

# The Influence of Contemporary Social and Political Factors on Portuguese Translations of Kipling's Poem "If": A Tentative Chronology (1910-1960)\*

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- \* This paper is dedicated to the memory of the poet and translator Landeg White. I first met Landeg when he came to Portugal thirty years ago. I was working at the British Council in Lisbon and one of the longest serving members the staff and Head of English Studies. Landeg had just arrived, was intending to stay, and was looking for a teaching job at one of the Lisbon Universities and wanted a few suggestions. He struck me immediately as an interesting case, a person who had travelled the world teaching from Trinidad to Malawi, and who, despite his vast experience, was willing to do anything, if it allowed him to write. He left me a couple of books of poetry which I promised to read when I got the chance. To be frank, after entertaining as host of well-known British authors from William Golding and Arnold Wesker to Malcolm Bradbury, David Lodge, Andrew Motion and Roger McGough with my BC Literature hat on, I was prepared to be disappointed. But, in fact, I was pleasantly surprised by Landeg's learned and witty verses and his fascination with the people he came across and the history of the places he had lived and worked in. So much so, in fact, that his was one of the first names which came to mind when we were organising "A Tribute to Wales" in Lisbon with the help of Peter Florence of the Hay-on-Wye Literature Festival. Landeg read from his own work – much of it set in Portugal, which allowed those present to see their own country through the eyes of this remarkable Welsh poet and humanist, who, though knowledgeable and respectful of history and tradition, also managed to reveal the humorous side of things they held dear. Landeg succeeded eventually in getting a job at Universidade Aberta which enabled him to travel into Lisbon a couple of days a week. At his home in Mafra he wrote several magnificent books of poetry and it was there that he finally found the peace and time to set out on an ambitious undertaking which few would even dare to consider, which he had apparently been planning since the time he taught in East Africa. His translation of *The Lusiads* by Portugal's national poet Luis Vaz de Camões was the first for half a century, the enterprise of a lifetime. Tenaciously, he stuck with it, finally managing to complete the work in 1997. Its publication as part of the Oxford series of World Classics was justly recognised by the *Times Literary Supplement* through the award of its Teixeira Gomes Prize for Translation. Later, remembering the struggles of future translators or students of translation, Landeg would publish his notes on his daily experience of searching for the appropriate form of expression, or rhyme, in a slim volume disarmingly entitled *Translating Camões, a Personal Record*. Lesser men would have preferred to hide behind the finished version – it was a gesture of great humility and generosity. After the triumph of *The Lusiads*, and a couple of books of poetry

In his autobiography *Something of Myself*, published shortly after his death in 1937, Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) commented wryly on the “startling” success of his poem *If*, which, as he put it, had “escaped” from his book *Rewards and Fairies* and “for a while ran about the world”, being “printed as cards to hang up in offices and bedrooms; illuminated text-wise and anthologized to weariness”. He added that, by the time of writing, “twenty-seven of the Nations of the Earth [had] translated them into their seven and twenty tongues and printed them on every sort of fabric.” (146)

Astonishingly, in view of the profound changes in attitudes and moral codes which have taken place since Edwardian times, Kipling’s sermon-like eulogy of the supposedly masculine virtues of stoicism, determination and leadership is still popular today, over a century later. It is also, unquestionably, one of the most-translated, adapted and parodied pieces of poetry in the history of literature.

Written in 1895 and first published in 1910 in Kipling’s collection of stories, *Rewards and Fairies*, (175)<sup>1</sup> and that same year in *The American Magazine*, (715) (Fig.1)<sup>2</sup> the poem’s continuing appeal is apparent from the countless framed copies which are hung in schools and other public places around the world and from the many different versions to be found on the internet, recited by well-known

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later, Landeg finally decided to hand in his doctoral thesis, probably because it no longer mattered to his academic career, and to set out on yet another epic challenge – translating Camões’ lyric poems for the first time in English, this time with a grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. It was again a triumph, published ten years after *The Lusiads* by Princeton University Press. Few could have done more to bring the work of the great Portuguese poet to the attention of English-speaking readers and it was fitting that, shortly after his death in 2017, the Portuguese Parliament should recognise his contribution to cultural relations between Portugal and Britain with a moving tribute, a unanimous vote of thanks and a minute’s silence in the presence of his widow, Alice. Over the whole of the time I knew him, Landeg was always ready to talk to audiences of students either about translation, his own poetry or his impressions of Portugal. No one was more generous with his time. He lectured on the work of Camões all over the world, from Goa to Princeton, and justly earned a reputation as true friend of Portugal whilst never ceasing to celebrate the land of his birth or the language in which he wrote so well. I can think of few who deserve to be more justly recognised for their contribution to Anglo-Portuguese Relations and to the literary scene of both Britain and Portugal and I write this belated personal tribute in the hope that Universidade Nova, perhaps together with the other institutions with which he worked, Universidade Aberta and Católica, will finally organise an International Conference bearing his name.

1. Significantly, the poem comes immediately after the story “Brother Square Toes”, the moral of which was that responsible leaders must act without fear or favour.
2. *The American Magazine* was published from 1906 to 1956.

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 THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE
 

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VOL. LXX

OCTOBER, 1910

No. 6



BY RUDYARD KIPLING

If you can keep your head when all about you  
 Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;  
 If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,  
 But make allowance for their doubting too;  
 If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,  
 Or being lied about don't deal in lies,  
 Or being hated don't give way to hating,  
 And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise;

If you can dream and not make dreams your master;  
 If you can think—and not make thoughts your aim,  
 If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster  
 And treat those two impostors just the same,  
 If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken  
 Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,  
 Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken,  
 And stoop and build 'em up with worn-out tools;

If you can make one heap of all your winnings  
 And risk it on one turn of pitch-and-toss,  
 And lose, and start again at your beginnings  
 And never breathe a word about your loss;  
 If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew  
 To serve your turn long after they are gone,  
 And so hold on when there is nothing in you  
 Except the Will which says to them: 'Hold on!'

Copyright, 1910, by Rudyard Kipling.

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The American Magazine

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,  
 Or walk with Kings—nor lose the common touch,  
 If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,  
 If all men count with you, but none too much;  
 If you can fill the unforgiving minute  
 With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,  
 Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,  
 And—which is more—you'll be a Man, my son!

Fig. 1 – "If" by Rudyard Kipling. *The American Magazine*. Vol. LXX, October 1910.

actors such as Douglas Fairbanks Jr.,<sup>3</sup> Robert Morley,<sup>4</sup> Dennis Hopper,<sup>5</sup> Harvey Keitel,<sup>6</sup> Michael Caine,<sup>7</sup> John Hurt,<sup>8</sup> or Kevin Spacey,<sup>9</sup> as well as the scores of renderings offered by earnest gurus, educationalists and amateur “diseurs” in blogs or podcasts. Comparatively few have been recorded by women, undoubtedly due to the poem’s assumedly male-centred emphasis.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, in view of Kipling’s well-known espousal of white supremacy – a notion which was largely taken for granted in Britain during Victorian times – it is no surprise that fewer still have been recorded by members of other ethnic groups.

It will be remembered that the inspiration behind the poem, which was published when Kipling’s son John was thirteen,<sup>11</sup> was the author’s friend, Leander Starr Jameson (1853-1917), the leader of the disastrous raid against the Boer Republic of the Transvaal which took place in the final days of 1895. Jameson, who had mustered a brigade of some six hundred volunteers with the intention of provoking an uprising of disenfranchised British “outlanders”, quickly surrendered when confronted by superior defending forces but was lionised by the British press which presented the humiliating defeat as a victory. Jameson was later handed over to the British authorities and tried and sentenced in Britain.<sup>12</sup> After spending only part of his 15 months sen-

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3. Douglas Fairbanks Jr. (1909-2000) recited Kipling’s poem on the extremely popular Ed. Sullivan Show on December 1<sup>st</sup> 1957. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vmFQPz9Dk7c>
  4. Denis Hopper’s (1936-2010) reading of *If* on the Johnny Cash show on September 30<sup>th</sup> 1970, can be seen at: <https://veja.abril.com.br/cultura/conheca-se-o-poema-classico-de-rudyard-kipling/>
  5. Robert Morley (1908-1992) recited *If* on the Michael Parkinson retirement show in 1982. See [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hAejmFrO\\_6Y](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hAejmFrO_6Y)
  6. Harvey Keitel’s (b.1939) version can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cqFZHyKyHiM>
  7. Sir Michael Caine (b.1933) begins his reading by saying that *If* is one of his favourite poems. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sqOgyNfH11U>
  8. John Hurt’s (1940-2017) recitation of *If* can be seen at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SWjJFKnoqEM>
  9. Kevin Spacey’s (b.1959) reading can be seen at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=trV2ZVL7II>
  10. The version sung by Joni Mitchell (b.1943) in her album *Shine* (2007) constitutes a memorable exception, however. Her rendering of *If* can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SBuqy9oLISA>.
  11. Lt. John Kipling was killed at the Battle of Loos in 1915.
  12. “*If* is also a bitter condemnation of the British Government led by Lord Salisbury, and the duplicity of its Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, for covertly supporting Dr. Jameson’s raid against the Boers in South Africa’s Transvaal in 1896, only to condemn him when the raid failed.” Freelance journalist Geoffrey Wansell writing in the *Daily Mail*, February 16th 2009 at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1146109/The-remarkable-story-Rudyard-Kiplings-If--swashbuckling-renegade-inspired-it.html#ixzz3z7E43xne>

tence in prison, apparently due to ill health, he was released and later returned to South Africa. On the death of Cecil Rhodes in 1902, he took over the leadership of the Progressive Party and two years later was appointed Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. Jameson retired from politics in 1910, before the creation of the Union of South Africa and died seven years later. Kipling's friendship with the Jameson family is described in some detail in his autobiography.<sup>13</sup>

Over the years the verses have served as a support and source of inspiration for a wide range of political and social causes, some of which could not have been less dear to its author. Such was the case of one of the first translations, which was made by Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), the Italian philosopher and Communist leader, who published his version in *Avanti!* in 1916 under the title *If – breviario per laici*. In view of the fact that Kipling was widely known as a leading advocate of British Imperial rule and the military power which enforced it,<sup>14</sup> Gramsci felt the need to justify the translation in his prison writings, arguing that "Kipling's morality [was] imperialist only to the extent that it [was] closely linked to a specific historical reality [...] and that there [were] lessons in the poem for any social group struggling for political power."<sup>15</sup> It was the virtues of "character, discipline and order" as expressed in Kipling's poem which appealed to Gramsci and which have attracted both those on the left and the right of the political spectrum who have since translated Kipling's poem.

In 1918, a free adaptation of *If* entitled "Tu seras un homme mon fils" was published by the celebrated French writer André Maurois

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13. See Chapter VI of *Something of Myself*.

14. At the time, Kipling was the first English writer to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature (1907) and the youngest writer to that date. Six years before Gramsci's translation, the Italian literary critic Emilio Cecchi had published a study of Kipling's writing in *Rudyard Kipling* (Firenze: Casa Editrice Italiana 1910).

15. "Potrebbe, l'opera di Kipling, servire per criticare una certa società che pretenda di essere qualcosa senza avere elaborato in sé la morale civica corrispondente, anzi avendo un modo di essere contraddittorio coi fini che verbalmente si pone. d'altronde la morale di Kipling è imperialista solo in quanto è legata strettamente a una ben determinata realtà storica: ma si possono estrarre da essa immagini di potente immediatezza per ogni gruppo sociale che lotti per la potenza politica." (Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, 402) Quoted in Alessandro Carlucci, "Between Two Worlds: Gramsci, Sardinia and the Early Italian reception of Kipling." ("Chivalry, Academy, and Cultural Dialogues. The Italian Contribution to European Culture". *Legenda. Italian Perspectives* 37. MHRA 2016)

(1885-1967).<sup>16</sup> Unlike Gramsci, who had evidently gone to some lengths to remain faithful to the original, Maurois altered the sequence of the lines which make up the verses, while managing to retain the essence and appeal of the original poem. His adaptation of Kipling's advice to his son was an integral part of his first novel, *Les Silences du Colonel Bramble*, (137-138) an amusing and socially-realistic collection of sketches based on his experiences as an interpreter and liaison officer with the British Army in France during the Great War, which became an immediate success in his home country. The first of several editions of Maurois' novel in English, *The Silence of Colonel Bramble* (1919) was published in the following year but, like those which followed, it did not include Kipling's poem, almost certainly due to copyright issues. Maurois' adaptation soon became the most popular version of the poem amongst French-speakers and is still reproduced and recorded in Francophone countries today.

The first Portuguese translation of Kipling's poem, and, in fact, one of the earliest to be published anywhere, was made by the author and journalist Paulo Mendes Osório (1882-1965), the Paris correspondent of the Lisbon daily *O Século* and its popular illustrated magazine *Ilustração Portuguesa*. A former editor of the *Diário Ilustrado*<sup>17</sup> and a trusted aide of João Franco, one of the last Prime-Ministers of the Monarchy, Osório moved to France in 1911, undoubtedly due to the change of regime in Portugal, and in 1913 was appointed the first director of *O Século's* new office in the capital.<sup>18</sup> Osório's version of *If* accompanied his brief report from Paris entitled "A Bíblia da Energia", dated December 8<sup>th</sup> 1916, which announced the publication in the following day's *Le Figaro* of a translation "que pode bem

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16. André Maurois was the *nom-de-plume* of Emil Herzog. He adopted it as his real name in 1947.

