

# Salvador Torrents and the Birth of *Crónica* Writing in Australia<sup>1</sup>

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**Fig. 1: Salvador Torrents, 15 October 1915**

Source: James Cook University Library, Salvador Torrents Archive, ST/2/1

In Salvador Torrents's 1928 newspaper *crónica* 'Un Sueño' ('A Dream'),<sup>2</sup> the author describes returning home from an arduous day working in the sugar cane fields of Far North Queensland, ready to welcome the sleep that awaits him. With sleep comes a dream, in which Torrents finds himself in an unnamed capital city in Europe, in the company of a large crowd of onlookers, watching handcuffed prisoners being paraded by police. He asks of a finely dressed gentleman: 'What crime have these men committed?' The reply is that these men are political prisoners, who have meddled in matters that do not concern them. Torrents again poses the same question, although this time it is to an *obrero* (labourer). The *obrero* claims that the prisoners have committed no crime and are only exercising their right to express their opinions. This scenario is repeated in a different setting, and on this occasion, the secret police show up and detain the worker who shares his views with Torrents, and incarcerate him for his 'lack of respect and patriotism.' At this point Torrents awakens, disturbed by his dream and dreading the full day's work that awaits him in the sugar cane fields under a scorching sun.

This *crónica*, with its depiction of an old world scenario set within the new, is one of many penned by the Spanish migrant Salvador Torrents. His work was published in European and North American newspapers over a period of thirty-five years from 1915, and although Torrents wrote across many genres, it is the *crónicas* that appeared in anarchistic newspapers such as *Acción Fabril*, *Iniciales*, *El Vidrio* and *Cultura Proletaria* that are at the centre of this study. Torrents's work has been the subject of articles published individually by historians Judith Keene and Robert Mason, and while they have discussed his literary works in general, their research has taken an historical and political perspective of the man and his writing. This study, on the other hand, approaches Torrents as a significant literary figure responsible for the

production of the first known crónicas in Australia. While crónicas produced internationally have received substantial attention from theorists such as Nicolás Kanellos, Anibal González, Linda Egan and Beth Jörgensen, this has not been the case in Australia. With the exception of work by Michael Jacklin, there has been no commentary on this genre of creative writing emanating from this country. This research fills this gap by presenting an analysis of the earliest crónica writing in Australia, and in doing so investigates the way in which Torrents, through his crónicas, painted a picture of a Spanish migrant's experiences in the new world. This study will first introduce the literary genre of the crónica before offering a short review of Torrents's early life, first in Spain and then in Australia. It will then demonstrate the way in which his published works offer unique insights into the cronista's views on politics, community, family, race and gender.

### The Crónica

The newspaper crónica became popular within Hispanic and Lusophone communities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and continued as migrants from these groups left their homelands and settled in their new countries of residence. However, newspaper crónicas had been evolving for at least a century and Nicolás Kanellos traces their English origins back to 1711 when Joseph Addison and Richard Steele founded their paper *The Spectator* in London ('Cronistas' 9).

Derived from the Greek *chronos* meaning 'time,' crónicas are short contemporary pieces that appear in newspapers and magazines on a weekly basis. Usually written in the first person, they describe the happenings of daily life, social habits and the concerns of communities, often in a humorous or satirical style (González 24). Cronistas, or crónica writers, are often male and commonly use a pseudonym. Kanellos states in his study of Hispanic-American newspapers of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century that cronistas were able, from this somewhat protected perspective, to comment as observers of the cultural mores and behaviour of the migrant community ('Recovering' 446).

The modern Latin-American crónica originated during the period of a literary movement known as *modernismo* (1880–1895), and in this time well-known writers such as José Martí (1853–1895), Rubén Darío (1867–1916), Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera (1859–1895) and others became prominent early practitioners. Historically, crónicas have played an important role in the immigrant press in the United States, assisting migrants as they adjust to their new environment by facilitating an ongoing connection with both the language and culture of the homeland. They address topics that are specific to the migrant experience, for example: clashes in cultural mores, difficulties with language and understanding humour, changed gender roles and the challenges of carving out new identities.

