and disputes came into play that formed new social relations, in which submission and various forms of colonial violence prevailed. However, the degree of resistance of the indigenous groups that withstood the onslaught was no less, as they tried to make a pact with the government to preserve their families and continue producing their existence.

A woman like Eluned Morgan left a record of what this reality was like, echoing a dissident "civilizing voice" that expressed its repudiation of the forms of domination of "internal colonialism" perpetrated against the indigenous people.

Studying the life and works of Eluned Morgan and her relationship with education helped us to see some important points: 1) the historical importance of her family, as well as all Welsh families, in Patagonia; 2) how contact with indigenous populations brought the author into confrontation with her own culture, producing counter-hegemonic reflections; 3) the relationship between the colonizers and the natives and how the author saw them, conceived of them; 4) how her conception of the indigenous people made the author think about educational projects for the region; 5) the "place" that her travels and experiences occupied in the production of her educational and literary works; and 6) the public audience she won and which ensured her a political position in Argentina.

The data collected on Eluned Morgan reveals sensitivity and strength. She felt culturally transformed by her childhood and youth experiences in the colony of Chubut. Even though she was formed by a colonizing mentality, marked by Victorian culture, she ended up nurturing a deep respect and admiration for the indigenous populations of the Andes. Her ideological upbringing, based on defending the civilizational frameworks of Western culture, which accepted colonization as a strategy for dominating and exploiting America, did not prevent her from recognizing the important cultural traits of the indigenous peoples. In other words, even though she was formed by a colonizing mentality, she was able to question the colonial processes implemented in Latin America.

Taking a critical political stance, Eluned returns to the question of civilization and says that the English conquest was no less cruel than the Spanish, since "[...] *ambos son culpables de buscar el exterminio de los nativos y de las pequeñas naciones*"[9] (Morgan, 2007, p. 61). In fact, her Welsh people were also victims of this domination when they

were mobilized to immigrate to the Chubut Valley. She reinforces that "civilization" through colonization only destroyed the indigenous people. Perhaps this is where Eluned's defense in the field of education lies. Coming from a culture that placed education as a universal value, regardless of its intentions, she invested in the idea and in educational actions to benefit the indigenous populations of the Andes and protect them from extermination, which is duly recorded in the work of Caviglia (2011), for whom Lewis Jones and Eluned Morgan were uncompromising defenders of the indigenous before the national government and capable of denouncing Roca's ethnocidal civic-military campaign.

The particular ways of living in Wales and the experiences of Chubut, where Welsh values could be seen permeated by the colonizing reality of Patagonia, made Eluned Morgan a hybrid writer, who was crossed by the border. It is no coincidence that literary critics in Wales emphasize that her work shines through and differs from Welsh literature as a whole because of this particular experience in America, which led her, as an intellectual, to take on a very courageous and polemical public role, revealing the ambivalences of an intellectual life in which she struggled to place herself politically.

5 References

ARGENTINA. *Lei nº 1.532, de 1884*. Lei que trata da organização dos territórios nacionais, na qual insere a Patagônia ao território argentino. Buenos Aires, 1984.

AVIGLIA, S. E. *La educación en el Chubut (1810-1916)*. Rawson: Ministerio de Educación de la Provincia de Chubut, 2011.

CASTILLO, C. C. Algas marinas. Crónica de viaje desde Bondes a la Patagonia por Eluned Morgan. *Revista Cruz del Sur*, Buenos Aires, v. 3, n. 5, p. 59-99, 2013.

CIMADEVILLA, P. M. No es de esa manera que se viaja en los desiertos patagónicos. Una lectura *Hacia los Andes* de Eluned Morgan. *Badebec*, Rosario, v. 10, n. 19, p. 92-114, 2020.

COSTA, F. J. M.; MOTA, B. G. N.; SANTANA, J. R. História das mulheres: formação docente, lutas e conquistas. *Educação & Formação*, Fortaleza, v. 7, e8015, 2022. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25053/redufor.v7.e8015>. Disponível em: <https://revistas.uece.br/index.php/redufor/article/view/8015/8192>. Acesso em: 1º nov. 2022.

GAVIRATI, M. *Chupat-Camwy*. Historia de la coexistencia pacífica entre galeses, pampas y tehuelches. Buenos Aires: Sur Libros, 2017.