17. A daily newspaper which conveyed the views of the Regenerador-Liberal faction during the Monarchy.

18. Paulo Osório was the author of several essays on Camilo Castelo Branco and published a biography entitled *Camilo. A Sua Vida, o Seu Génio* in 1908. He also published two volumes of chronicles, *Liçboá* (1908) and *No Fado* (1911); a novel, *História de um Morto* (1914), and a study of Portugal's role in the war entitled *Le Portugal et la Guerre*, translated by Philéas Lebesque (1918). In addition to his work as a newspaper correspondent he was the Press secretary at the Portuguese Embassy for three decades after 1920 and, at the same time, the editor of the Paris-based newspaper *Paris-Notícias*, which was published from June 1921 onwards, in French.

dizer-se de circunstancia [...] d'uma obra prima [...] do grande poeta e romancista Rudyard Kipling [...]. His translation, which might also be described as "de circunstância", read as follows:

Se podes conservar a tua cabeça, quando todos em redor de ti  
tiverem perdido a d'eles e disserem que foi por culpa tua,  
Se podes contar contigo quando todos de ti duvidem,  
e encontrar mesmo desculpas para essa dúvida,  
Se podes esperar sem que a espera te fatigue,  
Se, vivendo no meio de mentira, não sabes mentir,  
Ou, sendo odiado, não tens a fraqueza tu mesmo de odiar.  
Se, contudo, nem parecees demasiado sensato nem demasiado bom,

Se podes sonhar sem que teu sonho te domine,  
Se sabes pensar sem fazer do pensamento o teu fim [...]  
Se, encontrando o Triunfo e o Desastre,  
Tratas os dois impostores d'um modo igual,  
Se podes suportar, ouvir a verdade que tu próprio disseste,  
Mascarada por laçaios para fazerem dela uma armadilha para doidos  
Se podes ver quebrarem-se as coisas a que consagraste a vida,  
E, abaixando-te, reconstruí-las com os instrumentos usados;

Se podes fazer um bloco de todo os teus ganhos,  
Arriscal-o n'um só golpe de fortuna,  
Perdel-o, e tudo recomeçar pelo começo  
Sem nunca dizer uma palavra sobre a perda que sofreste,  
Se podes forçar o teu coração, os teus nervos, os teus músculos  
A servirem-te muito tempo depois de os teres usado  
E de tal modo aguentar-te quando só tiveres em ti  
A Vontade que diz ao resto; Aguenta-te,

Se podes falar às multidões e conservar a tua virtude,  
Conversar com os reis e conservar o senso-comum  
Se um amigo te não pode ferir nem um inimigo,  
Se todos os homens contam contigo mas nenhum demasiado,

Se podes preencher o minuto que não perdoa,  
 Com sessenta segundos que valham a distância corrida...  
 Então a terra pertence-te e tudo que ela encerra,  
 E, o que vale mais, tu serás um homem, meu filho.<sup>19</sup>

The two translations were published against the backdrop of the Great War, and the prominent positioning of Kipling's verses on the front page of *Le Figaro* was clearly intended to serve as a tribute to the heroism and stoic resistance of the French defenders at the Battle of Verdun, which was mercifully entering its final tragic throes.<sup>20</sup> The anonymous author began with praise for the poem and its message: "elle respire une si forte virilité et contient tant de nobles formules bonnes à être méditées dans le temps présent, que nous croyons devoir mettre ce chef-d'oeuvre sous les yeux de nos lecteurs [...]" ("Au jour le jour. Si". *Le Figaro*, December 9<sup>th</sup> 1916, 1) adding that as far as he knew, it had not been translated before in France.<sup>21</sup> In fact, the translation in *Le Figaro* preceded André Maurois' now-famous version by over a year and, like Paulo Osório's pioneering translation into Portuguese, has hitherto gone unnoticed.

In an ironic twist of fate, Osório's translation would serve as a source of encouragement and inspiration to one of the outstanding figures of the Republican regime – the leading radical politician and former Prime Minister, Afonso Costa, who revealed in a private note written at the Versailles Peace Conference that he had kept the

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19. The translations into Portuguese which are commented in this study are reproduced in the Appendix, as is the first French translation of the poem. The only exception is Paulo Osório's version, published in the body of the paper. A few days before, Osório had published an article entitled "Os Ingleses em França" praising Britain's war effort in a special edition of *Ilustração Portuguesa* dedicated to "A Força Indómita da Nobre Albion ante a Bárbara Alemanha." He ended with the following words: "Em toda a parte onde tem combatido juntos a harmonia entre o soldado francez e o inglez é perfeita. E essa harmonia não será menos completa – estou bem certo – quando houver a mais um portuguez." (II Série, no. 562, November 27<sup>th</sup> 1916)
20. The Battle of Verdun was the longest of the First World War and one of the most costly in history, with at least 700,000 casualties. Recent calculations suggest the true figure may have been considerably higher. The battle, which lasted from February 21<sup>st</sup> to December 18<sup>th</sup> 1916, later came to symbolise the determination and resistance of the French armed forces.
21. It is possible that one of the two editors, Alfred Capus or Robert de Flers, may have made the translation, perhaps hurriedly, due to the pressures of reporting on the war and hence may have preferred not to claim authorship.



newspaper cutting with the poem at his side throughout his imprisonment during the Sidónio Pais dictatorship.<sup>22</sup>

Surprisingly, given the proximity of the First World War, in which soldiers from Britain and Portugal fought side by side; Portugal's own empire in Africa and the Orient; and the traditional cultural links between the two "ancient allies" – factors which might have been expected to draw publishers and translators to Kipling's writing, a whole generation would go by before his novels were published in Portugal and a new version of *If* appeared.

Contrasting with this apparent lack of interest, the austere moral advice offered in Kipling's poem led to the appearance in Brazil of two translations in 1923 and to their official distribution to schools for display. The first translation was included in an article occupying several columns on the front-page of the popular Rio de Janeiro daily *O Jornal*, on February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1923.<sup>23</sup> Entitled "O Ideal Humano de Kipling", it was written by the politician, academic, historian and lay member of the Franciscan Order, Mesquita Pimentel (1893-1978)<sup>24</sup> who began by affirming that Brazilian literature would benefit greatly if Kipling's stories were better known, "emprestando-lhe tintas mais vivas e infundando-lhe mais vigor moral".<sup>25</sup> At the same time as demonstrating a profound knowledge of Kipling's work, a

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22. Afonso Costa was imprisoned on December 8<sup>th</sup> 1917 and on his release left for exile in Paris returning a few weeks after the assassination of Sidónio Pais on December 14<sup>th</sup> 1918. A card written by Costa, accompanying a cutting of Osório's article, with the heading "Conférence de La Paix. Delegation Portugaise", mentions that he had kept it with him whilst in prison between December 1917 and March 1918. Costa was Portugal's head of delegation at the Peace Conference, which took place between March 12<sup>th</sup> 1919 and the Treaty of Versailles which was signed on June 28<sup>th</sup> 1919. See Arquivo Mário Soares. DFC. Documentos Afonso Costa. Pasta: 07218.054. "A Bíblia da Energia de Rudyard Kipling\*". The cutting which accompanied Afonso Costa's card has been altered by hand at the point indicated by the asterisk to read: "a sua finalidade".
23. It was also distributed to schools by the Dept. of Education of the Distrito Federal, presumably for framing and display. See Vianna, *O sebre poema If de RUDYARD KIPLING e várias versões e diversões*, 1954.
24. In 1943, Mesquita Pimentel published a study entitled *Alguns estudos de literaturas estrangeiras* (Petrópolis: Ed.Vozes) which began with an essay entitled "O Ideal Humano de Kipling" as in the newspaper. Profoundly conservative, the author was the founder of the Historical Society of Petropolis, wrote several books which were inspired by Catholicism, and became the first Dean of the Law Faculty at the Catholic University of Petropolis.
25. He mentions that not even the French translations of Kipling's works by Louis Fabulet (1862-1933) were well-known in Brazil. Fabulet had been awarded the Langlois prize for his translation of *The Jungle Book* in 1901 by the Academie Francaise.

decade before the first translated novels appeared in Brazil,<sup>26</sup> the writer emphasised that the importance of the poem was not merely due to its aesthetic qualities but to its message and its potential contribution towards the improvement of the health, physique and “moral fibre” of Brazilian youth, an idea which he set out in the following terms:

A educação é, no fundo, o factor principal do destino humano; se ela fôr energicamente orientada para um alvo definido formará seres robustos e bem equilibrados como os heroes inglezes de Kipling, que a história confirma, se, ao contrário deixar-se frouxamente arrastar-se pela linha do menor esforço, só produzirá indivíduos enfezados, indolentes, falsos, predestinados à submissão como os hindus que os livros de Kipling retratam [...]. (1923, 1)

Mesquita Pimentel went on to voice reservations regarding his own translation,<sup>27</sup> whilst expressing the hope that he had managed to convey to his readers:

a severa emoção, o ardor quasi religioso, e o largo, profundo sopro de ambição que anima esse curto e sugestivo poema [...]. Traduzo-o adiante – embora considere uma péssima empresa transferir versos de uma língua para outra, e, peor ainda, reduzil-os a prosa – porque vale a pena entender o seu sentido ainda que desacompanhada da sugestão do seu rythmo especial, cadenciado e ondulante. (*Ibidem*)

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26. However, translations of Kipling’s short stories or excerpts from his novels began to appear in periodicals a decade before the first translated books were published in Brazil. The weekly literary journal *FonFon*, for example, published Kipling’s story “A Dança dos Elefantes” on April 28<sup>th</sup> 1923. Monteiro Lobato published his own translation/adaption of *Mowgli, o Menino-Lobo* in 1933 and *Jacald, o Crocodilo* in 1934, and a translation of *Kim* by Batista Pereira also appeared in 1934. In Portugal the first translation of one of Kipling’s novels seems to have appeared in 1936. The translator was Paulo Braga who was known for his books on Timor. *O Homem que quis ser Rei* (1936?) was followed by António Sérgio’s translation of Kipling’s *Captain’s Courageous (Lobos do Mar)* which is undated but carries on its cover a reproduction from the Hollywood film version, which suggests it must be post-1937. It is quite conceivable that other translations may have been published elsewhere in the Portuguese-speaking world.

27. Mesquita Pimentel modestly describes his prose version as a “tradução canhestra”.

He concluded by emphasising what he identified as the principal lesson to be drawn from Kipling's books:

Elles nos ajudarão a compreender e admirar a beleza dos corpos sadios e as almas fortes, das actividades orientadas por ideaes profícuos à collectividade e nos lembrarão a necessidade que tanto esquecemos de prover, na família e nas escolas á educação moral da nossa mocidade, afim de capacitá-la para a tarefa – que iniludivelmente cabe a cada cidadão – de tornar o nosso paiz forte, autónomo, independente, pelo valor dos seus filhos, e igual aos maiores da terra. (*Ibidem*)

Mesquita Pimentel's translation was reprinted, later that same year, in a manual entitled *Postillas Pedagógicas*, which was written by Elpídio Pimentel (1894-1971) for teachers of primary-school pupils with learning difficulties.<sup>28</sup> The author, who began editing the influential, twice-monthly literary magazine *Vida Capichaba* in his home state of Espírito Santo also in 1923, took advantage of the opportunity to introduce a number of minor alterations to the original translation.<sup>29</sup> In addition to his pioneering work in the field of special education, Elpídio Pimentel was well-known as a local historian, and was a prominent member of the Academia Espírito-Santense de Letras and the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Espírito Santo.

A second translation, perhaps better described as a free adaptation in verse<sup>30</sup> also appeared 1923 in a primer for teachers entitled *Ensinar a Ensinar*, a collection of essays published in Rio de Janeiro by the remarkable polymath Júlio Afrânio Peixoto (1876-1947),

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28. The translation is published in Elpídio Pimentel, *Postillas Pedagógicas* (1923, 767). See Monticelli, "Elpídio Pimentel e o anúncio de uma educação especial no ano de 1923 no Espírito Santo". *Caderno eletrônico de Ciências Sociais* (Vitória, v. 3, n. 2, 2016, 81-93). The date of publication of Mesquita Pimentel's translation in *O Jornal* is given erroneously as 1922.

29. Including a spelling update and alterations to punctuation but also one or two minor contributions of his own.

30. Afrânio Peixoto's version is divided into seven four-line stanzas, for instance, whereas Kipling's original has four eight-line stanzas. An undated copy, possibly printed much later, which is annotated by hand as "edição do Inst° de Educação" and is almost certainly a version for framing for distribution to schools, is held by the National Library of Brazil and is available online at: [http://acervo.bn.digital.bn.br/sophia/index.asp?codigo\\_sophia=4508](http://acervo.bn.digital.bn.br/sophia/index.asp?codigo_sophia=4508)

professor of Legal Medicine, politician, novelist, literary historian and educationalist.<sup>31</sup> The author, who was elected to the prestigious Academia Brasileira de Letras in 1910, became its President that same year. A Lusophile and a renowned expert on Camões, Afrânio Peixoto was later distinguished in Portugal for his literary and scientific achievements and was awarded honorary doctorates by the Universities of Coimbra and Lisbon. He was also elected to the Portuguese Academia de História and the Academia de Ciências de Lisboa.<sup>32</sup>

At the time of the translation, a debate dating from the final decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was raging in political and scientific circles as to how far the future success of Brazil as a nation depended upon its racial composition.<sup>33</sup> Though later defending the idea that the cause of the nation's "backwardness" was due to the absence of adequate sanitary and hygienic measures rather than to miscegenation, as others suggested, Afrânio Peixoto<sup>34</sup> also argued that black immigration would delay by decades what he saw as the inevitable assimilation and gradual disappearance of non-white characteristics in Brazil.<sup>35</sup> Afrânio Peixoto's ideas on race were inspired by eugenic theories which were popular in many countries at the time, even amongst scientists, and it seems reasonable to infer that his interest in Kipling and the desire

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31. See Peixoto, *Ensinar a ensinar; ensaios de pedagogia aplicada à educação nacional* (Rio de Janeiro, 1923). Republished as vol. 28 of the *Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira*, by the Companhia Editora Nacional in 1937. A resumé of Peixoto's achievements and publications in the areas of medicine, education and literature is available at: <https://dichistoriasaude.coc.fiocruz.br/iah/pt/verbetes/julafpeix.htm>

32. Profoundly conservative and influenced by the image of success which was disseminated by the Estado Novo regime in the thirties, Peixoto was inspired to write a tribute to Salazar on the occasion of the Lisbon independence commemorations in 1940: "Achou-se o 'homem' capaz, achou-se um dirigente digno [...]. Entendemos, como diz Shaw, esse problema de civilização, que é a escolha de um dirigente [...]. Como será; como deve ser, como obtê-lo? Para nós, agora, acertamos. Bem haja Salazar!" (Peixoto, "Oliveira Salazar", 1940)

33. See Santos, *Retrato e Diagnóstico do Brasil: os Sertões na Obra de Afrânio Peixoto (1910-1947)*, 2012.

34. Afrânio Peixoto was a "Deputado Federal" between 1924 and 1930.

35. In support of a proposal by Fidélis Reis to limit Asian immigration, prohibit black immigrants and encourage white immigration: "É neste momento que a América pretende desembaraçar-se do seu núcleo de 15 milhões de negros no Brasil? Quantos séculos serão precisos para depurar-se todo esse mascavo humano? Teremos albumina suficiente para refinar toda essa escória? Não bastou a Libéria, descobrimos o Brasil?" (*Anais da Câmara*. Session of December 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1923, 383-384) Fidélis Reis represented Minas Gerais in the Federal Assembly. For more on the ideas which prevailed at the time on the hereditary ills supposedly introduced by immigrants of different races, see Ramos, "Dos males que vêm com o sangue: as representações raciais e a categoria do imigrante indesejável nas concepções sobre imigração da década de 20", 1996, 59-82.

to disseminate the advice contained in his poem may have been due as much to his identification with such ideas as to his admiration for the author's literary talents.<sup>36</sup>

Four years after the first translations appeared, Rudyard Kipling made a widely-publicised visit to Brazil and described his favourable impressions in a series of articles entitled "Brazilian Sketches" in the *Morning Post*<sup>37</sup> which were later reviewed in the Rio daily *O Jornal*.<sup>38</sup> Though his reputation had already reached Brazil by the time of his visit in February and March 1927, the reception given in Kipling's honour by the Academia Brasileira de Letras<sup>39</sup> did much to draw attention to his writing and was one of the factors which contributed towards the translation of his works in Brazil in the years that followed. Several years went by, however, before new versions of *If* were published in Portuguese, and their publication was probably precipitated by other, more immediate factors of a social and political nature.