In Australia, Michael Jacklin's research into Spanish-language magazines has uncovered a large body of writing in this genre by Latin-American born writers whose crónicas appeared in magazines such as *Vistazo*, *Versión* and *Hontanar* in the 1970s and 80s. In his examination of the work of writers such as Michael Gamarra, ('Ernesto Balcells') and Luís Abarca ('Blady Woggie'), Jacklin has explored the way in which these writers' works 'intend to create a discursive space' wherein both Hispanic migrant readers and writers can 'reflect upon dilemmas of identity or conflicts of culture, in prose that incorporates humour that is often sarcastic and sometimes quite bitter' (181). Notably, this essay fills a chronological gap in the exploration of this literary genre by offering a prelude to Jacklin's analysis of more recent crónica production in this country.

### Salvador Torrents: Early life

In the early 1900s, at the same time that Mexican migrant communities were establishing themselves in the Southwestern states of the U.S., a wave of migration from Spain and other European countries was taking place to Australia. One member of this fledgling migrant community was Salvador Torrents, who was born in the city of Mataró, in Cataluña, Spain in 1885. Historian Judith Keene's articles on Torrents (1998, 2001) have drawn a vivid picture of the anarchist's life, first in Spain and France, then later in Australia, and her research has formed the basis of this biographical section of paper. Keene's account positions Torrents in the socio-economic class that he described as 'trabajando mucho y comiendo poco' ('working a lot and eating little') ('The Word' 314). Both his parents worked in manufacturing, and he too had joined the workforce by the age of ten. In his teenage years Torrents became drawn first to the republican, and then to the anarchistic movements where he was exposed to the teachings of the Catalan rationalist educator Francisco Ferrer i Guàrdia. Ferrer i Guàrdia's ideas were 'the most significant influence on Torrents's political and intellectual life' and Torrents keenly adopted 'the belief in the need for moral improvement acquired through self-education' (Keene, 'In Search' 113).

In July 1909, after a government crackdown on Ferrer i Guàrdia and his supporters, Torrents fled to France. During the same year he received news from Mataró that his *compañera* (partner) Teresa Vives had given birth to a daughter named Paz Universal, after Ferrer i Guàrdia's daughter Paz. Teresa was by this stage in dire economic straits, unemployable because of her relationship with Torrents, who was known to be a follower of Ferrer i Guàrdia. Despite the news of his daughter's birth, Keene describes these years as 'the lowest points in his life' ('In Search' 115), when the struggles to provide for himself and his family appeared to be almost insuperable.

During a number of years following the upheavals of 1909, Torrents travelled back and forth between France and Spain, searching unsuccessfully for secure employment. In 1915, he and his friend Juan Jordana made the decision to leave Europe for Australia, and in late November of that year the two men boarded the *Osterley* and arrived in Melbourne some weeks later. Their final destination was North Queensland, where the Australian government had begun offering cheap land to settlers for sugar growing (Keene, 'In Search' 117). After many months of working under extremely harsh conditions, Torrents and Jordana settled on a property at Mena Creek, located some thirty kilometers from the multicultural town of Innisfail, and by 1919 Torrents was able to facilitate the passage from Spain of Teresa and Paz, now aged ten. In Innisfail, Torrents found himself immersed in a community of migrants from Europe, Russia and China, and it was from this base that he created the crónicas that informed readers across the Spanish-speaking world.

### The Birth of Crónica Writing in Australia

Salvador Torrents was a prolific writer. From the start of his voyage to Australia on the *Osterley* until his death in 1952, he wrote across a variety of genres, including short stories, poetry and memoirs as well as crónicas. In addition, he translated correspondence and articles from French into Spanish; the Salvador Torrents archive, which is held at James Cook University, contains his notebooks, scrapbooks, letters and assorted photos and memorabilia. He was passionate about books, which he referred to in his unpublished journals as 'el bálsamo de mi existencia' ('the balm of my existence') (ST 5/4), and committed himself to a disciplined practice of spending his evenings reading, translating and learning English after full days of hard manual

labour. His grandson Galan Onaindia reports that Torrents would spend an inordinate amount of time in his study, pursuing scholarly activities in a room that held books from floor to ceiling. He adds: ‘because of all the writing, it was my job to post the letters when I went to school, and then he would give me thruppence or sixpence to buy some lollies’ (Onaindia, G).