LIONETTI, L. *La misión política de la escuela pública*. Formar a los ciudadanos de la república (1870-1916). Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila, 2007.

MANDRINI, R.; ORTELLI, S. Repensando viejos problemas: observaciones sobre la araucanización de las Pampas. *Runa*, Buenos Aires, v. 22, p. 135-150, 1995.

MASIELLO, F. *Entre civilización y barbarie*. Mujer, nación y cultura literaria en la Argentina moderna. Rosario: Beatriz Viterbo, 1997.

MISERERES, V. *Trazos de nación*. Mujeres viajeras y discurso nacional en Latinoamérica (1830-1910). 2010. Tese (Doutorado em Filosofia) – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Filosofia, Vanderbilt University, Espanha, 2010.

MORGAN, E. *Hacia los Andes*. 4. ed. Gaiman: El Regional, 2007.

NACUZZI, L. Estrategias sociales en una situación de contacto. El caso del norte de Patagonia. In: BOCCARA, G.; GALINDO, S. (ed.). *Lógica mestiza en América*. Temuco: Instituto de Estudios Indígenas, 2000. p. 139-163.

ORTELLI, S. La 'araucanización' de las Pampas: ¿Realidad histórica o construcción de los etnólogos?. *Anuario IEHS*, [S.l.], n. 11, p. 203-225, 1996.

PÉREZ, L. Entre tolerancias. Acuerdos, violencias y resistencias. Del Tecka al Genua. 1870-1905. *Revista de Historia*, Buenos Aires, n. 21, p. 76-103, 2020.

PÉREZ, L. *Keu-Kenk*: política indígena en la Patagonia. 1865-1965. Trelew: Remitente Patagonia, 2015.

POMPEU, A. C. G. *A construção da Patagônia Argentina*. 2012. Dissertação (Mestrado em História) – Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, Universidade de Brasília, Brasília, DF, 2012.


QUIJANO, A. Colonialidad del poder y clasificación social. In: CASTRO-GÓMEZ, S.; GROSGOUEL, R. (ed.). *El giro decolonial*. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2007. p. 96.


RATTO, S. La estructura de poder en las tribus amigas de la provincia de Buenos Aires (1830-1850). *Quinto Sol*, Santa Rosa, n. 1, p. 75-102, 1998.

SAID, E. W. *Representações do intelectual*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005.

SARMIENTO, D. F. Conflicto y armonías de las razas en América. In: SARMIENTO, D. F. *Obras Completas de D. F. Sarmiento*. Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Litografía Mariano Moreno, 1900. Tomos XXXVII e XXXVIII.

WILLIAMS, R. *Cultura e sociedade: 1780-1950*. São Paulo: Nacional, 1969.

Sônia Maria da Silva Araújo, Federal University of Pará (UFPA), Postgraduate Program in Education
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8240-9704>
PhD in Education from the University of São Paulo (USP), with a post-doctorate at the University of Coimbra (UC/PT). Professor at UFPA working in the Postgraduate Program in Education, and supervising master's and doctoral courses.
Authorship contribution: Responsible for conceptualization, data curation and production, data analysis and writing - original draft.
Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/5826372225106245>
E-mail: ecosufpa@hotmail.com

Lucia Lionetti, Universidad Nacional del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires (IEHS-UNICEN)
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4222-4515>
Graduated in History, PhD in Philosophy and Letters from the Autonomous University of Madrid. Professor at IEHS-UNCEN, teaching at the PhD in History and the Masters in Education and Social Sciences.
Author contribution: Responsible for curating the data and supervising the manuscript.
E-mail: lionettelucia@gmail.com

Editor: Lia Machado Fiuza Fialho

Ad hoc reviewers: Miria Izabel Campos and Andrea Abreu Astigarraga

Translator: Greyce Moreira de Oliveira

How to cite this article (ABNT):

ARAÚJO, Sônia Maria da Silva; LIONETTI, Lucia. Eluned Morgan and school education in Patagonia in the 19th century. *Educ. Form.*, Fortaleza, v. 8, e11577, 2023. Disponível em: <https://revistas.uece.br/index.php/redufor/article/view/e11577>



Received on August 2, 2023.

Accepted on November 6, 2023.

Published on November 28, 2023.