A translation of *If* by Judas Isgorogota (1898-1979) was published in 1936,<sup>40</sup> and two others by António Alcântara Machado (1901-1935) and Guilherme de Almeida (1890-1969) in 1938. Curiously, all three of the authors played active roles in the Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932 – the armed uprising of the state of S. Paulo against the "Provisional Government"<sup>41</sup> of Getúlio Vargas (1883-1954) –, and it is tempting to surmise that, consciously or otherwise, the translators

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36. The idea of white supremacy underpins Rudyard Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden: The United States and The Philippine Islands, 1899" which first appeared in *McClure's Magazine* on February 12<sup>th</sup>, 1899 and also, simultaneously, in *The Times*. The first verse of Kipling's poem reads as follows: "TAKE up the White Man's burden/ Send forth the best ye breed/ Go bind your sons to exile/To serve your captives' need;/To wait in heavy harness/On fluttered folk and wild –/Your new-caught sullen peoples, /Half devil and half child."
37. The articles appeared in the *Morning Post* between November and December, 1927, at the same time as in the American journal *Liberty*, and in *O Jornal* from December 27<sup>th</sup> 1927.
38. Translated by Pinheiro de Lemos (text) and Geir Campos (poems), Kipling's articles appeared in book form in Brazil 50 years after his visit. See Kipling, *Cenas Brasileiras – um Documento Inédito – a Presença de Kipling no Brasil*, 1977.
39. The reception was held on February 3<sup>rd</sup> 1927. The diplomat and Modernist poet Ronald de Carvalho was asked by the Brazilian Foreign Ministry to accompany Kipling. Carvalho was one of the Directors, together with Luís de Montalvor, of the famous Luso-Brazilian literary magazine *Orpheu*, launched in 1915.
40. Judas Isgorogota was the pen-name of the journalist Agnelo Rodrigues de Melo.
41. Vargas' "Governo Provisório" lasted from 1934 to 1937.

associated Kipling's references to stoicism and tenacity with their experiences of the ill-fated rebellion, which was finally defeated after a three-month struggle against overwhelming Federal forces. Despite the tragic loss of life, the revolt was not entirely in vain, as Vargas was forced to accept some of the rebels' demands including a Constituent Assembly and a new Constitution, which was celebrated in 1934. Sadly, however, the new political regime was overthrown in 1937 in a coup promoted again by Getúlio Vargas, whose so-called "Estado Novo" dictatorship replaced the previous Constitutional regime.

Evidence of Judas Isgorogota's unequivocal commitment to the S. Paulo rebellion is displayed in his patriotic marching song "Canção das Bandeiras", which was dedicated to the soldiers and volunteers fighting against the Federal troops and printed alongside Carlos Pagliuchi's musical score in the popular newspaper *A Gazeta*, at the start of the uprising.<sup>42</sup> Isgorogota's verse translation of Kipling's poem was included in his poetry collection *Recompensa*,<sup>43</sup> which was published four years later in S. Paulo, with introductions by the well-known writers Monteiro Lobato and Rodrigues de Abreu. The following year *Recompensa* was reviewed by the literary critic of the *Jornal de Brasil*, Múcio Leão, who, along with other poems from the same anthology, illustrated his article with a reproduction of Isgorogota's translation of *If*, which he called "o conselho da moralidade, a boa palavra de orientação sadia". ("Registro Literário. Judas Isgorogota", April 9<sup>th</sup> 1937, 6)<sup>44</sup>

A well-crafted verse translation of Kipling's poem by the lawyer, journalist, politician and poet António Alcântara Machado

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42. See "Canção das Bandeiras; aos braves soldados do Brasil, defensores de S. Paulo. Musica de Carlos Pagliuchi. Versos de Judas Isgorogota". *A Gazeta*, July 22<sup>nd</sup> 1932. Isgorogota wrote for the *Gazeta* newspaper between 1929 and 1969 and was responsible for the "Página Literária" for 20 years. He was also the first editor of the famous *Gazeta Juvenil*, the first magazine specifically written for children.

43. See Isgorogota, "Si". *Recompensa*, 1936, 57. I am grateful to Herman Lepikson a descendant of Judas Isgorogota for his valuable assistance in my research on the poet.

44. Commenting on Rodrigues de Melo's nom-de-plume, Leão wrote: "Judas Isgorogota...que nome! Parece o pseudonimo trocista de um sujeito que deseje a todo transe fazer graças. E é difícil imaginar um tal nome pronunciado com aquele respeito e aquela seriedade que os autores das grandes obras de arte merecem. É contudo, o poeta que usa um tal nome, um dos seres mais caros de sensibilidade e de finura, mais cheios de delicadeza na sua emoção, que presentemente existem na literatura brasileira!" (*Ibidem*)

(1901-1935) was published posthumously, in the December 1938 edition of *Aspectos*, a monthly cultural magazine.<sup>45</sup> Alcântara Machado had been elected to the Brazilian Academia de Letras in 1931 and despite the fact that his literary production and a possible future career as a politician were both cut short by his untimely death in 1935,<sup>46</sup> he is still remembered today for his contribution to the modernist movement,<sup>47</sup> his prolific production as a journalist, and his stories vividly set in the Italian quarters of São Paulo. Like Isgorogota, Machado was a staunch supporter of the São Paulo uprising and supervised the radio station Radio Sociedade Record – “a voz de S. Paulo” during the rebellion. Machado’s version of *If* is described in *Aspectos* as “iné-dito”, or previously unpublished, and as the magazine openly boasted its support of the Vargas regime – “ASPECTOS é pelo Estado Novo e a unidade da Pátria”<sup>48</sup> – it is reasonable to suppose that, were he still alive at the time, the author would have preferred to publish the translation elsewhere.

In the same year as Alcântara Machado’s version appeared in *Aspectos*, Guilherme de Almeida’s (1890-1969) now-celebrated translation of *If* (“Si”) was included in a collection of his poems entitled *Acaso – versos de todo o tempo*. (1938, 73-75)<sup>49</sup> Almeida’s rhymed version was part of the “Inglaterra” section of a chapter entitled “Viagens” which included poems by authors from Germany and Japan as well

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45. See *Aspectos. Mensário de Ciências, Letras e Artes*, December 1<sup>st</sup> 1938 – January 1<sup>st</sup> 1939, no.16, Ano II, 51-52.

46. Alcântara Machado died due to complications after an appendix operation. A tribute to the writer was published a year after his death in the form of a collection of articles and reminiscences by his friends and colleagues and coordinated by the well-known translator and literary critic Agripino Grieco. Only 500 copies were printed and unfortunately it has not proved possible to consult the publication: Grieco (ed.) *Em Memória de Antônio de Alcântara Machado*, 1936.

47. In 1926, Machado edited the first series of the modernist literary magazine *Revista de Antropofagia* which totalled 10 issues between May 1928 and February 1929, and which, in addition to his editorials and book reviews included contributions by several authors who were destined to become well-known worldwide, such as Mario de Andrade, Manuel de Bandeira and Carlos Drummond de Andrade. See Galvão Junior, “Caleidoscópio Estético e Político na Primeira Fase da revista de Antropofagia”, 2017, 2706-2711.

48. Capital letters used in the original.

49. The poem also appeared in the Journal of Academia Paulista de Letras: *Revista da Academia Paulista de Letras*, ano I, n<sup>o</sup> 2, March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1938, and was reproduced along the years in a number of Brazilian periodicals, for instance, on page 2 of the Literary Supplement of the *Diário de Notícias* (Rio de Janeiro) on October 29<sup>th</sup> 1950.

from other countries, and his choice of Kipling and his poem appears to have been inspired by the Anglo-Indian author's avowed patriotism and his proud identification with his "country of origin".<sup>50</sup> In 1932, like his fellow academician Alcântara Machado, Guilherme de Almeida<sup>51</sup> played an active role in the São Paulo uprising against the Vargas regime, both with readings of his poems on Radio Record and as a volunteer rifleman in the skirmishes against Government forces in the city of Cunha. In the aftermath of the conflict, Almeida was imprisoned and sentenced to temporary exile in Portugal, together with scores of other leading figures in the rebellion.<sup>52</sup> His vibrant recitation of the rousing poem "A Nossa Bandeira", which he wrote as a tribute to the defenders of São Paulo, was recorded in July 1954 and is now available online.<sup>53</sup>

Almeida is justly celebrated for his role in the organisation of the ground-breaking *Semana de Arte Moderna* in 1922 and the launch of the first Modernist literary journal *Klaxon*.<sup>54</sup> He is also remembered for his legacy as a journalist and cinema critic and his many literary translations from both French and English.<sup>55</sup> Guilherme de Almeida later became one of Brazil's most-admired poets and novelists,<sup>56</sup> and the popularity of his much-reproduced version of *If*<sup>57</sup> has since been

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50. Kipling was born in Bombay, India, however, which was part of the British Empire at the time. The other poem in the section entitled "Inglaterra" was inspired by the writing of Elisabeth Barrett Browning.
51. In 1930, Almeida became the first modernist to be accepted as a member of the Brazilian Academia de Letras.
52. His impressions of his eight-month stay and his travels in Portugal and Galicia appeared in the *Estado de S. Paulo* and were later collated in his book *O Meu Portugal – Crônicas de um Desterro*, which was first published by the Companhia Editora Nacional in 1933.
53. See <https://www.facebook.com/Guardioesde32/videos/a-nossa-bandeira-pela-voz-de-guilherme-de-almeida-em-julho-de-1954/527420348193143/>
54. *Klaxon. Mensário de Arte Moderna* (S. Paulo, 1922-3; 9 issues).
55. Guilherme de Almeida's important contribution to Brazilian translation theory and practice is dealt with in the excellent, recent study (2022) on the History of Translation in Brazil by Andreia Guerini and Walter Carlos Costa which is available online at [https://www.aieti.eu/enti/brazil\\_POR/entrada.html](https://www.aieti.eu/enti/brazil_POR/entrada.html)
56. Almeida's popularity can be judged by his election as the "Prince of Poets" in a poll organised in 1959 by the *Correio da Manhã* newspaper. See <http://www.elfikurten.com.br/2015/08/guilherme-de-almeida.html>. I am indebted to Elfi Kürten Fenske of Templo Cultural Delfos and to Ivanei da Silva of the Rede de Museus – Casas Literárias, in Brazil, for their help in chasing up much of the information offered here regarding Guilherme de Almeida.
57. In addition to its sporadic appearance in periodicals from the forties onwards, Almeida's version of *If* appears in the later editions of the children's encyclopaedia *Tesouro de Juventude*.



enhanced by his own recitation of the poem, a recording of which was released in 1989 on an LP entitled *Paulo Bonfim – Guilherme de Almeida*,<sup>58</sup> which, together with several assorted renderings of his translation by other “diseurs” is now available on the internet.<sup>59</sup>

Guilherme de Almeida’s already conservative political views seem to have evolved significantly between the time of his participation in the Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932 and the coup which overthrew João Goulart’s elected Government in 1964. At the time of the military takeover, he was writing an almost-daily column entitled “Eco ao longo dos meus passos”, which he had begun eleven years earlier, in the traditionally-liberal newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo*. The content of the articles changed abruptly from personal recollections to favourable articles of opinion regarding the so-called “Nova Ordem” which was being enforced by the military regime, in what Almeida termed “a nossa revolução”. (*Apud* Vieira, “O eco ao longo dos meus passos: Guilherme de Almeida e suas cores políticas” 2017, 163) Almeida lived for only five more years whereas, tragically, the military dictatorship remained in power for the next two decades, leaving a trail of censorship and human rights violations which included the torture and murder of many of those who opposed the regime.

In May 1938, only weeks after Guilherme de Almeida’s version of *If* had appeared in a modest edition of poems, a prose translation by Samuel Ribeiro (1882-1952),<sup>60</sup> was accorded special treatment in the pages of the illustrated weekly *O Cruzeiro*, the most popular periodical in Brazil between the 1930’s and the 1960’s.<sup>61</sup> The two-page

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58. Almeida’s recitation is accompanied by the orchestra of Hector Lagna Fietta. Cf. *Paulo Bonfim – Guilherme de Almeida. Prosa e Poesia* (RGE, 1989).

59. Guilherme de Almeida’s recitation can be found at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bLLHlg-7ALM>. Other interpretations include those by Ivan Lima: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g6pcVb5R-HA> and Leonardo Goldberg: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DLL4e\\_jfQWQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DLL4e_jfQWQ).

60. The translator, Samuel Ribeiro is described by the journalist as “uma intelligencia de escól” who exercised “uma actividade polymorphica”. The President of the Caixa Económica Federal between 1931 and 1946, Ribeiro was a well-known art collector and a generous patron of the Arts, and became the first President of the Museu de Arte de S. Paulo (MASP). Together with Mário Graciotti he founded the illustrated periodical *Inteligência: Mensário da Opinião Mundial* (1935-1940) which was inspired by the French monthly anthology *Le Mois: synthèse de l’activité mondiale* and published translations of articles which first appeared in foreign periodicals.