The crónicas that Torrents produced over many decades appeared in a variety of Spanish language newspapers such as *Acción Fabril*, *El Vidrio* and *Iniciales*, all left-wing publications that emerged from Barcelona and surrounding areas in the early 1900s. It is possible that his involvement in anarcho-sindicalistic politics in Spain and France prior to his arrival in Australia may have resulted in connections with contributors to, and readers of, these fledgling newspapers, and this may have assisted Torrents in securing publication for his works. It is clear though, that through his published works Torrents engaged actively with his readers and other fellow writers. His crónicas were frequently dedicated to friends and counterparts, and he would, on occasion, respond directly to other writers’ columns. When in later years Torrents began contributing his crónicas to the New York-based anarchistic newspaper *Cultura Proletaria*, (1927 to 1952), his participation in a transnational dialogue with other like-minded contributors and readers intensified. *Cultura Proletaria*, a self-described newspaper of ‘ideas, doctrine and combat,’ and the ‘longest running anarchist periodical in Spanish in the U.S.’ (Kanellos, ‘Recovering’ 445), published contributions from writers across the Spanish-speaking world. Torrents’s columns, entitled *Desde Australia (From Australia)*, appeared in print with others from France, Italy, Brazil and Belgium, as well as Spain and Latin America. The appearance of his crónicas in this and earlier papers, over a period from 1915 to his death in 1952, highlights the fact that although Torrents resided in a remote location in North Queensland, many thousands of miles away from the reading community that consumed his writing, he was nonetheless able to disseminate his views on a range of topics.

Torrents’s works shone a light on the cronista’s world within his newfound home. His crónicas, published over many decades, covered a wide range of themes and topics. Judith Keene and Robert Mason have both examined Torrents as a political figure. Mason’s 2010 study investigates the way in which the migrant identities of Torrents and other Hispanic settlers in North Queensland ‘were formed by the pervasive intersection of local and international events’ (166). Hispanic migrant responses to conflicts overseas such as the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and domestic occurrences such as the sugar-farmers’ strike in South Johnstone (1927) are some of the events analysed by Mason. In her article ‘In Search of Acracia, a Catalan Anarchist in Australia’ (111), Keene explores Torrents’s life-long search for the opportunity to create a community that could exist without interference from church or state. His commitment to the anarchistic cause shaped the content of many of Torrents’s crónicas, and from the 1930s onwards, most of his published works in *Cultura Proletaria* relate to politics in general, and anarchy in particular. In this article, I have chosen to focus on the crónicas that Torrents penned in his earlier life, from the start of his voyage to Australia in 1915, to the early 1930s. The themes covered in these earlier works extend beyond politics to cover a host of issues, such as community, race, gender relations, social justice, racism and violence.

Earlier reference has been made to Nicolás Kanellos’s view that crónistas often adopted the role of commentator, observing the behaviour and cultural mores of the migrant community. Torrents, too, positioned himself as a community moralist and used his crónicas to express his views on the world within, or the migrant community to which he belonged. In addition, these writings offered the cronista a platform from which to comment on his perception of the host country, or the world without.

An illustration of the way in which Torrents adopts the role of community moralist, observing life in the host country can be found in one of his earliest crónicas. In 'Impresiones de mi viaje a Australia' ('Impressions of my Journey to Australia'), he writes that he is pleasantly surprised that third class passengers on the *Osterley* enjoy the same dining privileges as all others, and are served plentiful food by waiters, 'como si fuera un restaurante' ('as if it were a restaurant'). He is equally impressed with Fremantle, the first Australian port that the *Osterley* visits. He comments that the city streets are 'muy bien arregladas' ('very well laid out'). What he finds less pleasing, on his arrival to Australia, is what he sees to be a culture ill-affected by alcohol, gambling, prostitution and the consumption of opium. He is scathing about the way in which the Anglo-Irish Australians abuse alcohol and call themselves 'civilised' when few of them are sober enough to stand up unsupported. He comments also, when he observes the same Anglo-Irish passengers singing hymns to celebrate Christmas, '¡pobres gentes! Mucho trabajar por el *alma* y nada se cuidan de su cuerpo: todo lo esperan del *cielo*, nada hacen por mejorar la vida en la tierra' ('poor people! They work a lot on their *souls* and not their bodies. They expect everything from *heaven*, but do nothing to improve their lives on earth!'). In the same crónica, Torrents shares with readers his experience of confronting poverty and racial inequality on the streets of Colombo, where the *Osterley* had docked overnight en route to Australia. He is disturbed by the sight of the *puspus* men, who replace horses and pull along carriages 'como verdaderas bestias' ('like real beasts'). The cronista observes that the so called *salvajes* (savages), 'despreciados por su color' ('scorned because of their colour') are in many cases able to speak up to four languages, implying that they possess equal or superior cognitive ability as those who ill-treat them.