61. See *O Cruzeiro*, May 7<sup>th</sup> 1938, 16-17. The magazine was published in Rio de Janeiro.

spread included Kipling's original version in English and was accompanied by drawings by the magazine's resident illustrator Santa Rosa (1909-1956).<sup>62</sup> The anonymous author of the article emphasised the magazine's satisfaction at being able to publish a translation which was, in his words, "a mais perfeita entre todas [...] pela fidelidade com que segue o texto original, pela força de expressão que deixa intacto, e reveste da mesma pujança original o pensamento de Kipling." (*O Cruzeiro* 1938, 16-17) The introduction to the poem read as follows:

"If..." o immortal poema de Rudyard Kipling, onde os primores da arte poética elevam de maneira singular seu profundo conteúdo philosophico, tem encontrado em todas as literaturas do Mundo, traductores que procuraram transportar para o próprio idioma esse perfeito código de perfeição em que se dignifica a figura do verdadeiro Homem, com todas as virtudes de fé e energia. (17)

In a somewhat incongruous complement to its usual leisure content, the issue carried several pages of photographs displaying the "achievements" of the Vargas regime, focussing on the inauguration of the new Ministry of Education and school buildings in Paraná which the regime's appointed "interventor"<sup>63</sup> had commissioned, so demonstrating, in the words of the journalist, "um exemplo admiravel de constancia e força de vontade." Kipling's poem and Ribeiro's translation followed directly on from the article in praise of the regime – which, in hindsight, appears to have been a deliberate propaganda strategy.<sup>64</sup>

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62. Tomás Santa Rosa Junior was an artist, a set designer and a prolific book illustrator. The appearance of the translation in a magazine intended for a non-specialist readership shows that the poem and its message was considered both accessible to the magazine's readers and worthy of a wider audience.

63. A State Governor appointed directly by the President.

64. Although *O Cruzeiro* proudly announced that Samuel Ribeiro's translation had been made especially for the magazine, he may not have been aware of the newspaper's pro-Government strategy. Andrade da Costa notes, however, that the translated articles published in Ribeiro's magazine *Inteligência* praised regimes such as the "Estado Novo" in Portugal: "O fato de ser uma revista de traduções não significa que os redatores e colaboradores deixassem de expressar sua visão de mundo por meio da revista, pelo contrário, a seleção do que se publicava pressupunha escolhas que estavam longe ser inocentes. [...]"

The proliferation of translations and adaptations of *If* in many languages between the late thirties and the end of the Second World War, though encouraged primarily by the flood of tributes in the international press after Kipling's death in 1936, was also a reflection upon the profound and often violent social and political changes which were taking place around the world. Unlike the essentially nationalist and conservative ideas which inspired the early translations of Kipling's *If* in Brazil, the first translations of the poem by Portuguese authors were motivated by progressive ideals. In a remarkable turnabout, Kipling's poem had become, for many Portuguese democrats, a manifesto for resistance against Salazar's repressive and dictatorial regime.

In 1937, Alberto Osório de Castro's (1868-1946)<sup>65</sup> translation of André Maurois' adaptation into French was published alongside his own version of Kipling's original poem in the Portuguese cultural and literary magazine *Seara Nova*,<sup>66</sup> which, despite the censorship to which it was subjected, served as a platform for the intellectual opposition throughout the "Estado Novo" regime.<sup>67</sup> At the time, concern was growing in Portuguese democratic circles regarding the rise of fascism in Europe, and Britain and France were seen by many intellectuals as a source of inspiration and hope for the future. Osório de Castro undoubtedly wished to signal his support for democratic values through this discreet but eloquent gesture at a time when

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Em um mundo caótico, ameaçado pela iminência de uma nova guerra, o recurso a um discurso que apelava para a ordem, condenando as atitudes radicais dos regimes totalitários de direita e da esquerda, ridicularizando os espaços de debate das democracias e evidenciando os sucessos do fascismo e do salazarismo foi uma estratégia utilizada pelos intelectuais reunidos em torno da publicação para apontar uma senda ao Brasil." (Costa, "As representações do cenário internacional por meio das caricaturas da Revista Inteligência: mensário da opinião mundial (1935-1936)", 2012, 12-13)

65. Osório de Castro, a lawyer and freemason who spent much of his later career as a judge in the colonies, was a leading figure in the right-wing Republican Centrist Party, led by Egas Moniz, which split from the Republican Evolutionists in 1917 to support the short-lived Government of Sidónio Pais, in which Osório de Castro served as Minister of Justice. He was the brother of the novelist and militant feminist Ana de Castro Osório (1872-1935).
66. Alberto Osório de Castro's translations appeared in *Seara Nova*, no. 494, 21<sup>st</sup> January 1937, 217-218. The translations were dedicated to the "moço romancista Joaquim Paço d'Arcos".
67. A weekly magazine at the time, *Seara Nova* was founded in 1921 by a group of distinguished republican intellectuals of different political tendencies. The warning "Este número foi visado pela Comissão de Censura" appeared for the first time on July 8<sup>th</sup> 1926. Prior censorship was created in 1933 by Decreto-Lei n° 22469 which instituted the Constitution of the "Estado Novo" regime, and lasted until 1972.

the censor was particularly active due to increasing opposition to Portugal's pro-fascist regime, the proximity and impact of the Spanish Civil War and the polarisation of the Portuguese elite into pro-British and pro-German factions.<sup>68</sup> His option to translate Maurois' adaptation together with the original was almost certainly not exclusively a political choice, however. For many years after the First World War the French language was the principal, and sometimes the only foreign language to be taught in European schools and, as a result, French became the preferred language of cultural mediation in many countries, including Portugal.

Significantly, in 1940, Maurois' adaptation reappeared in a translation by the lawyer and politician Fernando Mayer Garção (1903?-1986), a declared adversary of the Salazar regime, together with a translation from the original English by his brother, Pedro Mayer Garção (1905-1988), a writer and physician.<sup>69</sup> The two translations were printed side by side with the respective original versions in a broadsheet edition (Fig.2) which was designed to be framed for display like many others both before and afterwards.<sup>70</sup>

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68. Significantly in 1936, the British Council, which had been founded two years earlier, opened one of its first overseas offices in Portugal, a "reading room" at the University of Coimbra, where Nazi Germany had already inaugurated a similar office. The Casa de Inglaterra in Coimbra would follow in 1939. English teaching operations were launched in Lisbon in 1938 and the Instituto Britânico moved to its present location at the Palácio do Menino de Ouro in 1942. English teaching began at the Instituto Britânico in Oporto in 1943.

69. Fernando and Pedro were the two sons of the writer, journalist and leading republican politician Francisco Mayer-Garção (1872-1930). Fernando was awarded the Comenda da Liberdade in 1985 in recognition of his persistent and courageous opposition to the Salazar regime.

70. Published on the initiative of the two brothers, the 1970 edition (2000 copies) was printed by Grafitecnica and may have been the final edition in the series, given the proximity of the 1974 revolution, the consequent fall of the Estado Novo regime and with it the end of censorship. There is a copy of an edition intended for framing in the archives of the Presidency of the Portuguese Republic which apparently belonged to Field-Marshal Francisco Costa Gomes (1914-2001), the second President after the return of Portugal to Democracy. Interestingly, it displays Kipling's original alongside Pedro Mayer Garção's translation, without, however, identifying the author of the Portuguese version. It can be accessed online at: [PT/MPR/ACG/CX039/0020 ACG](http://PT/MPR/ACG/CX039/0020 ACG)

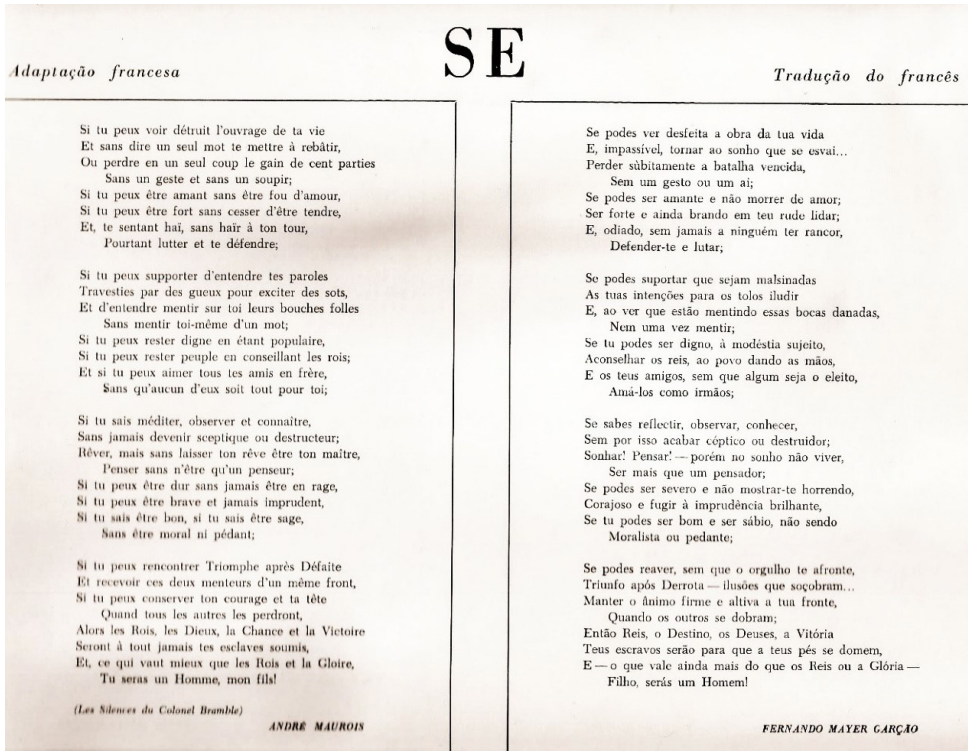


Fig.2 – One side of the Mayer-Garção broadsheet edition (10<sup>th</sup> edition, 2000 copies)

The timing of the first edition was unquestionably deliberate.<sup>71</sup> The outbreak of hostilities had brought hope to the Portuguese opposition that a victory of the Allies over the Axis might bring the end of the Estado Novo and, quite clearly, the publication was intended to be seen not just as a sign of sympathy for Britain and France but as a demonstration of support for the resistance and stoicism of the Portuguese people and the struggle against fascism both at home

71. The first Penguin edition of Maurois' *The Silence of Colonel Bramble* also came out in 1940 in a response to growing British interest in France after the outbreak of WWII.

and abroad.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, in 1940, despite the regime's attempt to display its vitality through the ambitious Mundo Português Exhibition in Lisbon, hardly a week went by without the *Seara Nova* or another opposition periodical carrying an article about Britain or written by a British author.<sup>73</sup>

Fernando Mayer-Garção would become a leading member of the MUD (Movimento de Unidade Democrática) which was founded at the end of the war to bring different opposition factions together into a broad coalition.<sup>74</sup> Like several of the leaders of the movement he was arrested by the PVDE shortly afterwards and was imprisoned on more than one occasion for his activities.<sup>75</sup> The tenth and possibly the final edition of the Mayer-Garção broadsheet, dated February 14<sup>th</sup> 1970, testifies to its continuing popularity and to the fact that it was still in print thirty years later.

Yet another free adaptation of *If* was published by a Portuguese author in 1940 against the backdrop of the War, curiously in Brazil. The translator was the prolific playwright and sportsman-extraordinary Félix Bermudes (1874-1960) whose version remains today one of the best-known translations of the poem to have been made by a Portuguese author. A theosophist and freemason and a firm advocate of the adage "mente sana in corpore sano", Bermudes' interests ranged widely but it was his prolific production for the stage which made him a popular figure in both Portugal and Brazil between the turn of the century and the fifties. He wrote and translated over a hundred plays, many of them musical comedies in collaboration with Ernesto Rodrigues (1875-1926) and João Bastos (1883-1957) and he is also celebrated for his scriptwriting on such cinema classics as *João Ratão* and *O Leão da Estrela* which were based on his earlier

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72. An objective which was confirmed by the late Manuela Mayer-Garção, Pedro's daughter, in a conversation with the author of this paper.

73. It should be remembered that in mid-1940 Britain was alone in its resistance against the Axis nations.

74. Founded legally on October 8<sup>th</sup> 1945, the MUD was declared illegal on January 31<sup>st</sup> 1948 and the members of its Central and District committees were arrested.

75. See Garção, *Brincos de Princesa*, 1941. The PVDE – Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado – was renamed PIDE – Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado – in 1945, and was renamed DGS – Direção-Geral de Segurança – in 1969 until its disappearance after the Revolution of April 25<sup>th</sup> 1974.

theatre successes. Yet, despite his successful film and theatre career and his fame as a sportsman, Félix Bermudes and his daughter, Cesina Bermudes (1908-2001), a distinguished physician, suffered harassment and imprisonment, like so many other intellectuals, for their opposition to the Salazar regime.

Félix Bermudes' idiosyncratic adaptation of Rudyard Kipling's verses gained a wider audience in 1959 when his version was recited by the well-known actor Joao Villaret (1913-1961) at the São Luiz Theatre in Lisbon, later being broadcast on Villaret's own television programme. Afforded a new lease of life and wide exposure by the internet,<sup>76</sup> Bermudes' popular version of *If* now runs the risk of being considered a "faithful representation of the original" – which, evidently, it was never intended to be. Bermudes' reasons for publishing his translation in Brazil remain unclear,<sup>77</sup> but it is unlikely that they were political, as, at the time, democrats in both countries were undergoing similar forms of censorship and oppression.

The imprisonment of José Bento Monteiro Lobato (1882-1948),<sup>78</sup> the prolific publisher and translator of Kipling's stories, drew international attention to the persecution of Brazilian intellectuals during the Vargas dictatorship. Monteiro Lobato was sentenced to six months in prison in 1941,<sup>79</sup> supposedly because of his persistent, public criticism of Vargas' policies, but almost certainly due to an interview he gave on December 30<sup>th</sup> 1940 entitled "Inglaterra e Brasil", which was broadcast by the BBC World Service in several languages and widely reported in the British, American and Argentinian press. In his recollections of the wartime interview, which Monteiro Lobato had

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76. There is a new reading by Filipa Leal of Bermudes' adaptation at: [https://www.facebook.com/mafaldaveigaoficial/videos/se-de-rudyard-kipling-tradu%C3%A7%C3%A3o-de-f%C3%A9lix-bermudes-dito-por-filipa-leal/2054237471376861/?locale=pt\\_PT](https://www.facebook.com/mafaldaveigaoficial/videos/se-de-rudyard-kipling-tradu%C3%A7%C3%A3o-de-f%C3%A9lix-bermudes-dito-por-filipa-leal/2054237471376861/?locale=pt_PT)

77. João Bastos, with Bermudes and Rodrigues, a member of the trio who had been so successful in writing and producing musical comedies in Portugal in the twenties and thirties, had been living in Brazil since 1935 and may have had something to do with the edition.

78. In 1941, a quarter of all the books published in Brazil were produced by Monteiro Lobato's Companhia Editora Nacional (CEN), which opened its doors to literature from many parts of the world. CEN imported works in English which contributed towards making the English language the most widely spoken and studied foreign language in Brazil after WWII.

79. Though serving only half the sentence, due in part to the protests of respected intellectuals.

used to sidestep DIP (Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda) censorship,<sup>80</sup> he suggested that Kipling's *If* had been prophetic, anticipating the situation that Britain was then facing whilst emphasising the stoicism and firm resistance which was required in order to triumph:

Mas quem nessas horas de horror erguesse os olhos para o *IF* de Kipling respiraria aliviado, estava ali o retrato de Inglaterra – o programa moral de Inglaterra – o fato Inglaterra. E até hoje, tantos meses passados, o paladino da Dignidade Humana outra coisa não tem feito senão enquadrar-se dentro da moldura de resistência interior estabelecida por Kipling. O poeta do imperialismo britânico havia premonitoriamente desenhado a situação que anos mais tarde o inglês iria enfrentar. E nunca ninguém pintará melhor a resistência inglesa do que antecipadamente Kipling o fez há tantos anos. (*Obra Completa*, 1951, 171)<sup>81</sup>

Monteiro Lobato's use of the example of Kipling's famous poem to illustrate his support for the allied war effort was clearly intended to embarrass Getúlio Vargas and his dictatorship which, at the time, was 'flirting' with Germany and the Nazi regime.<sup>82</sup>

After the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, news of the conflict occupied the front pages of the principal Brazilian newspapers and the influence of the war became visible even in the choice and prominence given to articles of a cultural nature. In fact, on several

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80. "O DIP estava subordinado à Presidência da República e suas funções eram muito mais abrangentes que as desempenhadas pelos órgãos que o antecederam. Compunha-se das seguintes divisões: Divulgação, Radiodifusão, Cinema e Teatro, Turismo, Imprensa e Serviços Auxiliares e era responsável pela publicidade de todo o governo. Os jornais eram fiscalizados pela Divisão de Imprensa e pelo Conselho Nacional de Imprensa, os quais davam chancela a novas publicações e controlavam suas atuações no cotidiano [...]." (Franzolin, "A campanha antibritânica nas páginas do jornal Meio-Dia (1940-1941)", 2014, 132-156)

81. Monteiro Lobato quoted an excerpt from the poem in the interview, presumably from his own translation: "Entre os poemas de Rudyard Kipling um é deveras impressionante, em que o poeta retrata o caminho do homem perfeito ou o estoico moderno. Duas letras formam-lhe o título, I F ou em português a condicional Se. 'Se puderes manter a tua alma...Se puderes sonhar sem que te desvie o sonho... Se, heróico, jogares todos teus haveres num só lance... Se puderes aceitar o triunfo ou o fracasso sem as distinções que os separam.'" (Lobato, *Obra Completa*, 1951, 171-173)

82. See Azevedo *et al*, *Monteiro Lobato: furacão na Botocúndia*, 1997, 161. The official reason for Lobato's imprisonment was his persistent campaign against the policies of the Conselho Nacional do Petróleo. The Vargas regime lasted from 1937 until 1945.



occasions Kipling's poem was used to signal where a newspaper's sympathies lay, particularly at the time when Londoners were standing firm amidst the daily bombing raids of the "Blitz". On Sunday November 10<sup>th</sup> 1940, the front page of the São Paulo daily *Folha da Manhã* carried the headline "A Vitória Inglesa Restituirá a Liberdade à Europa", a phrase taken from Churchill's speech at the investiture of the Lord Mayor of London. At the same time almost a whole page of the cultural supplement of the newspaper was devoted to an article about Sir Francis Drake, an otherwise unlikely choice, whilst another entitled "Experiências com Rudyard Kipling" was accompanied by the author's own translation of *If*, made especially for the newspaper.

In the latter article, which had clearly been written for specialist readers, Valdomiro de Abreu (1914-1999), an educationalist, lawyer and poet,<sup>83</sup> analysed Kipling's poem and commented on previous Brazilian versions, praising those by Samuel Ribeiro and Alcântara Machado whilst affirming that others had fallen short in their attempts. In his opinion, the two translators had succeeded in conveying "[...] a mesma energia de expressão, a mesma nobreza de pensamento e o mesmo sainete rigorosamente Kiplingiano, sem esquecer que 'IF' é bem o retrato do 'homo europaeus', dólico-loiro, ativo, ousado, tenaz, empreendedor."<sup>84</sup> ("Experiências com Rudyard Kipling", III) After making one or two somewhat dubious comparisons between the two languages, Abreu confessed that translating was invariably a challenge, all the more so when the author had his own inimitable style and particular characteristics, and apologised for his own attempt, which he described, not unrealistically, as "um acanhado exercício": "Diz-se, que, em traduzindo é preciso observar todos os elementos materiais, técnicos, sensoriais e espirituais do

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83. Valdomiro or more correctly, Waldomiro Benedito de Abreu was a teacher of Latin and Portuguese at the Araçatuba State High School at the time of the article. Due to problems with his eyesight he was later forced to abandon his teaching career and studied as a lawyer, becoming the President of the Seção Regional da Ordem dos Advogados. He also served as Cultural Secretary in the local administration in 1956.

84. A description closer, perhaps, to the mythical Aryan ideal of Britain's adversaries in the war.

original. Tal coisa é impracticável, impossível, em vista das diferenças às vezes irreconciliáveis, que há entre uma e outra língua. (*Ibidem*)

The *Folha da Manhã* was not alone in signalling its pro-British sentiments at this critical moment in the conflict. The *Correio da Manhã*, for instance, a liberal daily published in Rio de Janeiro which had adopted a pro-British stance from the start of the war, also used its Sunday arts and culture supplement to underline its support. Two translations of Kipling's *If* appeared in successive editions. On December 15<sup>th</sup> 1940, Guilherme de Almeida's translation was published alongside Kipling's original poem in an article written by the staff journalist Bezerra de Freitas, entitled "If – o Poema de Sabedoria Humana". The article ended with generous praise for the author, and, by association, for his country of origin:

Para alcançar a glória de se tornar o poeta do Império Britânico, seria necessário que a sua mensagem literária fosse ao mesmo tempo um hymno á vontade e um canto em louvor da energia, e que essa imagem, longe de ser transmitida em períodos pólidos, em frases académicas, se fundisse as forças poderosas da nacionalidade. Dahi os apostrophes, as balladas, as homilias de tenacidade, os versos de estímulo e confiança que o mundo conhece. Esse propheta, cheio de bravura e abnegação, de resonancias largas e humanas, reflecte a sensibilidade da sua raça. (1)

The next edition of the supplement, which appeared two weeks later, offered a previously-unpublished version under the same heading, in response to a request from a reader. It was by Cassiano Tavares Bastos (c.1890?-1973) a lawyer, senior civil servant, literary critic and poet who had first translated the poem into verse two years earlier<sup>85</sup> – possibly, as the letter-writer Coryntho de Fonseca suggests, even before Guilherme de Almeida's translation had appeared in print.

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85. The poem, which was dedicated to Coryntho de Fonseca, was recited by the author on May 1<sup>st</sup> 1938 as guest of honour at a farewell party for teachers at Escola Sousa Aguiar in Rio. His dedication reads as follows: "A Coryntho de Fonseca, que doutrinando e praticando a filosofia deste pequenino grande poema, me deu a conhecer a versão em prosa de Mesquita Pimentel, divulgada pelo Instituto de Educação."

At the beginning of December 1942, when the fortunes of the war were finally beginning to turn in favour of the Allies, the *Correio Paulistano*, a conservative S. Paulo daily, manifested its sympathy for Britain's war effort in "Vitrais", a regular column by Dirce de Melo. The author commented enthusiastically on Churchill's use of a quotation from Kipling's *If* in his recent speech to the nation after the victory at El-Alamein:<sup>86</sup>

Nessa brilhante peça de oratória de grande valor, o sr. Churchill referiu-se ao célebre poema de Rudyard Kipling que todos conhecemos e tantos gostamos de ler, de reler, e sobre ele meditar [...] sentimos que "Se" é a homenagem sincera e tocante, que todo o herói consciente tem que repetir, qual simples e salutar auto-confissão, a si mesmo. (1)

Revealing her preference for two amongst the many translations which had already been made, the version by André Maurois and the one by Guilherme de Almeida "no idioma 'rude e belo' de Camões", Dirce de Melo confessed that it had been an emotional experience to discover that the British "Premier" had recited an excerpt from Kipling's verses and went on to exhibit her own poetic talents in her effusive eulogy of Britain's heroic defenders:

"Se" deve ser o canto quotidiano dos heróis vencedores, dos anónimos, daqueles que sabem enfrentar refrêgas e derrotas; heróis de todos os sectores – construtores serenos de um mundo melhor, inimitáveis artistas que com o fuzil, a pena, os rudes instrumentos das oficinas, os delicadíssimos instrumentos dos laboratórios, trabalham pacientes e magníficos, na terra batida pelos vagalhões da vaidade, da ambição e da loucura, a moldura para a visão doce e clara do universo cristão que lhes sorri. (*Ibidem*)

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86. Churchill's speech after the Battle of El Alamein, was on November 29<sup>th</sup>, 1942. The *Correio da Manhã* offered a full translation of the speech under the heading "Churchill falou ao Mundo": "Nada prometo. Nada prevejo. Não posso sequer garantir que novos êxitos estão para vir. Apenas recomendo a todos as linhas imortais de Kipling: 'Se podeis sonhar e não fazer do sonho vosso senhor, se podeis meditar e não fazer da meditação vosso fim, se podeis triunfar face ao desastre e á ameaça – esses dois impostores – não vos preocupeis.' [...]" (1, 10)

Three further translations were published before the end of the War, two in Brazil and one in Portugal. In December 1942, the annual *Almanaque do Correio da Manhã*, a newspaper which appears to have nourished a particular admiration for Kipling and his poem, dedicated a whole page to Guilherme de Almeida's already well-known version.<sup>87</sup> Again, in November of the following year, an elegant translation in verse by the poet, politician and diplomat Olegário Mariano (1889-1958), appeared on the front page of the Sunday supplement of the same newspaper, under the heading "A Lição de Sabedoria Humana".<sup>88</sup> Mariano was one of the intellectuals whose political views were in sympathy with the Vargas regime and was undoubtedly considered "persona grata" by the Government, as his nomination as one of the Brazilian delegates to the Portuguese Independence celebrations two years before had clearly revealed.<sup>89</sup> The prominence given to the poem was undoubtedly due as much to respect for the distinguished poet, who had been member of the Academia de Letras since 1927,<sup>90</sup> as to the growing admiration in Brazil for Britain's successful resistance against Nazi Germany, particularly in view of the imminent deployment of Brazilian troops on the side of the Allies.<sup>91</sup>

In 1944, a new version was published by the Lisbon firm Minerva Editores. The author was the poet António Botto (1897-1959)<sup>92</sup> who had gained both fame and notoriety as a writer of daring homoerotic verses on the publication of his collection of poems *Canções*, in

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87. Cf. *Almanaque do Correio da Manhã*, December 1942, 324.

88. Cf. *Correio da Manhã*, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1943, 1. Mariano's version would be republished in his collection of poems "Quando vem baixando o Crepúsculo", the following year, 1944.

89. The festivities were designed to celebrate the foundation of Portugal in 1139 and its independence from Spain in 1640.

90. In addition to his literary achievements and distinctions, Olegário Mariano was a member of the Constitutional Assembly which drew up the 1934 Constitution; one of Brazil's official representatives at the celebrations of the third centenary of Portugal's independence in 1940; delegate of the Brazilian Academy at the Conference to establish the Orthographical Agreement of 1945 and Brazilian Ambassador to Portugal between 1953 and 1954.

91. Brazil declared war against the Axis powers on August 22<sup>nd</sup> 1942. The following year soldiers and airmen of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force and Brazilian Air Force played a decisive role in the liberation of Italy.

92. See Botto, *Se de Rudyard Kipling em versos portugueses*, 1944.

1921.<sup>93</sup> At the time of the commission Botto was eking out a living writing occasional essays and children's stories after being dismissed two years earlier from a badly-paid civil service job, for "inappropriate behaviour." In hindsight, it seems unlikely, in view of his alternative lifestyle and options in life, that Botto would have chosen to translate Kipling's moralistic and straight-laced poem on his own initiative, and the motivation behind his translation may have been merely economic. Botto's free translation of *If* was first published as a broadsheet for framing and a similar edition would be distributed to Minerva's customers at the annual Lisbon book fair in 1957, long after the poet had emigrated to Brazil in disgust with the repressive social environment in his home country.<sup>94</sup>

The end of WWII brought with it the end of the Vargas regime in Brazil,<sup>95</sup> but not, as democrats in Portugal had hoped, the long-awaited demise of the Salazar regime. The beginning of the Cold War against the Soviet Union, a former ally in the struggle against Nazi Germany, had brought changes to the strategic priorities of the Western Alliance, which chose to provide discreet support to the authoritarian regimes in the Iberian Peninsula in preference to the risk of facing a democratically-elected adversary on the vital western flank of Europe. Portugal became a member of NATO in 1949,<sup>96</sup> and a further generation was forced to suffer the political and social effects of the dictatorship before it finally fell in 1974. As a consequence, Britain began to be seen through different eyes by many of those in

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93. The first edition of *Canções* went largely unnoticed but Botto's poems were publicly praised by Fernando Pessoa when he published the second edition in 1922. Due to protests by a Catholic student group the book was banned the following year, but the ban was lifted several months later, after the controversy had abated. Botto's poems were translated into English by Pessoa, but only published in 1948.

94. After a brief period of success in Brazil making a living by radio broadcasting and newspaper articles, Botto lived in poverty for several years until he was tragically killed in 1959 in a road accident in Rio de Janeiro.