On disembarking at the first Australian port of Fremantle, Torrents expresses surprise and dismay to see little evidence of indigenous Australians, and he concludes that 'los europeos los han *civilizado* a todos (hecho desaparecer)' ('the Europeans have *civilised* them [made them disappear]') (ST 5/18). As he observes passengers and crew leaving the *Osterley* he writes: 'la mitad no pueden tenerse en pie de la borrachera que llevaban' ('half of them were too drunk to stand up unsupported'). With a sting in his tone, Torrents remarks that the Europeans whom he holds responsible for this disappearance, through assimilation, disease, displacement or conflict are the same individuals whose abuse of alcohol is in direct conflict with their self-appointed role as *civilizadores* (civilisers).

The theme of racism continues in his handwritten journals, which make reference to the manner in which Spanish migrants working in North Queensland were received by their hosts. Although this journal entry does not form part of Torrents's published oeuvre it is worthy of inclusion because it offers further insight into the way in which the cronista felt that he was viewed by *los europeos*. He writes: 'Los que aquí no hemos nacido nos tratan como a negros. Se creen ser superiores, pero te puedo asegurar que nada les hemos de envidiar' (Journal ST 5/1) ('Those of us who have not been born here are treated like blacks. They think that they are superior, but I can assure you that there is nothing that we need to be envious about'). The discrimination described above is later echoed by Ray Jordana, the son of Torrents's friend, a fellow cane farmer, who, in interviews with Alan Frost, describes the efforts he made to master the English language through self-education, a phenomenon already touched on by Torrents. Experience had taught him that official personnel such as bank managers, administrative staff and shop assistants were much more responsive and respectful of those who spoke 'the King's English,' and he saw first hand the treatment that was handed out by 'pipsqueak' officials to those with limited English language skills (Frost 201). Torrents's comments on race are worthy of comment, as they show his position to be a complex one. On the one hand, he demonstrates empathy towards the natives of Colombo, and draws the readers' attention to their cognitive

abilities. He adds that although the European colonisers of Australia may see themselves as being superior to the later arrivals, there is no justification for this perception. However, when he writes that ‘nos tratan como negros’ (‘they treat us like blacks’), he demonstrates his discomfiture at belonging to a migrant group that is being ‘tarred with the same brush’ as the indigenous communities in and around Innisfail. There are further handwritten journal entries in which Torrents expands on his views about similar race-related issues; however, while they may warrant further exploration, they fall outside the scope of this study whose focus is on the manner in which the cronista’s published works informed international readers.

In his 1927 crónica ‘Tristes recuerdos’ (‘Sad memories’), Torrents writes about his recollections of a specific day soon after his arrival at Mena Creek in 1916, when he was working on the cane fields and had reached a point of such exhaustion that he could no longer continue. He writes that as well as feeling diminished by an overwhelming sense of fatigue, there was the added humiliation of appearing weak. He remarks that men working in the cane-fields are ‘mucho menos miramiento que a los animales y las máquinas de hierro’ (‘valued much less than farm animals and machinery’). Torrents shares with his readers a lack of comprehension that men would be defined by their physical strength or weakness ‘en pleno siglo XX’ (‘in the 20<sup>th</sup> century’). He questions a world order in which animals are valued according to the weight that they bear, and machines for the energy they are able to generate; men, correspondingly, are only valuable if they can withstand the intense physical demands of sugar cane work. They are either strong or else they cease to exist. Men are readily available, whereas farm animals and machinery cost money and thus need to be looked after and respected. There is some sadness in the sombre tone of this crónica, as Torrents recalls with such clarity the day (18 October 1916), over ten years earlier when he could work no further. It is understandable that his great grand-daughter, Tracy Onaindia would hold the view that Torrents’s literary world offered some escape from the hardships of daily life: ‘when they talked about the good times they were infrequent and sometimes the only way that they could relieve themselves of the drudgery was to write and share ideas’ (Onaindia, T).