95. Vargas was deposed on October 29<sup>th</sup> 1945 by a coup carried out by the military junta which had previously supported the "Estado Novo" regime. In Presidential elections held on December 2<sup>nd</sup> 1945, General Gaspar Dutra, the former Minister of War in the Vargas Government was elected President of the Republic.

96. Principally due to its air base at Lajes in the Azores, which had been used by British and American planes during WWII and where the US 57<sup>th</sup> Air Rescue Squadron were based between 1952 and 1972.

the democratic opposition<sup>97</sup> who had previously viewed Portugal's oldest ally and by association, Kipling's poem, as examples to be admired. New versions continued to appear in both Portugal and Brazil, however, though more sporadically and inspired by a wider variety of aims.

Two new translations were published in Brazil at the beginning of the fifties, when memories of the war were beginning to fade. In December 1950, the Rio de Janeiro daily *Correio da Manhã* printed a free adaptation of *If*, in verse, in its annual *Almanaque*. (96) The author was the Portuguese novelist, playwright and journalist Thomaz Ribeiro Colaço (1899-1965), the editor of the controversial weekly cultural magazine *Fradique* between 1934 and 1935<sup>98</sup> and a well-known personality in Portugal during the thirties due to his cultural programmes on Emissora Nacional, the national radio station.<sup>99</sup> Thomaz Colaço had emigrated to Brazil in 1940 with his wife, the Brazilian artist Madeleine Bonnet Colaço, and had become a regular contributor to the *Correio da Manhã*. Before leaving Portugal at the height of the propaganda campaign between Britain and Germany, Colaço had published a collection of articles in support of the British war effort in a slim volume entitled *O Espírito Inglês* (1940) which provoked a swift response from the Germanophile, Holbeche Castelo Branco<sup>100</sup> under the heading *Hitler não é uma causa. A propósito de "O Espírito inglês," notas e comentários do Sr. Dr. Tomaz Ribeiro Colaço* (1940). It is likely that Colaço's translation of Kipling's poem was made at this time and that he chose to publish it later in Brazil when a suitable opportunity arose. Notwithstanding his profoundly

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97. An extreme case of disaffection for Kipling's poem was the outrageous parody by the Portuguese poet Alexandre O'Neill in *No Reino da Dinamarca*, published in 1958, which begins "Se é possível conservar a juventude; Respirando abraçado a um marco de correio [...]". And in a conversation with the writer António Alçada Baptista, the poet Miguel Torga reputedly described the poem as "Uma espécie de pilulas 'Pink' para uso do Império britânico." (Baptista, "Preface" *Feira Cabisbaixa*, 1975)

98. There is an interesting debate in *Fradique* between the poets José Régio and Ribeiro Colaço concerning the poetry of António Botto and its relationship to his open homosexuality.

99. Later collated into two volumes entitled *Ao Microfone: Tal Qual se Fala* and *Às Duas em Ponto*.

100. A leading figure in the propaganda campaign in favour of the Axis in Portugal, Castelo Branco's pro-Nazi views are set down in *Porque admiro Alemanha. Da Teoria aos Factos* (1940) and *A Vitória das Potências do Eixo evitará a miséria e a anarquia na Europa* (1941).

conservative views and his early support of the anti-Communist policy of the Estado Novo,<sup>101</sup> Colaço, who was a lifelong Monarchist, campaigned tirelessly in Brazil against Salazar's regime.

Yet another version of *If* in verse would appear two years later in an anthology of translations and adaptations entitled *Meus Poemas dos Outros. Traduções e Versões* (1952) by the Bahian physician, poet and novelist Heitor Fróes (1900-1987).<sup>102</sup> A well-known specialist in public health and tropical diseases and an active member of both the Academia de Medicina de Bahia and the Federação das Academias de Letras do Brasil, Fróes served as President of the Associação Cultural Brasil – Estados Unidos during WWII and, in his medical capacity, he was invited to visit the United States in 1943 to give a series of lectures at Universities across the country.<sup>103</sup> Fróes wrote a number of books on medical subjects and in addition to poetry, he published translations of works on scientific matters, from both English and French. His translation and those which followed in Brazil signalled a return to the previous conservative paradigm of admiration for Kipling's patriotism and nationalistic ideals and what was seen as the relevance of the poem's message, particularly to young people. In 1954, a curious anthology of versions of Kipling's *If* was published in Brazil (Fig.3) in a limited edition for subscribers.<sup>104</sup>

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101. For an interesting overview of Thomaz Ribeiro Colaço's life and work see José Augusto França's introduction to the 2003 edition of Colaço's *A Folha de Parra. Elementos para um Romance*.

102. See Fróes, *Meus Poemas dos Outros. Traduções e Versões* (Tip. Beneditina, Bahia). A special limited edition for subscribers was signed by the author and the former President of the Academia de Letras, Rodrigo Otávio Filho.

103. Reporting on the visit, *The Washington Post* of July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1943 commented "to be proficient in two such distinct areas as medicine and literature is uncommon to say the least, but Dr. Heitor Praguier Fróes from Bahia, Brazil seems to have mastered both domains of knowledge with equal success" (my free translation from the Portuguese).

104. In addition to the translations commented in this study, Vianna also presents versions in OSB by Justus Lewy and Viçoso Jardim (no details of publication); the poet and translator Pedro de Aratanha (*Revista Sul-America* June 1946 – the journal of an insurance company); Paulo Pimentel (*Revista do Clube Central de Niteroi* – June 1941); A. Tavares Lacerda (*Revista Alerta* of the Brazilian scouting movement – May-June 1954). Unfortunately, it has not proved possible to trace these versions.

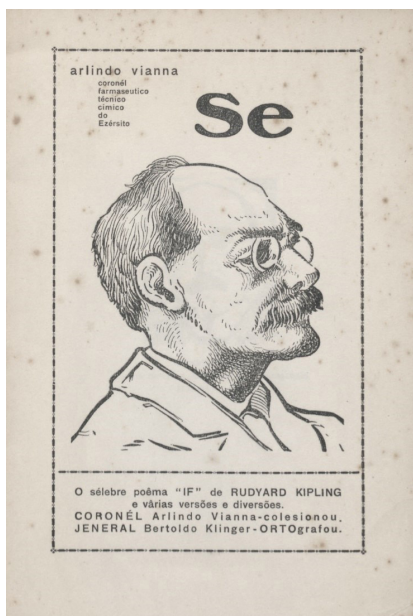


Fig. 3 – Cover of *Se*. Limited edition of an anthology of translations and adaptations of Kipling's "If" in OSB

Collated and annotated by Col. Arlindo Vianna (1899-1957), an industrial chemist at the Itajubá Military Complex and an expert in the Tupi-Guarani language,<sup>105</sup> the commentaries and poems were presented in the somewhat bizarre form known as *Ortografia Simplificada Brasileira* or OSB which had been invented by General Bertholdo Klinger (1884-1969) in 1940.<sup>106</sup> Klinger's humorous parody of *If*, in defence of his simplified spelling system, was also part of the anthology. Vianna explained in his introduction that the anthology was

105. Vianna was the author of many articles on this, the most-spoken indigenous language in Brazil at the time of colonisation, which were published in the *Correio da Manhã* newspaper between 1943 and 1953 and later collected under the title *Vocábulos e Topônimos Brasileiros de Etimologia Tupi-Guarani*.

106. General Klinger was the Commander-in-Chief of the Constitutionalist rebellion of the State of S. Paulo in 1932 and like many of the principal figures in the uprising he was imprisoned and later exiled for several months in Portugal. His final public act was his participation in the so-called "Marcha da Família por Deus e pela Liberdade" in Rio de Janeiro in 1964, which heralded the military regime.



based on a previous collection of translations of Kipling's poem made in 1943 by another military officer, Cdr. Alexandre Coelho Messeder, whose own verse translation in OSB was included in the anthology.<sup>107</sup> Four of the remaining versions were originally in Spanish, by Mexican and Argentine translators, and three were by unidentified or anonymous authors. Of the translations which have so far been referred to in this brief study, only those by Paulo Osório and Antonio Botto appear to have escaped the transmogrifying attentions of "Jeneral" Klinger.

The beginning of the sixties in Europe and the United States brought the first significant signs of far-reaching social and cultural change, partly due to the effects of the demographic boom which followed the war. Attitudes and behaviour, particularly amongst young Europeans, began to be inspired by an irreverence, open-mindedness and willingness to experiment which had not been seen since the "roaring twenties". The paternalistic advice in Kipling's poem quickly became old-fashioned and unsuited to the mood of the times, and the number of parodies grew. His verses would survive, however, in conservative redoubts such as schools (Fig.4)<sup>108</sup> and military establishments<sup>109</sup> where they continued to be displayed as a constant reminder of the virtues of stiff-lipped resilience and self-discipline.

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107. Messeder's translation of Kipling's *If*, which he modestly described as "an attempt to carry out a faithful translation", first appeared, as did General Klinger's humorous adaptation, in the anthology of writing in the new orthography which was published to commemorate the 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of its launch. See *3 Anos de O.S.B.* (1943). The edition was evidently timed to coincide with the Orthographical Review of Brazilian Portuguese of 1943.

108. The undated poster version with its patriotic symbolism of the green and red border of the Portuguese flag, alongside the English rose and the Union Jack, was taken from the website of Queen Elizabeth's School in Lisbon and is presumably on display in the school. Perhaps significantly, the identity of the translator was omitted. Rear-Admiral Vasco Lopes Alves (1898-1976) was a leading military and political figure during the Salazar regime and amongst the many posts he occupied were those of Governor-General of Angola and Minister of the Overseas Provinces. Decolonisation took place in the Portuguese overseas possessions only after a long and bitter conflict against the African independence movements and the fall of the Estado Novo regime in 1974. It is conceivable that the translation was made at the beginning of the sixties when the conflict began and that Lopes Alves, who wrote several articles for the *Boletim Geral de Ultramar*, may have associated Kipling's poem and its message to the resistance of the Portuguese Forces in Africa. His version of the poem was reproduced in an article by a fellow naval officer, Admiral Manuel Leal Vilarinho, "Humor em Portugal e nos países que conheci e em especial o seu humor naval". (*Memórias* 2007, 66)

109. For example, Guilherme de Almeida's translation of Kipling's poem has been adopted by the Brazilian Air Force Academy at Pirassununga S.P. and is on prominent and permanent display.



Fig.4 – Undated broadsheet version of Kipling’s “If” with translation by Admiral Vasco Lopes Alves

Remarkably, and despite the profound social and cultural upheaval of the sixties, the number of translations and adaptations has grown in recent years, mainly due to ease of publication on the internet, and the poem has “run about the world” as Kipling put it, far more than he could ever have imagined.<sup>110</sup>

110. Among the many translations which have appeared since the sixties, two which appeared in 1975 are worthy of particular note: a verse translation by the Brazilian poet and lecturer in Linguistics José

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## Appendix

### “Si” by Mesquita Pimentel (1923)

Si és capaz de conservar o juízo e o sangue frio, quando todos, ao redor de ti – perdem a cabeça e te acusam de perder a tua;

– si podes conservar a tua confiança em ti mesmo quando todos duvidam de ti – e ao mesmo tempo, tomar em consideração essa desconfiança;

– si tens a força de esperar longamente sem te cansares da espera;

– si, sendo atacado com mentiras, não te defendes com mentiras;

– si, sendo odiado não odeias os teus inimigos,

– e si, assim procedendo, não fazes praça de muita virtude ou de muita sabedoria...

Si tu podes sonhar e não permites que o sonho te domine:

– si tu podes pensar e não te contentas com fazer do pensamento o fim da tua vida;

– si, encontrando o Triunpho e a Desgraça, és capaz de encarar com o mesmo animo esses dois impostores;

– si tens alma para ouvir a verdade que proferiste falseada por malandros que com ella procuram enredar os tolos;

– si tens coragem para ver despedaçarem-se as coisa que mais amas;

– e, ainda, para juntar os destroços e reconstruir, com instrumentos imperfeitos, o que dellas restar;

Si és capaz de amontoar os teus bens todos – jogal-os num lance de “cunha ou coroa”

– perdel-os e, depois, recomeçar a tua vida,

– sem jámais dizer palavra sobre a tua perda;

– si és capaz de obrigar teu coração, teus nervos, teus músculos a te obedecerem, ainda quando estiverem completamente exaustos,

– e de perseverar na tarefa iniciada quando já nada mais em ti existir

– sinão a tua vontade que manda prosseguir!



Si tu podes estar entre as multidões sem perder a tua personalidade,  
– e caminhar de par com Reis sem perder a noção de humanidade  
comum;  
– se nenhum inimigo, nenhum carinhoso amigo te póde causar  
damno;  
– si todos os homens confiam e esperam em ti, embora não confiem  
cegamente;  
– si és capaz de encher cada inexorável minuto com sessenta segun-  
dos de trabalho acabado;  
– então a Terra será tua, com tudo que ela encerra,  
– e, o que é mais, serás um Homem, tu, meu filho!

“Se” by Júlio Afrânio Peixoto [1923]

SE...

(Tradução, em versos livres, de Afrânio Peixoto)

*Se podes teu sangue frio conservar  
Entre quem te acusa, porque perdeu a cabeça;  
Se quando outros duvidam, podes em ti confiar,  
Condescendendo à dúvida, que tua fé não mereça;*

*Se podes, sem cansaço esperar, repousando,  
E, de todo, não ficares de ti, e de ludo, alheiado;  
Se podes não odiar, sendo odiado, e, tolerando,  
Sem ser demais prudente, nem por demais confiado;*

*Se podes sonhar, sem que influa o teu sonho,  
E pensar, sem impôres tua convicção;  
Se podes encontrar o mau Desastre ou o Triunfo risonho,  
E a qualquer deles tratar, como ao mesmo intrujão;*

*Se podes ouvir a Verdade tua conhecida,  
Deformada pelos maus, enganando à gente desatenta,  
Ver arruinadas as coisas a que deste a vida,  
E, tornando ao trabalho, reconstruí-las, com a mesma ferramenta;*

*Se reunidos os teus lucros, podes tentar o azar,  
Arriscados, de uma vez, à tal sorte insegura,  
E, perdendo, emprender de novo, a lida recomeçar,  
Sem aludir, jamais, à tua louca aventura;*

*Se podes com as multidões lidar, sem comprometer à Virtude,  
E aos Reis tratar, com a simplicidade decente,  
Se nem amigos, nem inimigos, te podem impor uma atitude  
E todos contam contigo, mas nenhum incondicionalmente;*

*Se podes preencher o supremo minuto inexorável,  
Que sessenta segundos de dignidade todos somem,  
Então, a Terra é tua e tudo o que nela existe desejável,  
E o que é mais, meu filho, és um Homem!*

RUDYARD KIPLING



*edição do  
Inst. de Educação*

“Se” by Judas Isgorogota (1936)

Se podes conservar teu sangue frio  
Diante do que te acusa, a desvairar;  
Se, ainda quando suspeitem de teu brio,  
De tua fé, podes em ti confiar;  
Se podes esperar, sem te cansares  
E sem de ti perderes a noção;  
Se, caluniado, em vez de caluniares,  
Compensares o mal com o teu perdão;

Se podes tu sonhar; se teu intento  
Fazes por algum dia realizar,  
Se não buscas impor teu pensamento;  
Se o mesmo és no prazer e no penar;  
Se podes tu ouvir o que a gente  
Demolidora e má nos faz ouvir,  
E após, pela verdade, concientemente,  
Lutas até fazê-la ressurgir;

Se podes tu tentar sorte insegura  
E, perdido uma vez e uma outra mais,  
Tornas de novo ao lance da aventura  
Sem uma afronta proferir jamais;  
Se podes tu fazer que tu obedeçam  
Os teus nervos, e o próprio coração,  
Sem que, por mais exaustos que pareçam,  
Ao teu desígnio jamais digam “NÃO”!

Se podes, com igual solicitude,  
As multidões ouvir, como a teu Rei,  
E sem que um só te imponha uma atitude  
Conte contigo toda a humana grei;  
Se podes, da existência a que dás brilho,

Aproveitar todo o minuto seu,  
Sem desperdício algum, então, meu filho,  
És um homem de bem e o mundo é teu!

## “Se” by António Alcântara Machado (1938)

DEZ. — JANEIRO — N. 16

S E . . .

(Para “ASPECTOS”)

## — De RUDYARD KIPLING

(Tradução de ALCÂNTARA MACHADO,  
da Academia Brasileira de Letras)

SE puderes guardar o sangue frio diante  
de quem, fóra de si, acusar-te; e no instante  
em que duvidem de teu ânimo e firmeza  
tu puderes confiar na própria fortaleza,  
timbrando em confundir a desconfiança alheia...

SE tu puderes não odiar a quem te odeia,  
nem pagar com a calúnia a quem te calunia,  
sem que tires daí motivos de ufania;  
sonhar, sem permitir que o sonho te domine;  
pensar, sem que em pensar tua ambição se confine;  
e esperar sempre e sempre, infatigavelmente...

SE, com o mesmo sereno alhar indiferente,  
puderes encarar a Derrota e a Vitória,  
como embustes, que são, da fortuna ilusória;  
e estoico suportar que intrigas e mentiras  
deturpem a palavra honesta que profiras...

SE puderes, ao ver em pedaços, destruída  
pela sorte maldosa, a obra de tua vida,  
tomar de novo a ferramenta desgastada  
e, sem queixumes vãos, recomeçar do nada...

SE, tendo loucamente arriscado e perdido  
tudo quanto era teu, num só lance atrevido,  
tu puderes tornar á faina ingrata e dura,  
sem aludir jamais á sinistra aventura...

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## ASPECTOS — ANO II

SE tu puderes coração, músculos, nervos,  
reduzir da vontade á condição de servos,  
que, embora exaustos, lhe obedecem ao comando...

SE, andando a par dos reis e com os grandes lidando,  
puderes conservar a naturalidade,  
e no meio da turba a personalidade;  
impávido afrontar adulações, engodos,  
opressões; merecer a confiança de todos,  
sem que possa cantar, todavia, contigo  
incondicionalmente o teu maior amigo...

SE de cada minuto os sessenta segundos  
tu puderes tornar com o teu suor fecundas...

a terra será tua, e os bens que se não sómem  
e, o que é melhor, meu filho, então serás UM HOMEM!

A L C Â N T A R A M A C H A D O

“Se” by Guilherme de Almeida (first published in 1938)  
 – Version from 1942



O famoso poema de Rudyard Kipling, na interpretação de  
 GUILHERME DE ALMEIDA

Se és capaz de manter a tua calma quando  
 Todo o mundo em redor já a perdeu e te culpa,  
 De crêr em tí quando estão todos duvidando,  
 E para esses no entanto achar uma desculpa;  
 Se és capaz de esperar sem te desesperares,  
 Ou, enganado, não mentir ao mentiroso,  
 Ou, sendo odiado, sempre ao ódio te esquivares,  
 E não parecer bom demais, nem pretencioso;

Se és capaz de pensar — sem que a isso só te atires;  
 De sonhar — sem fazer dos sonhos teus senhores;  
 Se, encontrando a Desgraça e o Triunfo, conseguires  
 Tratar da mesma fôrma a esses dois impostores;  
 Se és capaz de sofrer a dôr de ver mudadas  
 Em armadilhas as verdades que disseste  
 E as coisas, por que dêste a vida, estraçalhadas,  
 E refazê-las com o bem pouco que te reste;

Se és capaz de arriscar numa única parada  
 Tudo quanto ganhaste, em toda a tua vida,  
 E perder e, ao perder, sem nunca dizer nada,  
 Resignado, tornar ao ponto de partida;  
 De forçar coração, nervos, músculos, tudo  
 A dar seja o que fôr, que neles ainda existe,  
 E a persistir assim quando exaustos, contudo  
 Resta a vontade em tí, que ainda ordena: Persiste!

Se és capaz de, entre a plebe, não te corromperes;  
 E, entre Reis, não perderes a naturalidade,  
 E de amigos, quer bons, quer maus, te defenderes;  
 Se a todos podes ser de alguma utilidade;  
 E se és capaz de dar, segundo por segundo,  
 Ao minuto fatal, todo valor e brilho,  
 Tua é a Terra com tudo o que existe no mundo,  
 E — o que é mais — tú serás um Homem, ó meu filho!

“Se” by Alberto Osório de Castro – from the original in English (1937)

SEARA NOVA

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# O Poema ((I F))

## de Rudyard Kipling

Duas versões, sobre o texto inglês, e sobre a livre interpretação francesa de ANDRÉ MAUROIS

*Ao moço romancista Sr. Joaquim Paço de Arcos*

Se guardas sangue frio enquanto a ti em torno  
 Todos perderam a cabeça, e te invectivam,  
 Se confias em ti quando outros desconfiam,  
 Aceitando contudo a desconfiança de outrem;  
 Se podes esperar sem que esperar te canse,  
 Se não ficas de todo, e de tudo, alheado,  
 Se sendo odiado a ninguém pagues com teu ódio,  
 Sem te julgar melhor ou bem mais assizado;

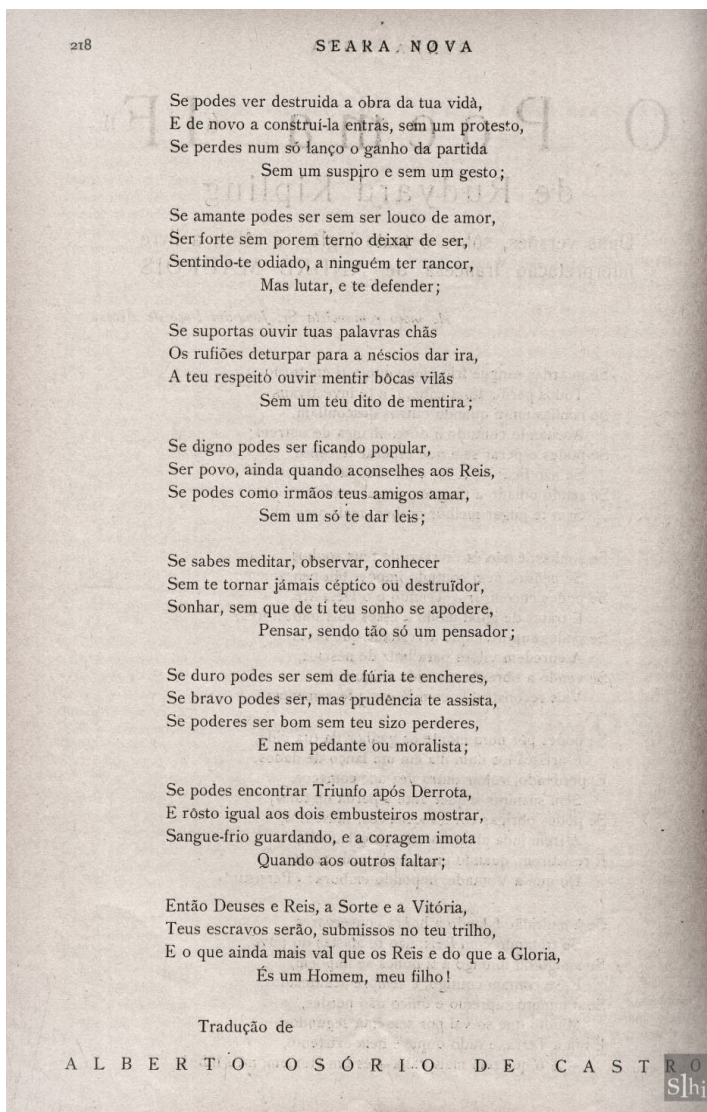
Se sonhas, e não és escravo de teus sonhos,  
 Se pensas, nem contudo impões teu pensamento,  
 Se podes encontrar o Triunfo e o Desastre,  
 E tratar de igual modo a êsses dois impostores,  
 Se podes suportar que a verdade que dizes  
 A enredem vilões para boíz de néscios,  
 Se vendo a obra da tua vida aniquilada,  
 Vais reconstruí-la com já gasta ferramenta;

Se podes pôr num monte os ganhos da tua vida,  
 E arriscá-los num dia em um lanço de dados,  
 E, perdendo, voltar outra vez aos começos,  
 Sem suspirar sequer ante a perda de tudo;  
 Se podes obrigar coração, nervos, músculos,  
 A irem inda além do esforço calculado,  
 E resistirem, quando em ti nada mais resta  
 Do que a Vontade, impondo embora: « Persistir ! »

Se à multidão falando a honra conservares,  
 Se tratando com Reis, não te afastas do povo,  
 Se amigo ou inimigo a ti nunca se impõem,  
 E, se contam contigo, é sempre acautelados,  
 Se o minuto supremo e único não perdes,  
 Minuto que só val por sessenta segundos,  
 É tua a Terra, e tudo o que é nela existente,  
 — E o que tem mais valia — és um Homem, meu filho!

S|hi

“Se” by Alberto Osório de Castro from André Maurois  
– version in French (1937)





“Si” by Samuel Ribeiro (1938)

Si puderes conservar a tua calma quando todos em torno de ti desnorteam e por isso te culparem;  
Si puderes confiar em ti mesmo quando todos os homens de ti duvidarem, mas tambem tolerar a duvida delles;  
Si puderes esperar, sem por isso te fatigares, ser calumniado, sem tece-res intrigas. Ser odiado, sem te renderes ao odio, E mesmo assim não exaltares a tua bondade e nem falares com excessiva sabedoria;  
Si puderes sonhar, sem te deixares vencer pelos teus sonhos,  
Si puderes pensar, sem resumires no pensamento o teu unico objectivo,  
Si puderes aceitar o Triumpho e o Fracasso, sem as distincções que os separam,  
Si puderes ouvir a verdade que disseste, deturpada pela má fé, para assim illudir aos parvos;  
Ou contemplar, desfeitas, as coisas a que devotaste a tua vida, reunindo-as e reconstruindo-as com recursos gastos;  
Si puderes juntar tudo quanto ganhaste e tudo arriscar num golpe de aposta, perder e começar novamente do inicio sem nunca murmurares uma palavra sobre o teu prejuizo,  
Si puderes estimular o teu coração, nervos e musculos a te servirem depois de elles se tiverem esgotado e assim resistires quando nada mais sobrar da tua energia excepto a vontade que exclama: “Resiste!”  
Si puderes falar com as multidões e manter as tuas virtudes, frequentar os reis sem perderes a tua simplicidade;  
Si nem os inimigos nem os devotados amigos puderem-te ferir,  
Si confiases em todos os homens mas em nenhum cegamente;  
Si puderes preencher o inexhoravel minuto da tua vida com os sessenta segundos que representam o seu valor passado;  
– O mundo será teu e tudo que nelle se contém, e, o que é mais ainda, serás um Homem meu filho!

“Se” by Pedro Mayer-Garção (1970) First published in 1940

Se podes conservar a serenidade quando todos à tua volta  
 A estão perdendo e censurando-te por isso;  
 Se podes confiar em ti próprio quando todos duvidam de ti,  
 Mas aceitando, também, a sua dúvida;  
 Se podes esperar, sem que a demora te canse;  
 Ou, sendo caluniado, não recorrer a mentiras,  
 Ou, sendo odiado, não corresponder com ódio,  
 E, contudo, não parecer bom de mais, nem presumir de sábio;

Se podes sonhar — e não fazer do sonho o teu sonho;  
 Se podes pensar — e não fazer do pensamento o teu alvo;  
 Se podes afrontar o Triunfo e a Derrota  
 E tratar esses dois impostores da mesma maneira;  
 Se podes resignar-te a ouvir a verdade que tens proclamado  
 Desfigurada por tratantes para fazer uma armadilha de tolos;  
 Ou ver desfeitas as coisas a que consagraste a tua vida  
 E, submisso, construí-las de novo com ferramentas gastas;

Se podes fazer um monte de todos os teus ganhos  
 E arriscá-lo num lance de «moeda-ao-ar»,  
 Perder, e voltar outra vez ao princípio,  
 E nunca soltar um queixume acerca da tua perda;  
 Se podes forçar o coração, os nervos e os músculos  
 Para servir o teu fim, muito depois de eles se terem esgotado,  
 E assim perseverar quando em ti já nada existe,  
 A não ser a Vontade que lhes diz: «Continuem!»;

Se podes falar com a multidão e manter a tua virtude,  
 Ou privar com Reis — sem deixar de ser simples;  
 Se nem inimigos nem amigos queridos conseguem magoar-te;  
 Se todos os homens contam contigo, mas nenhum mais do que outro;  
 Se podes preencher o implacável minuto  
 Com o valor de sessenta segundos de caminho percorrido,  
 É tua a Terra e tudo o que ela contém  
 E — o que é mais — serás um Homem, meu filho!