In his 1924 crónica ‘Tema Deportivo’ (‘On the Subject of Sport’), Torrents offers a further critique on his host country’s celebration of the use of mindless violence. He voices his dismay at the sight of two men, named Piter (sic) and Tom, facing off in a punch-up in front of a cheering crowd who appear to have no idea as to the reason for the altercation. ‘Entonces empezó la comedia’ (‘Then the drama began’), he writes, as both men are applauded and encouraged, even as the two participants stagger and sway, knocking out each other’s teeth, breaking each other’s noses and requiring support to remain standing. Torrents is surprised that the members of the crowd shift loyalties between the two men, seeming to be interested only in the continuation and escalation of the brawl. It becomes clear to the narrator that the people support whoever it is who is throwing punches, without asking which of the two is at fault. He writes: ‘la cuestión es pegar y cuanto más fuerte mejor’ (‘the issue is to hit, and the harder the better’). A policeman, also part of the crowd, eventually calls an end to the fight, and the two men shake hands and head to the pub for a drink. Torrents eventually discovers the cause of the fight. In the previous Sunday’s football match one of the men had delivered a poor pass which led to the loss of the game. Torrents’s conclusion is, ‘lo que habían perdido era la dignidad de HOMBRES’ (‘what they had lost was their dignity as MEN’). As community moralist, he condemns both the use of violence, and the casual participation of those looking in on this spectacle. In his role as a commentator, he deciphers and interprets the conflict between the two men for an international readership. In creating a crónica in which a description of the punch-up between the two men occupies all but the last lines of the column, the reader is led to anticipate that the reason for the altercation when exposed, would be serious and significant.

By finally revealing a minor sporting mishap as the cause of the disagreement, Torrents displays his incredulity that grown men in the host country would resort to a physical confrontation, at the expense of their dignity.

In 'La honradez de D. Toribio' ('The Honour of Don Toribio'), Torrents returns to an old world setting to offer a satirical *crónica* that depicts a character named Don Toribio, a wealthy businessman. He is introduced as follows: '¿Quién no conoce a Don Toribio? Pues todo el vecindario habla de él, como el hombre más bueno y caritativo que puede conocerse' ('Who doesn't know Don Toribio? Well, all the neighbourhood speaks of him as the best and most charitable man one could know'). This protagonist displays the outward markers of respectability, occupying positions such as President of the Catholic Circle and Secretary of the Anti-Tuberculosis League. He ensures that his fellow villagers notice that he attends Mass on a daily basis. When the ageing Don Toribio seeks to marry Teresita, the youthful daughter of one of his employees, her family are pressured into agreeing to the union despite her declaration of love for her cousin.

Don Toribio's newly married state does not prevent him from continuing, with fellow parishioners, a secret practice established before his wedding: that of visiting a brothel run by Lolita. When Don Toribio arrives home unexpectedly one day to find Teresita in the arms of her cousin, a confrontation takes place which results in Don Toribio shooting and killing Teresita, 'por haberle sido INFIEL' ('for having been UNFAITHFUL to him'). In the aftermath of the shooting, the community rallies behind Toribio, declaring him a man whose mission it was to do good to all around him, and who is instead 'burlado por la sinvergüenza de su mujer. Vamos, que ha hecho bien en MATARLA' ('made a fool of by his shameful wife. In a word—he did well to KILL HER'). When his case is finally heard, the defence lawyer's portrayal of his client concludes with the claim that 'Todos los hombres de la honradez de Don Toribio hubiéramos hecho lo propio' ('All honourable men like Don Toribio would have done the same if we were in his position'). The all-male jury thus finds Toribio not guilty, agreeing that this was a crime of passion. On exiting the courtroom, Don Toribio returns to Lolita's brothel, 'como si nada hubiera pasado' ('as if nothing had happened').

This *crónica* offers a stinging exposition of both the individual and the socio-economic class to which he belongs. The protagonist is portrayed as a man who adheres to a misguided image of himself as an honourable man, displaying no remorse and accepting no responsibility for Teresita's murder. His prompt return to Lolita's brothel reinforces the protagonist's moral bankruptcy. Torrents's criticism of Toribio's 'vecindario' ('community') is equally sharp, for it appears that none of his neighbours question whether any blame should be apportioned to him. Rather, they condemn Teresita for what they view as her betrayal of Don Toribio. It would be a matter of interest to discover whether readers responded to this *crónica* or others; however, as Torrents's newspaper writings in Spain have yet to be located in their original publication, this is not clear. His readers, nonetheless, would be able to recognise the social landscape in which this *crónica* is situated, as well as the significance of labels that Torrents applies to satirise his protagonist.