**PEDRO MAYER GARÇÃO**

## "Se" by Félix Bermudes (1940)

*Se podes conservar o teu bom senso e a calma,  
Num mundo a delirar, p'ra quem o louco és tu;  
Se podes crer em ti, com tôda a força d'alma,  
Quando ninguém te crê; se vais, faminto e nú,  
Trilhando sem revolta um rumo solitário;  
Se à tôrva intolerância, à negra incompreensão  
Tu podes responder, subindo o teu Calvário,  
Com lágrimas d'amor e bênçãos de perdão;*

*Se podes dizer bem de quem te calunia;  
Se dás ternura em troca aos que te dão rancôr,  
Mas sem a ajeitação dum santo que oficia,  
Nem pretensões de sábio a dar lições de amor;  
Se podes esperar sem fatigar a esp'rança;  
Sonhar, mas conservar-te acima do teu sonho;  
Fazer do Pensamento um Arco da Aliança,  
Entre o clarão do inferno e a luz do céu risonho;*

*Se podes encarar, com indiferença igual,  
O Triunfo e a Derrota — eternos impostores;  
Se podes ver o Bem oculto em todo o mal  
E resignar, sorrindo, o amor dos teus amores;  
Se podes resistir à raiva ou à vergonha  
De ver envenenar as frases que disseste  
E que um velhaco emprega, eivadas de peçonha,  
Com falsas intenções que tu jámais lhes deste;*

*Se és homem p'ra arriscar todos os teus haveres  
Num lance corajoso, alheio ao resultado  
E calando em ti mesmo a mágoa de perdes  
Voltas a palmilhar todo o caminho andado;  
Se podes ver por terra as obras que fizeste,  
Valadas por malsins, desorientando o povo,  
E sem dizer palavra e sem um termo agreste  
Voltares ao principio, a construir de novo;*

*Se podes obrigar o coração e os músculos  
A renovar o esforço, há muito vacilante,  
Quando já no teu corpo, afogado em crepúsculos,  
Só existe a Vontade a comandar «Avante!»;  
Se, vivendo entre o povo, és virtuoso e nobre  
Ou vivendo entre os reis, conservas a humildade;  
Se inimigo ou amigo, o poderoso e o pobre  
São iguais para ti, à luz da Eternidade;*

*Se quem conta contigo encontra mais que a conta;  
Se podes empregar os sessenta segundos  
Dum minuto que passa, em obra de tal monta  
Que o minuto se esprate em séculos fecundos;  
Então, ó Ser Sublime, o mundo inteiro é teu!  
Já dominaste os reis, os tempos e os espaços;  
Mas, inda para além, um novo sol rompeu,  
Abrindo um infinito ao rumo dos teus passos;*

*Pairando numa esfera acima deste plano,  
Sem recear jámais que os erros te retomem,  
Quando já nada houver em ti que seja humano,  
Alegra-te, meu filho, então serás um Homem.*

FÉLIX BERMUDES

“Se” by Valdomiro de Abreu [1940]

SE

... Se puderes manter a tua calma, quando  
toda gente, em delírio, ao redor, te censura;  
se puderes em ti confiar, envergonhando  
depois quem duvidou de tua fortaleza,  
se puderes na vida esperar sem fadiga,  
recebendo a calúnia, a sorrir com brandura,  
e, odiada, ainda assim tua alma ser amiga,

Se puderes sonhar sem que te guie o sonho,  
pensar sem que viver de idéias tu prefiras;  
se puderes olhar o Triunfo risonho  
como ilusão e assim a Mágua que te engelha,  
e, rijo, suportar que tua idéia honesta  
seja alterada além por velhacas mentiras,  
e estando em pé, no chão, a obra maior que resta,  
tudo reconstruir com a ferramenta velha.

Se, após ter reunido os teus poucos haveres,  
arriscá-los, heroico, em um lance sómente,  
e perdendo, ao trabalho inglório tu puderes  
volver, sem queixas vãs contra a sorte inconstante;  
se puderes forçar os músculos e nervos  
o coração a que te atendam prontamente,  
embora exaustos, e reduzi-los a servos  
da imperiosa Vontade a lhes bradar: Avante!

Se puderes ficar distinto em meio a todos  
os homens e falar, sereno, aos Poderosos,  
sendo infenso a trações, bajulações, engodos;  
se mereceres fé, sem que os outros te tomem  
por ingênuo, e, lidando, os rápidos minutos  
tu puderes encher com segundos preciosos,  
possuirás — ó meu filho — a terra com seus frutos,  
e — o que é ainda maior — serás então um Homem!

“Se” by Cassiano Tavares Bastos [1940]

## SE

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toda gente, em delírio, ao redor, te censura;  
se puderes em ti confiar, envergonhando  
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possuirás — ó meu filho — a terra com seus frutos,  
e — o que é ainda maior — serás então um Homem!

“Se” by Olegário Mariano (1943)

## A LIÇÃO DA SABEDORIA HUMANA

*“IF” de Rudyard Kipling*

Se és capaz de manter a calma quando o mundo  
Em redor já a perdeu e por isso te culpa;  
De crer em ti quando de ti todos duvidam  
E achar para eles uma esmola de desculpa;  
Se és capaz de esperar, de esperar sem cansaço  
Ou não mentir ao ver mentir o alheio lábio,  
Ou sendo odiado, ao ódio fechares a tua alma,  
Sem bondade de mais nem pretensões a sábio;

Se és capaz de sonhar sem que o sonho te empolgue  
Ou de pensar sem ter um fixo pensamento;  
Se encontrares o Triunfo e a Desgraça e puderes  
Tratar com a mesma calma esses dois impostores;  
Se suportares o amargor de ver mudadas  
Em armadilha as sãs verdades que disseste  
E as coisas por que deste a vida, mutiladas,  
Puderes recompor com aquilo que te reste;

Se és capaz de arriscar tudo quanto juntaste  
Com teu árduo labor, numa única parada  
E perder sem dizer uma queixa ou um lamento,  
Iniciando de novo o teu novo trabalho;  
Se puderes forçar teu coração, teus músculos,  
Teus nervos, tudo enfim, tudo para servir-te  
E dar-te um bem qualquer, sem que nada te negue,  
Muito tempo depois que tudo haja passado,  
Haverá teu desejo a dizer-te: Prosegue!

Se és capaz de lidar com a plebe sem que a plebe  
Te corrompa e entre Reis te conservares simples  
E de amigos, quer bons ou maus te defenderes,  
Se para alguns fôres de alguma utilidade,  
Se puderes preencher, de segundo a segundo,  
O minuto integral a que dás glória e brilho,  
A terra é tua e é teu tudo que anda no mundo,  
E ainda mais, o que é mais: serás um homem, meu filho!

OLEGARIO MARIANNO

“Se” by Cdr. Alexandre Coelho Messeder in O.S.B [1943]

*Se* não pérdes a calma emquanto dezabrida  
 a turba ce a perdeu te culpa do ocorrido;  
 Se comfias em ti, de cem a grei duvida,  
 maz dás a este descrer desconto meresido;  
 Se pódes esperar sem ce o esperar te camse,  
 e, alvo do falso, não procuras caluniar;  
 Se, ao ser odiado, não pões o ódio ao teu alcamse,  
 sem ar de puritano ou sabixão vulgar;

Se sonhas — maz não és dos sonhos méro ilóta;  
 Se pemsas — sem mirar, sómênte, o pemsamento;  
 Se ao brilho do Triumfo ou tréva da Derróta,  
 como a impostores, dás o mezmo tratamento;  
 Se toléras ce as grã-verdades ce falaste  
 os vilões torsaom, para os nécios iludir,  
 e, ao ruir das coezas a ce a vida dedicaste,  
 recurvo, a férro gasto, imsisites em comstruir;

Se pódes, num só lamse, ao revirar do dado,  
 o montante de teus proventos arriscar  
 e, ao perder, retornar ao trilho já trilhado,  
 Sem palavras de ceixa ou laevos de pezar;  
 Se ao próprio corasão e aos musculos obrigas  
 a obedeserte — já camcados de viver —  
 e perseverás cuando em ti sómênte abrigas  
 a vontade tenaz ce lhes manda: VEMSER!

Se falas ao plebeu comservando a virtude,  
 ou com os reis sem perder o semso popular;  
 Se, ante o inimigo ou amigo, impões tua atitude;  
 Se aos omems dás valor, sem numca ezajerar;  
 Se do minuto tems — o tempo não perdoa!  
 segundo por segundo em benefísio teu:  
 Terás a térra e o ce na térra se amontoa,  
 e, ainda maes — tu serás um OMEM, filho meu!

“Se” by António Botto (First published in 1944) Republished in 1957

# SE

De **Rudyard Kipling**

Em versos portugueses de **António Botto**

Se tu podes impor a calma, quando aqueles  
 Que estão ao pé de ti a perdem, censurando  
 A tua teimosia nobre de a manter,  
 Se sabes aguardar sem ruga e sem cansaço,  
 Privar com Reis continuando simples,  
 E na calúnia não recorres à infâmia  
 Para com arma igual e em fúria responder,  
 — Mas não aparentar bondade em demasia  
 Nem presumir de sábio ou pretender  
 Manifestar excesso de ousadia, —  
 Se o sonho não fizer de ti um escravo  
 E a luz do pensamento não andar  
 Contigo num domínio exagerado,  
 Se encaras o triunfo ou a derrota  
 Serenamente, firme, e reforçado  
 Na coragem que é necessário ter  
 Para ver a verdade atraçoada,  
 Caluniada, espezinhada, e ainda  
 Os nossos ideais por terra, — mas ergue-los  
 De novo em mais profundos alicerces  
 E proclamar com alma essa Verdade!,  
 Se perdes tudo quanto amealhaste  
 E voltas ao princípio sem um ai,  
 Um lamento, uma lágrima, e sorrindo  
 Te debruçares sobre o coração  
 Unindo outras reservas à Vontade  
 Que quer continuar, e prosseguindo  
 Chegar ao infinito da razão,  
 Se a multidão te ouvir entusiasmada  
 E a virtude ficar no seu lugar,  
 Se amigos e inimigos não conseguem  
 Ofender-te, e se quantos te procuram  
 Para contar com o teu esforço não contarem  
 Uns mais do que outros, — olha-os por igual!,  
 Se podes preencher esse minuto  
 Com sessenta segundos de existência  
 No caminho da vida percorrido  
 Embora essa existência seja dura  
 À força das tormentas que a consomem,  
 Bendita a tua essência, a tua origem,  
 — O mundo será teu,  
 E tu serás um Homem!

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 Oferta da EDITORIAL MINERVA  
 aos seus clientes e amigos



## "Se" de Thomaz Ribeiro Colaço (1950)

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ALMANAQUE DO "CORREIO DA MANHÃ"

## SE...

*Rudyard Kipling*

(Versão livre de Thomaz Ribeiro Colaço)

Se podes conservar a fé, quando a tua volta  
 — atribuindo-te a culpa — os outros a perderam;  
 se, confiando em ti mesmo, accitas sem revolta  
 que duvidem de ti os que não te entenderam;

se podes esperar, sem que te canse a espera;  
 ouvir todos mentir, sem mentir como os mais;  
 olhar o ódio, sem ter maus impetos de fera;  
 ser sábio, sem orgulho; e bom, mas não demais;

se pensas, sem tornar-te um frio pensador;  
 se sonhas, e não és mero escravo de ideais;  
 se na derrota má, no êxito embriagador,  
 medes por igual metro impostores iguais;

se podes suportar que uma verdade obtida  
 a deturpem os maus para enganar os loucos;  
 se ao ver tombado aquilo a que entregaste a vida  
 com teus gastos alviões reabres os seus cavoucos;

se sabes amontoando os lucros que alcançaste,  
 arriscá-los de um golpe, olhando-o sem tremer;  
 e perder, e voltar ao caminho que andaste,  
 sem que te ouça uma queixa o que te viu perder;

se sabes obrigar o coração e os nervos  
 a vibrar quando são fagulhas que se esvai,  
 e a caminhar assim, tornando-os em teus servos  
 porque a vontade o impõe e lhes diz: — "Caminha!"

Se te ouvem multidões, sem perderes virtude;  
 se privas com os reis sem ganhares vaidade;  
 se, entendendo a ilusão, ninguém te desilude;  
 se, o amigo ou inimigo ouves só a verdade;

se em cada instante dás mais um passo fecundo  
 numa estrada que o sol inunda de seu brilho,  
 — venceste. Será teu quanto existe no mundo.  
 E, o que vale mais, — és um Homem, meu filho.

“SE...” by Heitor P. Fróes (1952)

Se tu fores capaz de ter serenidade  
 Ouvindo a turba infrene o teu nome inculpar,  
 E, acima da descrença elevando a Verdade,  
 A alheia suspeição puderes arrostar;  
 Se tu fores capaz de esperar com firmeza,  
 De agir com probidade até com os desleais,  
 E, mesmo a quem te odeia, encarar com lhaneza,  
 Sem te ostentares sábio, ou bondoso de mais...

Se tu fores capaz de, em nobre trajetória  
 – Sem pensamentos vãos nem sonhos tentadores –  
 Encarar friamente a Derrota e a Vitória  
 Dando igual tratamento a esses dois impostores;  
 Se tu fores capaz de olhar por sobre os ombros  
 Os que ousam deturpar o que, honesto, afirmaste,  
 E de reconstruir sobre os próprios escombros  
 Os planos que fizeste e os sonhos que sonhaste...

Se tu fores capaz de, em singular parada,  
 Arriscar teu pecúlio, a custo reunido;  
 E de, após perder, recomeçar do nada...  
 Sem jamais aludir ao revés sucedido;  
 Se tu fores capaz os servos dominar,  
 Escravizando a fibra e o próprio coração  
 À vontade viril que te ordena avançar  
 E, exausto, prosseguir na peregrinação.

Se tu fores capaz de atuar com decência  
 Junto à plebe, e, entre Reis, de ter simplicidade;  
 Aos amigos e aos mais servindo com prudência;  
 Mas sem nunca os tratar com prodigalidade;  
 Se tu fores capaz, segundo por segundo,

De honrar do teu minuto o momentâneo brilho...  
Na Terra hás de exercer um domínio profundo,  
E, o que é mais, sentirás que és um Homem, meu filho!