The above-mentioned *crónica* was not Torrents's first to address the theme of honour. In his 1925 column 'El honor de la familia' ('The Family Honour'), two sisters discuss the steps they are taking to ensure that the family's reputation is upheld at all costs. One of the sisters exclaims 'el honor de la familia ante todo' ('before all else, the family's honour'). They exchange reports on the philandering behaviour of the wayward male members of their families, and they contemplate ways to ensure that details of their extra-marital activities do not become public

knowledge. The *crónica* concludes with the sisters' decision to go to confession, even though they claim that 'Dios sabe adonde está la culpa, y nos sabrá juzgar' ('God knows where the blame lies, and he will know how to judge us'). Once again, Torrents offers a critique of the pursuit of honour at all costs, coupled with an obsession with maintaining a façade of respectability. That the sisters decide to attend confession, even though it is not they who are participating in the reported wrongdoings, points to a further way in which they seek to absolve themselves of any guilt for their inability or unwillingness to change the behaviour of the perpetrators' misdemeanours.

It was not unusual for Torrents to comment directly or indirectly on the role of women through his *crónicas*, and the anarcho-sindicalistic newspapers both in Spain and in the U.S. that published his works frequently featured content relating to gender relations. In his lengthy *crónica* 'Sobre la Mujer,' ('About Women') the *cronista* explains that during his nightly ritual of reading newspapers and books, should he stumble upon something pertaining to women, 'pongo un poco de atención' ('I pay a little [more] attention'). Torrents positions himself firmly on the side of gender equality, and he himself acknowledges that his position on women may be out of step with the mainstream. He encourages women to take action to overcome their inferior position in society, and to strive for their liberation. At the same time, he points out that women are equally capable of behaving poorly, and that both sexes are guilty of getting in the way of those who wish to rise above their situations. The *cronista* counsels women that 'en vez de pasar el tiempo pintándose y vestirse como un muñeco para divertir y atonar a los hombres' ('instead of spending the time painting themselves up and getting dressed up like dolls in order to entertain and dazzle men') they would be better advised to engage productively in activities that would lead to a positive change both in terms of their situation, and also the way in which they are viewed by men. In his view, 'contratos ni bendiciones' ('marital contracts or ceremonies') between men and women are unnecessary, since the unions that take place do so in response to the laws of Nature, and need no legal or ceremonial validation. He concludes the *crónica* with the words of the Spanish anarchistic intellectual Federica Montseny (1905–1994), whose character Clara in her novel 'La Victoria' expresses her desire for equal rights, responsibilities, freedoms and opportunities for fulfilment. She adds 'no quiero que un hombre me lleve del ronzal y que otro me levante por los hombros' ('I don't want to be led by a halter by one man, nor to be lifted up on the shoulders by another'). Montseny's words encapsulate Torrents's expressed views on a workable way forward for women that would, if successful, result in lasting and meaningful gender equality.

Salvador Torrents continued producing *crónicas* for publication until shortly before his death in 1952. By then, at least 60 had made their way into print in newspapers in Spain and the U.S. The writings of this self-educated, sugar-farming anarchist from Mataró occupy an important place in the study of early Spanish-language literature in Australia in general, and of *crónicas* in particular. Now, as then, his oeuvre provides an international readership with acute observations of the Europe that he had left behind, and the new Australia that he had joined. In addition, his writings offer the reader his unique insights into the Anglo-Irish culture of the host country in which he sought refuge. His contribution to the *crónicas* of Australia is particularly significant. As well as being the first known Spanish language *cronista* in Australia, the themes presented by Torrents prefigure those that appear decades later, when migrants from both Spain and Latin America publish their work in Hispanic newspapers in this country. This most intriguing man's work deserves to be preserved, celebrated and afforded further scholarly attention, for he occupies an important historical role in very early Spanish-language writing in this country, thereby offering the reading community a unique insight into his reflections of early migrant life in Australia.



## NOTES

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<sup>2</sup> Many of Torrents's crónicas have not been located in their original newspaper publications, so for the purposes of this article, I have used the referencing method established by the archivists in the Special Collections Library at James Cook University, where Torrents's files are stored.

All translations are mine unless otherwise specified.

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